

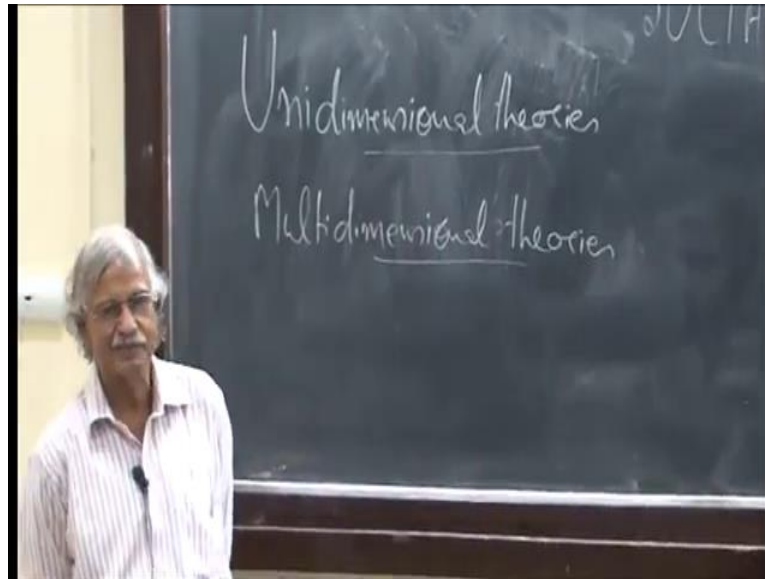
Introductory Sociology
Prof. A. K. Sharma
Department of Humanities and Social Sciences
Indian Institute of Technology, Kanpur

Lecture - 25
Social Stratification - III
Theories and Facts

So, friends we are talking about social stratification, and so far what I have said is that all societies are divided into a number of stable social groups, which can be ranked hierarchically, one above the other in terms of power, prestige and wealth. The different strata has their own conciseness, culture, sub culture and people strongly identify with them. Most of the time people marry within their own class, and the strata affects one's life chances. How much education you will have, whom you will marry where you will construct your house, how many children you will have, your political belief, which political party you vote for, what kind of family you will have, nuclear, joint? Most of your attitudes, believes and behavior are affected by your position on the social stratification.

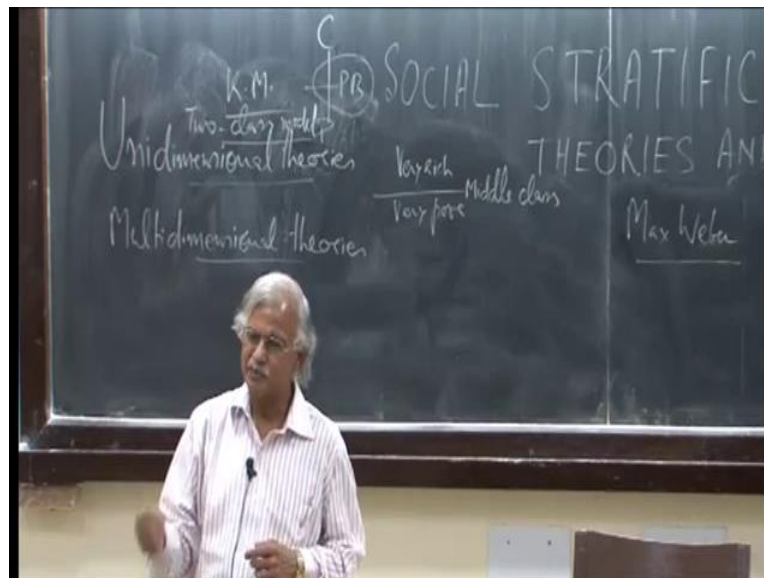
There are many types of social stratification, slavery a state of feudal type of stratification, cast type of stratification, class type of stratification and more analytical framework of dividing society into three upper, lower and middle or six upper upper, lower upper, upper middle, lower middle, upper lower, lower lower can also be applied to study stratification. And accordingly you have classes of people who have been in the upper class for several generations and you have new rich; the new rich and the upper upper class or the aristocratic or novels they differ very significantly in culture and their attitude towards life or society or politics.

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Now, we will come to certain theories of stratification and before that I want to make a distinction between two types of theories some maybe called uni dimensional or uni varied theory of social stratification. Some can be called multi dimensional and multi varied theories of stratification.

