
UNIT 1 EDUCATION AND SOCIALIZATION

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1.1 INTRODUCTION

In this unit, we shall discuss various aspects of socialization. It includes the concepts, stages and types of socialization. The relationship between education and socialization has been discussed in detail. Another important aspect of this unit is a discussion of some major theories of socialization. Last part of the unit examines the role of different social institutions like family, peer group, school, mass media and as the agencies of socialization. Thus, this unit provides an in-depth understanding of the process of socialization.

1.2 OBJECTIVES

After going through this unit, you should be able to:

- explain the concept of socialization;
- analyse the stages and types of socialization;
- discuss major theories of socialization; and
- describe different agencies of socialization.

1.3 MEANING AND CONCEPT OF SOCIALIZATION

At the time of birth, human infant is just a biological organism with only animal needs and impulses. He knows nothing about what we call society or social behaviour. As it grows, under the careful guidance of mother it learns to control bowel movement and regulate hunger.

Human child has an innate capacity to learn and to communicate. Therefore, gradually it learns the group-defined ways of behaviour. It is human company initially in the form of a family and later other social institutions like the community, peer group, school etc. educate the human child to be a responsible and useful member of society. The process of learning to internalize the values and norms into its self or the mode of learning to live in society is called the process of socialization. To internalize is to imbibe so deeply that it becomes a part of the individual's behaviour and personality. Therefore, socialization is basically the learning of socially desired values, norms and roles by the members of a particular group or society. It may be defined more comprehensively as a life-long process of inculcation whereby an individual learns the principles, values and symbols of the social system in which he participates and the expression of those values and norms in the roles he enacts. The above discussion leads us to infer some important characteristics of socialization:

- i) It is a life long process.
- ii) It helps in the inculcation of principles, values and symbols of a social system.
- iii) It enables a person to enact certain roles.
- iv) The roles that one enacts are in accordance with what he has learnt from the process.
- v) The roles a person enacts are the expressions of his social nature.
- vi) The development of the social nature enables the person to participate in social life.
- vii) The nature of what one communicates in society is determined by the influence of one's interaction with the society.
- viii) Most human behaviour is learned, not instinctive. The capacity of the child to learn and to internalize is called the plasticity of human nature.

1.3.1 Stages of Socialization

The socializing agent does not try to teach every thing at once. He concentrates on one task or on a few tasks at a time. Moreover, the process of accomplishing any one of the aims of socialization is gradual. Social scientists have earmarked four different stages of socialization from infancy to adulthood. These are:

- i) The oral stage
- ii) The anal stage.
- iii) The oedipal stage, and
- iv) Adolescence.

At the first stage the infant builds up fairly definite expectations about feeding time, and he learns to signal his pressing needs for care. During this stage, the infant is not involved in the family as a whole. He is involved only in the subsystem consisting of himself and his mother.

The anal stage of socialization covers the period between first and third year of child's life. Toilet training is the main focus of this stage. During this stage the child internalizes two roles- his/her own and that of his/her mother, now clearly separate. The child receives love and care and gives love in return.

The third stage extends from about the fourth year to puberty. During this stage the child becomes a member of the family as a whole. The child identifies itself with the social role ascribed to him/her on the basis of his/her sex.

The fourth stage begins roughly at puberty. At this stage young boy or girl wants to be freed from the control of parents. The 'crisis' of this period is precisely the strain produced by much greater demands for independence. By the time the individual attains maturity major part of socialization is over, though it continues for whole of the life.

1.3.2 Types of Socialization

All types of socialization may be classified into two broad groups, viz. *primary socialization* and *secondary socialization*. This division is based on the primary and secondary needs of individuals. The basic physical needs such as thirst, hunger etc. are called primary needs while secondary needs are those which emerge to meet primary needs e.g. the need for learning skills to earn livelihood. Family satisfies the basic needs of human beings, therefore, it is called primary institution where as a school is a secondary social institution because it meets the derived needs of the children. The parents are primary socializing agents of the child whereas the school teachers are the secondary socializing agents. Inculcation of norms and values within the family is called *primary socialization* while the process of imbibing norms, values and behavioural patterns of school may be called *secondary socialization*. Primary socialization takes place in infancy and childhood. This is the most crucial stage of socialization as the child learns basic behaviour pattern at this stage. Generally secondary socialization starts from the later stage of childhood and goes up to maturity. However the process of socialization never stops in life. The school, peer groups and other institutions in which a person is placed in life play the role of socializing agents.

In the modern societies, where the social mobility of individuals and groups takes place more frequently, individual's loyalty to a particular social group weakens. He starts emulating the values, norms, behaviour patterns of another group in anticipation of being accepted as its member. This kind of socialization is called *anticipatory socialization*. It is based on the reference group theory. According to this theory the norms, values and the behaviour patterns of the individual are determined with reference to a particular group or groups. For example individuals who have acquired wealth suddenly try to follow the values and life style of upper strata of society. They tend to change their dress, behavior and even their language and custom. For example they start demanding dowry and force their women folk to observe *parda* on other 'distancing' customs.

1.3.3 Education and Socialization

Education is a social process, which prepares individuals to lead a meaningful and dignified life. Together with other social forces it plays an important role in shaping the structure of society. Through education society imparts its knowledge, skill, values and behavioural patterns to its younger generations. Thereby ensuring self preservation and continuity. In this sense education is a process of socialization. At the same time changes in society mould the education system itself and it acquires complexity. Education in this sense is a process, which prepares the members of the society to adapt to the constantly changing conditions of a society.

Two important statements emerge from the above discussion:

- a) Education is a social process, and
- b) Education is a process of socialization.

Let us examine each one of them in detail. When we say education is a social process it implies:

- i) Education occurs in a society and therefore influenced by the society in which it takes place.
- ii) The social milieu itself educates.
- iii) School is one of the important social institutions that educate. Its role is influenced by that of others.
- iv) Education has a social role and is involved in moulding the future society.

To say that education is a process of socialization implies:

- i) Education takes place through social interaction.
- ii) It is much more than mere instruction.
- iii) People receive a certain degree of education even if they never enter a school.
- iv) Formal education is socialization with a deliberate purpose and in a desired direction.

Here it is worth mentioning that all learning is not socialization because some of what one learns may not be relevant for participation in given social role. For example learning to take drugs or smoke cigarette may be against the norms of participation in the given social roles among certain social groups.

Check Your Progress 1

Notes: a) Write your answer in the space given below.

b) Compare your answer with those given at the end of unit.

- 1) Discuss in three lines what is meant by socialization.

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- 2) Match the following:

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|-------------------------------|-----------------------|
| a) Anticipatory socialization | (i) Family |
| b) Primary socialization | (ii) School |
| c) Secondary socialization | (iii) Reference Group |

1.4 THEORIES OF SOCIALIZATION

Social scientists have tried to analyse the processes of socialization in different ways. In this part we shall discuss some of the major theories in regard to the processes of socialization.

1.4.1 Cooley's Theory of Socialization

Charles H. Cooley in his celebrated work *Human Nature and Social Order* (1902) propounded his concept of 'Looking glass' and explained how the self of an individual develops and socialization takes place. He emphasized the role of primary groups and social interaction, especially communication, in the formation of personality. Thus, self develops within a context of social relationship. Self and others do not exist as mutually exclusive facts, therefore, self is social.

Cooley's important concept of the reflected or 'looking-glass' self has three basic elements, which are involved in the development of self and formation of personality. These are:

- i) The imagination of our appearance to the other person,
- ii) The imagination of his judgment of that appearance,
- iii) Some sort of self-feeling, such as pride or mortification.

Cooley argues that social interaction or communication plays an important role in the development of individual's personality and his/her behaviour pattern. During interaction with people, the child remains conscious of how others perceive his/her behaviour towards them. On the basis of their judgment the child develops a feeling about himself/herself. It may be a feeling of pride, if the behaviour is appreciated, or of mortification, if the behaviour is denounced by the people. Regular condemnation of child's behaviour may develop an insipid and introvert personality in him/her while continuous appreciation leads to the development of a confident and extrovert personality. Thus, social self depends on the social interaction. Individual's values, ideas, attitudes and habits are shaped by the ideas and attitudes of the people of the surrounding with whom he/she interacts. This is the base of his/her socialization.

The primary group, according to Cooley's plays a central role in socialization. Primary groups are characterized by intimate, face-to face association, direct cooperation and conflict, a relatively free play of personality and of sentiment. Though primary groups are present in all social organizations according to Cooley, the family, play group and neighbourhood play crucial role in the process of socialization. Cooley called these groups primary because they are the nursery of human nature, providing the individual with his earliest and most complete experience of social unity. This group experience gives rise to social ideals such as the spirit of service, kindness, adherence to social norms etc.

1.4.2 Mead's Theory of Socialization

Cooley's theory of socialization as we saw earlier, is based on human imagination, whereas George Herbert Mead explains socialization in the light of resulting 'acts' of this consciousness. Mead started his theory with two basic assumptions: (i) The biological frailty of human organisms force their cooperation with each other in group context in order to survive. (ii) Those actions within and among human organisms that facilitate their cooperation, ensure their survival. Mead further argues that the human being learns those behavioural patterns that provide gratification; and the most important type of gratification is adjustment to social context. Mind, self and other unique features of human being evolve out of efforts to adjust and consequently survive in the social environment. In his view society could survive only from the capacities for mind and self among the individuals. Thus, the capacities for mind, self and society are intimately connected.

Mead recognized that the unique feature of human mind is its capacity to use symbols or language to designate objects in the environment. The focus of Mead's theory is on

how this capacity first develops in infant. Mind arises out of a selective process in which an infant's initially wide range of random gestures are narrowed as some gestures which elicit favourable reaction from parents. Gradually, gestures begin to denote same meaning to all the persons interacting with each other. Gestures that have such common meaning are termed by Mead *conventional gestures*. These conventional gestures increase the capacity of organism to adjust to one another and assume the perspective of those with whom they must cooperate for survival. By being able to put oneself in another place or to 'take the role of others' the probability of cooperative interaction acquire a new level of efficiency.

