
UNIT 29 SOCIAL STRATIFICATION

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29.0 OBJECTIVES

After reading this unit you should be able to:

- define the concept of social stratification;
- discuss its three dimensions;
- describe six types of social stratification; and
- give an account of the functionalist and conflict theories of social stratification.

29.1 INTRODUCTION

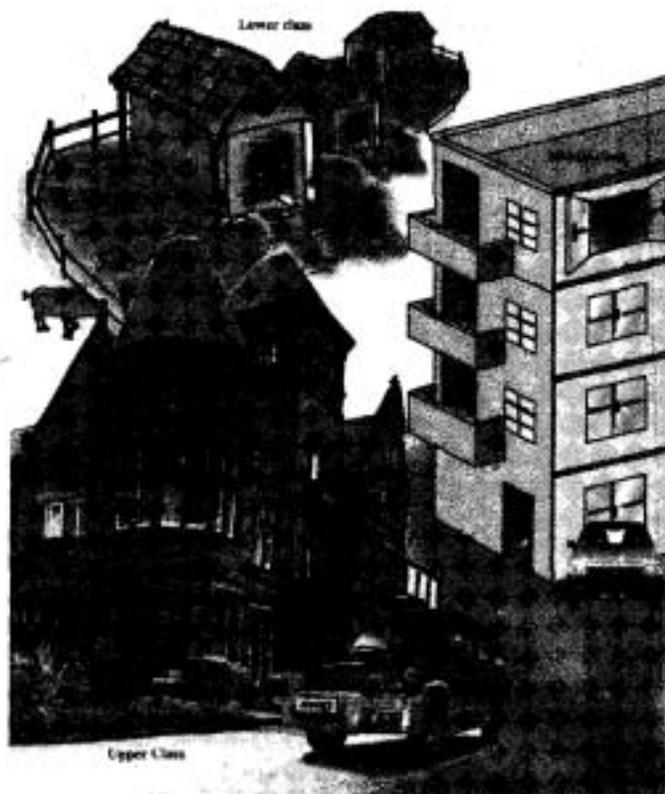
Social stratification is an aspect of the wider issue of social inequality. The existence of socially created inequalities is a feature of all known human societies, and, therefore, it is an important subject for sociologists to discuss. Social stratification is the last of the major concepts in sociology, discussed in this book. It is related to the study of social change, which is the focus of our next block in this course. This unit is also the link unit between these two blocks.

This unit explains what social stratification is, and then discusses its general principles in terms of the bases or dimensions of social stratification. An account of basic

types of social stratification, is followed by a discussion of the current sociological theories on social stratification.

29.2 WHAT IS SOCIAL STRATIFICATION?

stratification is a system of social ranking, involving relations of superiority and inferiority. These relations between the units of rank are governed by a set of norms. Analytically, stratification is conceived of as an evaluative ranking of social units. Concretely, it refers to the empirical distribution of advantages and benefits in society. It can be seen as a process, which is regulated by some principles. These principles **determine** the bases of the distribution of social advantages in society.



29.2.1 Dimensions or Bases of Social Stratification

The bases or dimensions of social stratification refer to the different levels of differentiation which are made to allocate people in a given society. These can be listed as follows:

- i) **Class** : It refers to differentiation at the level of wealth. In this sense it can be termed as economic differentiation.
- ii) **Power** : It refers to differential access to power in society. It includes political, social and other types of power.
- iii) **Status** : It refers to distribution of prestige or social honour.

In most cases, the three dimensions complement each other. However, Max Weber (1947) draws a distinction between class, power and status. According to Weber, class is an economic category, a product of the market situation. The status group, on the other hand, constitutes the social order based on prestige or honour. Status is determined by the social prestige one enjoys. Social prestige is expressed through different styles of life. Analytically, class and status groups can be independent

Each of these systems offers clearly argued theories, to explain and justify its respective system of stratification. In some cases, there is flexibility regarding social mobility from one stratum to another. In other cases, there is little or no chance of mobility out of a stratum. The following discussion of the different types of social stratification, will make clear what the distinct features of stratification in human societies are.

29.3.1 Age-set System

Societies, which have been described as stateless type of Fortes and Evans-Pritchard (1940), lack centralised government. They have no office of chief, or if they have such an office, it holds more ritual than secular power. Still, such societies are found to be stratified on the basis of age. This type of stratification, is a characteristic of certain east African societies. The principle of age is most prominent among the Masai and Nandi in East Africa, where ranking on the basis of age, is put together with the exercise of authority, on the basis of seniority. The ranks determined on the basis of age are called age-sets. All the persons (basically men) born, within a range or number of years, belong to one set. The first age-set may comprise as short as six or seven years or as long as fifteen.

