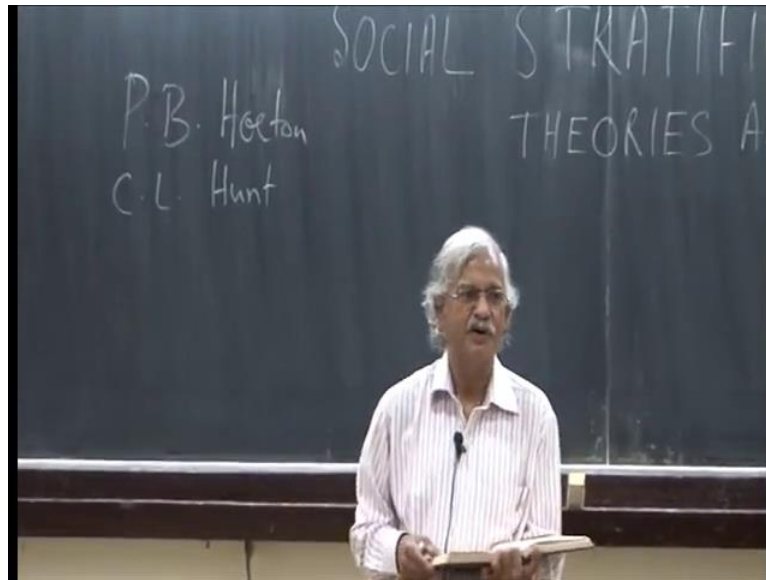


Introductory Sociology
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Lecture - 24
Social Stratification- II:
Explanation of Social Stratification

Friends, we are discussing one of the most central concepts of Sociology, I would say that the subject of sociology is basically, the study of Social Stratification. In this aspect I would like to begin with the paragraph from a text book of sociology written by Horton and Hunt.

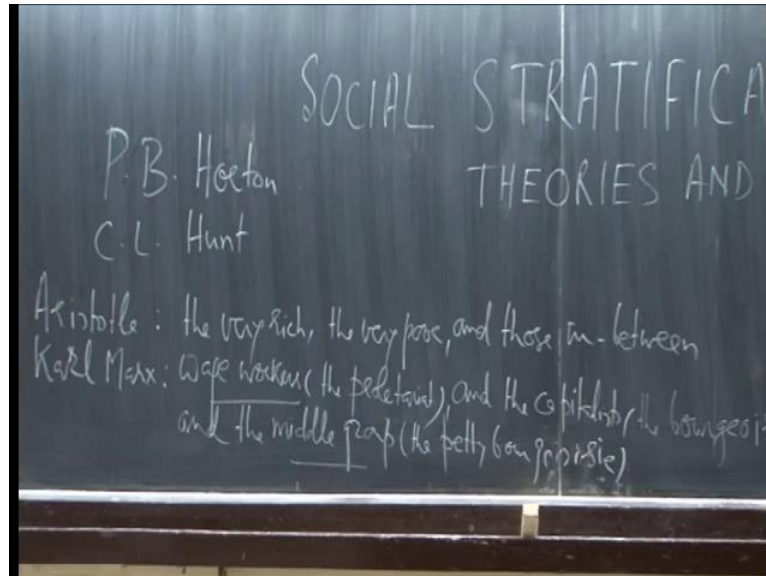
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This is from the library P.B Horton and C.L Hunt, this gives a beautiful description of what social stratification is, it says it is a long paragraph and you do not have to note it down just see what this paragraph says. It says to quote Aristotle about 2 million years ago, sorry Aristotle about a million years ago that populations tended to be divided into 3 groups. What are these groups, the very rich, the very poor and those in between, the very rich the very poor and in between, about 2 million year ago means about 2000 years ago a philosopher named Aristotle you must have heard his name said that all societies they are divided into at least the societies of his time, were divided into 3 groups; very rich, very poor, and those in between. This was his understanding of social stratification, then this paragraph says for Karl Marx the principle social class is, were the wage

workers, the proletariat and the capitalist in the parenthesis, the bourgeoisie, with the middle group with parenthesis the petty Bourges work.

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Let me write this class for you, Aristotle identified 3 groups in society, what these 3 groups are, the very rich, the very poor and those in between, Karl Marx, wage workers who earn from wages and they are called the proletariat. Another class and the capitalist the term for capitalist is the bourgeoisie, and one class in between, with the middle group the petty bourgeois.

The petty bourgeoisie, which was on the way out Carl Marx says, that the respective bourgeoisie or the middle class is on the way out basically, as capitalist society will advance it will get divided into 2 classes only wage workers and he had the technical term for wage workers, the proletariat these are the people work for wages. They do not possess anything other than their labor power the capitalist or the bourgeoisie. Bourgeoisie who earn from profits they do not work, they earn simply because they have the ownership of means of production.

And the middle group in between, the petty bourgeoisie petty bourgeoisie is small managerial class, clerical class, a class of a small land holders, bankers in between something capitalist the proletariat, but Marx was clear that this class on the way out and eventually in advance capitalist society we will have 2 classes.

Sir, why didn't Carl Marx include agricultural farmers as a separate class in itself because they are not labor workers as such...

Our friend has asked an interesting question why had Marx not said anything about landed aristocracy. Actually, it is an interesting question in Marx's analysis of society, in which class is the central concept. The class is at the concept of the class is very complicated, very complex and Karl Marx is perhaps aware of this fact that in reality, class is not such a simple concept, as he is using in his analysis of the capitalist society and you will be surprised to hear, that all the whole of the Marx is Marxian theory all that Marx is written.

In that the concept of class is the soul of Marx's literature, without class you cannot understand Marx's theory, but Marx has nowhere explained the concept of class, may be he founded, so complicated that in reality what does it mean to say that these are the classes and this is the basis of class formation. Perhaps deliberately he postponed defining class, we ordinary teachers introductory to social very clearly, and very easily, spontaneously, what class is last time I said this is class, this is class this is social class for us it is very easy.

But when you apply your concepts to real life if you find that very low one to one corresponds between concept and the reality. It was told at the end of his life, that Marx thought that now, perhaps he had matured, so much that he had understood the dynamics of capitalist society, so much. That he is in a position to define a class more clearly and at the end of writing the capital a thick book the capital which I read is in 3 volumes published by Progress Publications Moscow.