Thus, when an organism develops the capacity to understand conventional gestures, to employ gestures to take the role of others and to imaginatively rehearse alternative lines of action, Mead believes, has 'mind'.

Mead emphasises the development of 'self' for the proper socialization of individuals. He points out that just as humans can designate symbolically other actors in the environment, so they can symbolically represent themselves as an object. The interpretation of gestures, then, cannot only facilitate human cooperation, but it can also serve as the basis for self assessment and evaluation. As organisms mature, the transitory 'self-images' become crystallized into a more or less stabilized 'self-conception' of oneself as a certain type of object. With these self-conceptions, individual actions take on consistency, since they are now mediated through a coherent and stable set of attitudes, dispositions or meanings about oneself as a certain type of person.

According to Mead there are three stages in the development of self. The initial stage of role taking in which self-images can be derived is termed 'play'. The child identifies with the role of what Mead calls 'particular others' such as father, mother etc. Later by virtue of biological maturation and practice at role-taking, organism becomes capable of taking the role of several others. Mead termed this stage 'game' because it shows the capacity to derive multiple self-images from and to cooperate with, a group of individuals engaged in some coordinated activity. In this process 'I' converts into 'Me'. So long as the child has not identified or understood the roles of others he/she is only 'I'. With his/her identification with other 'I' gets converted into 'Me'. This conversion of 'I' into 'Me' signifies the socialization of the child.

The final stage in the development of self occurs when an individual can take the role of the 'generalized other' or 'community of attitudes' evident in a society. At this stage, individuals are seen as capable of assuming the overall perspective of a community, or general beliefs, values, and norms. Thus, it is this ever-increasing capacity to take roles with an ever-expanding body of others that marks the stages in the development of the self.

According to Mead, the individual and society are inseparable. Society represents the organized interactions among diverse individuals. Thus, the individuals creates social environment. On the other hand only society makes individual a human being. As we have already seen, the self of the individual develops from interaction with others in society and interaction is not possible without communication. The communication is based on symbols with shared meanings.

1.4.3 Freud's Psychoanalytic Theory of Socialization

According to the Sigmund Freud's theory of socialization the formation of human personality is an outcome of the interplay of biological, psychological and social faculties of the individual. While explaining the behaviour pattern and personality traits of individual, Freud formulated three basic principles. These are:

- i) Every conscious action has a cause in the unconscious,
- ii) That conscious is simply a puppet in the hands of unconscious, and
- iii) That whatever one becomes as an adult was determined to be so in his/her early childhood

Thus, according to Freud's principles a major part of human personality is formed in the childhood and during rest of the life it is elaborated and sharpened. In this sense Freud reiterates the role of primary socialization in the formation of personality.

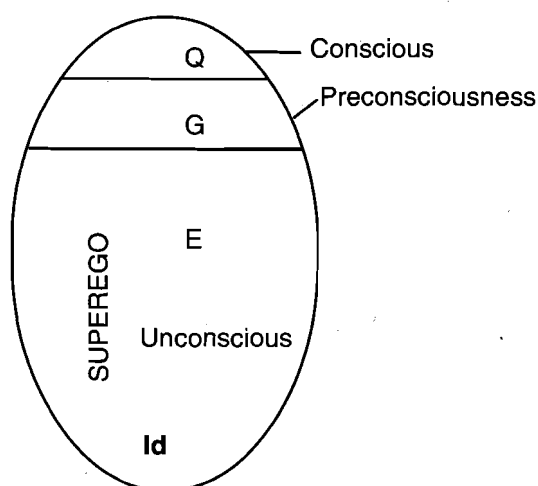
According to Sigmund Freud the human mind has three main regions:

- i) Consciousness
- ii) Preconsciousness
- iii) Unconsciousness.

The conscious region of mind relates the individual with present events and activities in life. Preconscious region stores up memories, which easily enters consciousness. Such a memory can readily be called to mind, for example say the word school and you will recall an incident or a series of incidents from your school days. The unconscious region is the store house of all the repressed desires and bitter experiences which are unacceptable to the conscious mind. These repressed desires come to the level of conscious either in a disguised form or in psychoanalysis.

Unconscious is the predominant content of the mind in relation to the amount, which is in the consciousness at any given time. The conscious is comparable to foam on the surface of the vast and deep sea of unconscious. It is much more powerful, ruthless, illogical and pleasure seeking than the consciousness.

For a more comprehensive analysis of human personality, in his later writings Freud shifts his emphasis from the regions of mind to the structure and function of personality. It is the interaction among 'id', 'ego' and 'superego' that gives a definite shape to the individual's personality.



Diagrammatic Representation of the Structure of Mind

Id is the source of mental and instinctive energy. It is seated in the unconscious and works on 'pleasure principle'. It believes only in what Freud calls 'true psychic reality'. It knows nothing about rules, regulations, values and moralities and never bothers about the objective reality in society. The main objective of id is to avoid pain and discharge tension. It must satisfy its needs, even if it has to arrange imaginary means such as

nocturnal dreams. But such imaginary means is not really capable of reducing tension. For example, image of food cannot satisfy hunger.

The second important system of personality is ego. As we have already seen, at birth a child is capable of only a few instinctive responses. With gradual physical and psychological development and due to some references from others the child develops the sense of 'I' 'My' 'Mine' and 'Me'. This is the beginning of the development of 'ego'. It occupies a central place in the structure of the psyche and is seated in all the three regions of mind. The basic difference between 'id' and 'ego' is that id knows only subjective reality of the mind, whereas the 'ego' differentiates objective reality i.e. concrete external reality from the subjective reality i.e. imaginary reality. In order to avoid tension the 'id' desires to satisfy needs immediately, whereas 'ego' restrains the satisfaction of needs unless appropriate object of satisfaction is available. The ego decides what is right and what is wrong, what is acceptable and what is not acceptable or what is possible what is not possible. The action of an individual is guided by the 'ego' in choosing from among these alternatives on realistic principle.

The 'superego' is the third and the last system of personality. It is described as the earliest moral code of the child and in this sense it is the direct antithesis of id. Superego is also seated, like 'id' in the unconscious region of mind. It represents the values and norms of the society, which the child has internalized through the process of socialization. It strives for neither real, nor imaginary real. It concerns itself with what is ideal. Its main function is to decide whether the chosen object of satisfaction of needs is right or wrong from the point of view of the moral principles of society.

In this whole structure of psyche ego occupies a central place because it is expected to maintain a balance between the two opposite forces of 'id' and 'superego'. As we have already seen 'id' demands direct instinctual satisfaction whereas superego as an internalized moral code checks the flow of id into undesirable and unapproved channels. According to Freud the sole purpose of psycho-analysis is to strengthen the ego. A weak ego is prone to all disorders. If ego remains weak and id becomes stronger then the result would be an antisocial behaviour, delinquency or crime. If superego starts dominating the psyche the result is suppression, leading to neurosis. Therefore, for the development of a healthy and socially useful personality it is necessary to have proper balance between id, ego and superego.

Check Your Progress 2

Notes: a) Write your answer in the space given below.

b) Compare your answer with those given at the end of unit.

3) What are the three basic elements of Cooley's theory of socialization?

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4) Match the following:

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| a) Cooley | i) Symbolism |
| b) Freud | ii) 'looking glass' self |
| c) Mead | iii) Psycho-Analysis |

1.5 AGENCIES OF SOCIALIZATION

The child is socialized by several social agencies or institutions in which he or she participates, viz, his/her family, school, peer group, neighbourhood etc.

1.5.1 Family

The family is the smallest unit of society and represents it in all respects. It is the locus of early socialization or the internalization of basic values of culture because the child is most plastic and exposed for longest in dependent relationship with parents. The basic requirements involved in walking, talking, playing with other children, eating, toilet training and generally dealing with adults are learned in an informal way. The family is also the source of internalization of the basic cultural vocabulary of the child.

The learning of roles in the family takes place with affective orientation of the parents towards the child. Parents and siblings as role models invoke less anxiety because the family situation offers security to the child.

In primitive society family used to be the chief seat not only of socialization but also of education. Learning of roles was hereditary, and the household being also the place of work, all arts, skills and crafts were learnt under the guidance of the elder kinsmen. The stability of occupational roles, lack of social mobility and kin bound relations of work and trade made the education system of peasant society homogenous and static and the process of socialization simple and smooth.

With the growth of an industrial society the established order of peasant society is broken. The family structure also changes and its size becomes smaller with a predominance of nuclear and neo local types. The chief mechanism of socialization such as learning, adjustment etc., becomes more complex as a number of opposite standards of values of morality and of patterns of life prevail in the same community, some times even in the same family. The role of the family in the socialization process and education is now taken over more and more by other agencies, mainly the school.

1.5.2 Peer Group

Children like to play and move about in group of their age peers. This group life is very important for them and has considerable influence on the development of their self-concepts. Being in a group gives them confidence and a sense of security. Being accepted by a group builds up their self-confidence. Particularly those who are popular learn to think positively of themselves. In playing together children learn to cooperate. They learn to adjust their needs and desires to the behaviour of peers. In a very real sense the child begins to develop a sense of self as distinct from the family.

As the child develops a social self he/she also learns to participate in the cultural norms and practices of childhood. He or she learns many things from slightly older members of the child peer group. For example, the specific rules of many childhood street games are learned, not from adults who still might remember them, but from older children. The same can be said for many rhymes, myths, tales etc. Thus, peer influences begin before school intrudes and continues with varying degrees of importance for the rest of life.

The norms, values and expectation of the peer groups of late childhood and adolescence tend to compete or even conflict with those of the family. Behaviours that are deemed proper within the family are at times incompatible with those expected by the peer group of adolescents like shops lifting or experimenting with drugs.

1.5.3 School

In modern industrial society the school system has emerged as one of the most potent agencies of socialization. Schools offer two contexts for the students. The first is the formal context of the classroom, wherein the context of socialization is decided by the prescribed curriculum. The second context is informal and can be perceived in the interpersonal relationship of students with teachers and those among the students.

