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Lecture - 2 Sociological Approaches

Well in the previous lecture, I tried to explain what is sociology? And I mainly used to books Alex Inkeles and Gisbert. Though, other introductory book would also we talking about the same thing, but in different manner.

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Now in this lecture, I will try to explain how sociologists work in actual application of their ideas to research problems. Before this I forgot to mention, when I was talking that according to Alex Inkeles one approaches, what did the founding fathers do? I have explained what did the founding fathers do? Then what do sociologists do today. Sociologists study human behavior, society, social structure, processes, phenomena like family, religion, economic institutions, crime in deviance. And the third question what does the region suggest; Alex Inkele would say that sociologists will make a sort of encyclopedic or holistic study of human behavior. All other disciplines, like anthropology or political science or economics, make study of one specific aspect or behavior. Like economist will study rational behavior, production and distribution of wealth, equity,

equality or inequality, political scientist will study governance, forms of the state, forms of governance.

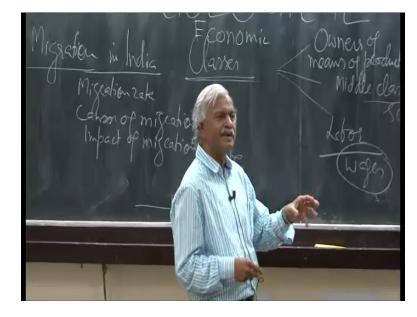
Anthropologist will study tribes, believes, religions, social organization of a small preliterate tribal society, mostly. Though, anthropologists have also studied urban industrial organization, but mostly small organization. Psychologists will make a study of human personality or the relationship between social context, and personality formation. Sociologists will study everything, so relationship between economy and society. The relationship between personality and social movements, the relationship between religion and forms of governance, and sociologists make encyclopedic study, interdisciplinary.

Sociologists also make study of residual phenomena, means important issues of human society, which are not studied by anyone else or studied by sociologists. So, if there is something, if there is a new research question, and you want to decide to whom you would like to give this research; nobody has studied something, there is some new problem nobody have studied, so terrorism; terrorism is a new problem, nobody has studied terrorism, imagine, it has been studied.

But suppose terrorism is a new issue, and it has not been studied by anyone, and you are as a donor going to decide, to whom should such a study be given, to economists, or anthropologists, or to political scientists, or to whom. Then your first choice would be sociologists, because you may think, that sociologists combine, concepts, constructs ideas, from all the disciplines. Sociologists will make a holistic study, and they will explain the phenomenon of terrorism, by considering religion, political systems, economic conditions, education everything, so let us give the study to sociologists. Nobody other than sociologist, studies complete society, so this is one domain.

Complete society is studied by sociologists only. Interdisciplinary studies, or relationships between variety of social phenomena, is studied by sociologists, and something which nobody studies, but is important aspect of human behavior; that is also studied by sociologists so. Now method, I think now you have after listening to the, for one hour, you have already come to that stage, when you can identify, in whose framework, or by using what approach, I am studying something, as studied by different

sociologists. I want to take up some concrete phenomena. Suppose I take the issue of migration, I could take up any other issue.



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Suppose I take the issue of migration. Migration means movement of people, from one place to another; that is migration. Now one way of studying migration would be, to identify different classes in society, migration in India, suppose I say migration in India, and I begin with, that with respect to production or distribution, needs economic phenomena, what are the constituent classes of India, classes means mainly economic classes. And I broadly divide classes of India into these kinds of categories; manufacturers, owners of industry, owners of means of production, owners of means of production you may call them capitalist or Burjuva. Then middle classes; middle class is very large and expanding class, this includes managers, senior managers, engineers, medical doctors, professors, also clerks, insurance agent, all those. If I make a definition like this, that all those who are working on, or who found a place in economy, on the basis of their credentials; education, they constitute the middle class. Middle class people are earning, from the credentials.

These people owners of means of production, they are earning from their capital. They have capital, they have invested their capital in industry, they have opened a new industry in somewhere in India, some part of India, and earning from the profit. Capitalists are

earning from profit. These people middle classes are earning, from wages, honorarium, fellowships. In some cases, shares, but the source for them is, their credentials, degrees and diplomas, credentials, degrees diplomas, B Tech, M Tech, P hd, MBA, M Tech, MBBS, MD, MA's, MSc's credentials degrees diploma. And there is a third class of laborers, and I study migration according to these classes, what do I study in migration; migration rate, causes of migration, impact of migration on their life. This can be one kind of study, and my issue is, that if a society is divided into three classes like this, that there are some who earn from profit, and there are others, who earn from wages. These people earn from wages, in between, there may be a small or big.