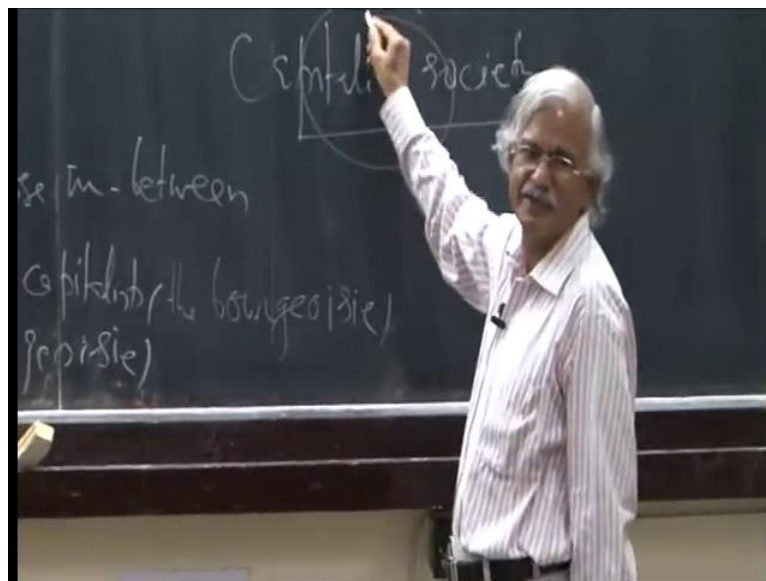
A very 3 thick volumes and after that Karl Marx starts writing about class, and then he had noticed that he had landed an aristocracy also one class when he was coming to give the exact precise definition of class he died. So, the last chapter in which Karl Marx has defined is the concept of class remained incomplete it is the only one and half pages. And we lack the original real definition of class from one who devoted his whole life to he studied the various things poverty, religion, law, conditions of the working classes everything in terms of class.

Only much later one German sociologist Ralf Dahrendorf, he studied all the works of Karl Marx and it is decided the work which is unfinished Marx's capital on class the last

chapter is on class, he will complete the chapter. Rak Derma Dough; obviously, a Marx's he believed in Marx's theory that is why he would do this, may be by the time he finish the chapter on class had to justify that he is writing the chapter exactly, in the same way in which Karl Marx would have written, he used only the sentences and phrases from earlier writings of Karl Marx in capital and other places.

So, you can claim that this is how the Karl Marx would have written chapter on class, but by then darn and dough have become critical of Marx's theory and in subsequent works, any his own theory of social stratification it provides a rather pretty of Marx's theory of social stratification, he is not convinced with Marx's theory of social stratification, this is it second thing you see this is much of the writings Karl Marx is concerned with capitalist society.

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And because he is concerned with capitalist society, not a real society, his efforts not analyzing pits ware, the Moscow, London or New York, but Delhi or Bangalore he is analyzing a hypothetical, a theoretical society. Capitalist society is a theoretical society, the degree to it is different society of it is time industrially advanced society country industrially advanced countries and societies are met industrially, advanced countries, the degree to which they resemble the capitalist society of Karl Marx would vary from one society to another.

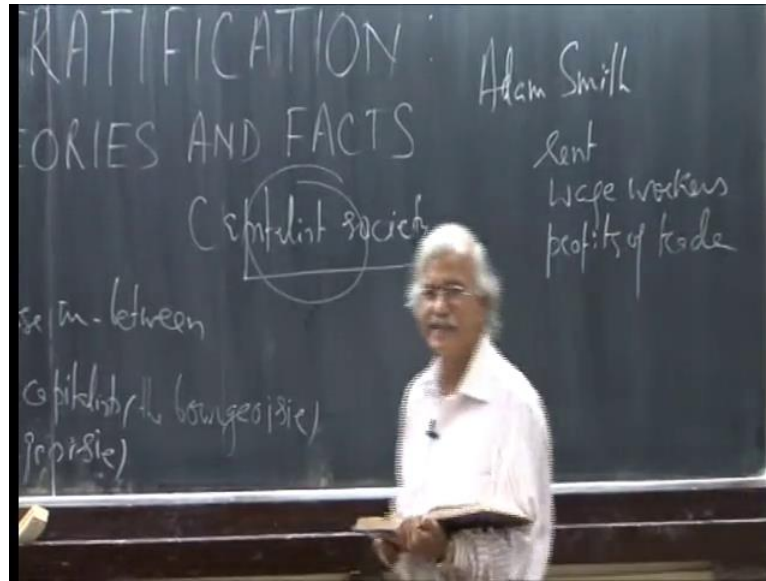
And in capitalist society there is no place for agriculture, it is industrial based capitalist society is an industrial society, you will be surprised to see again that Karl Marx had predicted, that England united kingdom England and so. United Kingdom would be the first country to become socialist, the reason were that the Marx's were clean of social development. It is the industrially advanced country which due to their own internal contradictions gets transformed into the next stage of production ways to socialist society.

Marx could not think that USSR you are industrially much more backward than other than European countries of that time would become the first socialist country. And Karl Marx would just not predict with theoretical apparatus, that china a gradient country can become a socialist country. Karl Marx could not think that Cuba, Yugoslavia, Poland these countries would become socialist and Karl Marx would of course, would not accept that India would have become a socialist country.

So, this is this is the reason that Karl Marx was analyzing the dynamics of capitalist of the society. A society which emerges, from resolution of internal contradictions are of feudal society. So, feudal to capitalism, capitalism to socialism he is more concerned is imagining in today's language we will say it as in all theoretically emblazoning, Karl Marx is imagining, we want to go to the nature of the capitalist society. And a capital society is the industrial society that is why when we apply Marx's theory to agricultural societies. We say that in agricultural society a process of mechanization, industrialization and capitalization is on.

That agriculture is now, being organized on capitalist lying, for Karl Marx capitalist in the societies only in industrial society. So, for I was reading from text book I thought that, this is the very good paragraph to revile what I am taking about when I talked about social class or stratification. Let me read this from the beginning to course, Aristotle were 2 million year ago, that population standard were divided into 3 group the very rich, the very poor, and those in between for Karl Marx the principle social class, were the wage worker, the proletariat, the capitalist, and the bourgeois the middle group the petty bourgeois which was on the way out.