Talcott Parsons (1959) in his essay the 'School Class as a Social System' argues that school as a social system performs four important functions simultaneously.

- i) Emancipation of the child from family.
- ii) Internalization of social values and norms, at a higher level than as available in the family.
- iii) Differentiation of the school class in term of actual achievement.
- iv) The selection and allocation of human resources into the adult role system.

By going through this process the child acquires the values of industrial society like achievement orientation, discipline, liberalism and rationality.

By and large socialization and elementary formal education in India have been consistent processes in regard to the basic value, because at the family and school level, the dominant orientation in socialization remains authoritarian. But at the level of college and the university, students suddenly experience a new freedom and responsibility. They find it difficult to cope with it since the dependency feeling due to early authoritarian socialization in the family and school still remains stronger. The result is recurrent mass behaviour and lack of self-consciousness in Indian students.

1.5.4 Mass Media

In modern society the means of mass communication such as television, radio, cinema, newspaper, books and audio-video cassettes have become an integral part of life. They play a very important role in the socialization process of their viewers, readers and listeners. These mass media, especially the television and radio, simultaneously convey same message to nation wide audience. Therefore, its impact on the process of socialization assumes greater significance.

The most important thing about mass media is the message that is conveyed or images that are projected. For example in the context of gender and socialization one can examine the image of female portrayed by mass media or in the context of the rural population one can examine the relevance of the programmes for the villagers, which is made for the consumption of urban middle class. Another important aspect of mass media, especially television and radio, is that they generally express official values or message.

Television has some effect on another agency of socialization i.e. home because it is generally viewed at home together with parents and siblings. It can propagate values in contradiction to those championed by particular family or community. Parents respond to this in several ways such as strict control of viewing and not allowing to watch certain programmes. However, the child's peers in neighbourhood or in the school influence him by discussing specific serials or programmes.

Though there is no rigorous scientific study available on how much the average child learns from television, its impact is considered important. Bringing the whole world

into home for several hours everyday has created a childhood environment of sight and sounds never before experienced in the history of mankind.

Check Your Progress 3

Notes: a) Write your answer in the space given below.

b) Compare your answer with those given at the end of unit.

5) Discuss the role of family as an agent of socialization in about five lines.

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6) According to Talcott Parsons four major functions of school system are

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1.6 LET'S SUM UP

In this unit we have studied various aspects of socialization. We began with a discussion of the meaning and concept of socialization, in which we understood stages and types of socialization and its relation with education. We examined major theories of socialization. The role of various social institutions, such as family, peer group, school and mass media has also been examined. Thus, this unit gives an understanding of socialization.

1.7 UNIT END EXERCISES

- 1) Discuss the concept of socialization. What are its main characteristics?
- 2) How primary socialization is different from secondary socialization? Elucidate your answer with suitable examples.
- 3) Which one of the three theories of socialization that you have studied gives better insight into the process of socialization?
- 4) Compare the roles of family and school as agencies of socialization.
- 5) Discuss the impact of mass media on the socialization of the child.

1.8 ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

- 1) Socialization is the process of learning of socially desired values, norms and roles by the members of a particular group or society. Learning to live in society is called socialization.
- 2) a) Anticipatory socialization : Reference group
b) Primary socialization : Family
c) Secondary socialization : School
- 3) i) Imagination of our appearance to the other person,
ii) The imagination of his judgement of that appearance.
iii) Some sort of self-feeling, such as pride or mortification.
- 4) a) Cooley : 'Looking glass' self.
b) Freud : Psycho-analysis
c) Mead : Symbolism.
- 5) Family is the locus of early socialization or the internalization of basic values of culture. It is also the source of internalization of the basic cultural vocabulary of the child. The learning of roles in the family takes place in an informal way with affective orientation of the parents towards the child.
- 6) i) Emancipation of the child from family.
ii) Internalization of social values and norms at a higher level than as available in the family.
iii) Differentiation of school class in terms of actual achievement.
iv) The selection and allocation of human resource into the adult role system.

1.9 REFERENCES AND SUGGESTED READINGS

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UNIT 2 EDUCATION, SOCIAL STRUCTURE, SOCIAL STRATIFICATION AND SOCIAL MOBILITY

Structure

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2.1 INTRODUCTION

Social stratification is a relatively rigid concept in which your position in society tends to be determined by that of your ancestors. Every individual learns about values, ambitions, drive, and determination to succeed, and sets goals from what he/she has learnt from family members who make every effort to maintain their status and pass it on to their children. You may have noticed that in every society, everybody wants to rise, of course, but only those with exceptional drive are able to, usually through education and therefore productivity. Those lacking wealth are unable to take advantage of opportunities. Those with good education and strong motivation can rise but with difficulty if they start with little or no wealth. Those with good education, strong motivation, and some wealth can rise more easily and more quickly. If you start from a disadvantaged position, you will find it more difficult to rise, and the further you must rise to get anywhere. You may have noticed also that better employment positions are often determined by social position as well as by qualifications. In this unit, we will explain these aspects by looking into concepts such as social structure, social stratification, and social mobility. We will describe the sociological perspectives to provide the theoretical framework for understanding the phenomenon of social stratification. The Unit would attempt to examine the role of education in the social structure, social stratification, and social mobility.

2.2 OBJECTIVES

After reading this Unit, you will be able to:

- define the concepts like social structure, social stratification, and social mobility;

- explain the role of education in the social structure and social stratification;
- understand the contribution of education towards the social mobility;
- understand different types and forms of social differentiation; and
- learn sociological perspectives to explain the differentiation and division of society.

2.3 SOCIAL STRUCTURE

The concept of social structure is central in the sociological literature. It is used to designate an ordered arrangement of parts linked together to a whole. But what are these parts that are arranged in an order? In sociology, a part may mean a social group comprising a set of social relationships. For instance, a family is nothing but a set of social relationships between and among the individuals connected through either descent or blood or marriage. In this sense, a family may be treated as a part in the social structure. Similarly, one can think of social groups such as religious groups, political parties, business organizations, hospitals, schools, trade unions, etc., as being various parts of the whole i.e. the society.

2.3.1 Meaning and Definition of Social Structure

If we think of society as a multiplicity of social groups such as family, religious groups, political parties, or occupational groups then each of these groups exhibit organized, fairly stable or commonly accepted ways of behaviour. Each of these groups are distinguished by the roles their members play, the goals they set out for themselves, and the status attached to each of the roles within the group. In other words, a part may also be understood as a social institution and a social system comprises a number of social institutions.

Further, since a social system is composed of the interrelated acts of people, its structure must be sought in some degree of regularity or recurrence in these acts. Structure also has certain roles and any occupant of a role is expected to fulfill certain pattern of obligations and behaviour. In a nutshell, the structure of a social system includes:

- groups and sub-groups of various types, interconnected by rational norms,
- roles of various types, within the larger systems and within the sub-groups. Each role system is also connected with others, through the rational norms.
- regulative norms governing sub-groups and roles,
- cultural values

Therefore, a social structure can be defined as a network of social institutions and social relationships. It consists of relatively stable and orderly inter-relationships among various parts.

2.3.2 Role and Function of Education in the Social Structure

Education is the process of preparing people to fit into the complex social structure through the process of socialization. It helps the child to train for the future roles of an adult life. All social institutions define the pattern of relationships and behaviour expected of the persons who belong to them. The principal social institutions are concerned with regulation of economic, political, familial, educational, and religious aspects of human life. Thus the children have to learn to be fathers or mothers, teachers or civil servants, shopkeepers or priests. They have to learn to be members of more than one institutional group also. Therefore, the child prepares himself or

herself to take multiple roles through the process of socialization, in general, and education, in particular. Education in this context may be the informal education received in the family or the peer groups or the formal education received at school.

The child gets to understand the role he/she has to play in the wider society through the formal education received in the schools. It is here a child learns to conform to the rules and regulations of human behaviour in groups and institutions. They have to learn to be impartial and adopt a set of dos and don'ts. They also have to be prepared to change the social mores when they see that they can be improved. Thus the need of the society to bring up and educate its children leads to the institution of family and to a whole set of educational institutions, which are interrelated with the rest of the social structure.

Seen in this context, it can be understood that it is through the functions of people in their institutional relations that the patterns of culture in a society are maintained. Looked at from the point of view of the structure, a social system may seem to exist in a static framework. From the point of view of function, the society springs into the dynamic and changing life that we all experience. The structure of the institutions can be described in terms of status positions, rights, rules, duties, and chains of authority; but the culture of institutions results from the manifest activities of their living participants, in terms of their attitudes, feelings, and sentiments, social and cultural habits, recreations, ceremonies, and rituals. The function of education lies both in the maintenance and renewal of the social structure, and in the transmission and development of culture. It depends on the differences in the socio-cultural backgrounds and status of individuals in the modern industrial societies. It also functions as a main stratifying agent in the context of the industrial societies. The next part examines in detail the definition of social stratification and various theoretical explanations to explain the phenomena.

2.4 SOCIAL STRATIFICATION

Social stratification refers to the hierarchical arrangement of groups of people in terms of criteria like economic wealth, property, political power, prestige and social honour. Social stratification existed as far back as human civilisation itself.

2.4.1 Concept

When human beings moved from the hunting and gathering societies to the sedentary agricultural societies, a variety of occupations developed that were essential to the functioning of the society. Inevitably, these occupations were ranked hierarchically, usually based on the amount of preparation and training required or the importance of that occupation to a particular society. This kind of unequal arrangement of groups of people existed for centuries and it was accepted as a part of the society. It is felt that social stratification is necessary to maintain social order. The order is maintained by the interdependence of individuals and groups on each other. According to Pitirim Sorokin, an eminent sociologist, an unstratified society with real equality of its members is a myth which has never been realised in the history of mankind.