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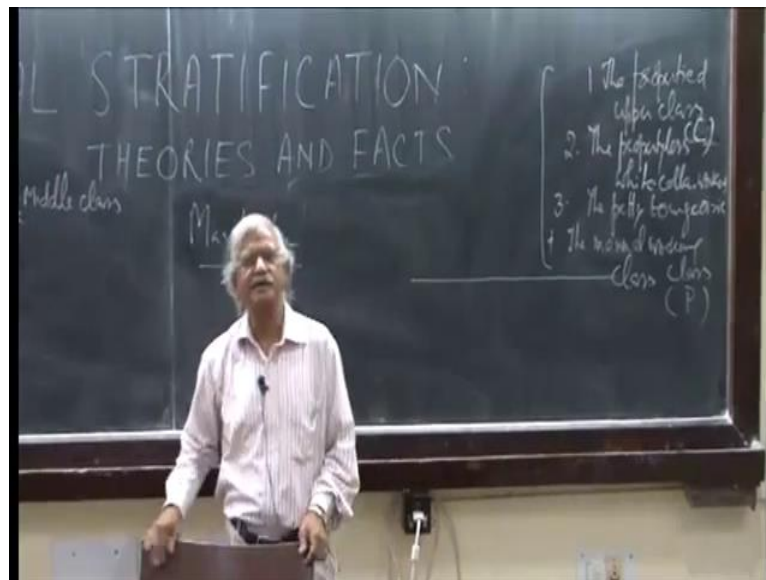


When you divide people into very rich to very poor and in between you have a middle class or you divide people into two categories, capitalist and proletariat, capitalist at the top, proletariats are the bottom and in between petty-bourgeoisie owners of means of

production at the top, poor proletariat wage laborers at the bottom and petty-bourgeoisie managerial classes, petty shop keepers, administrators, traders and those engaged in certain crafts at the middle, you have a uni dimensional theory of stratification. But there are certain theories which say that social stratification is more complex than what Karl Marx would say. This was Karl Marx's theory of social stratification, capitalist and proletariats and petty-bourgeoisie in between. Now, middle class is in between. Karl Marx was very emphatic on this issue that gradually as capital society will advance the petty-bourgeoisie class will become nonexistent.

Only two class will remain, two classes. Therefore, Marx's theory of social stratification is also called a two class model of social stratification, two class model. It is the model, it is not a reality as one of my friends asked in the last lecture what about owners of large agricultural farms. Marx's theory does not take that into consideration. For Marx's theory it is a theory of industrial society and there are only two classes. So, it is a two class model. Max Weber is one sociologist whose name appeared when we are making a distinction between natural school in sociology and analytical school. Natural or positivistic school and analytical school, Max Weber belongs to analytical school.

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According to Max Weber, yes there is a dimension of class, but unlike Karl Marx, Max Weber says that there is not one class there are several classes and the classes he names are four, at least four classes. One the propertied upper class, propertied upper class, second

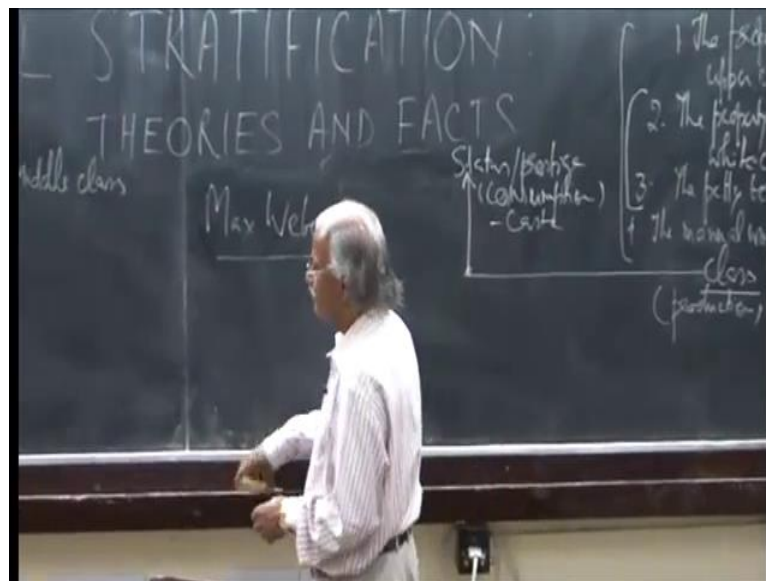
the property less white collar workers, the property less white collar workers, third the petty-bourgeoisie and fourth the manual working class is, you see if you map this four folded region of class onto Marx's theory of class the major difference is that this manual working class exists in both the model. This is proletariat of Karl Marx, the manual working class of Max Weber either proletariat class of Karl Marx. The propertied upper class of Max Weber it is the capitalist class of Karl Marx. Propertied upper class, upper class which survives on property which amounts to saying the same thing that they are the owners of means of production. So, C of Karl Marx, but while Karl Marx believes that as capital society advances the whole social organization of society will get reduced to a two class model. Only C's will remain and P's will remain. Petty-bourgeoisie, some member of petty-bourgeoisie would become capitalist and other members of petty- bourgeoisie will fall down to proletariat class.

