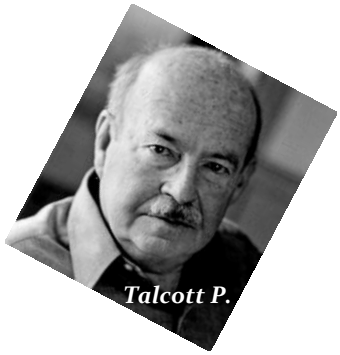
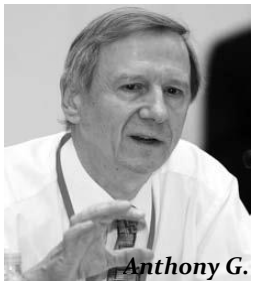


COURSE MATERIAL

MIZAN- TEPI UNIVERSITY

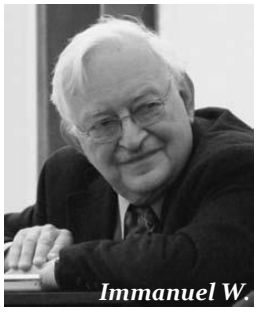
COLLEGE OF SOCIAL SCIENCE AND HUMANITIES

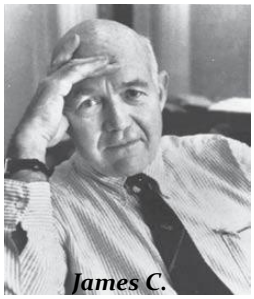
DEPARTMENT OF SOCIOLOGY

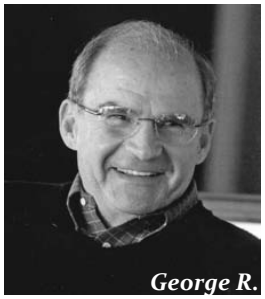


SOCIOLOGICAL THEORIES II: CONTEMPORARY PERSPECTIVES – SOCI1042

[By: Demelash B. (M.A.)]







AUGUST, 2015 | MIZAN-AMAN

Module Name	**Sociological Theories**
Module Code	**SocM1041**
Clustered Courses	**SOCI1041: Sociological Theories I: Classical Perspectives – 5 ECTS** **SOCI1042: Sociological Theories II: Contemporary Perspectives – 5ECTS**
ECTS	**10**
Total Module Study Hour	**270 hours (135 hours for each course)**

Module Description

This module encompasses two courses: Sociological Theories I: Classical Perspectives and Sociological Theories II: Contemporary Perspectives. The module covers an overview of the history of sociological theory in the classical period by introducing students to the founding fathers of sociology and the main approaches to early sociological theory. It further provides a broad coverage of contemporary sociological theories which includes the likes of structural functionalism, neo-functionalism, conflict theory, various types of neo-Marxist theories and more.

Module Objectives

The primary objective of this module is to convey to the students the basic knowledge about the development of sociological theories in the modern period based on the classical theoretical foundations. It is hoped that after completing the module, students will be familiar with the subject matter and will be able to develop the skills to articulate, compare, contrast and apply selected theoretical perspectives to their own research and/or interests.

Module Competency

- ✓ Substantiate the structure of classical and contemporary sociological theory;
- ✓ Critically review sociological thought; and
- ✓ Apply sociological theories to explain every day social life.

Course Description

This course deals with contemporary sociological theories that were developed in the late 20th century and afterwards. After the classical phase, sociology came to be recognized as a distinct perspective, and widely popularized in European as well as American academics. One of the results of this consolidation was a process of reinterpretation of classical theory and its conversion into organized schools of thought. This course provides a broad coverage of such contemporary sociological schools of thought including the likes of structural functionalism, neo-functionalism, conflict theory, neo-Marxist theories and others.

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Chapter One

Introduction to the Structure of Contemporary Sociological Theories

1.1. The Structure of Sociological Theory

- Sociological theorists are distinctive because they express their assumptions or hypotheses very systematically and discuss in a very comprehensive way how far their theories explain social life. Even more important, they provide new insights into behavior and the workings of societies. These, in turn, are disseminated, and in years to come they may affect the ideas of many who have never read the original work.
- The systematic way in which sociological theory sets out its ideas is a quality it shares with the theory of any other discipline: psychology, physics and the rest. Shared, too, is a second important quality: it relates innumerable events, with many apparent differences, to general principles that bring out their similarities.
- Counselors' interviews with high school students and trials for murder may both be examined in the light of what they show about the shared ideas of members and the creative and unpredictable dynamics of human interaction.
- However, although sociological theory shares the essential systematization qualities of all theory, in other ways it often differs from what is usually meant by the term. The classical definition of a theory is essentially a deductive one. It starts with definitions of some general concepts (and, often a few clearly stated assumptions); lays out rules about how to classify the things we observe in terms of these different categories; and then puts forward a number of general propositions about the concepts. Once observers have classified their subject matter, a generalized theory allows them to deduce logically a number of quite specific statements about its nature and behavior.
- Much sociological theory is of this very clearly defined type; but much is not. Robert Merton emphasized that "much of what is described in textbooks as sociological theory consists of general orientations towards substantive materials."

- For example, if a theory puts forward a number of very general propositions about human motivation, it may imply that some sorts of behavior are more likely than others and thereby provide the observer with a handle on a situation. However, it will supply very little in the way of concrete propositions.
- Moreover, because of their difference, sociological theories may look like a group of perspectives with very little in common except their general and formalizing approach and their concern with understanding human behavior.
- However, even those theories which are farthest removed from the deductive model involve a set of concepts, which are often described as the most elementary "building blocks" of any theory. Basically, a *concept* can be described as a word or symbol that represents a phenomenon (a label used to name and classify perceptions and experiences) or an abstract idea generalized from particular instances. Durkheim's concept, anomie, and Marx's concept, alienation, are classic examples of sociological concepts.
- The key concepts of a theory enable us to "see" parts of social reality that may have escaped us otherwise. Concepts are an essential first step in understanding and analyzing social phenomena.

1.2. Differences Between Sociological Theories

- Sociological theories differ in four significant aspects. These are:
    1. Subject Matter,
    2. Assumptions,
    3. Methodology , and
    4. Objectives

1.2.1. Subject Matter

- In their subject matter, sociological theories divide rather clearly between those theories that are concerned with the large-scale characteristics of social structures and roles, or *Macrosociology*, and those concerned with person-to-person encounters and the details of human interaction and communication, or *Microsociology*.

- Functionalism and conflict theory are the two approaches concerned with the overall characteristics of social structure and the general nature of social institutions. Symbolic interactionism could hardly be more different, for they examine human interaction in the minutest detail.

1.2.2. Assumptions

- Sociological theorists' most important underlying assumptions concern human nature. Theorists differ, in particular, in whether they view human behavior as essentially determined and so in principle *predictable,* or whether they emphasize human *creativity.*
- Conflict theorists' search for general explanatory propositions, for example, implies that by and large at least, behavior is determined and predictable. Symbolic interactionists, on the other hand, believe that the active and creative nature of individual makes it impossible to predict behavior and develop "laws" of a scientific type.

1.2.3. Methodology

- The third important respect in which sociological theories differ is in their methods of argument and research, in particular whether they advocate deductive or inductive reasoning. With a deductive (or natural science) approach, one begins with explanatory hypotheses about a research problem and uses logical reasoning to deduce its empirical implications.
- In this approach the "recipe" for theory building requires that the basic concepts be spelled out before they are used in the formulation of hypotheses. For example, Durkheim's basic concepts (egoism, altruism, anomie, and fatalism) were used as key independent variables in his analysis of suicide rates.
- On the other hand, scientists using the inductive approach begin with observation by immersing themselves in the data. They feel that to start analysis with a clearly defined hypothesis is too rigid and may lead the analyst to ignore important aspects of their research subject.

- It is far better, they suggest, getting to know a subject and situation well and gradually build up, or induce, descriptions and/or explanations of what is really going on. In an inductive approach, the key concepts emerge in the final analysis of the research process. Hence, induction implies an inference from the particular to the general. In both deduction and induction, however, the theorist is concerned with clearly defined concepts that can be used to help understand what is going on.
- Sociological theories also differ in whether they advocate a heavy reliance on quantitative data. This aspect of their methodology tends to be related to whether they adopt a deductive model, since the scientific idea of hypothesis testing is associated with using quantitative data.

Table 1.1. Important Differences Between Sociological Theories

Level of Analysis	**Macro**	**Micro**
	Functionalism Conflict	Symbolic Interactionism Phenomenology Rational Choice
View of Human Beings	**Predictable**	**Creative**
	Functionalism Conflict Rational Choice	Symbolic Interactionism Phenomenology
Motivation for Human Social Action	**Values**	**Interests**
	Functionalism Phenomenology Symbolic Interactionism	Conflict Rational Choice
Scientific Approach	**Deductive**	**Inductive**
	Functionalism Conflict Rational Choice	Symbolic Interactionism Phenomenology

1.2.4. Objectives

- The final respect in which sociological theories differ from each other is in their ultimate objectives – in particular, whether they aim largely at *describing* things or at *explaining*, or even *predicting* them.
- Among sociological theories we find that objectives are closely associated with methodology.
- Symbolic interactionism, for example, places greater emphasis on descriptive analysis while functionalism and conflict theory aim at explaning phenomena interms of more general principles.

Chapter Two
Structural-Functionalism and Neo-Functionalism

2.1. Structural Functionalism

- In structural functionalism, the terms *structural* and *functional* need not be used in conjunction, although they typically are conjoined.
- We could study the structures of society without being concerned with their functions (or consequences) for other structures. Similarly, we could examine the functions of a variety of social processes that may not take a structural form. Still, the concern for both elements characterizes structural functionalism.
- Although structural functionalism takes various forms, *societal functionalism* is the dominant approach among sociological structural functionalists.
- The primary concern of societal functionalism is the large-scale social structures and institutions of society, their interrelationships, and their constraining effects on actors.

2.1.1. Basic Premises of Functionalism

- Structural functionalism as a sociological theory has the following major premises/assumptions:
    1. Systems have the property of order and interdependence of parts.
    2. Systems tend toward self-maintaining order, or equilibrium.
    3. The system may be static or involved in an ordered process of change.
    4. The nature of one part of the system has an impact on the form that the other parts can take.
    5. Systems maintain boundaries with their environments.
    6. Allocation and integration are two fundamental processes necessary for a given state of equilibrium of a system.
    7. Systems tend toward self-maintenance involving the maintenance of boundaries and of the relationships of parts to the whole, control of

environmental variations, and control of tendencies to change the system from within.

2.1.2. Talcott Parsons: Theory of the Social System

- Talcott Parsons (1902 – 1979) was born in Colorado Springs, Colorado. Parsons got an undergraduate degree from Amherst College in 1924 and set out to do graduate work at the London School of Economics.
- Parsons was greatly affected by Weber's work and ultimately wrote his doctoral thesis in 1925 at Heidelberg, dealing, in part, with Weber's work.
- Parsons became an instructor at Harvard in 1927. In 1937 he published *The Structure of Social Action.* He was made chairman of the Harvard sociology department in 1944.
- By 1949 he had been elected president of the American Sociological Association. In 1951 he published *The Social System*.
- In the 1950s and into the 1960s, Parsons became the dominant figure in American sociology.
- Parsons remained at Harvard until his death in 1979.
- Parsons's conception of the social system begins at the micro level with interaction between ego and alter ego, defined as the most elementary form of the social system.
- He spent little time analyzing this level, although he did argue that features of this interaction system are present in the more complex forms taken by the social system.
- Parsons defined a *social system* thus:

> *A social system consists in a plurality of individual actors interacting with each other in a situation which has at least a physical or environmental aspect, actors who are motivated in terms of a tendency to the "optimization of gratification" and whose relation to their situations, including each other, is defined and mediated in terms of a system of culturally structured and shared symbols.*
>
> (Parsons, 1951:5–6)

- This definition seeks to define a social system in terms of many of the key concepts in Parsons' work—actors, interaction, environment, optimization of gratification, and culture.