In most cases, usually around adolescence, the membership of the first age-set closes and recruitment to the next set takes place. At this stage, entry to the new age-set generally involves an initiation rite, such as circumcision or other body-marks. Thus, after going through the ritual, each member comes out of childhood, and takes on full membership of his tribe. Each person, thus, belongs to an age-set, to which he remains attached throughout his life. Along with other members, he moves to the next age-set. The age-sets in these societies, determine their social organisation, because membership of these sets covers all areas of life. It directs a person to decide whom he may marry, what land he can own, and in which ceremonies he can take part etc. Thus, membership of each stratum tells a person about his ranking in society.

In most cases, where age-sets operate, a member of an age-set also belongs to a particular age-grade. These grades are clearly marked out from one another, so that a person belongs to only one grade at a time. Generally, a person after childhood would move from junior warriorhood to senior warriorhood. Then he would graduate from junior elderhood to senior elderhood. The warriors fight and defend their tribe from attack, while the elders take decisions and settle disputes. They also communicate with the ancestral spirits. Thus, the age-sets go through the different grades in complete units. In other words, all the members of one particular age-set move into one grade all at once. Thus, their social status also changes all at once. In the kinds of societies we belong to, each person usually makes his or her own natural transition from childhood to adulthood and finally to old age. But in age-set societies, these transitions are made on a corporate basis as members of large age-sets.

In terms of a system of social stratification, the age-set system provides for an open society, in which no one is allocated a particular position for life. Everybody in his time does become old, and therefore gets a chance to hold decisive authority. Thus, this is a system in which personnel change within the system, without changing the pattern of stratification itself.

29.3.2 Slave System

The slave system of stratification does not exist any more. Slavery was abolished in 1833 by Britain and 1865 by USA. This was characterised by a high degree of institutionalisation, i.e. there was a solid legal framework to the system. The main emphasis in this system was on economic inequality, which rendered certain groups

phenomena, but in reality the two overlap with each other. The notion of **power** is the keynote of Weber's theory of social stratification. Both the propertied and the propertyless can belong to the same status groups. Thus, economically determined power is not always identical with the social or legal power.

It has been said that Weber's theory of stratification, is a reaction to **Marx's** theory of class. We can say that Weber is the founding father of stratification analysis, which developed best in the U.S.A. Marx, on the other hand, **was** not a stratification theorist. For him the oppositions and contradictions found in modes of production, were of central importance. In answer to **Marx's** ideas on **class**, Weber developed his ideas on stratification. He **emphasised** the distinction of the economic, social and political bases of stratification. Thus, he provided a multi-dimensional approach to the study of social stratification. In **ESO-14**, you will get an opportunity to learn in detail, about various approaches to, and aspects of the study of social stratification. Here, we discuss different types of **social** stratification, found in human societies.

Activity 1

Take a round of your colony/village and note down the pattern of housing, such as, where the richest and most **powerful** people live, where the market is situated, where the poorest people live. **Write** a one page essay on "Social Stratification in my Community" Discuss your paper with other students and your Academic Counsellor at your Study Centre.

Check Your Progress 1

Note: a) Use the space given for your answer.

b) Compare your answer with the one **given** at the end of this unit.

1) What are the three bases of social stratification? Use one line for your answer.

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2) Distinguish between class and status group. Use three lines for your answer.

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29.3 TYPES OF SOCIAL STRATIFICATION

Broadly speaking, the following types of social stratification have been known to exist:

- i) the age-set system
- ii) slave system,
- iii) estate system,
- iv) caste system,
- v) class system, and
- vi) **race/ethnic** system.

The typical characteristics of the caste system are – i) the membership is hereditary and fixed for life, ii) each caste is an endogamous group, iii) social distance is encouraged by the restrictions of contracts and commensality with members of other castes, iv) caste consciousness is stressed by caste names as well as by conformity to the particular customs of the particular caste, and v) occupational specialisation.

The system is rationalised by religious belief.