But Max Weber say that as society modernizes, as capitalist society advances, as we enter advanced industrial society, (()) society there will be two more classes in between. A class of property less white collar workers. Most of you and me, our kind of people we belong to this class that we are not the capitalist class, we do not earn from profits or capital we earn from credentials, from degrees and diplomas where technical, managerial, professional classes and the property less white collar workers are the upper division clerk. They will become more numerous from Marx's perspective this class will become nonexistent. From Max Weber's perspective as capital society advances due to requirements of managerial class a class of people who specialize in coordinating activities of various kinds. Because a capital society has a very sophisticated division of labor, specialization, division of labor.

So, you need some people to coordinate activities of different classes of people, a managerial class and this is the class property less, they do not have property, they earn from their work, but they are superior to this the manual working class because there work conditions, their qualifications, the basis of their seeking work and you see the managerial class is also important because all major day to day decisions in industry will be taken by the managerial class and not by the capitalist class. So, there is a class of capitalist who in principle means, owns the means of production, but there is another class which takes decisions. In advanced capital society the class which takes decision is separated from the class which legally owns the means of production.

So, all major decisions of industry in Reliance, in Tatas, in Birlas, in Premji's, in Infosys are taken not by the owners of the industry, but by those who are at the top executive position on the basis of not property, but their degrees from IIT's and IIM's and foreign universities. So, there is a managerial class. When Max Weber was writing he could not anticipate arrival of such a large professional class based on B Techs and MBA's, but he knew that a distinctive class of people who will, who will be working as white collar workers in offices, in industries white collar worker and not the manual workers is arriving. Then there is a petty-bourgeois, petty-bourgeois a small property, shopkeeper, traders. A small property, not as big as the propertied upper class, but they also earn to some extent from property. So, they are petty-bourgeois. So, Max Weber say that he has class is an important basis of social stratification like Karl Marx, he differs from Karl Marx in several ways. One way I have identified is that for him class is one important dimension of social stratification, but is not the only dimension of social stratification.

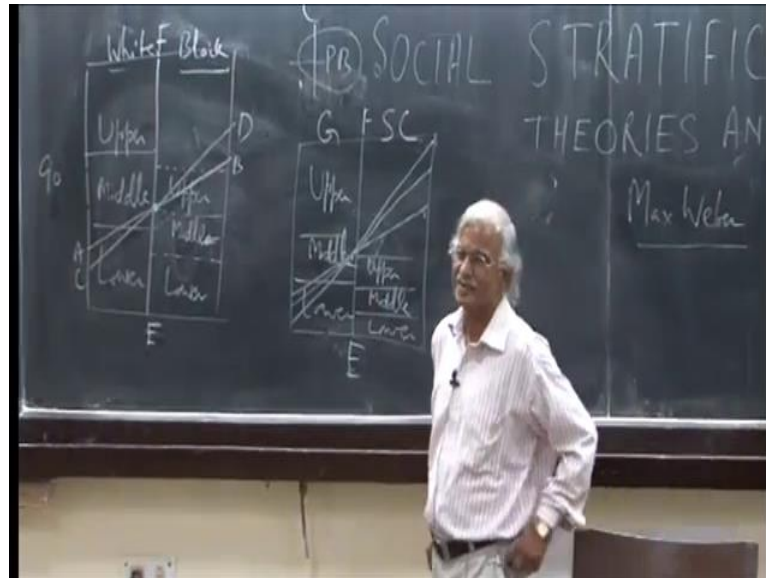
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In addition to class varies status. Status groups are based on prestige, some occupations, some activities, some positions carry more prestige than others and people distinguish among classes or groups as much on the basis of money or class as on the basis of status while class is based on one's position and production, status is based on one's position in consumption, they are consumption classes. And Max Weber included cast, cast of India any theory of status stratification as one of the status groups, cast is the status group, cast

in our same thing as class. In one article written in the American context, I found a beautiful description of what it could mean.

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Somebody was suggesting that if you take the American society today and divide according to two criteria race, white and black. In white there are upper, there are middle and there are lower. In blacks also there are upper, there are middle and there are lower. This is the nature of social stratification in United States. I find this discussion quite interesting especially in the context of Max Weber who is saying that society is stratified not on the basis of one factor, but several factors. So, class is one factor. Money, class largely means money or source of income or your place in the process of production. Where does your position lie in the system of production, are you a propertied class or property less white collar or petty-bourgeois or a working class, but there is also a status group as in American society upper, middle, lower white and blacks. In case of India you can draw a parallel between upper, middle and lower. Upper, middle and lower, general category and schedule caste.