In our case, a large expanding class of people, whom you can put in the category of middle class, who are earning form their degrees and diplomas, who are not capitalist, because they are not earning from capital, they are not earning from profits, they are not laborers, because they are not earning from their labor power, they are earning form the brain power, they are working as manager. Actually in industry, major decisions today are taken by these people, not by these people. These people are interested only in the profit part, you give them profit, but day-to-day decisions regarding buying, selling, management, administration, up gradation of technology, networks, ventures in other countries, change in production. All major decisions are taken by these people, day-to-day decisions are always taken by them. And we want to study what is migration, what is migration for them.

When society is seen to be divided into these classes, then I am following a particular approach, out of 5 founding fathers, I wrote on the board, in the first lecture, Auguste Comte Emile Durkheim Herbert Spencer Max Weber and Karl Marx, I am following one approach, and in this case, the approach is reflected, or approach is decided, mainly by the fact, that I divide society, according to economic classes. I see social phenomena, including migration, age manifesting in different forms, in different economic classes of India. I do not believe that, you can ever think of, a human being, abstracted from social economic conditions, a human being exists in a definite milieu, and that milieu decided largely by economic conditions. Characteristics of features of society, characteristics and features of individuals, are largely decided by economic conditions. And second that in

economic interest of people belonging to different classes, there is a contradiction and clash of interest. Owners of means of production are interested in profit, laborers are interested in wages, there is a always a contradiction in interest of them. And then I apply this idea of division of society into hostile, contradictory, divided to dualistic kind of class formation in society.

To study all other social phenomena, I am following one particular approach. In this approach, I also assume that all other institutions of society family, marriage, religion, expressive art philosophy, morality, religion, all things are determined by economic relationships. I also assume, that the society is divided according to power, and the people who are owners of means of production are powerful people, and those who do not have access to means of production, those who survive on their labor, they are the powerless people. I also assume, that morality or legal or political or religious, ideas of the time, are those, we serve the interest of the capitalist class, Burjuvazi, and which keep the people belonging to labor class in dark, religion, superstition, magic, palmistry, sex, denominations of religions, ideologies, ideology of democracy adult franchise. All ideas, ideas of nuclear family, joint family, all tourism, social service, welfare state. State taking care of needs of most classes, most people welfare state. All ideas are determined, by condition of these people, or interest of these people. And then I say, what rolled as migration play, in the development of society on the one hand, and in promotion of the interest, of the Burjuvazi, I am following one approach, is it clear.

I am studying migration, but am in studying migration, first by dividing the entire society, into two hostile classes; a class of Burjuvazi, who own means of production, and another class of laborers, who survive on wages, who are powerless, dependent, alienated, dissatisfied, dissatisfied with working condition, who suffer, whose life in miserable, they are just surviving, and then relate everything else, facts and ideas, to this basic division of society. In between you can think of some middle classes, you may assume that middle classes of passing phenomenal, and eventually the whole society will get divided. As the capitalist accumulation takes place, as society advances further, it will get divided into two classes only, Burjuvazi and proletariats, Burjuvazi and workers, and facts and ideas of the time, can be related to this basic class division, I am following one approach. Another approach can be, that suppose I come from mathematics background,

and I have become a sociologist. People found different backgrounds have come, and they are become sociologists, and come from mathematics, statistics background, and I become sociologies and I study migration.

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So first approach, studying migration, in the frame work of CLASS; this is the most important concept in this approach CLASS, studying migration in the frame work of CLASS, and there are basically two classes, powerful people, powerless people. Why are powerful people powerful, because they own means of production. Why are powerless people powerless, because they have no access to means of production, and they survive on wages, they are poor people they survive on wages. They have only manual labor with them, they can one, they have to work for their survival, they own nothing accept their labor power, and you study migration or other phenomena in the frame work of class. Second approach, you say that there is relationship, between migration and industrialization. Here you are not referring to classes, you are referring to a process, by which proportion of those engaged in industrial activities, is increasing; industrialization. Associated factors can be, rise in per capital income, rise in energy use, per capital energy consumption per capita.

Urbanization; more and more proportion of population living in urban areas, education, contribution of non-agricultural sector, to production, and changes of value,

westernization, modernization, but essentially, it is a process of industrialization, growing share of manufacturing sector in the economy. Is there a relationship between migration and industrialization, does industrialization promote migration, stop migration, what is the connection. If industrialization promotes migration, what kind of migration, and why, why does it promote migration. Experience may show, that before industrialization, migration was not completely absent, in tribal society also migration took place, but that was a collective phenomena.