- Despite his commitment to viewing the social system as a system of interaction, Parsons did not take interaction as his fundamental unit in the study of the social system.
- Rather, he used the *status-role* complex as the basic unit of the system. This is neither an aspect of actors nor an aspect of interaction but rather a *structural* component of the social system.
- *Status* refers to a structural position within the social system, and *role* is what the actor does in such a position, seen in the context of its functional significance for the larger system.
- The actor is viewed not in terms of thoughts and actions but instead (at least in terms of position in the social system) as nothing more than a bundle of statuses and roles.
- In his analysis of the social system, Parsons was interested primarily in its structural components. In addition to a concern with the status-role, Parsons was interested in such large-scale components of social systems as collectivities, norms, and values.

A) AGIL Functions: Adaptation, Goal Attainment, Integration, and Latency

- A *function* is "a complex of activities directed towards meeting a need or needs of the system".
- Using this definition, Parsons believes that there are four functional imperatives that are necessary for (characteristic of) all systems—*adaptation (A), goal attainment (G), integration (I),* and *latency (L), or pattern maintenance*.
- Together, these four functional imperatives are known as the AGIL scheme. In order to survive, a system must perform these four functions
    1. Adaptation: A system must cope with external situational pressures. It must adapt to its environment and adapt the environment to its needs.
    2. Goal attainment: A system must define and achieve its primary goals.
    3. Integration: A system must regulate the interrelationship of its component parts. It also must manage the relationship among the other three functional imperatives (A, G, L).

4. Latency (Pattern Maintenance): A system must furnish, maintain, and renew both the motivation of individuals and the cultural patterns that create and sustain that motivation.

- Parsons designed the AGIL scheme to be used at *all* levels in his theoretical system.
- The *behavioral organism* is the action system that handles the adaptation function by adjusting to and transforming the external world.
- The *personality system* performs the goal-attainment function by defining system goals and mobilizing resources to attain them.
- The *social system* copes with the integration function by controlling its component parts.
- Finally, the *cultural system* performs the latency function by providing actors with the norms and values that motivate them for action.

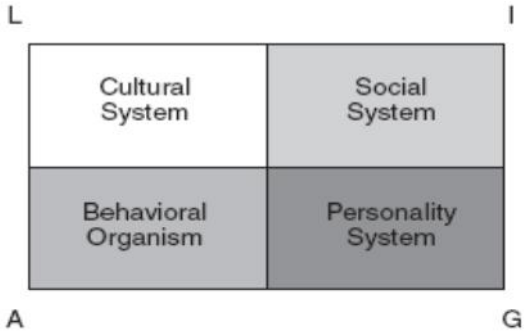


FIGURE 2.1 Structure of the General Action System

- Although the idea of a social system encompasses all types of collectivities, one specific and particularly important social system is *society,* "a relatively self-sufficient collectivity the members of which are able to satisfy all their individual and collective needs and to live entirely within its framework" (Rocher, 1975:60).
- As a structural functionalist, Parsons distinguished among four structures, or subsystems, in society in terms of the functions (AGIL) they perform (see Figure 2.2.).
- The *economy* is the subsystem that performs the function for society of adapting to the environment through labor, production, and allocation. Through such work, the economy adapts the environment to society's needs, and it helps society adapt to these external realities.

- The *polity* (or political system) performs the function of goal attainment by pursuing societal objectives and mobilizing actors and resources to that end.
- The *fiduciary system* (for example, in the schools, the family) handles the latency function by transmitting culture (norms and values) to actors and allowing it to be internalized by them.
- Finally, the integration function is performed by the *societal community* (for example, the law), which coordinates the various components of society.

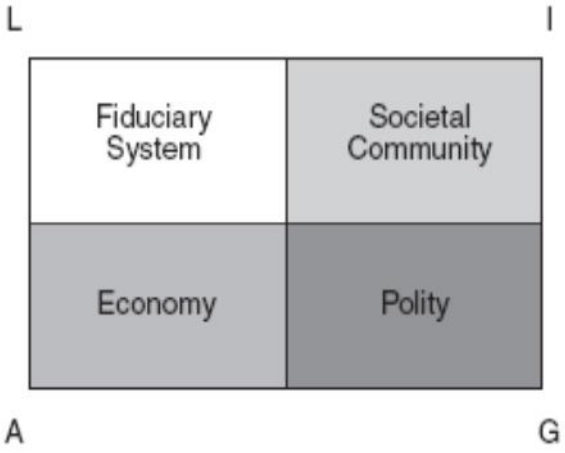


FIGURE 2.2. Society, Its Subsystems, and the Functional Imperatives

- As important as the structures of the social system were to Parsons, the cultural system was more important. In fact, as we saw earlier, the cultural system stood at the top of Parsons' action system, and Parsons (1966) labeled himself a *"cultural determinist."*
- In addition, Parsons was not simply a structuralist but also a functionalist. He thus delineated a number of the *functional prerequisites* of a social system.
    1. First, social systems must be structured so that they operate *compatibly* with other systems.
    2. Second, to survive, the social system must have the *necessary support* from other systems.
    3. Third, the system must meet *a significant proportion of the needs* of its actors.
    4. Fourth, the system must *elicit adequate participation* from its members.

5. Fifth, it must have *at least a minimum of control* over potentially disruptive behavior. If conflict becomes sufficiently disruptive, it must be controlled.
6. Finally, a social system requires *a language* in order to survive.

B) Actors and the Social System

- However, Parsons did not completely ignore the issue of the relationship between actors and social structures in his discussion of the social system. In fact, he called the integration of value patterns and need-dispositions "the fundamental dynamic theorem of sociology" (Parsons, 1951:42).
- Given his central concern with the social system, of key importance in this integration are the processes of internalization and socialization. That is, Parsons was interested in the ways in which the norms and values of a system are transferred to the actors within the system.
- In a successful socialization process these norms and values are internalized; that is, they become part of the actors' "consciences."
- As a result, in pursuing their own interests, the actors are in fact serving the interests of the system as a whole.
- As Parsons put it, "The combination of value-orientation patterns which is acquired [by the actor in socialization] *must in a very important degree be a function of the fundamental role structure and dominant values of the social system"* (Parsons, 1951:227)
- In general, Parsons assumed that actors usually are passive recipients in the socialization process. Children learn not only how to act but also the norms and values, the morality, of society.
- Socialization is conceptualized as a conservative process in which need-dispositions (which are themselves largely molded by society) bind children to the social system, and it provides the means by which the need-dispositions can be satisfied.
- There is little or no room for creativity; the need for gratification ties children to the system as it exists. Parsons sees socialization as a lifelong experience.

- Because the norms and values inculcated in childhood tend to be very general, they do not prepare children for the various specific situations they encounter in adulthood.
- Thus socialization must be supplemented throughout the life cycle with a series of more specific socializing experiences. Despite this need later in life, the norms and values learned in childhood tend to be stable and, with a little gentle reinforcement, tend to remain in force throughout life.
- In spite of the conformity induced by lifelong socialization, there is a wide range of individual variation in the system. The question is: *Why is this normally not a major problem for the social system, given its need for order?*
- For one thing, a number of social control mechanisms can be employed to induce conformity. However, as far as Parsons was concerned, social control is strictly a second line of defense. A system runs best when social control is used only sparingly.
- For another thing, the system must be able to tolerate some variation, some deviance. A flexible social system is stronger than a brittle one that accepts no deviation.
- Finally, the social system should provide a wide range of role opportunities that allow different personalities to express themselves without threatening the integrity of the system.

2.1.3. Robert Merton's Structural Functionalism

- Although Talcott Parsons is the most important structural-functional theorist, his student Robert Merton (1910 – 2003) authored some of the most important statements on structural functionalism in sociology.
- Merton criticized some of the more extreme and indefensible aspects of structural functionalism. But equally important, his new conceptual insights helped give structural functionalism a continuing usefulness.
- Although both Merton and Parsons are associated with structural functionalism, there are important differences between them.
- First of all, while Parsons advocated the creation of grand, overarching theories, Merton favored more limited, middle range theories.
- Secondly, Merton was more favorable toward Marxian theories than Parsons was.

2.1.3.1. A Structural-Functional Model

- Merton criticized what he saw as the three basic postulates of functional analysis as it was developed by anthropologists such as Malinowski and Radcliffe-Brown.
- The first is the postulate of the *functional unity of society*. This postulate holds that all standardized social and cultural beliefs and practices are functional for society as a whole as well as for individuals in society. This view implies that the various parts of a social system must show a high level of integration.
- However, Merton maintained that although it may be true of small, primitive societies, this generalization cannot be extended to larger, more complex societies.
- *Universal functionalism* is the second postulate. That is, it is argued that *all* standardized social and cultural forms and structures have positive functions.
- Merton argued that this contradicts what we find in the real world. It is clear that not every structure, custom, idea, belief, and so forth, has positive functions.
- Third is the postulate of *indispensability*. The argument here is that all standardized aspects of society not only have positive functions but also represent indispensable parts of the working whole. This postulate leads to the idea that all structures and functions are functionally necessary for society. No other structures and functions could work quite as well as those that are currently found within society.
- Merton's criticism, following Parsons, was that we must at least be willing to admit that there are various structural and functional alternatives to be found within society.
- Early structural functionalists tended to focus almost entirely on the *functions* of one social structure or institution for another.
- However, in Merton's view, early analysts tended to confuse the subjective motives of individuals with the functions of structures or institutions. The focus of the structural functionalist should be on social functions rather than on individual motives.
- *Functions,* according to Merton, are defined as "those observed consequences which make for the adaptation or adjustment of a given system" (1949/1968:105).

- However, there is a clear ideological bias when one focuses only on adaptation or adjustment, for they are always positive consequences. It is important to note that one social fact can have negative consequences for another social fact.
- To rectify this serious omission in early structural functionalism, Merton developed the idea of a *dysfunction.* Just as structures or institutions could contribute to the maintenance of other parts of the social system, they also could have negative consequences for them.
- Example: Slavery in the southern United States clearly had positive consequences for white southerners, such as supplying cheap labor, support for the cotton economy, and social status. It also had dysfunctions, such as making southerners overly dependent on an agrarian economy and therefore unprepared for industrialization. The lingering disparity between the North and the South in industrialization can be traced, at least in part, to the dysfunctions of the institution of slavery in the South.
- Merton also posited the idea of *nonfunctions,* which he defined as consequences that are simply irrelevant to the system under consideration. Included here might be social forms that are "survivals" from earlier historical times. Although they may have had positive or negative consequences in the past, they have no significant effect on contemporary society.
- To help answer the question of whether positive functions outweigh dysfunctions, or vice versa, Merton developed the concept of *net balance.*
- However, we never can simply add up positive functions and dysfunctions and objectively determine which outweighs the other, because the issues are so complex and are based on so much subjective judgment that they cannot be calculated and weighed easily.
- The usefulness of Merton's concept comes from the way it orients the sociologist to the question of relative significance. To return to the example of slavery, the question becomes whether, on balance, slavery was more functional or dysfunctional to the South. Still, this question is too broad and obscures a number of issues (for example, that slavery was functional for groups such as white slaveholders).

- To cope with problems like these, Merton added the idea that there must be *levels of functional analysis.*
- Functionalists had generally restricted themselves to analysis of the society as a whole, but Merton made it clear that analysis also could be done on an organization, institution, or group.
- Related to the issue of the functions of slavery for the South, it would be necessary to differentiate several levels of analysis and ask about the functions and dysfunctions of slavery for black families, white families, black political organizations, white political organizations, and so forth. In terms of net balance, slavery was probably more functional for certain social units and more dysfunctional for other social units.
- Addressing the issue at these more specific levels helps in analyzing the functionality of slavery for the South as a whole.
- Merton also introduced the concepts of *manifest* and *latent* functions. These two terms have also been important additions to functional analysis.
- In simple terms, *manifest functions* are those that are intended, whereas *latent functions* are unintended.
- The manifest function of slavery, for example, was to increase the economic productivity of the South, but it had the latent function of providing a vast underclass that served to increase the social status of southern whites, both rich and poor.
- This idea is related to another of Merton's concepts— *unanticipated consequences.* Actions have both intended and unintended consequences.
- Although everyone is aware of the intended consequences, sociological analysis is required to uncover the unintended consequences; indeed, to some this is the very essence of sociology. Peter Berger (1963) has called this "debunking," or looking beyond stated intentions to real effects.
- Merton made it clear that unanticipated consequences and latent functions are not the same.
- A latent function is one type of unanticipated consequence, one that is functional for the designated system.