2.4.2 Theories of Social Stratification

Since the second half of the nineteenth century, four broad sociological theories have been used to explain and interpret the phenomenon of social stratification. They are:

- i) Natural Superiority Theory
- ii) Functionalist Theory
- iii) Marxian Class Conflict Theory, and
- iv) Weberian Multiple Hierarchies Theory.

Natural Superiority Theory

Natural superiority theory, also referred to as social Darwinism, was a popular and widely accepted theory of social stratification in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. The main advocate of social Darwinism was Herbert Spencer, an English Sociologist, who saw social organization as an environment. It is believed that certain individuals and groups had the requisite skills or attributes to compete and to rise in that environment. Others, not so skilled or less competitive, would fail. The social Darwinists believed that their theory was part of the law of nature.

Some other sociologists believed that the social inequality arising out of stratification is biologically based. Such beliefs are often heard in the case of racial stratification where, for example, whites claim biological superiority over the blacks. Even in terms of gender stratification, the underlying principle is that the men are biologically superior to women. However, the question of relationship between the biologically based inequality and socially created inequality is difficult to answer. Rousseau refers to biologically based inequality as natural or physical, because it is established by the nature, particularly with respect to the age, health, bodily strength, and the qualities of the mind. In comparison, socially created inequality consists of different privileges, which some men enjoy to the prejudice of others, such as that of being richer, more honored, or more powerful. However, biologically based inequalities between men are treated as small and relatively unimportant where as socially created inequalities provide the major basis for systems of social stratification.

Functionalist Theory of Social Stratification

Functionalist theory is a theory that is most concerned with how societies maintain order. Generally, the functionalist theorists have tended to stress stability, consensus, and integration in society.

Functionalists assume that the society is similar to that of a human body, comprising several parts which form an integrated whole. Like the human body, the society's institutions must function properly to maintain stability of the entire social system. Further, certain functional prerequisites must be met if the society is to function effectively and in order. Social stratification therefore becomes a tool to see how far it meets these functional prerequisites.

Talcott Parsons, the leading proponent of functionalist model, differentiated societies as falling on a continuum between ascribed-status-based societies and achievement-based societies. Societies in which individuals were value based on their family position, sex, race, or other traits of birth are viewed as the traditional end of the continuum. On the other end is the modern society, in which a system of rewards is used to aid in fulfilling a complex division of labour. According to Parsons, more difficult positions that demanded considerable responsibility required a system of rewards to motivate individuals to take them. In his view, stratification – which is, by definition, social inequality – was both necessary and agreeable. Parsons believed that stratification was necessary to provide rewards for people who would take on the additional responsibility tied to difficult positions, and in his view, stratification was desirable because it allowed the social system to function smoothly.

Parsons's ideas on social stratification were further developed by two American sociologists, Kingsley Davis and Wilbert Moore in their essay "Some Principles of Stratification", published in American Sociological Review in 1945. They shared the common notions with Parsons in so far as stating that the social stratification is universal, functional, and integral to fulfilling the division of labour in society. According to Davis and Moore, no society is classless or unstratified.

Davis and Moore argued that it was necessary and functional for the society to have a varied set of rewards in relation to the varied levels of sacrifices required by some jobs. In other words, there are some jobs that require individuals to possess special talents or to develop special skills. These jobs may also require that the individual filling the position works with utmost care. Therefore, Davis and Moore find it logical that societies developed a system of rewards whereby those jobs requiring the greatest preparation and responsibility are rewarded more highly than are other positions. The social order has developed a differentiated system of rewards, which has led to social stratification.

Thus, Davis and Moore argue that one of society's most important functional prerequisites is effective role allocation and performance. This means that firstly, all roles must be filled; secondly, they must be filled by persons best able to perform them; thirdly the necessary training for them to be undertaken; and finally the roles must be performed conscientiously. If the duties associated with various positions would be equally present to everyone and all would depend on the same talent and ability, then it would make no difference as to who got into which position. However, it does make a great deal of difference mainly because some positions are inherently more agreeable than others. Davis and Moore suggest that the importance of a position in a society can be measured in two ways, i.e. the degree to which the position is functionally unique, there being no other position that can perform the work satisfactorily (for e.g. a doctor's role is more important than that of a nurse) and then by the degree to which other positions are dependent on the one in question.

In sum, both Parsons and Davis and Moore present a view of structured inequality as being necessary to maintain social order and therefore society's survival, and as being based on general agreement among the members of society.

Marxian Theory of Social Stratification

The Marxist perspectives generally regard modern society as being divided primarily into two classes – the bourgeoisie and the proletariat – on the basis of property ownership or non-ownership of property. Marx understood classes to be economically determined by the difference between owners of the means of production and non-owning direct producers. Class differences therefore are determined by the mode of production.

Marx and Frederick Engels have divided history into five distinct epochs of production: primitive communism, Asiatic, ancient Greece and Rome, feudal society, and capitalism of these, only the ancient, the feudal and the capitalist phases received special treatment by both Marx and Engels. Ancient society was based on slavery, feudal society was based on serfdom, and capitalism on wage labour.

Each of these societies was divided into two major classes: the oppressors and the oppressed or the exploiters and the exploited. In every case the exploiters are made up of those who own the means of production but do not produce. The exploited are those who do not own the means of production but are the direct producers of social goods and services. Because the exploited do not own the means of production, they are forced, in order to live, to work for those who own and control the productive conditions of life. The exploiters live by means of the surplus produced by the exploited. As a result, the social mode of production also reproduces the social relations of production. Thus the relationship between the exploiters and the exploited is constantly renewed and conserved. The Marxists therefore in contrast to the functionalists regard stratification as a divisive rather than an integrative structure and the focus was on social strata rather than social inequality in general.

Marx also spoke of the hostilities between the two classes. Three terms—class consciousness, class solidarity and class conflict—are important in understanding the dynamics of class conflict in the Marxist approach to the study of stratification. Class consciousness refers to the recognition by a class, such as workers, of the role its members play in the productive process and their relation to the owning class. Class solidarity refers to the extent to which workers act together to achieve political and economic aims. Finally, class conflict has two aspects (1) the unconscious struggle between the workers and the capitalists for shares in the productive output at a time when class consciousness is not developed and (2) the conscious, deliberate and collective struggle between the two classes when the workers become aware of their historic role. According to Marx, social change occurs as a sequel to class struggle. Marx said that the revolution of the proletariat will bring an end to the class conflict i.e. the conflicting interests between the ruling class (bourgeoisie) and the subject class (proletariat).

The Weberian Theory of Social Stratification

The work of the German sociologist Max Weber represents one of the important developments in the stratification theory. According to Weber, stratification is based on the three types of social formation, namely class, status and power or party. Property differences generate classes, power differences generate political parties and prestige differences generate status groupings or strata.

Like Marx, Weber sees class in economic terms, classes as a group of individuals who share the same position in the market economy. Weber distinguishes four class groups in the capitalist society:

- a) Propertied upper class
- b) Property-less white collar workers
- c) Petty bourgeoisie
- d) Manual working class.

In his analysis of class, Weber differs from Marx on some important grounds. For instance, Weber says that the factors other than ownership or non-ownership of property are significant in the class formation and he rejects the Marxist view of the inevitability of the proletariat revolution. Weber also disagrees with the Marxist view that political power is derived from the economic power. He says that groups form because their members share a similar status situation. While 'class' refers to the unequal distribution of economic rewards, 'status' refers to the unequal distribution of social honour. Weber also looks at "parties" or groups which are specifically concerned with influencing policies and making decisions in the interests of their membership.

The Principle of Meritocracy

Michael Young in his book, "The Rise of Meritocracy", says that social status would be achieved on the basis of merit in a society where all members have an equal opportunity to realise their talents. Members of the upper strata in a meritocracy deserve their position, their privileges are based on merit. Socially speaking, those who occupy the top positions are undoubtedly superior to the social inferiors who are really the inferiors. Young argues that this may result in an upper stratum free from self-doubt and the restraining influence of humility. Its members may rule society with arrogance and haughty self-assurance. They may despise the lower strata whose members may well find such behaviour offensive. This may result in conflict between the ruling minority and the rest of the society. However, it may be assumed that Michael Young's picture dream of a fair and just society may produce a far from perfect society.

2.4.3 Types of Social Stratification

This section will examine three major systems of social stratification – slavery, castes, and the social classes. These systems can be seen as ideal types for analytical purposes. It may be pointed out that any social stratification system may include elements of more than one type.

Slavery

The most extreme of legalized social inequality for individuals or groups is slavery. The distinguishing feature of this oppressive system of stratification is that enslaved individuals are owned by other people. These human beings are treated as property, just as if they are equivalent to household pets or appliances.

Slavery has been practised in different forms. In ancient Greece, the main source of slaves consisted of captives of war and piracy. Though the slave status could be inherited, it was not permanent. A person's status might be changed depending on the outcome of the military conflict between kingdoms. On the other hand, in United States and Latin America, racial and legal barriers were established to prevent the freeing of slaves. In other words, in whatever form it existed, it had required extensive use of coercion in order to maintain the privileges of slave owners.

Caste

Caste is the cornerstone of social stratification in India. It is a hereditary system of rank, usually religiously recognised, that tend to be fixed and immobile. In other words, caste is a closed system, which denies social mobility. Connubiality and commensality are the cardinal principles of inter-caste relations based on the ascription of caste status and rank by birth. According to Bailey (1957), caste is a closed organic system of stratification. However, another sociologist, Lewis (1958) observes that caste is an integrating and cohesive factor in the village community as it encompasses kinship ties and political and economic relationships.

According to Luis Dumont, a French sociologist, Caste stands for inequality in both theory and practice, but this inequality is not a binary opposite of equality. In his well known study "Homo Hierarchicus", he assigns an important place to hierarchy which forms an important aspect of the structuralist paradigm. Ideology refers to the ideas and norms derived from the Hindu civilization of which the caste system is an important manifestation. "Hierarchy" is the dominant principle of this normative structure which is contained in the dialectical relationship between the principles of purity and pollution in the ritual and the behavioral domains of the system. The ideology of the caste system in Dumont's model of stratification helped in the comparative analysis of the social structure.