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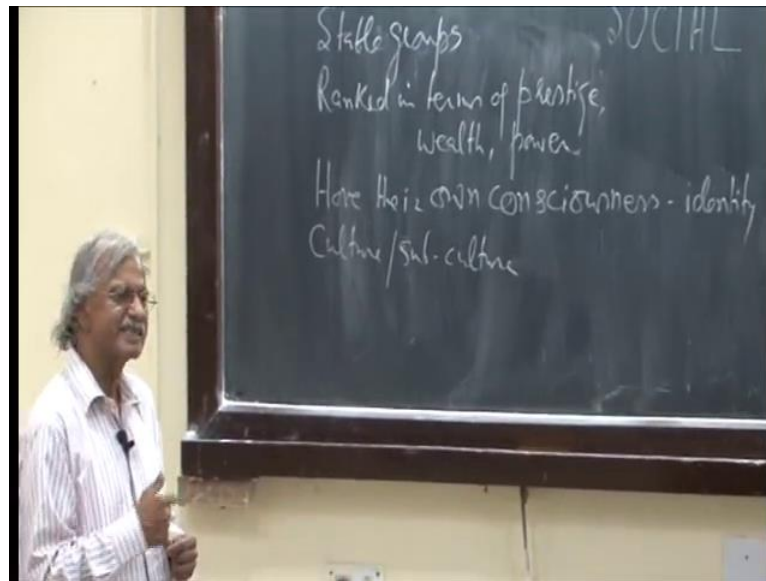
Adam Smith divided society Adam Smith a well known economist divided society into those who lived in the rent of land, the wages of labor and the profits of trade. So, there are 3 classes, according to Adam there are 3 classes. A class which survives rent a rent of land, wage workers who survives on the wages and the profits, the third class which survives on the profits of trade. Then they divided society into the workers who is struggle for subsistence and a leisure class wave length.

Subsistence class, according to wave length there is a class which is struggle for subsistence just to live and a leisure class, which had become, so wealthy for them life is leisure they do not have to work they have, so much of money they have to spend time in leisure, they do not have to work. That becomes, so wealthy, that it is main consumption was the conspicuous consumption, conspicuous consumption means what we call the consumerism today showing of they had, so much of money they do not know how to spend this and they do not know they do not have to work for money.

So, they involve in conspicuous consumption. Costly houses, costly cars, costly dress, foreign travels, best quality of liquors, sports, clubs they have to show of because they have, so much of money and they do not know what to do they do not want to work. So, they engage in conspicuous consumption, which means how far this group is reason above the label of the usual struggle for a distance and Franklin derogate in 1937 gave you a vivid definition of class, life when he said his inaugural address January 20 1937 I

see one third of the nation in ill-house, dill cleared and ill-nourished all these description of social class implies that money separates people into distinct groupings. So, money people differ in money and that is one important basis of class formation or social stratification. Show it this was from the past, but if you look at the social reality and the classes around us.

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And the concepts of class formation we have more familiar with social stratification in the sense of stable groups that all societies have certain stable groups, which can be ranked in terms of prestige they are when I say prestige they are social classes, wealth they are economic classes they differ in terms of power they are political classes because they are also differ in terms of power. Have their own consciousness you know that you belong to a particular class identity a sense of belongingness that yes I belongs to this class.

And these classes have their own culture culture or sub culture if you use the term culture for the culture of entire society, then different classes or status group or power groups and have their own culture and sub culture. In the last discussion on the subject of culture reproduction, social reproduction one student indicated, that some students who come to IIT Kanpur from a relatively different class background, it may be social or it may be economic.

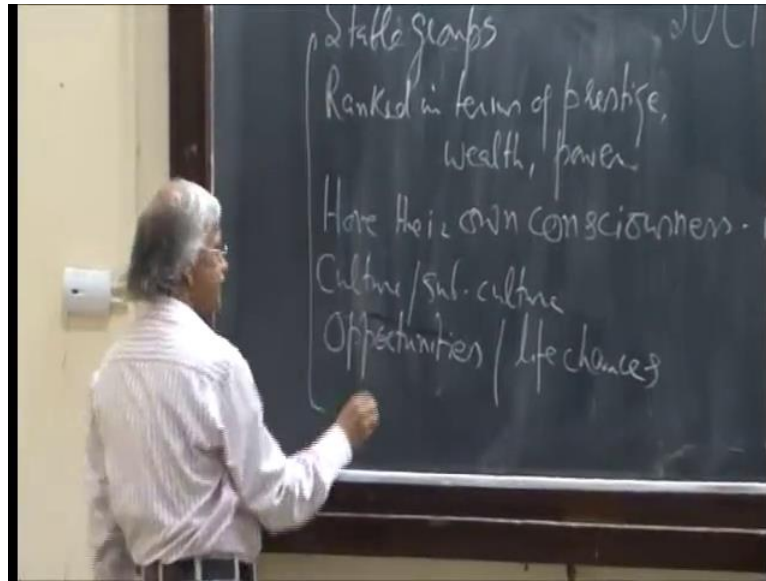
In the let me write, but they come from rural, semi rural background for from those backgrounds may be new or rich, they have money, in business class or landed aristocracy they have money, but they are not, so comfortable with English. So, they find it difficult to adjust in the westernized English milieu of I I T Kanpur. This shows that the distinct social classes, also have distinct culture just if you have money suppose, somebody belongs to a lower class may be a small farmer or or a marginal farmer or awage labor somebody found a relatively lower socio economic class.

Edge fate hedged he gets a lot trade and immediately becomes rich, he earns 5,00,00,000 rupees from lottery or from other source from some compotes or something you would still not say that now, he belongs to a upper class of Indian society. And his children his family members and he himself will vary and uncomfortable, if he gets invited for a dinner party by a very rich persons or upper class person. If you are not from their class then getting invitation from upper class people for dinner can make you miserable depress.

Since, I myself belong to that class I have come from a very low class and I am not rich or bourgeon, but I have reached to a upper middle class. I know how difficult it is for me, to attend dinner parties in upper classes, to attend dinner parties in upper classes You have to know many things with which middle classes or lower classes are not just familiar, your friends from upper classes would be talking countries and parts of the cities and the part of the cities located in Europe and north America and you do not know anything about them.