- But there are two other types of unanticipated consequences: "those that are dysfunctional for a designated system and these comprise the latent dysfunctions" and "those which are irrelevant to the system which they affect neither functionally or dysfunctionally . . . non-functional consequences" (Merton, 1949/1968:105).
- As further clarification of functional theory, Merton pointed out that a structure may be dysfunctional for the system as a whole yet may continue to exist.
- One might make a good case that discrimination against blacks, females, and other minority groups is dysfunctional for American society, yet it continues to exist because it is functional for a part of the social system; for example, discrimination against females is generally functional for males.
- Merton contended that not all structures are indispensable to the workings of the social system. Some parts of our social system *can* be eliminated.
- This helps functional theory overcome another of its conservative biases. By recognizing that some structures are expendable, functionalism opens the way for meaningful social change.
- Our society, for example, could continue to exist (and even be improved) by the elimination of discrimination against various minority groups.

2.1.3.2. Social Structure and Anomie

- Merton defines *culture* as "that organized set of *normative values* governing behavior which is common to members of a designated society or group" and *social structure* as "that organized set of *social relationships* in which members of the society or group are variously implicated" (1968:216).
- Anomie occurs "when there is an acute disjunction between the cultural norms and goals and the socially structured capacities of members of the group to act in accord with them" (Merton, 1968:216).
- That is, because of their position in the social structure of society, some people are unable to act in accord with normative values.
- The culture calls for some type of behavior that the social structure prevents from occurring. *When this happens individuals pursue certain modes of adaptation.*

- For example, in many societies around the world, culture places great emphasis on material success. However, by their position within the social structure, many people are prevented from achieving such success. If one is born into the lower socioeconomic classes one's chances of achieving economic success in the generally accepted way (for example, through succeeding in the conventional work world) are slim or nonexistent.
- Under such circumstances anomie can be said to exist, and as a result, there is a tendency toward deviant behavior. In this context, deviance often takes the form of alternative, unacceptable, and sometimes illegal means of achieving economic success.
- Thus, becoming a drug dealer or a prostitute in order to achieve economic success is an example of deviance generated by the disjunction between cultural values and social-structural means of attaining those values. This is one way in which the structural functionalist would seek to explain crime and deviance.
- The following table summarizes Merton's typology of modes of individual adaptation or his paradigm on deviant behavior.

A TYPOLOGY OF MODES OF INDIVIDUAL ADAPTATION[12]

MODES OF ADAPTATION	CULTURE GOALS	INSTITUTIONALIZED MEANS
I. Conformity	+	+
II. Innovation	+	−
III. Ritualism	−	+
IV. Retreatism	−	−
V. Rebellion[13]	±	±

I. Conformity

- To the extent that a society is stable, adaptation type I--conformity to both cultural goals and institutionalized means-is the most common.

II. Innovation

- Great cultural emphasis upon the success-goal invites this mode of adaptation through the use of institutionally proscribed but often effective means of attaining at least the image of success-wealth and power. This response occurs when the individual has assimilated the culture emphasis upon the goal without equally internalizing the institutional norms governing ways and means for its attainment.

III. Ritualism

- The ritualistic type of adaptation can be readily identified. It involves the abandoning or scaling down of the lofty cultural goals of great financial success and rapid social mobility to the point where one's aspirations can be satisfied. But though one rejects the cultural obligation to attempt to get ahead in the world, though one draws in one's horizons, one continues to abide almost compulsively by institutional norms.

IV. Retreatism

- Just as Adaptation I (conformity) remains the most frequent, Adaptation IV (the rejection of cultural goals and institutional means) is probably the least common. People who adapt in this fashion are, strictly speaking, *in* the society but not *of* it. Sociologically, these constitute the true aliens. Not sharing the common frame of values, they can be included as members of the *society (*in distinction from the *population)* only in an imaginary sense. Among people who fall in this category are chronic drunkards and drug addicts.

V. Rebellion

- This adaptation leads men outside the environing social structure to envisage and seek to bring into being a new and greatly modified social structure. It presupposes alienation from reigning goals and standards.

2.1.4. Major Criticisms Against Structural Functionalism

- No single sociological theory in the history of the discipline has been the focus of as much interest as structural functionalism. By the 1960s, however, criticisms of the theory had increased dramatically, and ultimately they became more prevalent than praise.

2.1.4.1. Substantive Criticisms

- One major criticism is that structural functionalism does not deal adequately with history — that it is inherently *ahistorical*. In fact, structural functionalism was developed, at least in part, in reaction to the historical evolutionary approach of certain anthropologists.
- Structural functionalists also are attacked for being unable to deal effectively with the *process* of social change. Whereas the preceding criticism deals with the seeming inability of structural functionalism to deal with the past, this one is concerned with the parallel incapacity of the approach to deal with the contemporary process of social change.
- Structural functionalists tend to see conflict as necessarily destructive and as occurring outside the framework of society. The issue once again is whether this is inherent in the theory or in the way practitioners have interpreted and used it.
- The overall criticisms that structural functionalism is unable to deal with history, change, and conflict has led many to argue that structural functionalism has a *conservative bias*.
- It may indeed be true that there is a conservative bias in structural functionalism that is attributable not only to what it ignores (change, history, conflict) but also to what it chooses to focus on. People are seen as constrained by cultural and social forces.
- Related to their cultural focus is the tendency of structural functionalists to mistake the legitimizations employed by elites in society for social reality. The normative system is interpreted as reflective of the society as a whole, when it may in fact be better viewed as an ideological system promulgated by, and existing for, the elite members of the society.

2.1.4.2. Methodological and Logical Criticisms

- One of the often expressed criticisms is that structural functionalism is basically vague, unclear, and ambiguous. Part of the ambiguity is traceable to the fact that structural functionalists choose to deal with abstract social systems instead of real societies.
- Another methodological criticism is that structural functionalism makes comparative analysis difficult. If the assumption is that a part of a system makes sense only in the context of the social system in which it exists, how can we compare it with a similar part in another system? Cohen asks, for example: If the English family makes sense only in the context of English society, how can we compare it to the French family?

2.1.4.3. Teleology and Tautology

- Percy Cohen (1968) and Jonathan Turner and A. Z. Maryanski (1979) see teleology and tautology as the two most important logical problems confronting structural functionalism.
- Turner and Maryanski (1979) argue that the problem with structural functionalism is not teleology per se, but *illegitimate* teleology. In this context, *teleology* is defined as the view that society (or other social structures) has purposes or goals. In order to achieve these goals, society creates, or causes to be created, specific social structures and social institutions.
- The problem, according to Turner and Maryanski, is the extension of teleology to unacceptable lengths.
- An *illegitimate teleology* is one that implies "that purpose or end states guide human affairs when such is not the case" (J. Turner and Maryanski, 1979:118).
- For example, it is illegitimate to assume that because society needs procreation and socialization it will create the family institution. A variety of alternative structures could meet these needs; society does not "need" to create the family. The structural functionalist must define and document the various ways in which the goals do, in fact, lead to the creation of specific substructures. It also would be useful to be able to show why other substructures could not meet the same needs.

- A legitimate teleology would be able to define and demonstrate *empirically* and *theoretically* the links between society's goals and the various substructures that exist within society. An illegitimate teleology would be satisfied with a blind assertion that a link between a societal end and a specific substructure must exist.
- The other major criticism of the logic of structural functionalism is that it is tautological.
- A *tautological* argument is one in which the conclusion merely makes explicit what is implicit in the premise or is simply a restatement of the premise.
- In structural functionalism, this circular reasoning often takes the form of defining the whole in terms of its parts and then defining the parts in terms of the whole.
- Thus, it would be argued that a social system is defined by the relationship among its component parts and that the component parts of the system are defined by their place in the larger social system.
- Because each is defined in terms of the other, neither the social system nor its parts are in fact defined at all. We really learn nothing about either the system or its parts.

2.2. Neo-Functionalism

- Under the stream of criticisms, structural functionalism declined in significance from the mid-1960s to the present day.
- However, by the mid-1980s, a major effort was undertaken to revive the theory under the heading "neo-functionalism."
- The term *neo-functionalism* was used to indicate continuity with structural functionalism but also to demonstrate that an effort was being made to extend structural functionalism and overcome its major difficulties.
- Jeffrey Alexander and Paul Colomy define *neo-functionalism* as "a self-critical strand of functional theory that seeks to broaden functionalism's intellectual scope while retaining its theoretical core" (1985:11).
- Thus, it seems clear that Alexander and Colomy see structural functionalism as overly narrow and that their goal is the creation of a more synthetic theory, which they prefer to label "neo-functionalism."

- Alexander (1985a:10) has enumerated the problems associated with structural functionalism that neo-functionalism needs to surmount, including "*anti-individualism," "antagonism to change," "conservatism," "idealism,"* and *an "anti-empirical bias."*
- Although neo-functionalism may not be a developed theory, Alexander (1985) has outlined some of its basic orientations.
- First, neo-functionalism operates with a descriptive model of society that sees society as composed of elements that, in interaction with one another, form a pattern. This pattern allows the system to be differentiated from its environment. Parts of the system are "symbiotically connected," and their interaction is not determined by some overarching force. Thus, neo-functionalism rejects any mono-causal determinism and is open-ended and pluralistic.
- Second, Alexander argues that neo-functionalism devotes roughly equal attention to action and order. It thus avoids the tendency of structural functionalism to focus almost exclusively on the macro-level sources of order in social structures and culture and to give little attention to more micro-level action patterns. Neo-functionalism also purports to have a broad sense of action, including not only rational but also expressive action.
- Third, neo-functionalism retains the structural-functional interest in integration, not as an accomplished fact but rather as a social *possibility*! It recognizes that deviance and social control are realities within social systems. Equilibrium within neo-functionalism is broader than the structural-functional concern, encompassing both moving and partial equilibrium. There is a disinclination to see social systems as characterized by static equilibrium. *Equilibrium,* broadly defined, is seen as a reference point for functional analysis but not as descriptive of the lives of individuals in actual social systems.
- Fourth, neo-functionalism accepts the traditional Parsonsian emphasis on personality, culture, and social system. In addition to being vital to social structure, the

interpenetration of these systems also produces tension that is an ongoing source of both change and control.

- Finally, neo-functionalism focuses on social change in the processes of differentiation within the social, cultural, and personality systems. Thus, change is not productive of conformity and harmony but rather "individuation and institutional strains" (Alexander, 1985b:10).
- Alexander and Colomy (1990a) staked out a very ambitious claim for neo-functionalism. They did not see neo-functionalism as, in their terms, a mere modest "elaboration," or "revision," of structural functionalism but rather as a much more dramatic "reconstruction" of it in which differences with the founder (Talcott Parsons) are clearly acknowledged and explicit openings are made to other theorists and theories.

Chapter Three

Conflict Theory: Ralf Dahrndorf and Lewis A. Coser

3.1. Introduction

- Similar to structural-functionalism, conflict theory is a macro-sociological theory oriented towards the study of large scale social structures and institutions.
- *The Conflict Paradigm* is a framework for building theory that envisions society as an arena of inequality that generates conflict and change.
- *Conflict Theory*, then, refers to any theoretical perspective (such as Marxism or feminism) informed by the idea that society is dominated by a conflict of interest between those who have access to wealth, power and status and the rest.
- While a p*aradigm* is a set of fundamental assumptions that guides thinking, a t*heory* is a statement of how and why facts are related.
- Although conflict theory draws many of its assumptions primarily from the works of Karl Marx, it also has partial affinity to the ideas of Max Weber as well as Georg Simmel.

3.2. Basic Premises of Conflict Theory

- *Conflict theory as a sociological theory has the following major premises/assumptions:*

1. To the functionalists, society is static or, at best, in a state of moving equilibrium, but to the conflict theorists, every society at every point is subject to processes of change.
2. Functionalists emphasize the orderliness of society; conflict theorists see dissension and conflict at every point in the social system.
3. Functionalists (or at least early functionalists) argue that every element in society contributes to stability; the exponents of conflict theory see many societal elements as contributing to disintegration and change.

4. Functionalists tend to see society as being held together informally by norms, values, and a common morality. Conflict theorists see whatever order there is in society as stemming from the coercion of some members by those at the top.
5. Where functionalists focus on the cohesion created by shared societal values, conflict theorists emphasize the role of power in maintaining order in society.