Caste operates at two levels. Firstly in terms of an abstract classification into four types of 'varna': brahmin (priests), Kshatriya (kings), vaishya (merchants) and shudra (workers). Secondly at the operational village level, there is a division of local communities into groupings called jati. The rigidity of this system is unchangeable. Marginal upward social mobility, is possible by a process called sanskritisation. In this process, members of a lower caste adopt the manners and customs of a higher caste, and sever their ties with their original caste. (For a descriptive elaboration of this concept, you are advised to read block V in ESO-12 and blocks of ESO-14).

Individual features of the caste system can be observed in other societies, which follows strict segregation of particular groups. But caste system in its entirety is of course, found in India, and outside India among Hindus settled abroad and within India among non-Hindu groups. The stronghold of caste and the trends towards change in its nature and functioning, have affected the pattern of social stratification in India. You will learn about this process in ESO-14.

29.3.5 Class System

The class system is very different from the systems of stratification, we have so far discussed. Social classes are neither legally defined nor religiously sanctioned groups. Rather, these are relatively open groups which have been considered to be the by products of the process of industrialisation and urbanisation throughout the world, in all modern industrial societies.

The class system of social stratification basically implies, a social hierarchy based primarily upon differences in wealth and income. These differences are expressed in different life styles and hence different consumption patterns. In some cases, we also find different manners in terms of speech and dress. As a general type, class-systems are characterised by social mobility – upward and downward, both inter-generational and intra-generational.

In studying the concept of class, we face two questions. Firstly, what criteria should be used to identify classes? Secondly, there is the subjective element, i.e., do people with identical tangible material assets form a class, even if they are not perceived by others and themselves as a conscious class? For the first problem of criteria, according to Max Weber, the dimensions of wealth, power and lifestyle are crucial in determining the class. Most sociologists generally use several criteria simultaneously in determining the class. For the second 'subjective' problem, it is generally agreed that the issue of class-consciousness should not be introduced as a definition of the class itself. This is a matter for individual empirical investigation in each case.

Generally, most sociologists agree that in all industrial societies we find the existence of the upper, middle and working classes. Similarly, in agrarian societies a noted sociologist, Daniel Thorner has identified three classes in the rural countryside in India. These he called the class of 'malik', 'kisan' and 'mazdur' i.e., the proprietors who owned land, the working peasants who owned small amount of land and the labour class or mazdurs who did not own any land but worked on other peoples'

of people without rights. The article 'slavery' in the *Encyclopaedia of Social Sciences* (1968) makes a distinction between primitive, ancient, medieval and modern slavery. Here we mention only two main types of slavery—ancient slavery and New World slavery. Ancient slavery was prevalent in ancient Rome and Greece. Here slaves were usually foreign prisoners of war. In New World slavery, the basis of development of slavery were colonial expansion and racist ideology. In this system, the slave was designated as the master's property. The slave had no political and social rights. He or she was compelled to work. Living upon slave labour, the masters formed an aristocracy. It is said that the decline of slavery was primarily brought about, by the inefficiency of slave labour. Some other scholars hold that slavery declined, because of continued opposition to the slave system by educated and enlightened public in general, and the anti-slavery struggles organised by the slaves themselves in different parts of the world at different times. The ancient slavery was somewhat reformed, by limiting the owner's right of punishment and giving personal rights to the slave. The Christian Church in the Roman Empire also supported the provision of manumission to the slave.

29.3.3 Estate System

This type of social stratification, was characteristic of feudal societies of medieval Europe. In this system we find hierarchy of social strata, which are distinguished and rigidly set off from one another by law and custom. The defining feature of the estate system, was that the position held in the society, depended entirely in terms of ownership of land. Though this system was less rigid than the caste system, it was also characterised by hereditary transmission of social position. Each estate had a clearly defined set of rights by law. At the top of the system existed a royal family, and a hereditary military aristocracy, who were the landholders. Ranking on par with this group were the priesthood or clergy, who were allied with the nobility. Below this were the merchants and craftsmen, who were a small proportion of the population initially, but later formed the nucleus for the emergence of the middle class. At the bottom were the free peasants and the Serfs. Defined by a legal set of rights and duties, each estate had a status. The differences between estates were reflected in differences in punishments given for identical offences. Comparative feudal systems and their connections with modern capitalist systems can be traced, for example, in Japan.

As the nobility was supposed to protect everybody, the clergy to pray for everybody, and the commoner to produce food for everybody, the estates may be referred to as a system of division of labour. Lastly, the estates also represented political groups. In this way, one can say that in classical feudalism, there were only two estates, the nobility and the clergy. It was only after the 12th century that European feudalism had a third estate of the burghers, who first remained as a distinct group and later changed the system itself. If we view the feudal estates as political groups, the serfs, who did not possess any political power, cannot be considered as part of an estate.