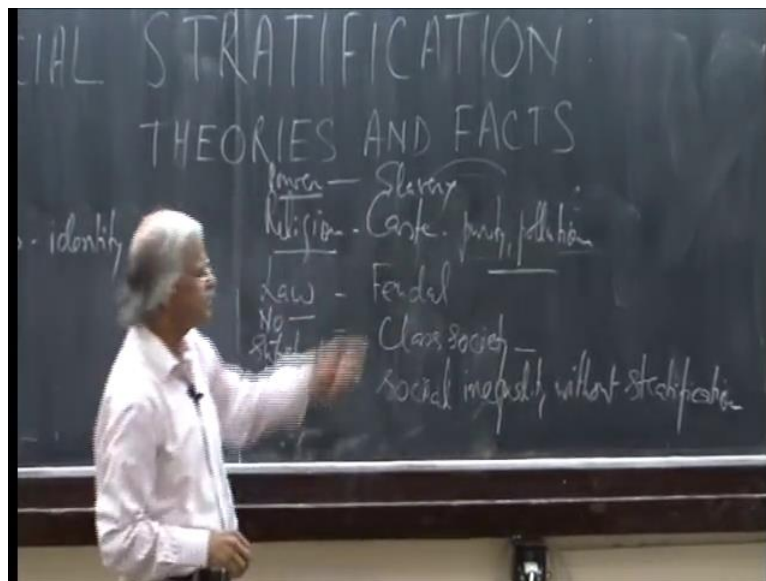
When my upper class friends are talking about cultures of new York, I feel uncomfortable if I have I not belong to their culture and they are talking about European and American novels I feel uncomfortable. Now, from a lower class to upper middle class you are journey can come only if you concentrate on something like prudential studies, but studies alone not make you comfortable with cricket in chess talking about to it upper class means that all are experts of cheers and long tennis and table tennis and and cricket. But, they know about they know about the characteristics important characters of sports, music, culture or politics you have to know much more to become a comfortable part of high class culture, all social classes have their own culture.

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And these cultures, these belongings to these culture or sub culture also affects your opportunities or life chances, that is why we are interested in social stratification. And these aspects of social stratification are present in all types of classes, there are various types of masses they are various basis of class formation or different types of scheme of social stratification in different countries.

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Sometimes, it is based on estate or sometime it is based on uh religion, a caste society were based on religion giss bird is talking about the nature of stratification in caste

society, it may be based on law, feudal, it may be on power or force slavery. People become slaves, who are slaves quiet often those people, those types or those small groups or those kingdoms which gets defeated. Even they, become slaves people becomes slaves because they are defeated by the other armies people become slaves because they do not have money to survive.

So, they take they borrow money from some rich people and subsequently, the inability to repay the loan made them slaves all kinds of systems of slavery existed in India. And in Europe slavery was most cruel where the slaves did not have the human status and they could be bought and sold like animals. Then what is the difference between a slave and a surf or a piquet at some minimum legal rights, some minimum private property, some piece of land and some money having some money rights prestige and legally status, distinguish, surfs from slaves.

But they all were the lowest part of the society in their times slavery from power or some wealth, caste from religion and feudal from law and when there is no substratum of power religion and law. Then you have class no substratum, when all the items are made to destroy the legal, political, religious and economic inequality from society then you have class society and this social this is social inequality without stratification.

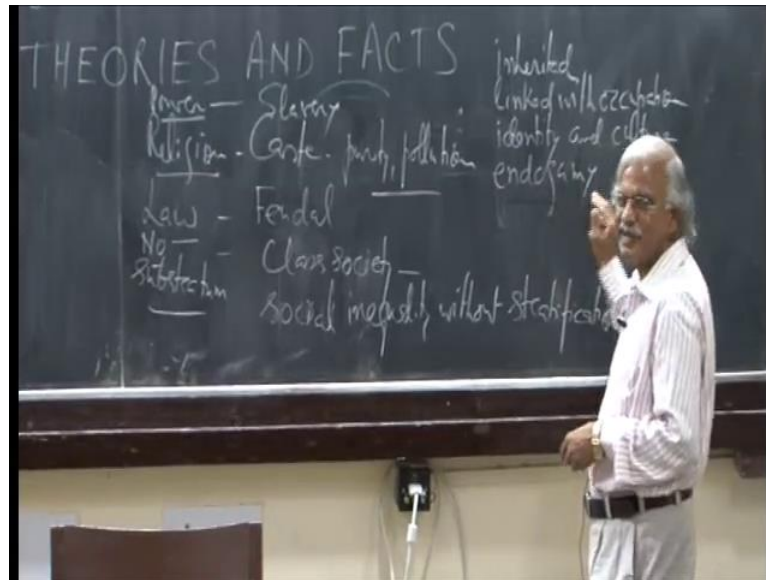
It take to this kind of situation when there is economic equality, but there is no political, religious and legal this substratum basis and the class formation. Then this kind of society is called class society usually, it happens in lazier sphere in market economy, is part of the inequality in today's industrial advanced or developed countries, social inequality you have social inequality if it is not equal, but there is no social stratification.

As in slavery masters and slaves very rarely slave could become a master, the chance of slave becoming a master is very, very low almost nonexistent. So, it was the close system similarly, caste based on purity and pollution purity, pollution concept, of purity and pollution this caste society was divided into certain caste and if you read gissberg then the viscous random gamma, then they are within the hierarchical, they are inherited and therefore, they are closed a person belonging to one caste cannot move to a upper or lower or some other horizontal caste.

And quiet often there was the close association between caste and occupation at accordingly in different parts of the countries find many castes, whose names are

according to some occupation. Grain parterre, barber, oil spiller, water carrier, genealogies, warriors these are caste which are associated with certain occupation. Black smith, gold smith, carpenter, potters, these are caste which are associated with occupation.