Again the role of ideology in the studies of social stratification in India can also be reflected in Yogendra Singh's book "Social Stratification and Change in India". Singh explains by using the concept of 'Counter – Brahmanical ideology' of the caste system in India. The social consciousness of the educated classes among the deprived communities, tribes and scheduled castes questions the Hindu caste system based on the idea of purity and pollution. Thus, the clash was between two ideologies in the Indian social structure – the Brahmanical model of caste and a casteless society of groups and communities based on occupational specialization.

However, with the process of modernization and social change, the issues involving social stratification in India have now crossed the boundaries of caste and class has also become an important analytical tool to understand the complex issue of social stratification in India. Social stratification in India is taking many new concepts into its fold like professions, elite, categories of weaker sections of society, women,

children, tribes and scheduled castes. These structural entities and the new domains of inequality requires novel orientations and analysis in order to understand the shift found in the sociology of social stratification in India.

Social Class

A class system is a social ranking primarily based on the economic position in which achieved characteristics can influence mobility. Education is an important contributory factor in achieving such a class position.

In contrast to slavery and caste systems, the boundaries between classes are less precisely defined, and there is much greater movement from one stratum or level of society to another. Yet class systems maintain stable stratification hierarchies and patterns of class divisions. Consequently, like other systems of stratification, class systems are marked by unequal distribution of wealth and power.

Income inequality is the main characteristic of a class system. For instance, Daniel Rossides (1997), an American Sociologist, has conceptualized the class system of the United States using a five class model – the upper class, the upper middle class, the lower middle class, the working class and the lower class. The lines separating social classes in this model are not so sharp as the divisions in the caste system

2.4.5 Education and Social Stratification

Sociologists like Durkheim view the major function of education in any society as the transmission of that society's norms and values. According to them, education provides a link between the individual and the society and it provides the individual specific skills necessary for the future occupations, which is the most important factor in the modern social stratification system. Parsons (1961) believes that the educational system is an important mechanism for the selection and allocation of the individuals in their future roles in the society. It is also regarded as the ground for proving one's ability and hence selective agency for different statuses according to their abilities. However, this argument is rejected by people like Bowles and Gintis who argue that the social relationships in the schools replicate the hierarchical division of labour in the work place. There is a close correspondence between the social relationships which govern the personal relationships at the work place and the social relationships in the educational system.

Raymond Boudon (1974) also suggests that the inequality of educational opportunity is primarily a product of social stratification. According to him, even if there were no sub-cultural differences between classes, the very fact that people stand at different positions in the class system will produce inequality of educational opportunity. Thus, the essence of social stratification is social inequality and it manifests itself through many forms such as differential allocation of income, status and privileges, opportunities for various social utilities, etc and the educational achievement is very important in all these aspects. In the open systems of stratification such as class system, the movement up and down the strata is possible and in the closed ascription based stratification systems such as caste, where the boundaries between various strata are rigid, the movement is extremely difficult.

Further, there are various correlates of the relationship between education and social stratification in a society. Most important of them is that the education is the primary generator of social mobility in any modern industrial society. This relationship is little complex to understand. For instance, the education is the main component in achieving a status in the social class system, on the one hand, and stratification system is the deciding factor in the differential access to education, on the other hand. Therefore the relationship between education and social stratification is very complex and can only be understood in relation to the concept of social mobility.

Check Your Progress 1

Notes: a) Write your answer in the space given below.

b) Compare your answer with those given at the end of unit.

1) Mention the three types of Social stratification.

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2.5 SOCIAL MOBILITY

Social Mobility may be understood as any transition of individual or any object or a value that have been created or modified by human activity from one position to another. So it can be said that the social mobility is an important concept to understand the movement of certain groups or individuals along the ladder or hierarchy.

2.5.1 Concept

The element of time is implicit in the phenomenon of social mobility which is a movement, either upward or downward, between higher and lower classes or, more precisely, movement between one relatively lower position to the subsequent higher one.

Lipset and Bendix define the term 'social mobility' as the process by which individuals move from one position to another in the society. Thus social mobility signifies the movement or shifting of individuals or groups in the ranking structure of the society.

2.5.2 Theories of Social Mobility

Various thinkers and theorists in sociology have talked about the notion of social mobility. Some of the notable among them are Marx, Durkheim, Weber, etc. Though they have not directly focussed on the notion of social mobility, they were at times referring to it in their analysis of social change. For instance, Durkheim (1947), in his book 'Division of Labour' talks about transition of societies from 'mechanical solidarity' to 'organic solidarity', which refers to a gradual transformation of a society from simple to complex division of labour.

The functionalist perspective believes in the expansion of formal schooling for efficient economic growth and development of a meritocratic society. But this can only be possible when a society facilitates social mobility. It is only when the society is mobile that the education system becomes a vehicle for progress and development. The specialization in education is the need of the labour force to match to the complexity of jobs in a modern industrial world. Social mobility could only help in developing technical requirements of industrial production and then allocate jobs to the right men or women.

Partly in response to the growing dissatisfaction with the prevailing functionalist account, many analysts have turned to the conflict or the Marxian perspective in search for a more adequate linkage between education and mobility. Marx himself believed that a high rate of social mobility would tend to weaken class solidarity. Classes would become heterogeneous and this would reduce the sharing of similar backgrounds which, in turn, would weaken the class identification and loyalty since it would be difficult for mobile individuals to feel a strong consciousness of kind

with other class members in which they found themselves. Thus intensity of class conflict and consciousness would also be reduced which would be problematic as, then, there would be no change to upside down the system of 'haves' by the 'have nots'. Ralf Dahrendorf, a neo-Marxist, feels that a situation has arrived in the west where as a result of mobility in the form of education the nature of conflict has changed. In an open society, it is replaced by competition to attain the best. In his words,

“ instead of advancing their claims as members of homogeneous groups, people are more likely to compete with each other as individuals for a place in the Sun”.

He also argues that 'although mobility diminishes the coherence of groups as well as the intensity of class conflict, it does not eliminate either'. Bowels and Gintis, however, observe that schooling operates within work i.e. the education system reflecting the organization of production in a capitalist society. To them, it is through schooling that authority can be legitimised which facilitates mobility on one hand and inequality on the other. But, even then, as long as there is mobility, education would help to justify in people's mind a system of inequality and to reconcile them to their own position within it.

Max Weber (1864-1920), however, brought in the concept of social mobility for the attainment of social status or class. For this one must have opportunities for possessing the life chances which would include the income, perks and pensions together with security or good working conditions. Weber's consideration of the capitalist market therefore appears to give an explanation that there is a hierarchy of occupational rewards found in these societies and to a great extent one can be a part of the competition on the basis of educational qualifications. Frank Parkin, a Weberian, however, feels that there has been a relatively high rate of upward mobility as a 'political safety-valve'. It provides opportunities for many able and ambitious members of the working class to improve their conditions. The basic intention was to weaken the working class by making them join this middle class in collective strategies that might benefit the class as a whole. But these conditions were always found within a "social closure which can only be monopolised by a minority and used as a basis of power over the others".

Besides the classical thinkers, some other sociologists have studied the concept of social mobility. For instance, Lipset and Zetterberg (1966) have underlined the dimension of occupational and consumption rankings of social class and power rankings in addition to providing a methodological note. They have also pointed the causes and consequences of social mobility. Accepting occupation as the most common indicator of social stratification, they viewed the occupational class as one of the major factors which differentiate people's beliefs, values, norms, customs, and occasionally some of their emotional expressions. In their opinion, the recording of one's occupational class also needs the recording of occupational setting, the social structure in which the occupation is located. Lipset and Zetterberg have accepted that there is a possibility of having a higher rate (and amount) of mobility in one dimension and lower in others. Therefore, the more qualified and accurate conclusions about mobility and stratification systems are possible only through a multi-dimensional approach in which one has to take all possible dimensions together.

Further, Lipset and Zetterberg have suggested two sets of methodological approaches to study the mobility. In the first set, there is comparison of (a) the present with the past (b) one area or country with another (c) one model with another, expressing equal opportunity. In the second set, there is the conventional operational method of ascertaining by comparing father's and son's positions. In this method, Lipset and Zetterberg have suggested an inquiry of father's earlier occupations along with the sons.

Further, for sociologists of education like Halsey (1979), the idea of mobility is a movement from "somewhere to somewhere else and the somewhere in question may in principle be any social or geographical position". Sociologically, it means some kind of class or status or prestige or socio-economic position. However, mobility enhances social-class membership based on educational qualifications. Thus those who have moved upward had, in the process, exceeded the educational norms of their original group and those who have moved downwards had less educational advantage and therefore lower qualifications.

Finally, a more recent work on the linkage between the education and social mobility is done by Richard Jenkins (1991) who sums up all the views by saying that the field of interconnected interests and topics had evolved into the study of social and economic stratification and mobility. There is a patterned and differential distribution among categories of a society's population of life chances, resources and benefits, on one hand, and cost and penalties, on the other. According to him, the main concern of social stratification is maintaining order. Further, to attain an elite status in the hierarchy, educational mobility is required which would not only improve the labour market in terms of greater opportunities for employment but also by reducing the socio-economic inequalities to some extent in order to maintain order and equilibrium within the society by at large.

2.5.3 Forms of Social Mobility

There are mainly three forms of social mobility, namely vertical mobility, horizontal mobility and spatial mobility.

Vertical Mobility

By vertical social mobility, we refer to the relations involved in the transition of individuals from one social stratum to another. According to the direction of transition, there are two types of vertical mobility – ascending and descending or social sinking and social climbing. The ascending type exists in two principal forms as infiltration of individuals of lower stratum into a higher one, the insertion of such a group into higher stratum, instead of going side by side with existing groups of the stratum. The descending has also two principal forms. The first consist of dropping of individuals from one higher position into lower existing one, without degradation or disintegration of the higher groups to which they belonged. The second is manifested in its degradation of social group as a whole. An example of vertical mobility is that in which the scheduled castes move upward by getting modes of education, new techniques, skills and adopting the ritual and manners of higher status caste groups, changing their caste names, home culture and occupation and maintain the higher position. The theory of "lagging emulation" under the framework of reference groups is employed to understand this type of mobility both in the field of hierarchy and occupation. However, this type of mobility takes place from lower stratum to higher stratum.