This system of social stratification is best explained in terms of the nature of and relationship between property and political authority in medieval Europe.

29.3.4 Caste System

The caste system in India can be compared with other types of social stratification but it is unique in some senses to the Indian society. It is uniquely associated with Indian agrarian society as well as, the urban communities like, the Aggarwals, Jains, etc. It consists of essentially closed social groups arranged in a fixed hierarchical order of superiority and inferiority. It represents the most rigid type of social stratification in terms of ascribed as well as socially accepted stratification.

point out that disappearance of ethnic identities through the process of assimilation is often hampered when the dominant groups do not allow the flow of social benefits to certain groups, deemed to be powerless ethnic minorities. This situation gives rise to ethnic conflicts. All such situations of conflict make the study of social stratification very important, and relevant for sociologists. That is why it is necessary to also look briefly, at the various theories of social stratification. Here, we discuss two major theories, namely, the functionalist theory and the conflict theory.

Check Your Progress 2

Note: a) Use the space given for your answer.

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

1) What is the term given to ranks determined on the basis of age? Use one line for your answer.

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2) Name two main types of slave system. Use one line for your answer.

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3) Which form of social stratification is defined in terms of relationship to ownership of land? Use one line for your answer.

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4) Name the two levels at which the caste system in India operates. Use four lines for your answer.

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5) Which of the six types of social stratification, is commonly found in industrialised societies? Use one line for your answer.

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6) Give the sociological definition of race. Use three lines for your answer.

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29.4 THEORETICAL APPROACHES TO THE STUDY OF SOCIAL STRATIFICATION

At least four social processes are associated with stratification. These processes are discussed below:

i) Differentiation refers to allocation of roles, rights and responsibilities. Through differentiation of statuses tasks are clearly defined and distinguished. Motivation and rewards are provided for fulfilment of expected roles and responsibilities.

land. (Thomer, D. in Gupta (ed.) 1992; pp. 265). On the questions of the role of classes in society and their **intra** and **inter linkages**, sociologists have adopted different approaches and developed different theories of social stratification. About these approaches and theories we will tell you briefly at the end of this unit. You can get more details on these issues in ESO-04 & ESO-14.

In industrial societies, we find that social classes coexist with status groups. This observation led Max Weber to distinguish between the two, and to look at their linkages with each other. Max Weber argued that social classes are ranked according to their **relation** to the ways of producing and acquiring goods. Status groups however are ranked according to the ways of consuming goods. This way of understanding the difference between classes and status groups is an over simplification. Since **Weber's formulation** of this distinction, many **sociologists** have made studies of the notions of class and status. At this stage it will suffice to say that analysing social stratification in industrial societies is a very difficult task. In the context of developing societies, it is an even more difficult task, because in these societies social class is only one component and the elements of status **groups**, castes or caste-like groups, racial and **ethnic** groups exist side by side.

29.3.6 Race and Ethnicity

The remaining type of social stratification is the **one** based on race and ethnicity. Race, as a biological concept, refers to a large category of people who share **certain** inherited **physical** characteristics – colour of **skin**, type of **hair**; facial features, size of head etc. Anthropologists initially tried to arrive at a classification of races, but ran into problems, because more advanced studies of racial types showed the near absence of pure races. Thus, the latest thinking is that **all** humans belong to a common group. **Recent** genetic research indicates that 95 per cent of DNA (gene-rating) **molecules** are the **same** for all humans. **The** remaining 5 per cent are responsible for differences in appearance. Outward differences are also seen as varying within a race rather **than** across the races. Thus, **the** classification of races floundered at the scientific level.

For sociologists, a race is a group of people who **are** perceived by a given society, as biologically different from the others. Thus, people are assigned to one race or another, by public opinion which is moulded by that society's dominant group, rather **than** on any scientific basis. In racist societies, for example South Africa, physical characteristics are believed to be intrinsically related to moral, intellectual and other non-physical attributes and abilities.

At the theoretical level, sociologists talk about race relations as forms of stratification. These are characterised by unequal access to wealth and power, on the basis of physical characteristics. We find in this situation **the** presence of racial ideologies in one form or the other,

Looking at **ethnicity**, it can be said that whereas race is based on popularly perceived physical traits, ethnicity is based on cultural traits. Ethnic group is thus defined as a common group of peoples with a common cultural **heritage** (**learned**, not inherited). This group may share a **common** language, **history**, national origin, or lifestyle.