Now, this kind of picture tells us that in both white and blacks are in India in the general category and in schedule caste. There are upper, there are middle, there are lower advent, but that nature, the picture changes with time. So, at one time the upper class of schedule cast was even lower than the middle class of general category. Upper class, some members of upper class of blacks were similar to middle and somewhere similar to lower class of

whites. Middle, upper, here this upper, many members of upper class are blacks in America were actually lower than many middle class people of whites. Many of them were similar to, in condition similar to lower classes of whites, but as time passes he said that things are changing. And this whole diagram is getting rotated along an axis like this, A B. First it was like this, then it becomes rotated A B, then it becomes C D. When it becomes C D then several of blacks, several upper of blacks become superior to several upper of whites.

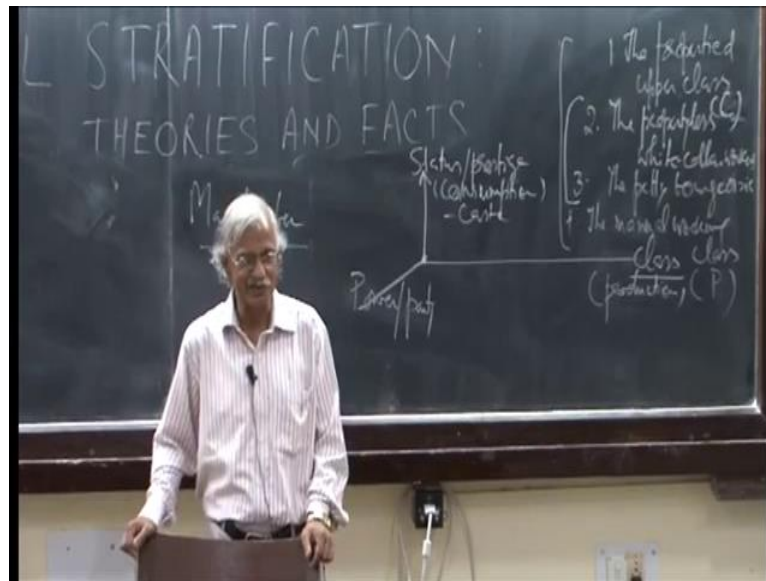
And several uppers of blacks become certainly superior to middle, middle of whites, but still the distinctions remain. In that article I found the author was arguing then when, when this picture is rotated 90 degree and we, it becomes say E F. E F when it is rotated E F then the racial status will not matter, it will not matter whether they are white or black when this axis is rotated E F it becomes E F. Today, it is happening that it has started rotated. Gradually, it is rotating. First like this, then like this, then like this. A time will come when it becomes E F, when it becomes E F then it will not matter whether you are general category or you are scheduled caste. The whole society will get divided into upper, middle and lower.

I remember this kind of, I have simply because I wanted to say that according to Max Weber stratification is not a matter of division of society on the basis of one factor only. Class is one factor. One's position in the system of production is one factor, but status is also important. Status means prestige, occupation something similar like caste. So, there are many, in India you can find. So, it is not so simple, high, low. It is not so simple. There are many people, last year in Delhi we had a conference of Dalit industrialists. Now, Marx's two, Marx's two class model uni dimensional two class model cannot explain rise of a phenomenal like Dalit industrialists. Dalit industrialists are those people who are affluent, who are the propertied upper class, they are owners of industry, they are owners of means of production, but they belong to the category of Dalits, depressed classes by caste, by ascription they are Dalits.

No other country would have such a classification. Dalit industrialists and there are many Brahmins who belong to the category, who **who** are actually lower lower, irregular employment, casual work, handicap, living in pathetic condition. Depends, it depends on the region. In some regions the status of Brahmin was better, in some regions status of Brahmins were as low as of schedule caste, depends. So, there are many Brahmins who

belong to the lower lower class. In status they are high, but in socioeconomic condition they are very lower, at the bottom of the socioeconomic scale. Actually, there are many untouchable Brahmins also. So, low that certain categories of Shudras would not accept even water from their hands, Indian caste really it is very complex. There are untouchable Brahmins. So, that is another dimension of social stratification.

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The third dimension of social stratification is power, party, political power. When we are discussing power I defined the concept of power using Max Weber's definition. In simple English it is a probability of realizing your own will in a communal action even against resistance offered by others. So, it is a degree of influence, degree of influence that you exercise in society or on other groups or members of society. Party, power, three dimensions; Max Weber wanted to provide a critic of Marx's theory of society, according to Karl Marx because social stratification is a matter of two classes only. So, a day will come when people belonging to lower classes or the proletariats will have a good understanding of their situation, they will understand the cause of their pathetic condition.

They will understand how situation can be redeemed and how a better society can be organized. They will organize, mobilize the workers and give in a proper leadership, ideology and power. They can destroy the capitalist system and a new social society will emerge, but according to Max Weber which would never happen, because people are divided not on the basis of class alone, but they are divided on several other basis. Max

Weber's theory applies to Indian condition more appropriately than the Marx's theory because in India people are divided on the basis of class, status or caste and political power. It does not mean that there is no correlation between them. It is quite likely that if you belong to upper class you also tend to acquire more power or if you somehow enter the power circle maybe you come from a menial class, you come from a poor family, but once you become a minister, once you become a minister then by corrupt means many of our ministers by corrupt means have acquired lot of property.