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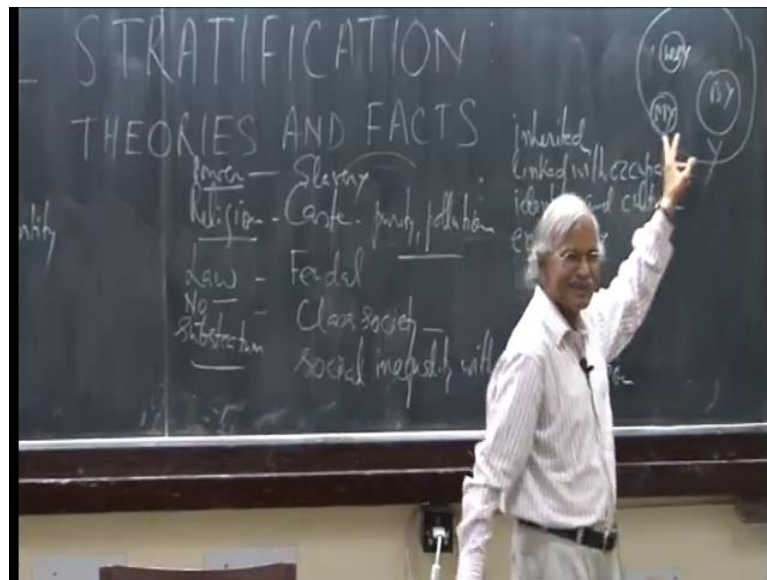


So, they are there is inheritance caste is inherited you are born in a particular caste your caste status is ascribed is not achieved, linked with the occupation, linked with identical culture, very strong identities of caste, and endow gapping marrying within the caste is caste survive because it is an endow gammas group you marrying only within caste. Actually, this endow gamming also gives the said simple definition to define a caste, other things are secondary the most important part of the definition of caste is that it is endow gammons.

And which also means that the nature and place of caste in social structure is being changing, some 100 years ago yadhavs of Haryana, yadhavs of Madhya Pradesh and within the same state also yadhavs western U P and yandhavs of eastern U P, but if you had caste. It was unimaginable for a yadhav of Haryana to arrange for his son or daughters marriage, among yadhavs of Bihar. They are 2 different castes, among the ornaments or suryupariye, anogia, gou, iyers and iyengers in the same states iyers and iyengers were in the same states.

And they fought with each other, for a state of supremacy iyers could not marry iyengers and iyengers could not marry iyers. So, those groups within which only marriages is permissible in Punjab a jat a Hindu jat can marry a Sikhjat, but the Hindu jat cannot marry another Hindu jat from Rajasthan which shows that the caste of Hindu and Sikh jat of Punjab is same and the caste jat of Punjab is not same thing a jat of the Rajasthan. Caste are endow gammas group. But because the politicization of caste, modernization, broadening the outlook, we are we are at least started going back of this sub caste or in Indian society the marriage circle is expanding, there are registered circles of marriage, but marriage circle are expanding.

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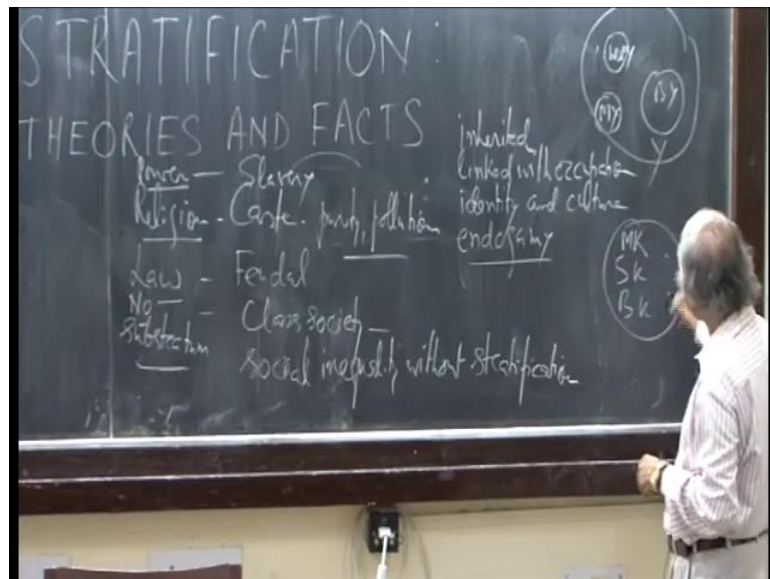
So, earlier like western U P yadav, this was one endow gammas circle Bihar yadav, this was another Madhya Pradesh yadav, this was another caste. And today because of politicization concern numbers and caste entering politics and to some extent modernizing, broadening of outlook to some extent because of non getting educated and employed groups in their own circle. And because of network of cast and concerns all the have come together and form the caste of yadavs.

These have been happening the caste has not gone, but this is happening. Brahmins who were divided into 100 of castes are now; more broadly divided into north Indian Brahmins and south Indian Brahmins. North Indian Brahmins will not still marry, south Indian Brahmins and south Indian Brahmins will not marry north Indian Brahmins, but

there is the tendency among the conservative people, the people belonging to your grandfathers generation these unit are still important and a bhatnakar cannot marry a mothur are superior a mothur are superior bhatnakars are low.

There is lot of difference traditionally, there is variety of castes and the mothurs were at top, perhaps bhatnakars were low, and it is unthinkable for a bhatnakar girl to marry a mothur boy. But, today all sub categories or all castes of kayaks are coming together because they want to increase the number of boards or they want to expand the influence circle and for them, all those who are identified by the kayaks are coming together and you have the cast of kayaks.

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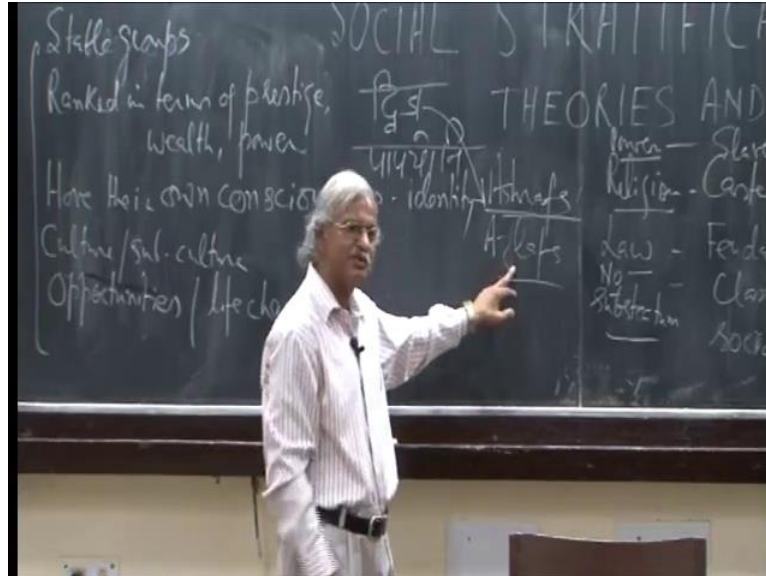


Mathur mathur kayaks, saxena kayaks, bhatna kayaks like that many kayaks are and now they are coming together and forming k they have become kayaks caste. So, this kind of similarly, jats in any state jats of Haryana not one caste, there was, so many cast, so many categories and jats of Haryana and up they know how many categories of jhatsare there. Only you could marry within the castes, but outside the gothras this is caste (()) gothras.