In industrial society migration is individual, individuals migrate, later on they may also take their family members, wives and children with them, but essentially it is an individual phenomena, and if migrate if after migration, their wives and children join them, it is only their wives and children, the whole joint family, or the whole caste, or community does not go with them. An individual migrates from a village to Bombay, in search of employment, he may remain alone, there are migrants of this type, who have remained alone for a near 5 years ten years full life, they maintain connection with their native family, native village, come to their village two times three times a year, send remittances, but they live alone in Bombay. Or some of them, when they live comfortably they can carry their wives and children with them, but even these people never carry the whole sub-caste, or caste, or the whole village community with them, it is an individual phenomena, so the nature of migration has changed. In pre-industrial society the whole tribe migrates, in industrial society individuals migrate, and why do individuals migrate, because of employment opportunities in industry, existing only for individual male workers, initially most opportunities exist for individual male workers, so there is one type of migration, this is another approach.

A third approach, I try to develop a connection, between. First I divide the history of society into certain stages; say primitive, stage of development, stage of development primitive, transitional on some basis, modern, post modern and migration. What happens to migration, as society develops, through these stages, starting with primitive, transitional, modern, and now post modern, what has happened to migration, this can be another type of question. In the fourth approach, I say I am not interested in ideas, or substantive issues, I want to build a model, I want to build a model of migration.

Let me try, whether some mathematical equation walks, in the field of migration, and I develop a model, a very simple model, m i j; migration between a place i and a place j, total number of people migrating between i and j; say Mumbai and Kanpur, in a given year, I take the sum of number of people who have migrated from Kanpur to Mumbai, and those who are migrated from Mumbai to Kanpur; m i j gross migration, volume of migration, total number of people who have migrated between Kanpur and Bombay. And I say that, this is directly proportional to population of i. Common sense suggests that a smaller number of people will migrate from small places, and more people will migrate from bigger places. So lesser number of people will migrate, from, say within a district from Kanpur, less number of people will migrate, from say Kalyanpur to Mumbai, as compared to, the whole of Kanpur city, to the same place Mumbai. Size more people will migrate to Mumbai from U P, as compared to, more people from Jharkhand, simply because the size of population of U P is more, so more migrants from bigger places.

Also more migrants towards bigger places, more migrants from bigger places, more migrants towards bigger places, and migration is indirectly proportional to distance separating the two places. If I have a choice, if for employment, religions, I want to migrate from Kanpur to some place, and suppose I expect the same salary in Chicago, as in Gwalior, what does logic suggest. I will move to Gwalior, I will not go to Chicago, why should I go to Chicago, when I am drawing the same salary in Gwalior. So migrants, number of migrants, or the gross, or the volume of migration, is indirectly proportional to, distance separating the two places. So that means m i j, volume of migration between two places, is a constant of proportionality k p i p j divided by d i j; distance separating the two places d i j. Although you will laugh at these kind of connection, but I tell you in 40s. In one of the best journals of that time, best journals of sociology from America, a model like this was suggested, by a well known mathematical kind of sociologist Zipf Zipf Zipf, and it was called gravity model of migration, because it looks similar to your gravitational formula.

Gravity model of migration, this is also an approach, and surprisingly when Zipf collected data on migration, on population, distances between cities, and migration between cities for different modes of transportation. What are modes of transportation, by road, by air, by train, by air, by car, by buses, by ship. When data were collected from

different modes of transportation, it was found that in those days, this model fitted the data on migration population and distances quite well. This is one approach. How does population grow.

There are so many theories, but it was found that if you use a logistic model, use your logistic growth model, logistic model of growth form mathematic, we say that initially population will grow at this very small place, as population grows, the rate of growth of population also increases. Then at sometime the rate of growth is maximum, after which rate of growth is start declining, but population continues to increase, and comes a point, when the size of population saturates, logistic model of migration, and again surprisingly up to 1970s, it was found by some mathematicians, that populations of most countries, historical records of population for most countries showed, that it is possible to fit, the mathematical logistic model of growth to data on size of population. This is also an approach. You can also.