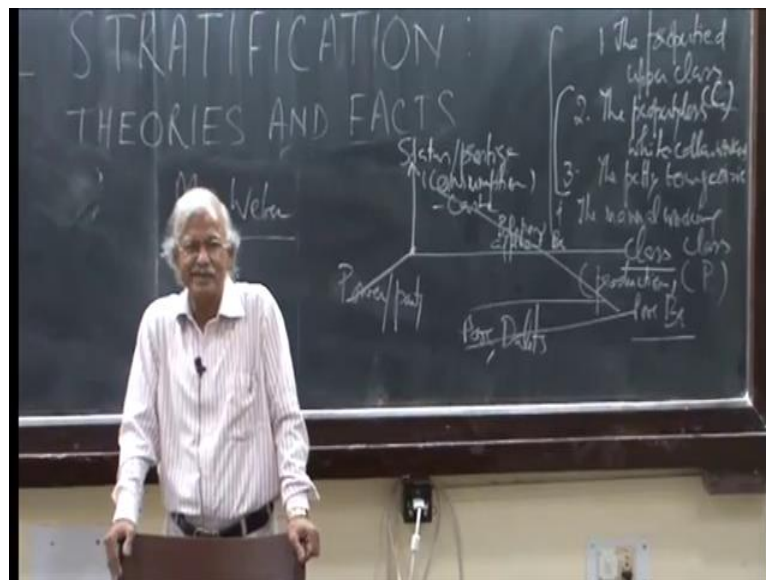
So, there is a there is a possibility of correlation. There is also a correlation between status and class and status and power. The correlation may be shifting, it may be that at some time a cast C 1, a cast C 1 is more powerful and also includes more people from the affluent section. As time passes the importance of C 1 fades and importance of another caste C 2 comes into being. At the time of independence just to give you an example at the time of independence the caste of Brahmins played a very important role. Brahmins were in politics, Brahmins were in bureaucracy, many Brahmins owned business also, Brahmins were social reformers, Brahmins were writers, Brahmins were intellectuals, several Brahmins were found in the hierarchy of armed forces also.

Now, the case has changed, with greater assertion of the dominant caste in rural areas. Now, increasingly Brahmins have been replaced by what we call dominant caste, dominant caste of rural area Reddy's, Jhat's, Yadava's. The caste whoever more in number, more numerous, more in number who had access to rural land and they were, they were ritually pure, but because of number, education another regions exercise power in the rural social belief. It is not reservation alone. Because of reservation things are changing, but even otherwise, even without reservation, where there is no reservation there also you find that the proportion of Brahmins is declining and proportion of the dominant peasant caste like Kamma's and Reddy's of Andhra Pradesh, Maratha's of Maharashtra, Jhat's of Haryana, Yadawa's of UP.

They are, these dominant peasant castes are coming up. But at one given moment of time there is a correlation between different, they are not completely independent. Power, status and class are not completely independent. The main reason why Max Weber made these three class or four class multidimensional model of stratification, you can call it a middle class then it get reduced to three, three classes. If you write as Max Weber himself throughout property less and petty-bourgeois then four class, four class multi dimensional

model. Then it says that revolution will never occur because people are divided along so many basis, there are so many criteria to divide people that the workers of all castes and categories, workers of all regions and religions, linguistic group like in the Indian context we cannot imagine that in Max Weber would say that in the context of India, India will never become a socialist country. India will not have a dictatorship of proletariat ever because those at the top as well top in prestige, top in political power or top in affluence they are not the same people. There are so many cross cutting conflicts, you may be at top in one field and at bottom in the other fields. So, it actually becomes difficult for people to get united. Who is your friend, who is your foe in this complex nature of organization of society people are confused. They can never unite on the basis of their class status.