Horizontal Mobility

Horizontal mobility refers to the transition of an individual or social object from one social group to another situated at the same level. Horizontal shifting occurs usually without any noticeable change. If we take occupation, shifting from one job or factory or occupation to another of the same kind would be referred to as horizontal mobility. An example of horizontal mobility is the citizenship shifting or shifting of individuals from one state to another. That does not mean the changing of citizenship, but it is called shifting of citizenship.

Spatial Mobility

Spatial mobility refers to inter-generational mobility which is an outcome of migration or shifting of places, for example, it may happen as a result of migration from rural to urban community or social improvement of individuals within the family and hence provide the chances for change in culture. In this context, some of the scholars of change and mobility have discussed the units of mobility in the form of individual financial group and corporate mobility. The study of mobility can be subsumed under above pattern. So we can say that the social mobility is a part of the broader concept of social change. In a transitional society, modern education, industrialization, growth of cities, factories, bureaucracy and change in the occupational patterns are the main variants for the social mobility.

2.5.4 Factors Affecting Social Mobility

There are various factors, which are responsible for the social mobility.

a) The Supply of Vacant Status

The number of statuses in a given stratum is not always or even usually constant. For example, the expansion in the proportion of professional, official, marginal and white-collar positions and decline in the number of unskilled labour positions require a surge of upward mobility. These positions retain their relative social standing at times. Demographic factors also operate to facilitate mobility, when the higher classes do not reproduce themselves and hence create a demographic vacuum (Sorokin, 1959).

b) The Interchange of Rank

Any mobility that occurs in a given social system which is not a consequence of a change in the supply of positions and actors must necessarily result from an interchange. Consequently, if we think of simple model for every move up, there must be corresponding move down. Interchange mobility will be determined in a large part by the extent to which a given society gives the numbers of lower strata which means complete with those who enter social structure in higher level. Thus the lesser the emphasis a culture places on the family background as a criteria for marriage the more will be the class mobility that can occur both up and down through marriage. The occupational success is related to educational achievements which are open to all and hence the greater occupational mobility (Lipset and Zetterberg, 1966).

c) Modern Education

The education has particularly created new incentives and motivation to initiate and adopt the ideals, practices, behavior pattern and style of life of the higher castes which M. N. Srinivas (1965) translates and explains under the process of sanskritization and westernization. Sanskritisation is a process through which the lower castes imitate the traditions and cultural practices of the upper castes and sometimes even the nomenclature to push their case for a higher status in the society. There are many instances of the lower castes that have adopted the practices of higher castes in order to be upwardly mobile which is otherwise not possible in the traditional Hindu society.

The process of westernization in terms of adoption of the western ideals in life, is also a most potential force in social mobility, specially in the urban and industrial centers. The new value orientations, motivation, behaviour patterns, formal relations, individualism, monetised attitude to social status, western technology is popular among the people. This popularity for status upliftment, encourages the migration to places where economic opportunities in terms of urban trade, industrial occupations and jobs in different governments are available.

d) Migration

Migration to urban areas also contributes to the change in the social status of individuals and groups. The traditional occupations slowly disappear and the modern industrial occupations are sought after.

All these factors help in the improvement of the social position of the people. Normally, the higher the income of a particular occupation, the greater is the importance of education. However, though money makes the base of living, education decides the quality and mode of life and living. As a result, lots of changes have come in the living arrangements of the people in the modern societies. The changes also occur in the behaviour and manners of the people, which may be the outcome of social mobility.

2.5.5 Education and Social Mobility

As discussed earlier, education in the present day context is the most important and dynamic force in the life of individual, influencing his social development. It functions more as an agent of social change and mobility in social structure. It leads to economic development by providing ways and means to improve the standard of life. The positive attitude towards education leads to socio-economic mobility among the individuals and groups. That means, a person who is born in an agricultural family can, by means of education, become an administrator or any other government employee. Secondly, education leads to the changes in the lifestyles of people. It modifies the attitudes, habits, manners and their mode of social living. Thirdly, the education is responsible for inter-generational mobility among the individuals and groups. Through inter-generational mobility, the social groups are able to maintain their status and the status of their family. Therefore, it can be said that education plays an important contributory role in the mobility of individuals and groups regarding their social position, occupational structure, styles of life, habits and manners.

Check Your Progress 2

Notes: a) Write your answer in the space given below.

b) Compare your answer with those given at the end of unit.

2) What are the three major forms of social mobility?

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3) Briefly identify education as a factor in social mobility?

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2.6 LET'S SUM UP

In sum, social stratification is a particular form of inequality. As the well known sociologist Pitirim Sorokin remarked, an unstratified society with real equality is a myth which has never been realized in the history of mankind. The discussion in this unit attempts to reject the belief that the inequalities are biological or hereditary and argues that the stratification is basically a socially created phenomenon. Further, it is important to note that the relationship between the social stratification and education is complex and it must be seen with respect to the specific societies in which they exist.

The unit has highlighted the conceptual and theoretical clarity in understanding the notions of social structure, social stratification, and social mobility and provided an analysis of linkages of these concepts with education. It also provided some examples for the reader on the specific theoretical propositions linking education with the stratification and mobility. Instances referring to the Indian society are particularly given in order to facilitate the understanding of students in their own social context.

2.8 ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

- 1)
 - Slavery
 - Caste
 - Social Class
- 2)
 - Vertical Mobility
 - Horizontal Mobility
 - Spatial Mobility
- 3)
 - Education functions as an agent of social change and mobility in social structure
 - Education leads to economic development
 - Education led to the changes in the lifestyles of people
 - The social groups are able to maintain their status and the status of their family

2.9 REFERENCES AND SUGGESTED READINGS

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UNIT 3 SOCIAL CHANGE, DEVELOPMENT AND EDUCATION

Structure

- 3.1 Introduction
- 3.2 Objectives
- 3.3 Social Change
- 3.4 Development
- 3.5 Perspectives on Education
- 3.6 Education in Indian Perspectives
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3.1 INTRODUCTION

It has been observed that change is such an evident feature of social reality that any social-scientific theory, whatever its conceptual starting point, must sooner or later address it. Others also point out that the only thing that does not change is change. At the same time it is essential to note that the ways social change has been identified have varied greatly in the history of thought. In this Unit we point out the three main elements of social change that must stand in definite relation to one another:

- 1) Structural determinants of social change, such as population changes, the dislocation occasioned by war, or strains and contradictions.
- 2) Processes and mechanisms of social change, including precipitating mechanisms, social movements, political conflict and accommodation, and entrepreneurial activity.
- 3) Directions of social change, including structural changes, effects, and consequences.

3.2 OBJECTIVES

After going through this unit, you should be in a position to:

- understand the meaning of Social change;
- understand the concept of Social development;
- understand the relationship between education and social change; and
- appreciate the relationship between Education, Economic Growth and Development.

3.3 SOCIAL CHANGE

Change is generally said to be a subject of the law of nature. Changes occur both in nature as well as society. Social change would refer to the changes taking place

in the human society. Social change may also be taken to mean only such alterations as occur on the structure and functions of society. As individuals constantly interact in society, the social structures that govern the forms and rules of interactions relatively stay stable for long durations. However change takes place, speedily or slowly, in the structure which signifies social change. 'Social change does not refer to social interaction but rather to the normative conditions of interactions'.

Social change has also been viewed as part of cultural change which covers all changes that occurs in any branch of culture like art, science, technology, philosophy, and also changes in the forms and rules of social organization. It needs to be noted that no part of culture is completely unrelated to the social order. However, changes in certain branches of culture may take place without having much impact on the social system. In the context of social change, cultural changes are relevant to the extent that they arise from or have as an effect on social organization.

The scope of social change indicates change in the whole structure of society (from agrarian to industrial) or the changes within the structure of society (introduction of a new system of education). There is observed even 'lag' in changes taking place in different parts of the society as the rate of change may not be the same for all the parts. There is also observed lag between societies /countries in terms of changes and, hence, the challenge for one set of societies to 'catch up' with the other set of societies.

Social change is also viewed in terms of the direction of change, like moving towards attaining some goal. In that case social changes could be seen as progressive or retrogressive in nature. As regards the source of social change, there are two contrasting perspectives. The evolutionary view holds that social changes pass through a series of self-generating (internal sources) stages. But the diffusionists hold that it occurs due to borrowing of traits across (external sources) societies. Generally, the borrowed traits are modified and adapted to suit the society concerned. So, there could be both internal and external sources of changes occurring in societies.

There are two major theories explaining social changes. The theory of 'economic determinism' is associated with Karl Marx and F. Engels who hold the primacy of economic factor in determining the nature of social, political and intellectual life generally. They consider economic structure of society as the base and all other spheres of life as superstructure, and affirm that a change occurring in the base determines, in the ultimate analysis, the shape of the superstructure of society.

But the 'functionalist-structural' theory of social change denies any deterministic role of the economic structure of society. It gives equal weight to all spheres of life. It views society as a social system consisting of different parts. Changes occurring in one part lead to changes in other parts of the social system. The social system always intends to achieve equilibrium. It reflects a kind of moving equilibrium. This equilibrium approach does not make much difference between variables. The variables are treated as mutually dependent, and change in one variable inevitably leads to changes in other variables which lead to a state of social equilibrium. The process of change goes on and gives a picture of society in a state of moving equilibrium. The social system is viewed as self-restoring in nature, which resists deflection or ruptures in society (Davis 1981).