In the fifth approach, you say that I am not happy with all these approaches, I basically want to talk to migrants, and I want to know actually, why did they migrate, in what circumstances, they took the decision of migrating, in the same circumstances, in the village some people migrate some do not. No matter what conditions are poverty, deprivation, shortage of rainfall, excessive rainfall, literacy illiteracy, equality inequality, violence nonviolence. Why do some people only migrate not others, what are the what is the difference between those who migrate and those who not migrate, what are actually the meaning the subjective ideas, the subjective notions, their dreams, aspirations, their understanding of migration, that only will help me in deciding, what are the causes of migration, this can be another approach to study migration.

Now you see these approaches are reflective of, what the founding fathers of sociology thought. Karl Marx was one, Karl Marx some people do not think that Karl Marx is a sociologist, but the very fact that according to some people the whole sociologist either, the defense of Marxist theory, or a critic of Marxist theory, some people think, either sociologist are subscribing to Marxist ideology Marxist theory of society, or they are providing a critic, Max Weber provided a critic of Marxist theory.

You can never ignore the contributions of Karl Marx. Karl Marx, this approach of dividing society, into two groups, two classes, he calls classes on the basis of, access to means of production, is the Marxist approach. And the kind of questions Marxist will ask, suppose Marxists are studying family, so for Marxism, some most interesting questions in studying family would be, how do the family values, or how do the ideas, injected by the institution of marriage and family in our society, in young children's mind, serve the interest of the capitalist class, how do they maintain the values of capitalist society. Like family mission, one of they one of several ideas that children learn, during the process of socialization, from their parents, learn the idea of submission, submitting to authorities, submissing submitting to elderly people, in family contract submitting to elderly people, suppressing their own ideas, suppressing their own feelings their own thinking, and in so called respect, following the instructions of the elderly people, or those who are in power, submission to authorities, submission to power. Marxist will say that a contribution that family makes in capitalist society is to teach the value of submission to children.

In the process of socialization, our children start submitting to authority, this is what capitalist society wants. Capitalist society wants, that our laborers, our middle classes should be such that they submit to those ideas, ideologies, political moral legal views, which serve the interest of the dominant class, this is what Marxism wants. So Marxist theories, would be interested in this, how does the existence of family, serve the interest of the capitalist class requires labor power. Imagine, if the capitalist themselves, have to produce and rear the workers, how much money they will have to spend on production, and raising of rearing of workers, and inculcating ideas of submission etcetera, in young workers mind, enormous, capitalism will not survive. So family as an institution of society, in capitalist class. In capitalist society family, does it freely for the existence of the capitalist class. In capitalism, workers are often unhappy, they nobody like their work. If you conduct a survey of workers in India, middle classes or lower classes, you will find that majority of people are unhappy with work.

Not only students are unhappy with the studies, you are unhappy with the studies, we do not see the meaning, why are we taught sociology, why are we taught law of thermodynamics, why are we taught so much of chemical engineering, or this language that language, why should. We do not see the meaning, we are doing it, because we have loaned, or we have internalize the value of submitting to authority, or we think that money is the most important reward in life, and after passing through this torture of four years of B Tech program at IIT Kanpur, we can get a decent job, which will face a lot of money. I can look for perk up to 70 lakh per year, if I successfully qualify in this b tech program, there is no other fun, there is no fun is a education, there is no fun in study, but at the end of this tunnel I will find some light, if 70 lakh, a package of 70 lakh. Similarly workers are unhappy, family, by creating of love happy life this or that, keep these workers happy, so they keep on working for the capitalism, Marxist, this is Marxist approach, this modeling type of, this is Projectivist approach, naturalist Projectivist approach.

If Emile Durkheim was alive today, and if Emile Durkheim was to study migration, he would do the same thing which zipf did in a study migration, by using this kind of gravity model. Meaning of migration Max Weber analytical approach, subjective meanings, study the meanings. In one phenomena logical or Weberian study of migration I found, that the author, equated migration from one place to another, to a kind of religious conversion, that as people convert from one religion to another, from Christianity to Islam, or Islam to Christianity, or Hinduism to Islam, or Christianity Hinduism. At the subjective level, somewhere in the mind, migration does same kind of theory. Max Weber, Weberian approach; this relationship between migration and industrialization, relating one fact of society to another fact, migration may be high or low, industrialization may be high or low, studying relationship between two social facts, this is what Emile Durkheim's approach suggests, this is also what Kant suggest, this is the study of social statics, social statics. So in social statics we relate one pattern to another pattern, and this is, the Projectivist naturalist approach of Kant and Emile Durkheim, one fact to another.