3.3. Ralf Dahrendorf (1929–2009)

- Dahrendorf is the major exponent of the position that society has two faces (conflict and consensus) and that sociological theory therefore should be divided into two parts, *conflict theory* and *consensus theory*.
- *Consensus theorists* should examine value integration in society, and *conflict theorists* should examine conflicts of interest and the coercion that holds society together in the face of these stresses.
- Dahrendorf recognized that society could not exist without both conflict and consensus, which are prerequisites for each other.
- Thus, we cannot have conflict unless there is some prior consensus. For example, French housewives are highly unlikely to conflict with Chilean chess players because there is no contact between them, no prior integration to serve as a basis for a conflict.
- Conversely, conflict can lead to consensus and integration. An example is the alliance between the United States and Japan that developed after World War II.
- Despite the interrelationship between consensus and conflict, Dahrendorf was not optimistic about developing a single sociological theory encompassing both processes.
- Avoiding a singular theory, Dahrendorf set out to construct a conflict theory of society.
- Dahrendorf called conflict and coercion "**the ugly face of society**" (1959:164).

- Dahrendorf began with, and was heavily influenced by, structural functionalism. He noted that to the functionalist, the social system is held together by voluntary cooperation or general consensus or both.
- However, to the conflict (or coercion) theorist, society is held together by "enforced constraint"; thus, some positions in society are delegated power and authority over others.
- This fact of social life led Dahrendorf to his central thesis that the *differential distribution of authority* "invariably becomes the determining factor of systematic social conflicts" (1959:165).

3.3.1. Authority

- Dahrendorf concentrated on larger social structures. Central to his thesis is the idea that various positions within society have different amounts of authority.
- Authority, for Dahrendorf, does not reside in individuals but in positions. Dahrendorf was interested not only in the structure of these positions but also in the conflict among them: "The *structural* origin of such conflicts must be sought in the arrangement of social roles endowed with expectations of domination or subjection" (1959:165).
- The first task of conflict analysis, to Dahrendorf, was to identify various authority roles within society.
- In addition to making the case for the study of large-scale structures such as authority roles, Dahrendorf was opposed to those who focus on the individual level. For example, he was critical of those who focus on the psychological or behavioral characteristics of the individuals who occupy such positions. He went so far as to say that those who adopted such an approach were not sociologists.
- The authority attached to positions is the key element in Dahrendorf's analysis. *Authority always implies both superordination and subordination.*

- Those who occupy positions of authority are expected to control subordinates; that is, they dominate because of the expectations of those who surround them, not because of their own psychological characteristics.
- *Authority is not a generalized social phenomenon; those who are subject to control, as well as permissible spheres of control, are specified in society.*
- Finally, *because authority is legitimate, sanctions can be brought to bear against those who do not comply. Authority is not a constant as far as Dahrendorf was concerned, because authority resides in positions, not in persons.*
- Thus, a person of authority in one setting does not necessarily hold a position of authority in another setting. Similarly, a person in a subordinate position in one group may be in a superordinate position in another.
- This follows from Dahrendorf's argument that society is composed of a number of units that he called *imperatively coordinated associations.* These may be seen as *associations of people controlled by a hierarchy of authority positions.*
- Since society contains many such associations, an individual can occupy a position of authority in one and a subordinate position in another.
- *Authority within each association is dichotomous; thus two, and only two, conflict groups can be formed within any association.* Those in positions of authority and those in positions of subordination hold certain interests that are "contradictory in substance and direction."
- Here we encounter another key term in Dahrendorf's theory of conflict— *interests.* Groups on top and at the bottom are defined by common interests.
- Within every association, those in dominant positions seek to maintain the status quo while those in subordinate positions seek change.
- *A conflict of interest within any association is at least latent at all times, which means that the legitimacy of authority is always insecure.*
- This conflict of interest need not be conscious in order for superordinates or subordinates to act. The interests of superordinates and subordinates are reflected in the expectations (roles) attached to positions.

- Individuals do not have to internalize these expectations or even be conscious of them in order to act in accord with them. If they occupy given positions, they will behave in the expected manner.
- Individuals are "adjusted" or "adapted" to their roles when they contribute to conflict between superordinates and subordinates.
- *Dahrendorf called these unconscious role expectations latent interests. Manifest interests are latent interests that have become conscious.*

3.3.2. Groups, Conflict, and Change

- Dahrendorf distinguished three broad *types of groups*. These are:
    1. **Quasi Groups**: are aggregates of incumbents of positions with identical role interests. These are the recruiting grounds for the second type of group— *the interest group.*
    2. **Interest Groups:** are groups characterized by common modes of behavior. Interest groups are groups in the strict sense of the sociological term; and they are the real agents of group conflict. They have a structure, a form of organization, a program or goal, and personnel of members (Dahrendorf, 1959:180).
    3. **Conflict Groups:** are groups that emerge out of many interest groups and actually engage in group conflict.
- Dahrendorf felt that the concepts of latent and manifest interests, of quasi groups, interest groups, and conflict groups, were basic to an explanation of social conflict. Under *ideal* conditions no other variables would be needed.
- However, because conditions are never ideal, many different factors do intervene in the process. Dahrendorf mentioned *technical conditions* such as adequate personnel, *political conditions* such as the overall political climate, and *social conditions* such as the existence of communication links.

- The way people are recruited into the quasi group was another social condition important to Dahrendorf. He felt that if the recruitment is random and is determined by chance, an interest group, and ultimately a conflict group, is unlikely to emerge.
- In contrast to Marx, Dahrendorf did not feel that the *lumpenproletariat*[1] would ultimately form a conflict group, because people are recruited to it by chance. However, when recruitment to quasi groups is structurally determined, these groups provide fertile recruiting grounds for interest groups and, in some cases, conflict groups.
- The final aspect of Dahrendorf's conflict theory is the relationship of conflict to change. Here Dahrendorf recognized the importance of Lewis Coser's work, which focused on the functions of conflict in maintaining the status quo.
- Dahrendorf felt, however, that the conservative function of conflict is only one part of social reality; conflict also leads to change and development.
- Dahrendorf argued that once conflict groups emerge, they engage in actions that lead to changes in social structure. When the conflict is intense, the changes that occur are radical. When it is accompanied by violence, structural change will be sudden.
- Whatever the nature of conflict, sociologists must be attuned to the relationship between conflict and change as well as that between conflict and the status quo.

3.4. Lewis Coser (1913–2003)

- Lewis Coser has made many contributions to the field of sociology. He is primarily a conflict theorist, distinctive from most in two respects.
    1. First, he describes social conflict as a result of factors other than, simply, opposing group interests.
    2. Second, he is concerned with the consequences of conflict.

[1] Lumpenproletariat is the Marx's term for the mass of people at the bottom of the economic system, those who stand below even the proletariat.

- Émile Durkheim's influence on Coser's conflict theory is also quite evident, as Coser repeatedly discusses the functional aspects of conflict and the functional aspects of society.
- Born in Berlin, to a Jewish family of bankers, Coser was involved with the socialist student movement, a social protest group that was not met with tolerance by the emerging presence of Adolf Hitler and his Nazi regime.
- Coser left Germany in 1933 and moved to Paris, where he attended the Sorbonne (University of Paris). At the Sorbonne, the study of social theory was almost entirely limited to the works of Émile Durkheim, or as Coser (1993) referred to it, the *"Durkheimian magic circle."*
- Coser was also exposed to the ideas of Karl Marx and came to describe himself as an "unorthodox Marxist with strong admixtures of Durkheimian thought."
- After escaping from internment in France as an enemy alien, Coser fled to the United States. In 1954, Coser received his PhD from Columbia University, having completed his dissertation under the guidance of Robert Merton.
- His socialist writings have always reflected his concern with politics and the links between ideas and the nature of society.
- Coser's academic writings include his first book, *The Functions of Social Conflict* (1956), *Men of Ideas: A Sociologist's View* (1965), *Continuities in the Study of Social Conflict* (1967), *Greedy Institutions: Patterns of Undivided Commitment* (1974), and *Masters of Sociological Thought* (1977).
- Coser's work reflects the conflict perspective and his underlying concern with protecting human freedoms from oppressive power groups.
- It is obvious that Coser's life experiences played a significant role in his outlook of social life. He learned firsthand of direct social conflict and the negative effects that dominant groups can have on subordinate groups.
- Among the academic influences on Coser were Émile Durkheim, Georg Simmel, Karl Marx, Robert Merton, Talcott Parsons, and his wife, Rose Laub Coser.

- Coser died July 8, 2003, at Mount Auburn Hospital in Cambridge, Massachusetts. The contributions from this "Man of Ideas" will leave a permanent mark in sociology.
- In *The Functions of Social Conflict* (1956), Coser defines and relates conflict to the social world, explores the nature of hostility, discusses how conflict can lead to social change, and pays close attention to the role of people's emotions.
- Coser defines *conflict* as *a struggle over values and claims to scarce status, power, and resources in which the aims of the opponents are to neutralize, injure, or eliminate their rivals.*
- He defines *power* as *the chance to influence the behavior of others in accord with one's own wishes.*
- The level of group power is always relative to other external groups. Agreeing with Simmel that there are aggressive or hostile impulses in people, Coser believes that constant contact in relationships can create conflict and instability within the group structure.
- The nature of hostility and conflict varies for sociological reasons, including social structural factors that include financial stability, clearly defined societal roles, love and nurture from the family, and practical and emotional support from outside the nuclear family.
- Coser's work is an attempt to explain how structural factors interact with people's underlying emotions.
- Coser came to realize that conflict serves many functions including:
    1. Conflict often leads to social change;
    2. Conflict can stimulate innovation; and
    3. During times of external (war) or internal (civil unrest) threat, conflict leads to an increase in the centralization of power.
- In *Continuities in the Study of Social Conflict* (1967), Coser discusses his theory of *social change.* Using a variation of the organic analogy, Coser explains that a society does not die the way biological organisms do, nor is there a precise point of birth.

- Societies change and are altered by social and natural events. Social life always involves change, and this evolutionary process has no set pattern.
- Coser (1967) refers to Talcott Parsons's distinction between *change within a system* and *change of a system*, to demonstrate the two different types of social change that can occur.
    1. Change *within* a system is very slow and marginal. It involves an adjustment of some type within the system itself (e.g., when individual members of society have deviated from the traditional ways of culture).
    2. Change *of* a system involves a more radical change, such as the creation of new institutions within the system. In this regard, the system is actually altered and changed.
- Coser believed that *violence* and *conflict,* which are often linked together, can lead to social change. He argued that violence serves three specific social functions to society. These are:
    1. *Violence as achievement*. Causing violence is an achievement for some people, and the more they cause, the more they have achieved in their own minds (e.g., terrorist attacks).
        - As Merton articulated in his anomie theory on social deviance, society does not provide equal opportunity for all members to achieve the success goal. Consequently, some people will deviate from the normal expectations of behavior and commit acts of deviance, including violence, as a means of achieving success in life (Coser 1967).
    2. *Violence as a danger signal*. Violence often alerts society and its members of underlying problems that need to be corrected. Violence acts as a warning signal that a number of people in society are frustrated by the social system.
    3. *Violence acts as a catalyst.* This catalyst function can start the process of "correction" in solving a social problem, or it can cause an increased level of violence. Violence arouses the public and informs them that something has to

be done. When society unites to solve the problem, the catalyst has completed its job.

- However, violence can act as a catalyst to cause more problems and attract others to join in the violence.
- Coser concludes that violence has both *positive* and *negative functions* in society and views it as *a necessary part of society*.

- The role of *intellectuals* in society is another important aspect of Coser's general social theory.
- He categorizes five types of intellectuals:
    1. *Unattached* ("independent" from structural constraints);
    2. *Academic* (attached to educational institutions, with most of those who hold PhD degrees, but acknowledging that not all professors with PhD degrees are intellectuals);
    3. *Scientific* (creative intellectuals);
    4. *Washington* (both governmental officials and transitional intellectuals) and
    5. *Mass-Culture Industries Intellectuals* (those involved with production efforts).
- Coser (1965) states that having intellect is not the same as having intelligence. Intellectuals live for, rather than off, ideas and are found in all aspects of society.
- *Intellects* help contribute to the change of a society through ideas. Coser fears that American society has become too bureaucratic and that it needs to find a way to inspire others intellectually, in order to end social problems such as inequality.
- Lewis Coser has made a number of lasting contributions to sociological thought. His work as a conflict theorist who attempts to incorporate some of the basic constructs of functionalism is a significant donation to the academic world. Many of his ideas remain relevant at the beginning of the twenty-first century.
- In all societies, conflict is inevitable. Conflict serves to bind members of a group together and is a determinant of boundaries and power. Societies are not born, and

they do not die like organisms: They change. Individual members within a society are free to change with the changing system, or they can choose to lag behind.