The factor of migration on a massive scale in the **last** century, provided sociologists an opportunity to **examine** the fate of ethnic **identities**. For example, the Chicago School of Sociologists found that over several **generations**, ethnic identities were lost and later revised. **Gellner** (1964 : 163) aptly describes the situation thus : the grandson tries to remember what the son tried to forget. However, sociologists also

Activity 2

Think about your local community and the kind of social inequality found in it. Now read carefully the section 29.4 of this unit and write an essay on which approach you think is more suitable, the functionalist or the conflict approach towards the understanding of your community. Discuss your answer with the students and Academic Counsellor of your Study Centre.

29.4.2 Conflict Perspective

According to the conflict perspective, stratification occurs not because it is functional, but because groups compete for scarce resources. Thus, rather than performing a function, stratification reflects an unjust allocation of resources and power in society. Those having power exploit the rest in the competition for resources and power in society. Those having power exploit the rest in the competition for resources. The unequal distribution of rewards reflects the interest of the powerful groups rather than the societal needs. Conflict theorists also say that the use of ideology by dominant groups justifies their dominance. Further if a system is to survive and reproduce itself, the subordinate group must also follow the system. It would otherwise lead to instability of the society.

The conflict perspective is understood easily when one looks at the history of stratification systems. Tunin (1969) looked at the functional theory from a conflict perspective. He felt that far from being functional, stratification systems are dysfunctional. Firstly, stratification limits the opportunities of the under-privileged or subordinate groups in society. This limitation of opportunities represents a loss of talent to the wider society. Secondly, stratification helps to maintain the status quo even when the status quo has become dysfunctional. This is because the privileged class is able to impose upon society the idea that the existing inequalities are natural, logical and morally right. Thirdly, because stratification systems distribute rewards unjustly, they encourage the less privileged to become hostile, suspicious and distrustful. This results in social unrest and chaos.

Although, Marx was not a stratification theorist, much of conflict theory came up in response to his approach to classes and class conflict. According to Marx, development of material production forms the basis of progress. In order to achieve production, classes come into being. A class, due to historical factors, gains control of the productive forces (the means of production) in a society. The others then become subservient to this class, and this leads to antagonistic relations among classes. In Marxist theory, social classes have a decisive role in the process of social change. Those attitudes make sure that widespread ideology in society is that which suits them most. This situation gives rise to conflict between classes. Within the conflict theory, Marx's ideas were criticised by many sociologists. Social Stratification (ESO-04 and ESO-14) deals in detail with various aspects of the conflict theory.

Check Your Progress 3

Note: a) Use the space given for your answer.

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

1) Name the four social processes associated with stratification. Use two lines for your answer.

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- ii) **Ranking** of statuses is based on personal characteristics, trained skills and consequences of tasks performed.
- iii) **Evaluation** of ranks depends upon values cherished by a society. Evaluation is also based on prestige and preferability **attached** with a given status.
- iv) **Reward and punishment** depend upon **performance** as well as society's evaluative considerations.

A number of theoretical approaches have been put forward for studying these processes, involved in stratification. Of these, functional and conflict approaches occupy a place of prominence.

29.4.1 Functional Approach

Differentiation based on division of work is considered an inevitable state of **affairs** in all human societies. One person obviously **cannot** perform all or most of the **functions** in a society. One has to depend upon other **persons** for some tasks, which **one** does not or cannot perform. Similarly, others **depend** upon him or her for those tasks **which** he or she performs. Thus, for different **functions**, persons of different intent and ability are required. These **persons** by sheer **differential** intent, ability and **performance** become different **from** each other. Their **functions** are valued differently. They are rewarded according to the values attached to their functions. It is this differential reward pattern which gives rise to stratification and hierarchy.

Functional theorists of stratification, such as **Kingsley Davis** and **Wilbert Moore** stress the necessity of stratification in the **functional sense**. They observe that it is a universal phenomenon, and go on to argue that it must **serve** a useful positive function, and be necessary for societal survival. For them, it is the mechanism by which society ensures, that the most perfect positions are **carefully** filled, by the most **qualified** and able persons in society. They observe that since these top positions require a substantial period of training and deferral of gratification, they also receive higher rewards, in **terms** of prestige and monetary **rewards**. These act as motivational factors to perform efficiently in the job. Thus, **according** to this theory, the unequal **possession** of talents is handled by the system of stratification. This theory provides us an understanding of the present system of stratification. With the help of this theory, the parts of a society can be related to the **whole** of it.