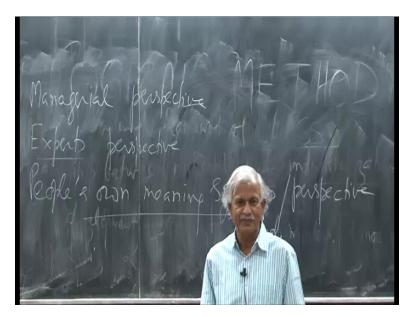
In this, when we relate migration to development of society, this is again naturalistic approach, in which we are trying to link, one aspect of society migration, to stages of development, is this not the same thing which Kant suggested, by giving the concept of social dynamic, so statics dynamics, this is statics, this is dynamics, one aspect to another aspect. Whether society has high migration or low migration, high industrialization or

low industrialization, this may be studied cross sectionally, or longitudinally with time or by comparing different societies, one fact with another social statics, social dynamics, one, or this is also in conformity, with the approach of Herbert expansion, Herbert evolution, society evolves. One can even say that this is in the, framework of Herbert expansion. Industrialization, all societies will industrialize.

And if all societies will eventually industrialize, what will happen to migration, this is also to fall. There is so much similarity; that is why Gisbert combines all them, into one category; they are projectivist, or naturalist. Approaches by Kant, by Emile Durkheim, by Herbert Spencer, or projectivist, and naturalist, they study human behavior in the same way, in which scientist study natural experiment, and this is analytical or subjective. This kind of discussion, can confuse our beginners, our new students of sociology that, if this is, so if sociologist do not have one single tradition, if sociologist do not have one particular approach, if sociologist cannot agree on something.

Then if I want to become a sociologistm what kind of sociologist I would be. It is a completely anarchic discipline, can anybody become sociologist. There are positive and negative sides of all arguments. Yes sociology gives you complete freedom, and yes there is more anarchy in sociology as compared to other disciplines. If you want to take this anarchy, or existence of multiple methods, or multiple approaches, as a negative aspect of a discipline; yes this negativity is very much present in sociology. Those who like mathematical kind of sociology, will not treat weberian kind of sociologists as sociologists, and those who give more importance to field work, or anthropological tradition, or Weberian tradition, they will not give, they will laugh at the gravity type of migration model. There is no communication between sociology, this is a negative side, if you call it a negative side, but on the positive side, is this not true that human behavior is so complex, and has so many facets, and there is a very strong relationship between political interest, or interest in general, and understanding of a subject, that sociology has to be like this only. If sociologists; that means, on any subject, it will be difficult to have a complete consensus regarding, methods, approaches, and inferences.

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And in all matters, there will be managerial approach, those who are part of the state, they will have one approach. You can call it managerial approach in general; those connected with governments with running the system, like planning commission in case of India, or ministry sociologists, they will be experts, or scientific sociologists, who have gone to the discipline of sociology, out of scientific curiosity, they want to scientifically understand something. They are neither interested in running the government, nor in revolting in, not in creating conditions of revolt against the government. They want to study sociology scientifically, and there will be many other sociologist, who will say that, they reject both, managerial approach, experts approach. They actually want to see, how do people themselves, people own meaning systems, people centric; people's perspective, managerial perspective. Sociology can be done from managerial perspective, sociology can be done from experts perspective, and sociology can also be done from people's perspective.

What is poverty, managerial perspective, how to define poverty line. Some of you who are in the habit of reading news papers and magazines regularly, must have seen last year, there was a big debate on how to major poverty. What is poverty line, how do you say when you calculate head counter ratio that, in India today 22.7 percent people are living below the poverty line, what does it mean, what is poverty line. So there is lot of managerial perspective, because governments want to decide about this number, for the

purpose of benefiting poor people, under different schemes of rural development, and government has limited money, government with that limited money cannot help everyone. So government must have that approach to poverty, with which poor people can be helped, in limited amount of resources.

Experts perspective will be different, experts would like to define poverty, in a scientific manner, what is poverty. Suppose poverty, they will say that, they will be start with some assumption that poverty may mean, absence of access to certain facilities, nutritious food, education, water, shelter cloth, this and that. Then they will calculate, what should be the poverty line for a person in India today, and they will themselves calculate, what proportion of people are poor, but there is another approach, how do poor people themselves see poverty, how do poor people themselves see the causes of poverty, how do poor people themselves see the causes of poverty, how do poor people themselves see, how poverty can be removed. So there are various perspectives, and this is both; a positive aspect of sociology, and negative aspect of sociology. Study of sociology is very challenging, and adventurous. I would say it is fun to study sociology, and study of sociology can also produce dissatisfaction in your mind, if you think, that like economics, sociologists should also arrive at some fix conclusions. So, we stop here.