Now, we say according to Hindu coordinial supinda supinda marriage is not permitted, 6 generation from father side, 4 generation from mothers side they are called supinda. And you cannot marry the supind, because the other person 6 generation from father side, 4

generation from mother side they are like a brothers and sister. And you marry outside the gothras with in the caste, and this was the nature of caste (()).

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And this was this caste are caste like distinction is present everywhere, in other religion also among Muslim you have azlafs or at the top ashrafs and azlafs, ashrafs are pure azlafs are impure, like pure and impure of Hindu dvijan Hindu society are divide into dwijas and papioni the meaning of dvij was twice born, there was some dvij and some papioni. Impure birth, pure birth dvij twice born and papioni Brahmins, shathriyas and vishyas, they were dvij 2 birth one physical birth and another birth of sanskaras.

So, after performing certain spiritual they have the second birth and they are superior, they are pure and papioni other caste or though the outside the caste system they are papioni, they have physical birth and they are deprived of certain sanskaras which led to second birth. Exactly, same division is found in Muslims ashrafs and azalfs. Asharaf are pure they are the dependence of those who came from the outside the India, they are the pure Muslims azlafs are usually, low class Hindu who at the some point of some over reason, political reason, economical reason, cultural reason for some reason they got converted to Islam.

And that distinction if you most of you are Hindu and not familiar with Muslim social organization. So, many of you it becomes surprise, but this is the fact and if you do not believe me, see the Muslim matrimonial and Muslim matrimonial, matrimonial are

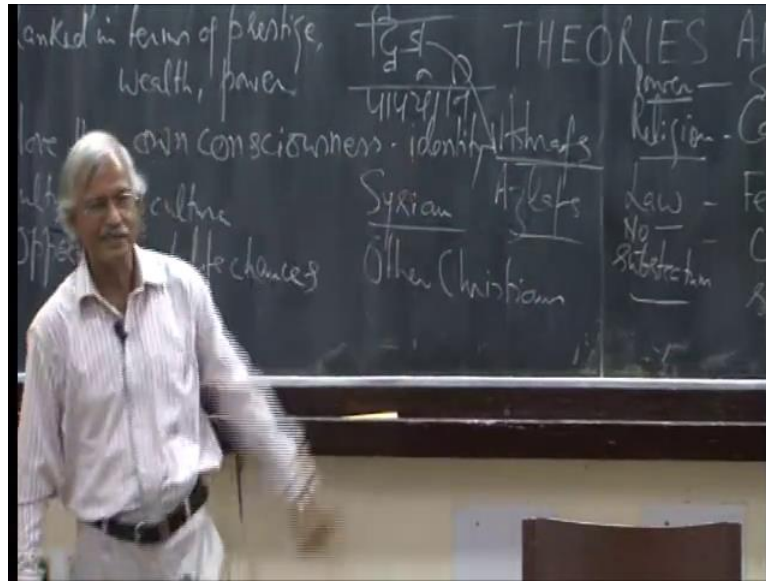
certainly are not published by government of India planning commission. Matrimonial are given by private individuals whose looking for suitable bride or group. So, what the matrimonial will show will show the existing is structural are social organization of the society.

Ashrafs pure decadents of those who came from outside, they may write in their name sheikh, syed they are sheikh, syed, pathan and mughal shiekh syed pathan and mughal, they are ashrafs pure like dvijas and all others like ansari, quraishi these people belong to azlafs azlafs caste. So, there is a two fold division of Muslim society in India, among 6 also all 6 are not same, although theoretically or going by religion everybody is equal, everybody have the same status, in the eyes of everybody is made by god.

And in the eyes of god everybody are alike a god has made everyone human being and gurugranth all our religious book talks of our equality, treat all human being like one, but in the practice a jat is a jat and a magavi Sikh, who have got converted to perhaps from one of the lowest caste of Hindus, may be scavenger or may be leather worker mostly, scavengers, health health workers, they are magabies jat Sikh is consider as jhat Sikh or kathrisikhs, the trading committee, they are at the top and majabie 6 are at the bottom.

Interestingly in that part of India Brahmins never had any influence. So, there is not much interaction, much of influence of Brahmins in the social organization of Sikh or Avenal organization of Sikhs Hinduism of Punjab Haryana, Sindhu. That part of continent, but within within themselves, this people are divide along caste, life social satisfaction is find in Christian also.

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So, you have Syrian Christian like nambudiri, like nairs, Christian are the top these they believe that they are those Christian who got converted to Christianity about 2 million year ago by St Thomas a direct disciple of Christ. He came to India to priest Christianity and purely, for they believe the purely, for spiritual religious reason not because of any greed or any political influence or any money or any anything purely for religious reasons, purely because some people living there in today's Kerala.