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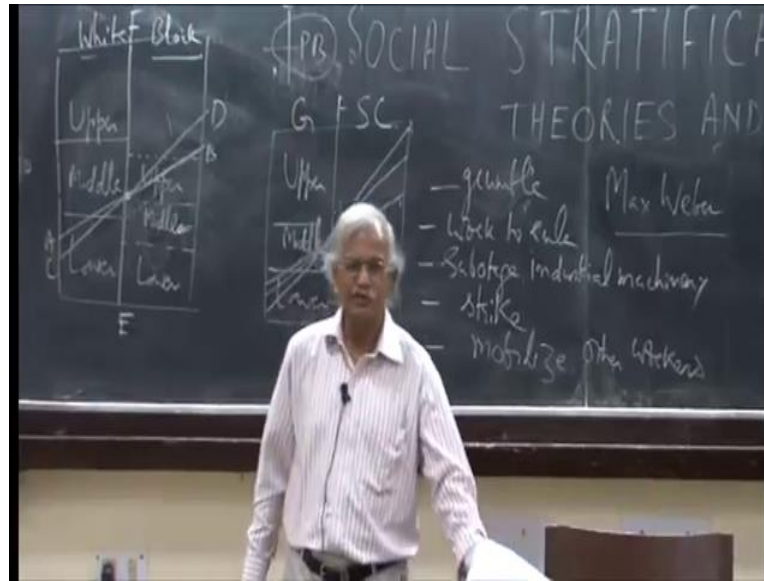
They will always be divided because say a poor Brahmin, a poor Brahmin a low class, sometimes he sees himself more **more** close to politically powerful affluent Brahmin because of caste. If Pranab Mukherjee becomes the president of India I will be very happy because I am also a Brahmin. It is like that. When Mayawati becomes the chief minister of UP, she may not do anything for any Dalit of UP and she may enmass lot of wealth for her own family, for herself and for her family members, nothing for Dalit's, but Dalit's have the satisfaction of saying a Dalit becoming a chief minister of UP. So, many poor Brahmins will some time find that they are closer to politically powerful and affluent Brahmin. And many times the poor Brahmins will find themselves close to poor Dalit's Then they find that their economic condition is same they realize there in reality their life

is not different from the life of a poor Dalit. So, they may feel more affinity with poor Dalits, sometimes the **the** poor Brahmins may join the political party of Dalit's which claims to up lift the people living below the poverty line. And they will at the time they will say (()) here is one leader maybe Dalit, maybe OBC, maybe a Muslim, but here is a leader who tells that he will do lots of things for the people belonging the poor classes. So, at that time many poor Brahmin feels closer to poor Dalit's or poor OBC's.

So, our allegiance, our affinity, our subjective relationships with the other classes keeps on shifting. And in such a situation when people are divided on the basis of class, status and power and the three maintain a degree of independence. They are not controvert, they cannot be easily converted, they are not a simple function one to one or there is no 100 percent correlation between them. There are rich and poor in all the castes and they are politically powerful and power less in all the castes.

So, because of this confusion it will never happen that all the poor in the capital system, all the, all the proletariat of Karl Marx will never combine. The proletariat of India, we know the proletariat are on objective basis you may say that proletariats are proletariats and the condition of working classes everywhere is same and if we may become a socialist country it will have the proletariat. But proletariats are so much divided along caste lines, religious lines, linguistic lines, gender and so many other things that the proletariat of India will never combine. It is a good news for capitalist that the proletariats will not combine. Max Weber says that revolution will not occur because proletariats cannot combine. There are other factors, there is caste and there is political power. So, social stratification is multi dimensional and not only multi dimension, but on the basis of class you have not two classes, but four classes.

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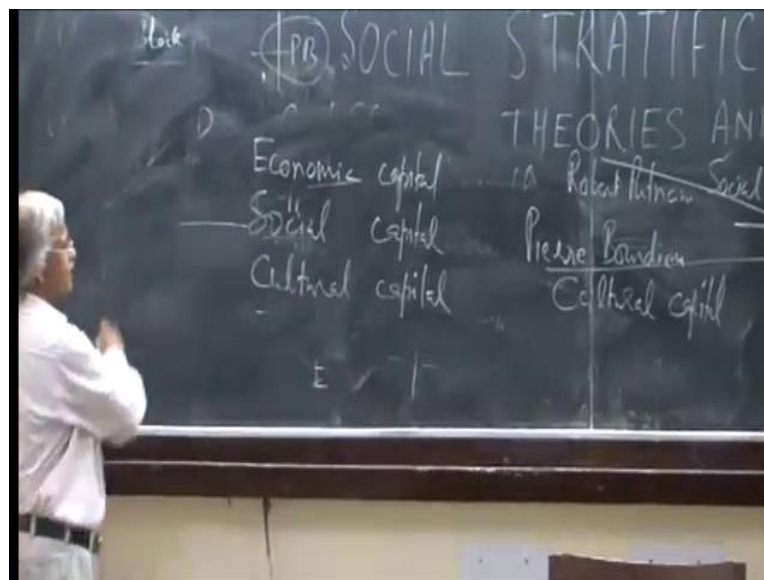
Max Weber also says that when proletariats are unhappy, then revolution is not the only option, proletariats may not removed they may simply grumble. System (()), congress (()) criticize (()) workers may grumble or they may work to rule, the protest of workers may come in the form of work rule. It may come in the form of sabotage, very common in India. Sabotage industrial machinery, strike and only rarely mobilize other workers. So, revolution is not the only option left for the working classes. And therefore, the revolution will not occur. Remember, Max Weber was, it appeared that Max Weber wanted to tell himself or wanted to tell others that Marx's theory is wrong and he thought that one way, he said it is like in our country we say Hindus say that Muslims will do exactly opposite of Hindus, Muslims will say that Hindus will do exactly opposite of Muslims. If Hindus marry in night then Muslims will marry in day time. If Hindus will pray towards the east, the Muslims will pray towards the west. If Hindus will take bath, Muslims will only do (()) up to here. When I was a child and we lived in a mixed colony I have heard many such things.