Chapter Four

The Neo-Marxist School of Thought

4.1. Introduction

- The Neo-Marxist School of Thought in sociology generally refers to those theories and approaches which emerged after the death of Karl Marx and involve attempts to modify or broaden Marxist thinking by relating ideas contained in the different works of Marx or by unifying Marx's ideas with theories from other intellectual traditions.
- The bases of neo-Marxist thinking have been and still are linked with the desire to establish an objective elaboration of Marx's thinking and the scientific need to extend his ideas to answer questions which were not directly addressed by him.

4.2. Varieties of Neo-Marxism

- There are numerous brands on neo-Marxian theory. It appears as though the development of a particularly significant social change in world state of affairs or the emergence of a new intellectual tradition is almost always followed by a new variety of neo-Marxism.
- In this section, attempt is made to present the crucial arguments of Classical Marxism, Hegelian Marxism, Critical Theory, Historically Oriented Marxism and Post-Marxist Theory as the leading varieties of neo-Marxian theory.

4.2.1. Classical Marxism

- Classical Marxism originally emerged in the German social democratic party with Karl Kautsky as its chief theorist and proponent.
- This variety of Marxism which is also referred to as economic determinism has its intellectual roots in the often repeated misconception of Marx as an economic determinist.
- According to classical Marxism, a scientific study of a capitalist economy by employing Marx's analysis of capitalism would signal the approach of a proletarian revolution which follows capitalism as night follows day.

- The classical Marxists emphasized the accuracy of Marx's predictions regarding the collapse of capitalism and its replacement by socialism in the same may slavery was replaced by feudalism and feudalism by capitalism.
- Classical Marxism as an interpretation of Marxian theory reached its apex during the years between 1889 and 1914.
- During these years the dominant Marxist understanding was that the breakdown of capitalism was inevitable and that Marxism was capable of producing a scientific theory of this breakdown with the predictive reliability of the physical and natural sciences.
- Although this insistence on the paramount importance of the capitalist economic base has enabled some Marxists to predict the cyclical economic crises in capitalism, classical Marxism gradually lost its popularity after 1914 as its shortcomings began to be noticed by some scholars within the Marxist tradition.

Two major shortcoming of classical Marxism which cost it its fame among scholars were its scientifically oriented economic determinism and the resulting insignificance it attaches to individual thought and action.

4.2.2. Hegelian Marxism

- The two major criticisms labeled against classical Marxism are thought to be the source of yet another variety of neo-Marxian theory- Hegelian Marxism.
- This Marxist strand emerged as a result of the hopelessness that was caused by the delay of the long awaited proletarian revolution.
- The early proponents of Hegelian Marxism were Edward Bernstein and Rosa Luxemburg who criticized Karl Kautsky and his economic determinist interpretation of Marx.
- Although both Bernstein and Luxemburg were equally critical of economic determinism, each had their own different views on what was necessary to ensure the emergence of socialism.

- Bernstein advocated what could generally be called democratic reforms while Luxemburg saw the need to organize a socialist revolution.
- Bernstein, who saw no sign of class polarization which would indicate a socialist revolution, pushed for reforms though the expression and articulation of popular will.
- According to him, socialism is a desirable rather than necessary system that could only be guaranteed as a result of the public's expression of their desire for it.
- But Bernstein's voice was a rare one and later caused him to be ridiculed as a reformer who sought to reform or revised Marxist Orthodoxy to mainstream Marxism as social democracy.
- Luxemburg, on the other hand, emphasized the need for making the socialist revolution happen.
- For Luxemburg, if practice failed to live up on to revolutionary claims, then practice should move left, not theory accommodated right. Luxemburg was very critical of reform which would only accommodate without leading to the sought after qualitative social change.
- However, Luxemburg seems to insist on the need to agitate a socialist revolution which would then be led by the mass without the necessity for a vanguard party as was the case with Bolshevism or Lenin's revolutionary combat party.
- Furthermore, with its roots in the ideas of Bernstein and Luxemburg, Hegelian Marxism was later to gain prominence though the works of George Lukács and Antonio Gramsci.
- Lukács based his Marxist ideas in Marx's *The Economic and Philosophic Manuscripts of 1844 (1932)* which was unknown to the classical Marxists and best demonstrated the place of Hegelian subjectivism in Marx's analysis.
- In his renowned book *History and Class Consciousness (1923),* Lukács devoted a great deal of effort to explain the significance of class consciousness.
- Similarly, Gramsci rejected economic determinism and advocated the need for public action to organize a social revolution. However, for Gramsci, the economy although it

is characterized by contradictions, its contradictions were not sufficient to result in a mass revolt.

- Rather, for him, intellectuals should take it upon themselves to create ideas that would make the masses to be conscious of their situation and hence see the necessity to take actions that would eventually lead to a revolution.
- It was these ideas for class consciousness to be generated by Marxist intellectuals and to be practiced by the masses that Gramsci called *ideology* - a concept he is renowned for.

4.2.3. Critical Theory

- Critical theory is the product of a group of German neo-Marxists who were dissatisfied with the state of Marxian theory, particularly its tendency toward economic determinism.
- The organization associated with critical theory, the Institute of Social Research, was officially founded in Frankfurt, Germany, on February 23, 1923.
- Critical theory has spread beyond the confines of the Frankfurt school and is largely a European orientation.

4.2.3.1. The Major Critiques of Social and Intellectual Life

- Critical theory is composed largely of criticisms of various aspects of social and intellectual life, but its ultimate goal is to reveal more accurately the nature of society.

A. Criticisms of Marxian Theory

- Critical theory takes as its starting point a critique of Marxian theories. The critical theorists are most disturbed by the economic determinists—the mechanistic, or mechanical, Marxists.
- Some criticize the determinism implicit in parts of Marx's original work, but most focus their criticisms on the neo-Marxists, primarily because they had interpreted Marx's work too mechanistically.
- The critical theorists do not say that economic determinists were wrong in focusing on the economic realm but that they should have been concerned with other aspects of social life as well.

- The critical school seeks to rectify this imbalance by focusing its attention on the cultural realm.
- In addition to attacking other Marxian theories, the critical school critiqued societies, such as the former Soviet Union, built ostensibly on Marxian theory.

B. Criticisms of Positivism

- Critical theorists also focus on the philosophical underpinnings of scientific inquiry, especially positivism.
- The criticism of positivism is related, at least in part, to the criticism of economic determinism, because some of those who were determinists accepted part or all of the positivistic theory of knowledge.
- Positivism is depicted as accepting the idea that a single scientific method is applicable to all fields of study. It takes the physical sciences as the standard of certainty and exactness for all disciplines.
- Positivists also believe that knowledge is inherently neutral. They feel that they can keep human values out of their work. This belief, in turn, leads to the view that science is not in the position of advocating any specific form of social action.
- Positivism is opposed by the critical school on various grounds. For one thing, positivism tends to reify the social world and see it as a natural process. The critical theorists prefer to focus on human activity as well as on the ways in which such activity affects larger social structures.
- Given their belief in the distinctiveness of the actor, the critical theorists would not accept the idea that the general laws of science can be applied without question to human action.
- This critique leads to the view that positivism is inherently conservative, incapable of challenging the existing system. Positivism leads the actor and the social scientist to passivity. Marx himself was often guilty of being overly positivistic.

C. Criticisms of Sociology

- Sociology is criticized for its "*scientism*," that is, for making the scientific method an end in itself.
- In addition, sociology is accused of accepting the status quo. The critical school maintains that sociology does not seriously criticize society or seek to transcend the contemporary social structure.
- Sociology, the critical school contends, has surrendered its obligation to help people oppressed by contemporary society. Members of this school are critical of sociologists' focus on society as a whole rather than on individuals in society; sociologists are accused of ignoring the interaction of the individual and society.

D. Critique of Modern Society

- Most of the critical school's work is aimed at a critique of modern society and a variety of its components.
- Whereas much of early Marxian theory aimed specifically at the economy, the critical school shifted its orientation to the cultural level in light of what it considers the realities of modern capitalist society.
- The critical thinkers have been shaped not only by Marxian theory but also by Weberian theory, as reflected in their focus on rationality as the dominant development in the modern world.
- The critical school clearly has adopted Weber's differentiation between *formal rationality* and *substantive rationality,* or what the critical theorists think of as *reason.*
- To the critical theorists, formal rationality is concerned unreflectively with the question of the most effective means for achieving any given purpose.
- This is viewed as "technocratic thinking," in which the objective is to serve the forces of domination, not to emancipate people from domination. The goal is simply to find the most efficient means to whatever ends are defined as important by those in power.
- Technocratic thinking is contrasted to reason, which is, in the minds of critical theorists, the hope for society.

- Reason involves assessment of means in terms of the ultimate human values of justice, peace, and happiness.
- Critical theorists identified Nazism in general, and its concentration camps more specifically, as examples of formal rationality in mortal combat with reason. Thus, as George Friedman puts it, "Auschwitz was a rational place, but it was not a reasonable one."
- Despite the seeming rationality of modern life, the critical school views the modern world as prevalent with irrationality. This idea can be labeled the "irrationality of rationality" or, more specifically, the irrationality of formal rationality.
- The critical school focuses primarily on one form of formal rationality—modern technology. Marcuse (1964), for example, was a severe critic of modern technology, at least as it is employed in capitalism.
- He saw technology in modern capitalist society as leading to totalitarianism. In fact, he viewed it as leading to new, more effective, and even more "pleasant" methods of external control over individuals.
- The prime example is the use of television to socialize and pacify the population Marcuse rejected the idea that technology is neutral in the modern world and saw it instead as a means to dominate people. It is effective because it is made to seem neutral when it is in fact enslaving. It serves to suppress individuality.
- The result is what Marcuse called "one dimensional society," in which individuals lose the ability to think critically and negatively about society. Marcuse did not see technology per se as the enemy, but rather technology as it is employed in modern capitalist society:

> *"Technology, no matter how 'pure,' sustains and streamlines the continuum of domination. This fatal link can be cut only by a revolution which makes technology and technique subservient to the needs and goals of free men."* (Marcuse, 1969:56).

- Marcuse retained Marx's original view that technology is not inherently a problem and that it can be used to develop a "better" society.

E. Critique of Culture

- The critical theorists level significant criticisms at what they call the "culture industry", the rationalized, bureaucratized structures (for example, the television networks) that control modern culture.
- Interest in the culture industry reflects their concern with the Marxian concept of "superstructure" rather than with the economic base. The *culture industry,* producing what is conventionally called "mass culture," is defined as the "administered . . . non-spontaneous, reified, phony culture rather than the real thing" (Jay, 1973:216).
- Two things worry the critical thinkers most about this industry:
  - ✓ First, they are concerned about its falseness. They think of it as a prepackaged set of ideas mass-produced and disseminated to the masses by the media.
  - ✓ Second, the critical theorists are disturbed by its pacifying, repressive, and stupefying effect on people.
- Marx's critical analysis of capitalism led him to have hope for the future, but many critical theorists have come to a position of despair and hopelessness.
- They see the problems of the modern world not as specific to capitalism but as endemic to a rationalized world. They see the future, in Weberian terms, as an *"iron cage"* of increasingly rational structures from which hope for escape lessens all the time.
- Much of critical theory (like the bulk of Marx's original formulation) is in the form of critical analyses. Even though the critical theorists also have a number of positive interests, one of the basic criticisms made of critical theory is that it offers more criticisms than it does positive contributions.
- This incessant negativity galls many scholars, and for this reason they feel that critical theory has little to offer to sociological theory.

4.2.4. Historically Oriented Marxism

- Historically oriented Marxism, as yet another variety of Neo-Marxian theory, connotes those neo-Marxist theories that dwell on the crucial importance Marx attaches to history.