However, sociologists, such as Tumin (1969) and Dahrendorf (1959), have challenged the basic **assumptions** of this theory. **For** example, Davis and Moore (1945) have been criticised for confusing social stratification with the existence of specialised roles or division of labour. In fact, stratification refers to a system of **unequally** privileged groups and individuals, rather than the differentiation based on division of labour.

The Davis-Moore approach is too general to explain the specific nature and causes of social inequality. It ignores the possible negative consequences of stratification and differential **opportunities** for mobility.

Ralph Dahrendorf (1959) observes that **stratification** originates from the "closely related trinity of norm, sanction and power". A **society** has an authority structure to **sustain** its system of norms and sanctions. It **has** a system of "institutionalised power". It is the **possession** of this power in terms of "coercion" and "coerced" that explains social stratification. According to Dahrendorf the functional theory does not specifically explain the distribution of **power, authority** and privilege as the basis of social stratification.

process of attempting to change one's rank by giving up attributes, that define a **caste** as low and **adopting** attributes that are indicative of higher status, has been called **Sanskritisation**.

- Serf** : A person, belonging to a servile feudal class, **bound** to the soil and the master,
- Slave** : A person held in submission **as** the chattel of a **master**.
- Social Mobility** : A change in status within the ranked social levels of a society.

29.7 FURTHER READINGS

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29.8 MODEL ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Check Your Progress 1

- 1) The three bases of social stratification **are**:
i) class, ii) status, iii) power.
- 2) Class is an economic category, based on one's income while status group is determined by the social prestige one enjoys.

Check Your Progress 2

- 1) Ranks determined on the basis of age are called age-sets.
2. The two main types of slavery are – Ancient slavery and New World slavery.
- 3) Estate – **system** of social stratification is determined on the basis of one's relationship to ownership of land.
- 4) Caste operates at two levels. Firstly, at an All-India level, caste is understood in terms of a four-fold classification of *varna*—*Brahmin, Kshatriya, Vaishya and Shudra*. Secondly, it operates at the village level in terms of "jati".
- 5) Class **system** is the most commonly found system of social stratification in **industrial** societies.
- 6) In sociological terms, **race** can be defined as a group of people who are considered by a given society **as** biologically different **from** the others.

Check Your Progress 3

- 1) The four processes **involved in** social stratification **are** :
i) differentiation, ii) ranking, iii) evaluation and iv) rewarding
- 3) The functionalist theory helps **one** to understand the existing system of social stratification in society. Secondly, it helps in **relating** the **parts** of society to the whole and one part to **another**.
- 4) According to conflict **theory**, social stratification occurs in society because groups compete for scarce resources.

- 2) Give two ways in which the functionalist **approach** to the study of social stratification helps a sociologist. Use three **lines** for your answer.
-
- 3) Give, in one line, the main reason why, **according** to the **conflict** theory, stratification occurs in society.
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29.5 LET US SUM UP

After defining social stratification as a system of social **ranking** involving relations of superiority and inferiority, we have discussed its **three** dimensions, namely, class, status and power. Then we described the six types of social stratification; namely,

- i) the age set system,
- ii) slave system,
- iii) estate system,
- iv) caste system,
- v) class system, and
- vi) **race/ethnic** system;

existing in human societies. This unit outlined theoretical approaches for studying various processes involved in social stratification. We concluded the discussion with an account of the **functionalist** and **conflict** approaches to the study of social stratification.

29.6 KEY WORDS

- Aristocracy** : An upper class, comprising an hereditary nobility.
- Burgers** : Inhabitants of **borough** or a town.
- Commensality** : The relationship involving those who habitually eat together.
- Commoner** : One of the ordinary **people**, without a noble rank.
- Estate** : **The** extent of one's **interest** in land or a person's property in land **and** tenements or a landed property.
- Evaluative Ranking** : Determining a **rank** on the basis of its high or low value.
- Feudal** : The relation of **lord** to vassal (a person under the protection).
- Manumission** : Fonnal **release from** slavery,
- New World** : The western **hemisphere**, especially the continents of north and south *America*.
- Sanskritisation** : At some time or **the** other, most castes try to raise their **rank** in the local **caste** hierarchy, by giving up their attributes and trying to **adopt** those of castes above them. The

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