These are all biases, prejudices, but we said that Hindus will do exactly opposite of what Muslims do. Muslims will do exactly opposite of what Hindus do. So, Max Weber will do will take the same stance that Karl Marx is wrong. In one respect when I was discussing religion I said that according to Karl Marx our religious ideas, moral ideas, legal ideas, our norms and values are derived from in what kind of economic system we live. What is the form of economic organization, capitalist society will develop or promote certain kinds of

values and norms, socialist society will encourage some other kinds of values and norms. So, including religion. So, religion is determined by the forms of economic organization and Max Weber says that no, it is the religious ideas which lead to emergence of certain forms of economic organization.

So, Max Weber says that at some point of time in Europe, in certain parts of Europe not everywhere, certain types of theodicy or religious idea is developed. He called them protestant ethics, calvinist ethics, protestant and under protestant ethics then hard work, asceticism, anxiety about the pre destiny and so on, rationalization of economic activities, postponement of pleasure. So, these things produce the capitalist form of economic organization. So, religion to economy; for Max Weber it is religion to economic, relationship is from religion to economic. For Karl Marx it is economic to religion. Likewise here also if Karl Marx says that people are divided along class and there are two classes Max Weber will say classes are four and people are divided along several other lines also. And two very significant lines are status and power, political party or power. Power, status and class are three quite independent determinants of one's position in society. Some contemporary sociologist have introduced a few other concepts, many studies of social satisfaction.

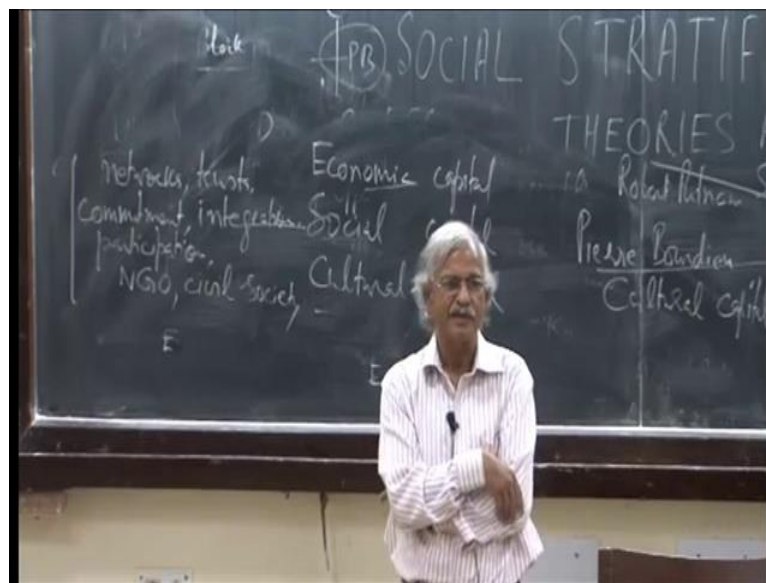
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And one of those concepts, this is not by Max Weber this is by someone called Robert Putnam. He says social capital; social capital is another determinant of your social

position. There is another sociologist P, P I E R R E Pierre Bourdieu B O U R D I Bourdieu and he says cultural, he also use the term social, but he is more known for cultural. Cultural capital, actually Bourdieu will say that you have three types of capital, economic capital, social capital; economic capital, social capital and cultural capital. People are divided into several groups on the basis of economic capital, social capital and cultural capital. Although, the meanings of the term social and cultural are not same as in case of Max Weber's multi dimensional model of social stratification, economic capital is very much like class. But what is social?

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Social refers to networks, trusts, commitment, integration with larger society, participation, NGO type activities or civil, civil society. These **these** things are indicative of what social capital can mean. Though people who say like if I say that in India today trust of people in functioning of Government of India is declining, trust in Government is declining, I can say that the social capital of India is declining. This is one sense. Trust, trust in institutions, governance, functioning of society.