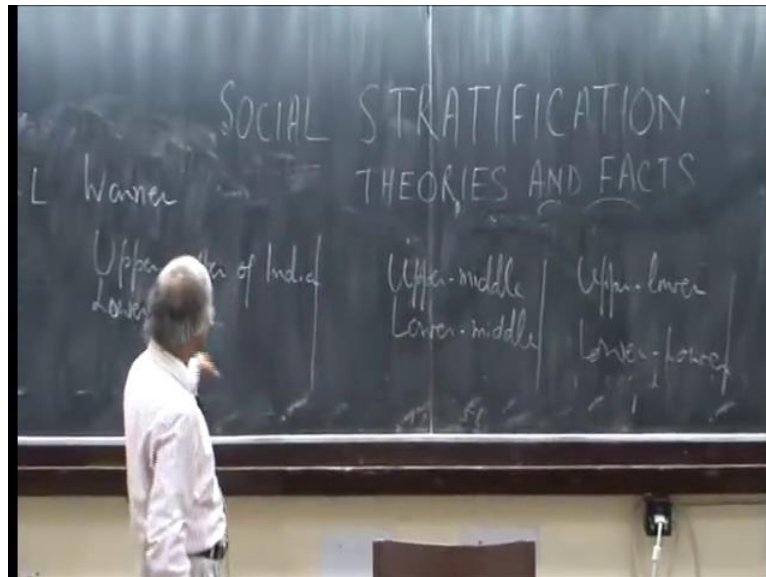
Got influence by Christian philosophy, Christian religion and they started that recognize that Jesus Christ, the son of god, is the real savior and all other religions are in dark, they are only other forms of magic which craft superstitions and their gods and goddess are false they got converted to Christianity. And many of them believe that mostly to us the highest caste of it the Hindu social organization of that time most possibly, the Brahmins who got converted to Christianity and Syrian Christians finds them selves much closer to Hindu, Brahmins, nambudiri parts of Kerala rather than with other Christian go one Christian, who have be lived they have been converted from lower caste.

So, you should not be surprised if you visit a church in Sri Lanka, in Tamil Nadu, in Kerala where there are they are all Christian, but for entering the church, there are separate queues of Syrian Christian or there are separate churches, there are separate churches of Syrian Christians and the other Christians. In Bihar there is still fighting in

several villages and towns they are separate graveyards of ashrafs and azlaf. In even after death once caste does not change.

So, you remain in the same caste in which you was born, after death your caste is not change. So, they are quiet frequent fights in many parts of Bihar, where ashraf will not permit azalfs to their death bodies in there graveyards. Because, they are also and bodies of azlafs can pollute them, not permitted this is what social stratification means, if you use a more secular kind of social division in place of caste or caste like situation you can divide people on more secular basis and say they are upper classes, middle classes and lower classes than also social stratification remains.

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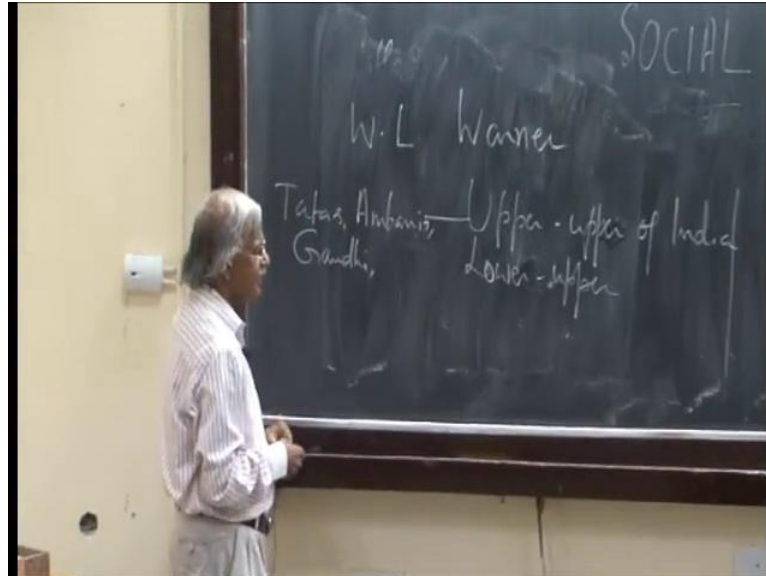


One sociologist for you this kind of categorization upper middle lower 1 American sociologist W L Warner made a detailed study of social stratification in the western contact and divided social classes into this kinds of categories upper, middle, lower upper can further divided into 2 or 3 categories upper upper, lower upper, upper middle, lower middle, upper lower, lower lower that kind off. Who would be upper upper upper of India.

Lower upper, upper middle, lower middle, upper lower and lower. Suppose, I say that in the Indian society today there are 6 different status upper upper, lower upper, this is upper, this is lower, this is middle, and this is lower, lower class in between or middle cast and upper class. It will be very difficult for us to divide exactly, who fits where we

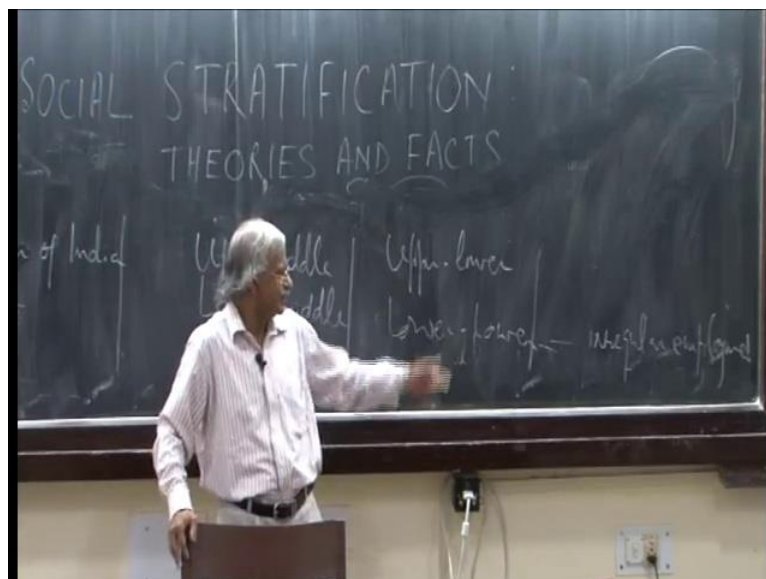
can best define lower lower and upper upper, may be in upper upper we will put family which have been a affluent, powerful, high status for several generation.