3.4 DEVELOPMENT

The concept of development is multi-dimensional in nature. It is viewed in both restricted and comprehensive ways. In a restricted sense, it may refer only to economic changes. Changes in the economy could be both wider and narrow in nature. Wider

changes would refer to qualitative and structural changes in the state of an economy. Further, the concept of growth is very commonly viewed as synonymous with development. However, growth is generally treated in a limited way i.e. quantitative and tangible increase in the GNP, or per capita income. In a broad sense, development implies a relatively stable increase in real national income that is accompanied by a change in the attitudes of the people, their motivation, institutional set up, production techniques, etc. Thus, development has both economic and non-economic dimensions, and these two are interlinked.

Economic development influences non-economic spheres in the life of people. Similarly, non-economic factors promote or hinder economic development. Non-economic factors refer to human capital which includes the social, political, cultural and educational background of the people who participate in the process of development. Education plays an important role in the formation of human capital and thus contributes to economic development in particular, and overall societal development in general.

The concept of development is associated with other concepts such as growth and modernization. Its historical roots lie in the period of major changes connected with the industrial revolution when industrial and social change in Europe became synonymous with social progress.

After the end of the Second World War the dominant view of development was that of modernization of the ex-colonial countries. This view of development looked at the world as composed of two sets of societies – the traditional societies (i.e. ex-colonial countries) and the modern societies (the developed countries of Europe and North America). Here, the process of development meant transformation of the traditional societies into modern societies through adopting institutions, ideas and practices of the latter such as modern science and technology, democratic political institution, capital and expertise etc. In this process, the traditional social structures are transformed into those of a modern type along the lines of what happened earlier in Europe. This involved a one-way process of import of ideas, technology, capital, skills and such resources from the developed countries to the backward ones. But this view has been severely criticized by the underdevelopment theorists who hold that there exists only one system i.e. the capitalist world system in which the developing countries/societies have been underdeveloped through colonial/neo-colonial exploitations and thus facilitated the development of the modern countries of Europe and North America. Another view holds that what is underway is the process of 'dependent development' of a section of the people in the developing countries as a result of their close linkages with the developed ones. Thus the concept of development has different connotations depending on the perspective adopted look at the process of changes occurring in different sets of societies/countries.

3.5 PERSPECTIVES ON EDUCATION

Relationship between education and society has been viewed from different angles. There are three major sociological perspectives in connection, namely, (1) the Functionalist perspective, (2) the Marxist perspective, and (3) the Interpretive perspective. The first two perspectives are macro in focus. They concentrate on analyzing the relation between education and society. But the third perspective is micro in nature. It emphasizes the study of micro social processes in the classroom and school.

Functionalist thinkers are concerned with the function of education for society as a whole. They assess the contribution made by education to the maintenance of value consensus and social solidarity. Further, they deal with the functional relationships

between education and the other parts of the social system. This, for example, leads to an examination of the relationship between education and the economic system, the political system and culture, etc., and a consideration of how this relationship helps to integrate the society as a whole. In general, functional analysis focuses on the positive contributions made by education to the maintenance of the social system. It is assumed that education is functional for the society as a whole. Here, four major functions of education could be seen in relation to society, i.e., socialization, role allocation, social mobility and social change.

The Marxian perspective provides a radical alternative to functionalist views of the role of education in society. Marxists have approached the matter in two ways. Either they see education as assisting in the process of the 'reproduction' or maintenance of capitalist 'relations of production'; or they view education as a 'site of resistance' to the demands of the capitalist system. Education, according to direct reproduction theories, helps to reproduce or maintain the capitalist economic system. Some of these theories involve an economic determinist conception of society. Other theories are more voluntarist in nature, emphasizing that the ruling class moulds education to suit its own purpose. Finally, certain theories whilst paying lip service to the idea of the 'relative autonomy' of education nevertheless see education as nothing more than an element of the 'state apparatus', the crucial function of which is to perpetuate capitalist relations of production.

Orthodox Marxists believe that the economic base determines the superstructure in the sense that, for example, a society's educational system, or its form of government, or the type of family prevalent at any particular time is a direct consequence of the nature of its economic system. Furthermore, as economic base changes, so do other social, political, educational and cultural institutions.

Check Your Progress 1

Notes: a) Write your answer in the space given below.

b) Compare your answer with those given at the end of unit.

- 1) There could be both internal and external sources of changes occurring in societies. True or False

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- 2) Mention the three major sociological perspectives in education.

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In view of the post-independence aspirations for modernization, change and development it is but natural that several sociologists focus upon the issue of education as an instrument for modernization, change and development. Together the several conceptual analyses and empirical studies on this theme provide a valuable elucidation of the functions of education as an instrument of development, the conditions under which this instrument is effective as the conditions in which its functioning is constrained. They also provide valuable data and insights on how, where and why education in the country has failed as an instrument of change. The writings on the subject reveal a shift in the outlook on education across the years. In the beginning the writings generally exuded faith in education as an instrument of development and focus on spelling out the manner in which it is expected to function as such. In contrast, later writings displayed a measure of skepticism about the effectiveness of education and generally inclined towards indicating where and why it fails.

We find broadly two paradigms on the issue of education and society in India. They are the functional paradigm and the conflict paradigm. In the functional paradigm education is considered as the main instrument of social change and transformation. It is evident in the writings of educationists, planners, policy-makers and most of the sociologists. For example, the opening paragraph in the chapter on education in our Third Five Year Plan (1961) states:

Education is the most important single factor in achieving rapid economic development and technological progress and in creating a social order founded on the values of freedom, social justice and equal opportunity. Programmes of education lie at the base of the effort to forge the bonds of common citizenship, to harness the energies of the people, and to develop the natural and human resources of every part of the country.

Further, the report of Kothari Commission (1964) held:

The destiny of India is now being shaped in her classrooms. This, we believe, is no mere rhetoric. In a world based on science and technology, it is education that determines the level of prosperity, welfare and security of the people. On the quality and number of persons coming out of our schools and colleges will depend our success in the great enterprise of natural reconstruction.

The report adds, 'In fact, what is needed is a revolution in education which in turn will set in motion the much desired social, economic and cultural revolution'.

In the conflict paradigm, education is not considered as a prime mover of social change or as the main weapon, or even one of the important instruments of achieving fundamental social changes. Here, it is asserted that change in or through the educational system is not possible without prior changes in the social structure. The changes in economic structures, in the political power structure, or the legal structure are the mainsprings of change in the social hierarchy and the relationships between different sections in it. All these factors including education are inter-related and interact, and it is difficult to separate out the effects and say that a particular aspect of the change is attributable to education. Hence education seldom rises above the socio-economic and socio-political situation in which it is embedded.

It has been argued that although formal education plays a vital role in 'ideational change' through transformation of the knowledge, attitudes and values of the people, its effectiveness in bringing about structural change in society is extremely limited. The vicious circle in which education is caught in India today may be broken if the linkages between the existing practices, procedures and vested interests in the status quo are meaningfully exposed by social scientists through their research.

3.6.1 Education and Social Change

Education is regarded as the key for restructuring the economies of the developing countries. It helps in overcoming the techno-economic problems and also plays an important role in resolving the socio-demographic problems.

Education facilitates the development of human resources, cultural expression, and improved health and thus provides an essential base for social and economic development. It is considered as an empowering phenomenon which enables the people to combat social justice and exploitation and thus creates the required synergy for a structural socio-political transformation. According to UNESCO, education leads to social revolution.

Education is regarded as an important instrument of social change. The role of education could be viewed from two related but slightly different perspectives, which may be called teleological and empirical perspectives. In the teleological perspective, the role of education is to assist the society to achieve the goals it has set for itself. These include:

- i) Goals in the fields of technological, scientific, and other areas of economic development of the country,
- ii) Social goals like reduction of various forms of social inequality; and
- iii) The goal of moulding the character of citizens as responsible and socially and politically conscientious members of democratic society.

There are roles of education attributed by educationalists, the government, or other agencies but the empirical perspective focuses on examining exactly what role education plays in development at the empirical level. This would involve a delineation of facts as operative at the ground level, and also an explanation of those facts in terms of why and how.

Education was regarded as an important means for reducing social inequalities in India. The Constitution of India made special provisions for promoting the educational interests of the weaker sections of society. Educational support was provided to SC / ST through the programmes of scholarships and fellowships, and making reservations of seats for them in various educational institutions. It was presumed that education would contribute to their overall development. Education could facilitate their economic development as it enables them to get better paid jobs and achieve social mobility. Education also has an emancipators' role. It promotes social awareness and sharpening of self-respect and dignity. However, it is noted that education performs only a restricted role in the upward mobility of the weaker sections, and at the same time enables the elites to maintain positions of power and authority.

The Indian Constitution provides equality of educational opportunity to all citizens. The liberal democratic system permits competition and holds this as a legitimate strategy for the betterment of one's status in society. Competitiveness is an important feature of the Indian education system. There is a dialectical relationship between education and social mobility in general and mobility to elite positions in particular. But it is only to a limited extent that education has facilitated social mobility.

The dialectical relationship is manifested in the processes of 'early selection' and 'mass examination' in India. The process of early selection is involved in the enrolment of children when they are very young in different types of educational institutions. Children from the elite background are 'selected' early in life and placed in good quality, high fee, English medium 'public schools' where they are prepared – in

terms of skills, behaviour and values – specifically for elite status in their later life. Children of the middle class study in medium quality quasi – public schools run by private institutions, and in Central and Sainik Schools of the Government, and later generally work at middle level occupational strata. Children of the lower class people get the opportunity to study in the ill-equipped low quality regional medium government-run schools and are prepared to join the lower occupational strata in the society. Similarly, the higher education institutions, both general and professional, are of high, medium and low quality. Students of the elite public schools generally enter the selected few elite colleges. Those from the medium and lower quality schools generally get admission to the medium and lower quality colleges and institutions.