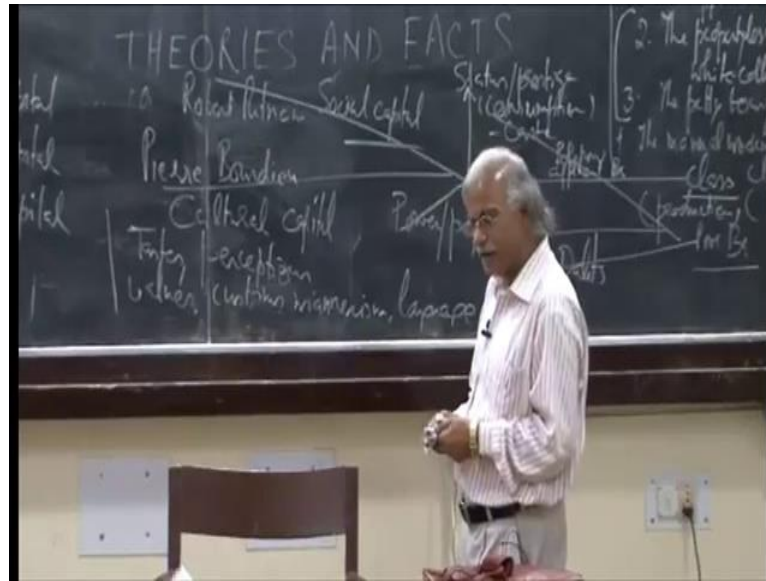
So, today when most people have become cynical about government and there is a distrust. Most people assume that most ministers are corrupt and self seeking. They are not concern about the interest of the country. If this tendency rises then the social capital of India declines. This is at the aggregate level. At the individual level in the same class, same caste, same power group there may be some people who have more friends, who are better

networked, who are more trust worthy and therefore, they have lots of friends. More people from whom they can seek support or whom they provide support. These people can be called to be having more social capital than those people who are isolated. Now, today in like IIT, Kanpur social capital of students is declining and that is causing many problems. At one time we have seen when we came here students were so alert, interactive, interacting with other friends, with teachers, participating in different associations, more on voluntary basis, cultural groups, Telugu association, Tamil association, Bengali association.

At that time students had more social capital. Now, today when students are confined only to their room and their laptop or computer they have reduced social capital. Disintegration, society is disintegrated and some **some** people think that behind anxiety, depression, many neurotic, psychotic problems of the students and in some extreme cases leading to suicidal tendency it is the declining social capital that is responsible. If you are more networked, more integrated with larger society, if you have more commitment for something, if you participate in different social organization, NGO's, government, non government organizations then we have more social capital. So, social capital can be defined at the macro level as well as at the micro level. This is a dimension quite independent of your cast and your class status. People with high social capital can be found in both high cast, lost cast, high classes, low classes.

There are many poor people who have lots of friends and the advantage of having social capital is that if they meet an accident or they find themselves in some problem lots of people will come to support them. So, this social capital can become a potential economic capital also, a potential cultural capital also, so social capital.

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And cultural capital usually it refers to taste, perceptions, values, customs, mannerism and language. Cultural, this is also a capital. So, when in the last class somebody was referring to the case of a bright student coming to IIT, Kanpur with Hindi medium. Hence, suffered from certain anxieties and alienation, that was because he lacked in cultural capital. The worst manifestation of cultural capital happens at the level of primary school.

The children who come from the lower classes, their habits, their attitudes, their degree of self control, their expression, they are different, different from the children coming from upper classes. Upper classes, mannerism, etiquettes, custom, tradition, values, degree of self control, how to interact with teachers, how to interact with the other students is different and although in (()) in any studies, school means studies. So, although in studies children coming from both upper and lower classes may be equivalent because of cultural lack of capital or because of lack of cultural capital children coming from lower classes suffer. So, when a student from a lower class does not do his home work properly, because of some reasons the teachers start attributing that to their lack of cultural capital and teachers themselves show an attitude of bias, difference. Even they have their own stereotypes.

They think that those who are well dressed, who come in from their perspective good dress, who speak well means who speak in English or who speak in a different kind of Hindi they are more bright or more studious also, although there may be no such

connection. There is no connection that if we speak English then you are bright and if you speak Hindi you are (()), but teachers start making these kinds of connections. And ultimately in the process of interaction between students and teachers the children from lower classes suffer. Cultural capital, one of our PhD students is working on the role of cultural capital at the primary school level and there we come to know many things, how perceptions of a different or a lower culture affect performance of student from lower classes. So, social stratification is very complex thing. It is only some, some people like Karl Marx divide people into two categories, but many people would divide into several categories and in case of India particularly I think we need a multi dimensional model of stratification. (())

(())

Sure.

(())

Sure, if you say that other dimensions are completely dependent on class then it is taking almost a Marxist position. And if you take that the relationship between different dimensions are fluid then you are more on the (()) on...

(())

Sure, sure.

(())

Becomes here.

(())

Sure, sure.

(())

This is what Karl Marx says from feudal to industrial, feudal to capitalist. In feudal society land was more important.

(())

Land was more important in feudal society and means of production including land are more important in capitalist society. (()) relationships change (()).