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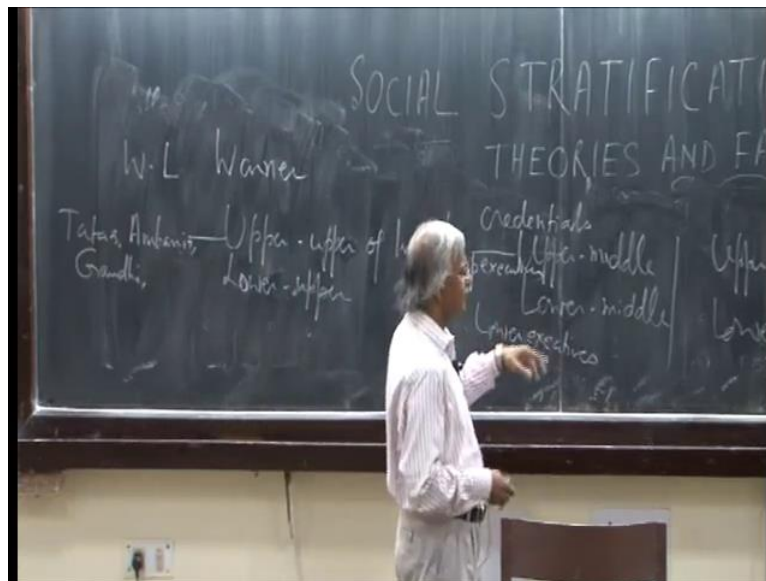
Certain family of Tata's may be, now in the second generation Ambani also can put here, Gandhi family Indra Gandhi now, Sonia Gandhi, Motilal Nehru, Jawaharlal Nehru, Rajiv Gandhi now, Sonia Gandhi, Gandhi family. May be today if I ask to you to play somewhere barchans are barchans upper upper or lower upper or upper middle there be some confusion, the probe it will be easy to define only upper upper and lower lower.

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Who is lower lower, lower lower is 1 who has irregular employment. Casual worker may be in rural area, may be in urban areas, in normal areas the casual worker, domestic worker with irregular employment living in some slum like situation, in rural area as casual worker, agriculture worker, may be still lower or you can say here, like those suffering from certain disabilities because of this they cannot become a full member of even working classes, people suffering from disability and absolutely irregular employment rural.

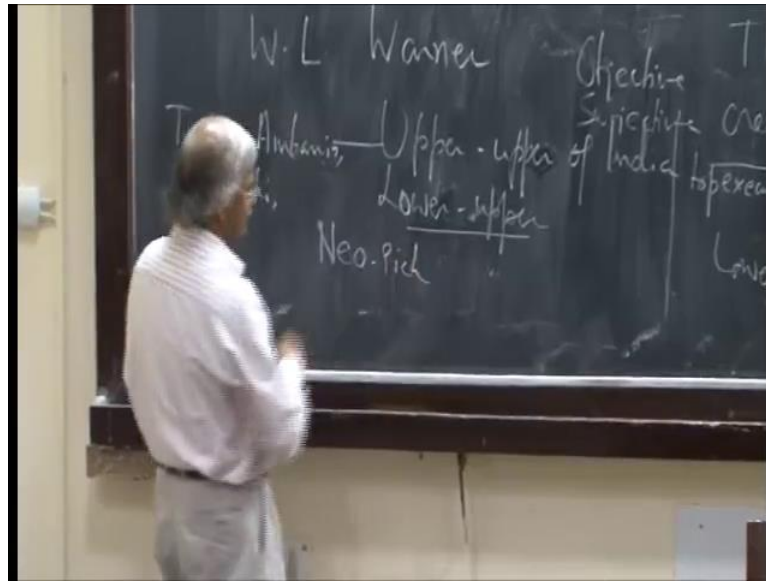
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There is the problem here is in distinguish between different usually, upper middle is also easier to define because this is the class managerial of class based credentials, top executives on the basis of B Tech and MBA's. And lower executives, may be you can say in upper lower clerks is certain industry, certain branches of government the many clerks will found to be quite offensive as you say that the belong to lower class of Indian society may be upper lower, but they would say they are not lower upper.

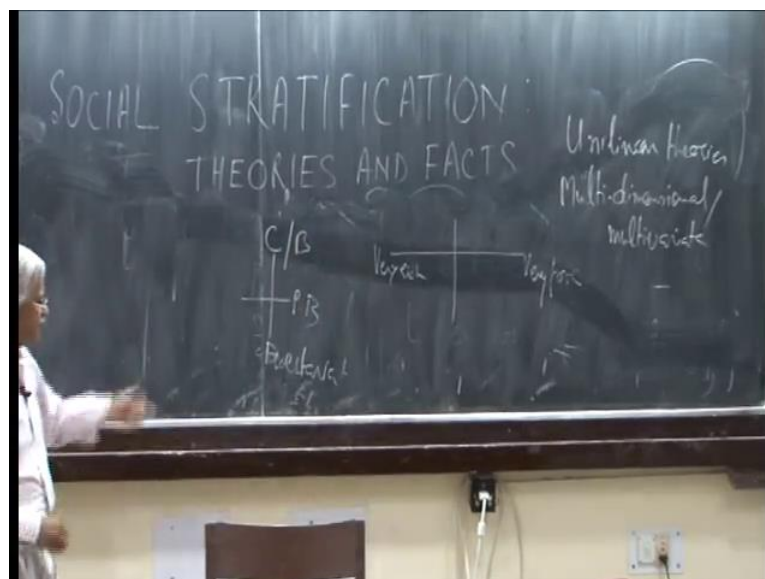
We are not upper lower, we are the middle class I was reading in news paper one day comments of a taxi driver, taxi driver was referring to situation of inflation and saying, that if prizes keep on rising like this what will be the fate of children of middle class like ours. So, the taxi driver was identifying himself with the middle class from your prospective a taxi driver may belongs to lower class.

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But from his own prospective the taxi driver belongs to middle class this also means whether your perspectives are objectives or subjective based on in criteria or they are based on self perception. Sometimes, we belong to higher class or a lower class on subjective basis objectively speaking we are not part of that dhirubhai ambhani if somebody, ask you to classify dhirubhai ambhani dhirubhai ambhani would not be part of upper upper. He did not come from aristocratic family at best you could put him in lower upper or sociology have new term for this neo rich who have newly began who have acquired wealth and who have newly become rich.

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In the next lecture I will talk about theories of social stratification and I will stop this lecture just by saying, that there are certain unilinear theories of social stratification and there are multivariate, multi dimensional or multivariate to use a more statistical term multivariate, there are unilinear theory there are multi valued theory when you divide people into 3 groups on the basis of very rich and very poor. And middle class in between you have a unilinear kind of theory or you say capitalist, proletariat and in between, petty bourgeois, capital of bourgeois at the top, proletariat at bottom, petty bourgeois you have somewhere in the middle you have a unilinear theory.