- Heavily influenced by the place of historically oriented research in Marx's analysis of capitalism, this variety of neo-Marxian theory utilizes historicity to discern the meanings of current processes from what has already happened in the past.
- What makes historically oriented Marxism one variety of neo-Marxian theory, is its repeated attempt to analyze and explain primarily Marxist concepts with an elaboration on historical facts and processes.
- Wallerstein's World-System Theory which employs historical research to explain global development relations, is a typical example of this brand of neo-Marxian theory.
- In his World-System Theory, Wallerstein uses a Marxist approach focused on historicity to explain economic exploitation which, for him, is best understood at an international scale rather than a national context.

4.2.4.1. Immanuel Wallerstein – The World-System Theory

- World-System Theory is a theory that attempts to explain development and underdevelopment in terms of historical inequalities in international relations.
- As a theory deeply influenced by Marxism, the World-System Theory tries to utilize historicity as a crucial method of investigation to analyze the historical roots of the contemporary state of global development politics.
- Immanuel Wallerstein who commonly regarded as the father of the World-System Theory first introduced a historically oriented analysis of development in the context of a modern World-System in his 1974 book *The Modern World-System: Capitalist Agriculture and the Origins of the European World-Economy in the Sixteenth Century*.
- Inspired by a vision for developing a theory that could effectively describe and predict global events, Wallerstein followed this book with three other volumes entitled. *The Modern World-System II: Mercantilism and the Consolidation of the European World-Economy, 1600-1750*. (1980*)* *The Modern World-System III: The Second Era of Great Expansion of the Capitalist World-Economy, 1730-1840.* (1989) and *The Modern World System IV: Centrist Liberalism Triumphant, 1789–1914.* (2011).

World-System: Defined

- Immanuel Wallerstein in 1974 defined a World-System as:

> *"a world-system is a social system, one that has boundaries, structures, member groups, rules of legitimation, and coherence. Its life is made up of the conflicting forces which hold it together by tension and tear it apart as each group seeks eternally to remold it to its advantage. It has the characteristics of an organism, in that is has a lifespan over which its characteristics change in some respects and remain stable in others...Life within it is largely self-contained, and the dynamics of its development are largely internal."*
>
> (Wallerstein, 1974: 347)

The Capitalist World-Economy

- In his attempt to understand the modern World-System, Wallerstein identifies three types of social systems; *mini systems, world-empires* and *world-economies. (*Wallerstein. 1974: 348)
- According to Wallerstein the Capitalist World-Economy emerged about 500 years ago in Europe and successfully expanded itself throughout the world mainly through the use of trade between Europe and other min-systems and world-empires.
- Once it took a foothold in Europe, Capitalism used long distance trade both to accumulate more capital in Europe as well as to use European state support to establish unequal division of labor in the world.
- In relation to this historical analysis, Wallerstein also identifies two structural characteristics of the Capitalist World-Economy as *Cyclical Rhythms* and *Secular Trends*.
- One Cyclical Rhythm is what is called *Kondratieff cycles* with an *A - Phase* characterized by innovation and growth and a *B – Phase* accompanied by stagnation and depression. The Secular Trends, on the other hand, include measures that go with each of these phases in the cyclical rhythm.
- For Wallerstein, these phases of expansion and contraction are results of the inherent contradictions in Capitalism:

the need to keep wages to a minimum and at the same time increase the number of consumers that can afford to purchase products.

- This contradiction is often met with two solutions; *government subsidies* and *geographic expansion.*
- Subsidies are used to support labor costs as well as to keep producers in business to avoid massive job losses.
- Similarly, geographic expansion is used to find low-cost zones where labor is relatively cheap and markets have consumers that can afford products.

Elements of the Capitalist World-Economy

- The Capitalist World-Economy consists of three elements; Core, Semi-Periphery, and Periphery.
- **The Core** is the base from where domination and exploitation are imposed and is also the destination for most of the surplus extracted as a result of inequalities in the World-Economy.
- **The Semi-Periphery** includes zones which were ones part of the Core but have lost that position or ones that were part of the Periphery but have improved their standing in the World-Economy. It serves as a buffer zone between the Core and the Periphery.
- **The Periphery** stands for those zones in the World-Economy that are exploited both by the Core and the Semi-Periphery.
- As a result, the Periphery represents the most exploited and hence least developed regions of the World. Its role is seldom more than providing raw materials and cheap labor to the Core.
- Finally, after deeply analyzing the Capitalist World-Economy, Wallerstein just like Marx, predicts a revolutionary change that will emerge as a result of contradictions that exist within the system.
- Because it is characterized by consistent struggle both within and between its elements, the Capitalist World-Economy is liable to frequent economic and political crises which will one day lead to its collapse giving way to a Socialist World-Economy.

- Moreover, commenting on globalization as a contemporary global reality Wallerstein writes:

> *"The processes that are usually meant when we speak of globalization are not in fact new at all. They have existed for some 500 years. . . . One would think, reading most accounts, that 'globalization' is something that came into existence in the 1990's – perhaps only upon the collapse of the Soviet Union, perhaps a few years earlier. The 1990's are not however a significant time marker to use if one wants to analyze what is going on. Rather, we can most fruitfully look at the present situation in two other time frameworks, the one going from 1945 to today, and the one going from circa 1450 to today."*
>
> (Wallerstein, 2000a: 250 cited in Robinson, 2011: 12)

Criticisms Against Wallerstein's World-System Theory

- Despite the distinctively new method of analysis and understanding that it has brought to the world development discourse, Wallerstein's World-Systems Theory is also the subject of numerous criticisms. Some of the criticisms include:
    1. too much emphasis Wallerstein's attaches to trade at the expense of due concern for class and production relations;
    2. the historical inconsistencies that some find in his use of history;
    3. his consideration of state policies as mere reactionary responses to stimuli in the World-Economy; and
    4. his failure to include cultural and ethnic factors in his analysis of the World-System. (Bergeson, 1984 cited in Ritzer, 2011: 310)
    5. In general, the world-System Theory by Immanuel Wallerstein is a theory that uses to historical analysis to look at the international character of capitalism and its effects on development. The theory's focus on capitalism to explain international development politics and its ability to see the contradictions within capitalism make it a typical example for the historically-oriented strand of neo-Marxist thinking.

4.2.5. Post-Marxist Theory

5. Post-Marxist theory as a comparatively recent variety of neo-Marxian theory denotes all varieties of Marxian theory which largely reject many of the propositions of Marxian and neo-Marxian theories. What is unique about post-Marxist theories is their desire to mix Marxism with other intellectual traditions and methods.
6. According to Ritzer (2011), although post-Marxist theories fail to accept basic elements of Marxian theory, they have sufficient affinity with it for them to be considered one variety of neo-Marxian theory.
7. In addition to the reason indicated by Ritzer, however, it is important to mention that post-Marxist theories could not have been regarded as theories by themselves if it wasn't for the Marxist ideas they either accept or even reject.
8. Furthermore, as with all theories that begin with the prefix 'post', post-Marxist theories justify their claims by referring to the existence of new changes that the early Marxists and neo-Marxists didn't have the opportunity to consider.
9. More specifically, post-Marxists point to changes in the social world and the development of new intellectual traditions to show the need for a post-Marxist understanding of the works of Karl Marx.
10. The major changes in the social world often used as a justification for post-Marxist theories is the collapse of the Soviet Union, which once stood to sustain the hope for international socialism.
11. Therefore, the end of the Cold War, for post-Marxists, was a significant indictor of the need to revise and revitalize Marxism.
12. Post-Marxists are also attentive to the development of new intellectual traditions that were not witnessed by early Marxists. According to post-Marxists, these new intellectual traditions bare a crucial influence on the content and vision of Marxism.
13. Because of this, post-Marxism carries within it a number of hybrid varieties of Marxism like *analytical Marxism, structural Marxism, rational-choice Marxism* and *postmodern Marxism*.

Chapter Five

Symbolic Interactionism: Herbert Blumer and Erving Goffman

5.1. Definition

- **Symbolic Interactionism** is a perspective in sociology that places meaning, interaction, and human agency at the center of understanding social life. Thinkers in this perspective regard people as actors rather than reactors, treated "reality" as dynamic and pluralistic, linked meanings to social acts and perspectives, and viewed knowledge as a key resource for problem solving and reorganizing the world.

5.2. The Basic Principles

- The basic principles of symbolic interactionism include the following:
    1. Human beings, unlike lower animals, are endowed with the capacity for thought.
    2. The capacity for thought is shaped by social interaction.
    3. In social interaction people learn the meanings and the symbols that allow them to exercise their distinctively human capacity for thought.
    4. Meanings and symbols allow people to carry on distinctively human action and interaction.
    5. People are able to modify or alter the meanings and symbols that they use in action and interaction on the basis of their interpretation of the situation.
    6. People are able to make these modifications and alterations because, in part, of their ability to interact with themselves, which allows them to examine possible courses of action, assess their relative advantages and disadvantages, and then choose one.
    7. The intertwined patterns of action and interaction make up groups and societies.

5.3. The Individualistic Perspective of Herbert Blumer

- Blumer's symbolic interactionism is individualistic and nonrationalist in orientation. His vision is one in which the social order—the patterning of social life—is continually constructed and reconstructed through the fitting together of acts by individuals (individualist) who are attempting to interpret and define the situations in which they find themselves (nonrationalist).
- According to Blumer Symbolic interactionism rests on three simple premises.
    1. Human beings act toward things on the basis of the meanings that the things have for them.
        - Such things include everything that the human being may note in his world—physical objects, such as trees or chairs; other human beings, such as a mother or a store clerk; categories of human beings, such as friends or enemies; institutions, such as a school or a government; guiding ideals, such as individual independence or honesty; activities of others, such as their commands or requests; and such situations as an individual encounters in his daily life.
    2. The meaning of such things is derived from, or arises out of, the social interaction that one has with one's fellows.
    3. These meanings are handled in, and modified through, an interpretative process used by the person in dealing with the things he encounters.
- Turning first to the issue of order, Blumer's individualist approach was developed in large measure through his critique of the then-dominant structural-functionalist paradigm, which is rooted in a collectivist orientation to social order.
- Blumer remarks:

    "From the standpoint of symbolic interactionism, social organization is a framework inside of which acting units develop their actions. Structural features, such as "culture," "social systems," "social stratification," or "social roles," set conditions for their action but do not determine their action. People—that is, acting units—do not act toward culture, social structure or the like; they act

> *toward situations. Social organization enters into action only to the extent to which it shapes situations in which people act, and to the extent to which it supplies fixed sets of symbols which people use in interpreting their situations."* (1969:87, 88)

- While remarking that societal factors such as norms, values, culture, roles, and status positions (all collectivist concepts) play an important part in organizing social life, he nevertheless argued that they are significant "only as they enter into the process of interpretation and definition out of which joint actions are formed" (1969:75).
- Again quoting Blumer at some length on this point, he contended that symbolic interactionism

> *"sees human society not as an established structure but as people meeting their conditions of life; it sees social action not as an emanation of societal structure but as a formation made by human actors; it sees this formation of action not as societal factors coming to expression through the medium of human organisms but as constructions made by actors out of what they take into account; it sees group life not as a release or expression of established structure but as a process of building up joint actions; . . . it sees the so-called interaction between parts of a society not as a direct exercising of influence by one part on another but as mediated throughout by interpretations made by people; accordingly, it sees society not as a system, whether in the form of a static, moving, or whatever kind of equilibrium, but as a vast number of occurring joint actions, many closely linked, many not linked at all, many prefigured and repetitious, others being carved out in new directions, and all being pursued to serve the purposes of the participants not the requirements of a system . . . It is ridiculous, for instance, to assert, as a number of eminent sociologists have done, that social interaction is an interaction between roles. Social interaction is obviously an interaction between people and not between roles; the needs of the participants are to interpret and handle what confronts them—such as a topic of conversation or a problem—and not to give expression to their roles."* (1969: 74, 75)

- Blumer's remarks reveal a clear picture of the problem of order. Social life is seen as a dynamic process in which actors, through interpreting the gestures of others as well as

their own, are at every moment creating and recreating the patterns of behavior that form the basis for the social order.