However, the educational inequalities created by the process of early selection is counter balanced to some extent by the system of mass examination held at state or national level, in which different types of schools are obliged to take part. The system of mass examination has a symbolic significance of giving all individuals an equal chance based on competition and thus giving democratic legitimacy to the education system. Performance at the examinations plays an important role in linking education with competition for achievement of status and power in life. A very small number of students from the medium and lower quality schools are able to enter into better quality higher education institutions, get better education and achieve better / elite positions in life. The scope available for limited upward social mobility builds and retains the confidence in the system and keep the aspirations of the masses alive in the education system in particular, and the society in general. The governmental provision of reservations in admission to educational institutions for the backward sections of society further reinforces their confidence in the system. Realizing the significance of education in social mobility, the people belonging to the dominant middle castes have set up schools and colleges and increased the opportunities for their education and subsequent benefits in life. It is observed that whereas the strategy of early selection practised by the private education system continues to offer safe routes towards status professions to the children of the elite, mass examination offers to the rest of society the assurance that status can also be achieved through competition. So, while early selection is a 'reproductionist' force in Indian education, mass examination is a symbol of the possibility of change.

Various studies have shown that the major beneficiaries of higher education come from the upper social strata and an urban background. Education had earlier facilitated the extension of dominant peasant caste hegemony particularly at the state level. But with the passage of time, those belonging to the lower castes, like SC/STs also made considerable progress in higher education and so has achieved the attendant socio-economic benefits through limited mobility.

3.7 EDUCATION, ECONOMIC GROWTH AND DEVELOPMENT

There exists a highly contrasting set of views on the relation between education and development, particularly on economic development. Education plays a positive role in development; however there are other studies which state that education has no effect on economic performance, for instance, in the agricultural development. Education has also been noted to be having a negative effect on development, particularly in case of rural development i.e. although it is reasonable to assume that formal schooling plays some role in rural and agricultural development, it is quite apparent that schooling alone is not likely to effect any major rural transformation. Whatever the role that education plays, it is not likely to be a powerful agency of change. Education is but one element that contributes to rural development and at certain stages is conceivably far from being the most important.

Education, especially higher education contributes to the process of social and technological changes through research and development. It facilitates the creation of new ideas, tools, techniques and products as reflected in quantum jumps in technological innovations which promote the process of development. Here, development stands between research and diffusion. It promotes change and transformation of techniques tools and products. However, it may or may not bring in its wake a transformation of the basic value system of a society.

Knowledge is the most powerful engine of production and the most valuable of all capital that is invested in human beings. In earlier times, education was considered an item of consumption. But the view of planners has changed, and education is regarded as investment for achieving rapid development. Most human capital economists hold that education has both consumption and investment value. Education has implications for the existing inequality of income and wealth.

Humans are both producers and consumers of goods and services. At individual/family level they invest in education and training to increase their productivity and income and thereby their consumption. The society as well invests in education with a view to promoting growth and productivity. The government subsidizes education for national development. So there are costs and benefits of education at both private and social levels.

Relation between education and development is analyzed in terms of the rate of return from different levels of education. This has two aspects – rate of return to individuals i.e. private benefits, and rate of return to society i.e. social benefits from education. Previously economists focused on the private benefits in terms of individual income across different levels of education. Later, the social benefits accruing from education was well recognized. In accounting for the benefits from education, it is not sufficient to look only at the higher earnings associated with more education.

Generally education seems to have a positive rate of return and at some levels, they are favourable. However, if the high rate of unemployment is the sole consideration, education may not be said to give a positive return and has even been said to be an economic waste.

An important finding in the studies on rates of return is that elementary education generally yields the highest returns. As one moves up the educational ladder, there is reflected progressively lower rate of return. This could be true of the poor developing countries. However, in case of the developed countries the optimum level of return is not achieved by elementary education

Besides monetary returns, education has other developmental impact such as

It leads to reduction in fertility rate and population.

It raises socio-political awareness of the people and, thus, a better citizenry and promotes democracy.

Education facilitates the fuller and better utilization of all the productive resources. Research and development raise the productive capacity of the resources. With increasing level of education of the people, the structure of economy undergoes a change. The dominant sector of the economy shifts from agriculture to industry and then to service sector in terms of contribution to the economy and employment.

There are serious limitations on education to promote social mobility of the weaker sections of society. The prevailing socio-political structures limit educational potential in that the upper strata reaps the major benefits of the gigantic expansion of educational facilities, thereby sharpening the differentiation in rural society rather than reducing it. There is a close correlation between the agrarian class structure and educational

achievement. In India, the political developments since Independence have contributed largely towards determining the course of educational growth. There developed a differential system of education to satisfy the needs and aspirations of different strata of society. Nobody cared about the people at the bottom of the social hierarchy who are considered to be the rejects of society.

3.8 THE MISMATCH PROBLEM

There is noticed certain level of mismatch between education and development, particularly rural development in India. It is opined that the education system is out of pace with the rhythm of life in India. The primary schools are completely focused on preparing students to enter into the secondary system of education. The secondary system has no concern with life around it and is fully meant to prepare students to feed into the tertiary system whose goals seem to rest outside the India's requirements. The products, particularly of the elite institutions prefer to leave the country and work in the affluent foreign countries only for their individual benefits. A large number of educated youth remain unemployable in the country. The poor people do not find education useful and attractive as it does not ensure job, besides other factors.

Non-formal education, including adult education is seen to have large potential to promote development and social change in a country like India. The classroom-centered education and training is largely geared to producing urban based elites. It has created a serious problem of educated unemployment and also high dropouts and illiteracy among the backward sections of society. The expert/centered, literacy/skill focused non-formal education, including adult education has not been able to adequately cater to the needs of the people.

The stream of non-formal education, including adult education, was introduced long back in the country focused mainly on the programmes of literacy and sometimes a little vocational training. This did not prove to be much useful to the people and their development. This was due to the fact that the problems of the poor are manifold and the kind of non-formal education that is given to them, does not adequately respond to their needs. It is observed that the major challenges for them are to negotiate and confront with the vested interests which oppress them. The first step in learning for them would involve learning to fight the vested interests and the petty bureaucracy.

Besides literacy, education has to meet the need for skill development and employment generation (not creating unemployment). It could develop their personal and collective critical thinking, problem diagnosis and solution through organizing themselves in different ways. The programme would break their isolation and marginalization, and motivate, organize and empower them to fully participate in social and public / political activities in life. Here, the outside support would only facilitate the process and the deprived people would themselves actively participate in their overall development in a sustainable way.

3.9 GLOBALIZATION AND EDUCATION

'Globalization' is a favourite catchphrase for business theory and practice, and has entered academic debates and become a focus for discussion in education. But what people mean by 'globalization' is often confused and confusing. It has been defined as the process of removing government-imposed restrictions on movements between countries in order to create an "open", "borderless" world economy. Those who have argued with some success for the abolition of regulatory trade barriers and capital controls have sometimes clothed this in the mantle of 'globalization'.

The context in which educators operate has been conditioned by people's experience with both formal and informal education. Schools and colleges have, for example, become sites for branding and the targets of corporate expansion. Many policymakers automatically look to market 'solutions'. The impact and pervasiveness of these forces of globalization also means that they should be a fundamental focus for education and learning; but there are powerful currents running against honest work in this area. The impact of globalization on education includes:

- Commodification and the corporate takeover of education.
- The threat to the autonomy of national educational systems by globalization.
- De-localization and changing technologies and orientations in education.
- Branding, globalization and learning to be consumers.

The government support to education sector is being substantially reduced. Private educational institutions which operate on commercial principles are rapidly increasing. They could provide the choice of better quality education. In this kind of scenario, middle class is able to take the maximum benefits. They are able to use their existing stock of economic, social and cultural resources to acquire quality education in a deregulated market situation. Market systematically offers privileges to better off families because they have more knowledge and material resources. But the lower classes are adversely affected as they know less about the market in education and do not have adequate material resources to acquire quality education which they cannot afford. At the same time the quality of education in the government supported institutions, declines due to retreat of the state. Those studying in these institutions, mostly the poorer sections, get negatively affected.

The process of globalization would mainly affect the parts of education system that could be exposed to it. Moreover, changes in education are generally slow to occur. Hence, it could be stated that 'strong mismatches and discrepancies will prevail between the expected impact of globalization on education and the actual changes occurring in education as a result of globalization'. It may be noted that globalization is not a radical revolution that is going to completely transform education: its impact will be more an emphasis of certain trends.

The increasing dominance of market in the contemporary society imposes constraints on the state for ensuring the industrial development and competitiveness of the economy, and favouring multinational expansion of national companies. Hence, the increasing race for excellence in the economy does/ will put pressure on the educational institutions to compete with one another in more intense manner. Moreover, increasing economics and reduction in public spending on education would lead to increased segmentation between different types of educational institutions, a decrease in access to good quality education for the poorer sections, and a general decline in the quality of education.

Check Your Progress 2

Notes: a) Write your answer in the space given below.

b) Compare your answer with those given at the end of unit.

3) Briefly identify the relationship between education, economic growth and development.

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- 4) Mention any three impact of globalization on education.

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3.10 LET'S SUM UP

Social change refers to changes in the social organisation of society. It covers the alterations that occur in the social structure and functions. It encompasses changes in different spheres of social life. The scope of social change varies. It includes *changes of* the structure of society and *changes within* the structure of society. There are two major perspectives on social change – the evolutionist and the diffusionist perspectives. Two major theories of social changes are the functionalist theory and the theory of economic determinism.

The concept of development is multidimensional in nature. The concept and theories of development also deal with social change, but they are specific to the kind of changes proposed and occurring in the developing countries after their independence from the colonial rule.

The relationship between education and society has been viewed from three different perspectives, i.e. functionalist perspective, the Marxist perspective, and the interpretive perspective.

3.11 ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

- 1) True
- 2)
 - i) Functionalist perspective,
 - ii) The Marxist perspective, and
 - iii) The Interpretive perspective
- 3) Education generally leads to higher monetary returns
It leads to reduction in fertility rate and population.
It raises socio-political awareness of the people and thus a better citizenry and promotes democracy.
Education facilitates the fuller and better utilization of all the productive resources.
- 4) Commodification and the corporate takeover of education.
The threat to the autonomy of national educational systems by globalization.
De-localization and changing technologies and orientations in education.
Branding, globalization and learning to be consumers.

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