- Blumer's account of the self and interaction emphasizes the interpretive behaviors that individuals undertake when coordinating activities with others and assigning meaning to conduct and events.
- Moreover, in arguing that individuals approach situations pragmatically or as "problems" to be solved, he implies that we seek behaviors that "work."
- Blumer contends that meanings (our responses to objects, gestures, and events) are not fixed or external to interaction. On the contrary, it is during the process of interaction that meanings are created and responses carried out.
- Moreover, developing shared meanings forms the basis of any social act; it allows us to coordinate our activities with one another, that is, to form joint actions. This is suggestive of an individualist orientation to order, as actors are the source of meaning production and, thus, the source of the patterns and routines of social life.

5.4. Dramaturgical Perspective of Erving Goffman: Presentation of Self in Every Day Life

- **The Dramaturgical Perspective** is a sociological perspective that treats social life as a set of theatrical performances.
- Dramaturgy is strongly associated with the work of Erving Goffman, who developed the term in part as a general extension of symbolic interactionism and in part as a development of the dramatism approach pioneered by Kenneth Burke, in the 1940s.
- Goffman claiming that "life itself is a dramatically enacted thing" (1959:72) focused his attention to the symbolic dimensions of social encounters in an effort to explore the nature of the self and its relation to the broader moral code that shapes interaction performances.
- To this end, Goffman introduced a vocabulary normally associated with the world of the theater: **front, backstage, setting, audience, performance**, and perhaps most provocatively, **performer** and **character**, are all part of his list of terms used to

examine the often unspoken and taken-for-granted details that structure the interaction order.

Front

- Goffman labels **front** as

> *"that part of the individual's performance which regularly functions in a general and fixed fashion to define the situation for those who observe the performance. Front, then, is the expressive equipment of a standard kind intentionally or unwittingly employed by the individual during his performance."* (1959:22)

- Moreover, fronts tend to become "institutionalized" as performances conducted in similar settings and by similar actors give rise to "stereotyped expectations" that transcend and shape any particular presentation. Thus, *"when an actor takes on an established social role, usually he finds that a particular front has already been established for it"* (1959:27).
- As *"facts in their own right,"* fronts, then, are typically selected, not created, by performers.
- Goffman divides the front into two parts: ***the setting*** and ***the personal front***.
- ***The setting*** consists of the scenery and props that make up the physical space where a performance is conducted.
- For instance, requires a spacious office, not a cubicle, decorated with expensive furniture, works of art, and a magnificent view.
- ***The personal front***, on the other hand, refers to those items of ***"expressive equipment"*** that the audience identifies with the performer himself.
- For example, "insignia of office or rank; clothing; sex, age, and racial characteristics; size and looks; posture; speech patterns; facial expressions; bodily gestures; and the like" (1959:24).
- Goffman then subdivided the personal front into ***appearance*** and ***manner***.
- ***Appearance*** includes those ***items*** that tell us the performer's social status (for instance, the surgeon's medical gown).

- ***Manner*** tells the audience what sort of ***role the performer expects to play*** in the situation (for example, the use of physical mannerisms, demeanor (conduct)).
- Goffman argued that because people generally try to present an idealized picture of themselves in their front-stage performances, inevitably they feel that they must hide things in their performances.
    1. First, actors may want to conceal secret pleasures (for instance, drinking alcohol) engaged in prior to the performance or in past lives (for instance, as drug addicts) that are incompatible with their performance.
    2. Second, actors may want to conceal errors that have been made in the preparation of the performance as well as steps that have been taken to correct these errors.
        - For example, a taxi driver may seek to hide the fact that he started in the wrong direction.
    3. Third, actors may find it necessary to show only end products and to conceal the process involved in producing them.
        - For example, professors may spend several hours preparing a lecture, but they may want to act as if they have always known the material.
    4. Fourth, it may be necessary for actors to conceal from the audience that "dirty work" was involved in the making of the end products. Dirty work may include tasks that "were physically unclean, semi-legal, cruel, and degrading in other ways" (Goffman, 1959:44).
    5. Fifth, in giving a certain performance, actors may have to let other standards slide.
    6. Finally, actors probably find it necessary to hide any insults, humiliations, or deals made so that the performance could go on.
- Generally, actors have a vested interest in hiding all such facts from their audience.
- Another aspect of dramaturgy in the front stage is that actors often try to convey the impression that they are closer to the audience than they actually are.

Backstage

- The front is contrasted with the ***backstage***, the region of the performance normally unobserved by, and restricted from, members of the audience.
- Backstage is where the impression fostered by a performance is knowingly contradicted as a matter of course

> *". . . [where] illusions and impressions are openly constructed. . . . Here costumes and other parts of the personal front may be adjusted and scrutinized for flaws. . . . Here the performer can relax; he can drop his front, forgo speaking his lines, and step out of character."* (1959:112)

- Restaurants illustrate well the distinction between the front and backstage and their facilitation of performances. While managing his impression in the front region as a courteous, deft, and hygienic server, a waiter often can be found in the backstage of the kitchen cursing a customer, sneezing atop someone's meal, or assembling an assortment of previously tabled bread into a basket for the next diners.

The Outside

- There is also a third, residual domain, , which is neither front nor back.
- *No* area is *always* one of these three domains. Also, a given area can occupy all three domains at different times. A professor's office is front stage when a student visits, back stage when the student leaves, and outside when the professor is at a university basketball game.

Performer

- When we turn to ***the self as performer***, Goffman offers a different view, one that suggests that the individual does indeed possess a self that is uniquely his own.
- For while we are presenting a contrived image to an audience in the front, in the backstage we can relax, forgo speaking our lines, and step out of character. But if we step out of character, to what do we step in? Here the self is not a fabrication, but rather as a performer

> *"a fabricator of impressions . . . [who] has a capacity to learn, this being exercised in the task of training for a part"* (1959:252, 253).

- The self as performer is more in keeping with our conventional understanding of selfhood, which maintains that behind whatever part may be played or impression cast, there lies a thinking, feeling "person," a core being that is *really* who we are.

Impression Management

- In general, *impression management* is oriented to guarding against a series of unexpected actions, such as unintended gestures, inopportune intrusions, and faux pas (social plunder), as well as intended actions, such as making a scene.

Chapter Six

Exchange and Rational Choice Theories:

George C. Homans and Peter M. Blau

6.1. Roots of Exchange Theory

6.1.1. Behaviorism

- Behaviorism is best known in psychology, but in sociology it had both direct effects on behavioral sociology and indirect effects, especially on exchange theory.
- The behavioral sociologist is concerned with the relationship between the effects of an actor's behavior on the environment and its impact on the actor's later behavior. This relationship is basic to *operant conditioning,* or the learning process by which "behavior is modified by its consequences"
- If the reaction has been rewarding to the actor, the same behavior is likely to be emitted in the future in similar situations. If the reaction has been painful or punishing, the behavior is less likely to occur in the future. The behavioral sociologist is interested in the relationship between the *history* of environmental reactions or consequences and the nature of present behavior.
- By knowing what elicited a certain behavior in the past, we can predict whether an actor will produce the same behavior in the present situation.
- Of great interest to behaviorists are rewards (or reinforcers) and costs (or punishments). Rewards are defined by their ability to strengthen (that is, reinforce) behavior, while costs reduce the likelihood of behavior. As we will see, behaviorism in general, and the ideas of rewards and costs in particular, had a powerful impact on early exchange theory.

6.1.2. Rational Choice Theory

- The basic principles of rational choice theory are derived from neoclassical economics.
- The focus in rational choice theory is on actors. Actors are seen as being purposive, or as having intentionality. That is, actors have ends or goals toward which their actions are aimed. Actors also are seen as having preferences (or values, utilities).
- Rational choice theory is not concerned with what these preferences, or their sources, are. Of importance is the fact that action is undertaken to achieve objectives that are consistent with an actor's preference hierarchy.

6.2. The Exchange Theory of George Homans

- The heart of George Homans's exchange theory lies in a set of fundamental propositions.
- Although some of his propositions deal with at least two interacting individuals, Homans was careful to point out that these propositions are based on psychological principles.
- According to Homans, they are psychological for two reasons. First, "they are usually stated and empirically tested by persons who call themselves psychologists" (Homans, 1967:39–40). Second, and more important, they are psychological because of the level at which they deal with the individual in society.
- Although Homans made the case for psychological principles, he did not think of individuals as isolated. He recognized that people are social and spend a considerable portion of their time interacting with other people. He attempted to explain social behavior with psychological principles.
- According to Homans, this theory "envisages social *behavior* as an exchange of activity, tangible or intangible, and more or less rewarding or costly, between at least two persons" (1961:13; italics added).
- In his theoretical work, Homans restricted himself to everyday social interaction. It is clear, however, that he believed that a sociology built on his principles ultimately would be able to explain all social behavior. Here is the case Homans used to exemplify the kind of exchange relationship he was interested in:

> *Suppose that two men are doing paperwork jobs in an office. According to the office rules, each should do his job by himself, or, if he needs help, he should consult the supervisor. One of the men, whom we shall call Person, is not skillful at the work and would get it done better and faster if he got help from time to time. In spite of the rules he is reluctant to go to the supervisor, for to confess his incompetence might hurt his chances for promotion. Instead he seeks out the other man, whom we shall call Other for short, and asks him for help. Other is more experienced at the work than is Person; he can do his work well and quickly and be left with time to spare, and he has reason to suppose that the supervisor will not go out of his way to look for a breach of rules. Other gives Person help and in return Person gives Other thanks and expressions of approval. The two men have exchanged help and approval.* (Homans, 1961:31–32)

- Focusing on this sort of situation, Homans developed several propositions.

Table 1 Homans's Behaviorist Propositions

The Stimulus Proposition	If the previous occurrence of a particular stimulus has been the occasion on which an individual's action has been rewarded, then the more similar the current stimulus is to the past one, the more likely the person is to repeat the action.
The Success Proposition	The more often an action is followed by a reward, the more likely a person will repeat the behavior.
The Value Proposition	The more valuable a particular reward is to a person, the more often he will perform a behavior so rewarded.
The Deprivation-Satiation Proposition	The more often in the recent past an individual has received a particular reward, the less valuable any further unit of that reward becomes (and following the value proposition, the less likely the person is to perform the behavior for which he was so rewarded).
The Frustration-Aggression Proposition	If a person's action receives a punishment he did not expect, or if the person does not receive the reward he did expect, he will become angry and more likely to exhibit aggressive behavior, the results of which will become more valuable to him.

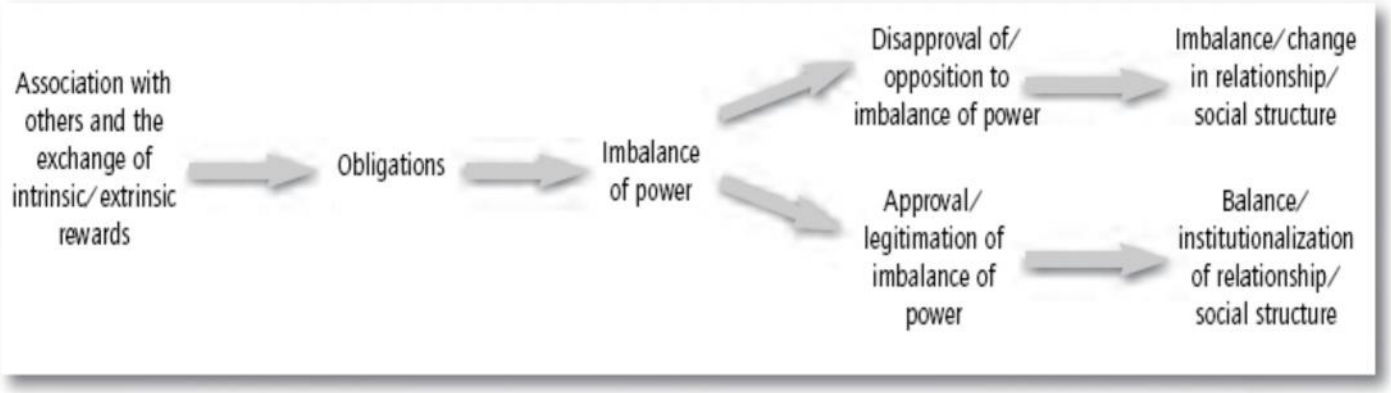
6.3. Peter M. Blau's Structural Exchange Theory

- Like Homans, Blau was interested in examining the processes that guide face-to-face interaction. And like Homans, Blau argued that such interaction is shaped by a reciprocal exchange of rewards, both tangible and intangible. On these points, Homans was an important influence on Blau's work.
- However, the differences between the two exchange theorists outnumber the similarities.
    1. While Homans was interested in studying exchange relations in order to uncover the behaviorist principles that underlie interaction, Blau sought to derive from his analysis of social interaction a better understanding of the complex institutions and organizations that develop out of simpler exchange relations between individuals.
    2. Moreover, Blau not only abandoned Homans's brand of behavioral psychology, but—in recognizing that imbalances of rewards and costs often pervade exchange relations—he also emphasized the roles that power, inequality, and norms of legitimation play in interaction.
- In extending the work of Homans and fashioning his own brand of exchange theory, Blau drew from a number of scholars. Perhaps most influential in shaping his views on interaction was the German sociologist and philosopher Georg Simmel (1858–1918).
- Like Simmel, Blau maintained that the central task of sociology is to uncover the basic forms of interaction through which individuals pursue their interests or satisfy their desires.
- Both maintained that every interaction (a performance, a conversation, or even a romantic affair) can be understood as a form of exchange in which the participant gives the other "more than he had himself possessed."
- Indeed, at the heart of Blau's theoretical perspective is an attempt to analyze the dynamics of exchange—the interplay of rewards and sacrifice—that are the building blocks of all social relations.

- Blau was interested in building a theoretical bridge that would link sociological studies of everyday interactions between individuals and studies that examined the collectivist or structural dimensions of society, such as economic systems, political institutions, or belief systems.
- While beginning with Weber's definition of power as "the probability that one actor within a social relationship will be in a position to carry out his own will despite resistance," Blau stressed the significance of rewards in inducing others to agree to one's wishes.
- For Blau, then, an individual is able to exercise **power** over others when he alone is able to supply needed rewards to them. If the others are unable to receive the benefits from another source, *and* if they are unable to offer rewards to the individual, they become dependent on the individual.
- Their only option is to submit to his demands for fear that he withdraw the needed benefits. In short, power results from an unequal exchange stemming from an individual's or group's monopoly over a desired resource
- In defining power in terms of an inequality of resources and the submission that an **imbalanced exchange** imposes, Blau is led to consider the processes that shape the exercise of power and the rise of opposition to it.
- These processes, in turn, account for both stability and change in interpersonal and group relations, as well as in more complex social institutions (see Figure 1).
- Of central importance is the role of social norms of fairness and the legitimacy they either confer on or deny those in dominant positions.
- Following the work of both Weber and Talcott Parsons, Blau argues that legitimate authority—a superior's right to demand compliance from subordinates and their willing obedience—is based on shared norms that constrain an individual's response to issued directives.
- Thus, imbalanced exchange relations are governed less by individual, rational calculations than they are by shared expectations and the cultural values that legitimate them.

- As long as the superior meets or exceeds the expectations for rewards deemed acceptable by the group, then the ensuing legitimacy conferred on the superior will foster the stability of the group.
- That is, the costs incurred by subordinates, both in the services they perform and in the very act of submission, must be judged fair relative to the benefits derived for obedience.
- Otherwise, opposition to the superior's exercise of power may arise, and with it the potential for change in the structure of existing interpersonal or institutional relations (see Figure 1). Yet, this judgment rests, ultimately, on consensual, normative standards of fairness.

Figure 1. Blau's Model of Exchange and the Structure of Social Relations



- As for the "rewards of various sorts," Blau distinguished between two: *extrinsic and intrinsic*.
- **Extrinsic rewards** are those that are "detachable" from the association in which they are acquired. In other words, extrinsic benefits are derived not from another person's company itself, but from the external rewards his company will provide. Here, associating with others serves as a means to a further end. Thus, a salesperson is considerate because she wants to make a commission, not because she values the relationship she initiates with any particular customer.

- **Intrinsic rewards** are those things we find pleasurable in and of themselves, not because they provide the means for obtaining other benefits. Examples of intrinsic rewards are celebrating a holiday with one's family, going on a walk with a friend, or love—the purest type of intrinsic reward. In cases such as these, rewards express one's commitment to the relationship and are exchanged in the interest of maintaining it.

Chapter Seven
Postmodernism and Contemporary Feminism

7.1. Postmodernism

- Sociology today faces a situation that a number of fields, mainly confronted a decade ago: The postmodern moment had arrived and perplexed intellectuals, artists, and cultural entrepreneurs wondered whether they should get on the bandwagon and join the carnival, or sit on the sidelines until the new fad disappeared into the whirl of cultural fashion. (Kellner, 1989b:1–2)
- Many sociologists, and some sociological theorists, still consider postmodern social theory to be a fad (and it continues to look to some more like a carnival than a serious scholarly endeavor), but the simple fact is that postmodern social theory no longer can be ignored by sociological theorists (Dandaneau, 2001).
- In contemporary social theory, it has been "the hottest game in town" (Kellner, 1989b:2). It has been so hot, in fact, that at least one theorist has urged that we stop using the term because it has been "worn frail by overexertion" (Lemert, 1994b:142). That is, it has been abused by both supporters and detractors, as well as in the course of the overheated between them.
- Given the importance of postmodern social theory and the heat it has generated, the objective here is to offer at least a brief introduction to postmodern thinking.
- Smart (1993) has differentiated among three postmodernist positions. The first, or extreme, postmodernist position is that there has been a radical rupture and modern society has been replaced by a postmodern society.
- The second position is that although a change has taken place, postmodernism grows out of, and is continuous with, modernism.
- Finally, there is the position, adopted by Smart himself, that rather than viewing modernism and postmodernism as epochs, we can see them as engaged in a long-running and ongoing set of relationships, with postmodernism continually pointing out the limitations of modernism.

- Though useful, Smart's typology probably would be dismissed by postmodernists as greatly simplifying the great diversity of their ideas and distorting them in the process.
- Although no term has greater resonance today among scholars in a wide range of disciplines than does *postmodern,* there is enormous ambiguity and controversy over exactly what the term means.
- For clarity it is useful to distinguish among the terms *postmodernity, postmodernism,* and *postmodern social theory.*
- *Postmodernity* refers to a historical epoch that generally is seen as following the modern era ,*postmodernism* to cultural products (in art, movies, architecture, and so on) that differ from modern cultural products (Taylor, 2007), and *postmodern social theory* to a way of thinking that is distinct from modern social theory.
- Thus, the postmodern encompasses *a new historical epoch, new cultural products,* and *a new type of theorizing about the social world.* All these, of course, share the perspective that something new and different has happened in recent years that no longer can be described by the term *modern,* and that those new developments are replacing modern realities.
- To address the first of these concepts, there is a widespread belief that the modern era is ending, or has ended, and we have entered a new historical epoch of *postmodernity.*
- Lemert argues that the birth of postmodernism can be traced, at least symbolically, to the death of modernist architecture at 3:32 P.M., July 15, 1972—the moment at which the Pruitt-Igoe housing project in St. Louis was destroyed. . . . This massive housing project in St. Louis represented modernist architecture's arrogant belief that by building the biggest and best public housing planners and architects could eradicate poverty and human misery. The destruction of Pruitt-Igoe is a reflection of differences between modernists and postmodernists over whether it is possible to find rational solutions to society's problems.
- To take another example, Lyndon Johnson's war on poverty in the 1960s was typical of the way modern society believed it could discover and implement rational

solutions to its problems. It could be argued that in the 1980s the Reagan administration with its general unwillingness to develop massive programs to deal with such problems was representative of a postmodern society and the belief that there is no single rational answer to various problems.

- The second concept, *postmodernism,* relates to the cultural realm in which it is argued that postmodern products have tended to supplant modern products.
- Third, and of much more direct relevance to us here, is the emergence of *postmodern social theory* and its differences from modern theory.
- Modern social theory sought a universal, a historical, rational foundation for its analysis and critique of society. For Marx that foundation was species-being, while for Habermas it was communicative reason. Postmodern thinking rejects this "foundationalism" and tends to be relativistic, irrational, and nihilistic.
- Following Nietzsche and Foucault, among others, postmodernists have come to question such foundations, believing that they tend to privilege some groups and downgrade the significance of others, give some groups power and render other groups powerless.
- Similarly, postmodernists reject the ideas of *a grand narrative or a meta-narrative*. It is in the rejection of these ideas that we encounter one of the most important postmodernists, Jean-François Lyotard.
- Lyotard (1984:xxiii) begins by identifying modern (scientific) knowledge with the kind of single grand synthesis (or "meta-discourse") we have associated with the work of theorists such as Marx and Parsons.
- The kinds of grand narratives he associates with modern science include "the dialectics of Spirit, the hermeneutics of meaning, the emancipation of the rational or working subject, or the creation of wealth" (Lyotard, 1984:xxiii).
- If modern knowledge is identified in Lyotard's view with meta-narratives, then postmodern knowledge involves a rejection of such grand narratives.

- As Lyotard puts it: *"Simplifying to the extreme, I define postmodern as incredulity to meta-narratives"* (1984:xxiv). More strongly, he argues: *"Let us wage war on totality . . . let us activate the differences"* (Lyotard, 1984:82).
- In fact, postmodern social theory becomes a celebration of a range of different theoretical perspectives: *"Postmodern knowledge is not simply a tool of authorities; it refines our sensitivity to differences and reinforces our ability to tolerate the incommensurable"* (Lyotard, 1984:xxv).
- In these terms, sociology has moved beyond the modern period, into the postmodern period, in its search for a range of more specific syntheses. Lyotard prefers *"smallish, localized narrative[s]"* to the metanarratives, or grand narratives, of modernity (1988:89).
- While Lyotard rejects the grand narrative in general, Baudrillard rejects the idea of a grand narrative in sociology. For one thing, Baudrillard rejects the whole idea of the social. For another, rejecting the social leads to a rejection of the metanarrative of sociology that is associated with modernity: . . . *the great organizing principle, the grand narrative of the Social which found its support and justification in ideas on the rational contract, civil society, progress, power, production—that all this may have pointed to something that once existed, but exists no longer. The age of the perspective of the social (coinciding rightly with that ill-defined period known as modernity) . . . is over.* (Bogard, 1990:10)
- Thus, postmodern social theory stands for the rejection of metanarratives in general and of grand narratives within sociology in particular. Postmodern social theory has, to a large degree, been the product of non-sociologists (Lyotard, Derrida, Jameson, and others).
- In recent years, a number of sociologists have begun to operate within a postmodern perspective, and postmodern social theory can be seen, at least to some degree, as *part* of the classical sociological tradition.
- Take, for example, the recent reinterpretation of the work of Georg Simmel entitled *Postmodern(ized) Simmel* (Weinstein and Weinstein, 1993, 1998). Weinstein and

Weinstein recognize that there is a strong case to be made for Simmel as a liberal modernist who offers a grand narrative of the historical trend toward the dominance of objective culture—the "tragedy of culture." However, they also argue that an equally strong case can be made for Simmel as a postmodern theorist.

- Thus, they acknowledge that both alternatives have validity and, in fact, that one is no more true than the other. Weinstein and Weinstein argue: "*To our minds 'modernism' and 'postmodernism' are not exclusive alternatives but discursive domains bordering each other"* (1993:21).
- Another place to look for intimations of postmodern social theory is among the critics of modern theory *within* sociological theory. As several observers (Antonio, 1991; Best and Kellner, 1991; Smart, 1993) have pointed out, a key position is occupied by C. Wright Mills (1959).
- First, Mills actually used the term *postmodern* to describe the post-Enlightenment era which we were entering: *"We are at the ending of what is called The Modern Age. . . . The Modern Age is being succeeded by a post-modern period"* (Mills, 1959:165–166).
- Second, he was a severe critic of modern grand theory in sociology, especially as it was practiced by Talcott Parsons.
- Third, Mills favored a socially and morally engaged sociology. In his terms, he wanted a sociology that linked broad public issues to specific private troubles.
- However, Best and Kellner contend that Mills "is very much a modernist, given to sweeping sociological generalization, totalizing surveys of sociology and history, and a belief in the power of the sociological imagination to illuminate social reality and to change society" (1991:8).

7.2. Contemporary Feminism

7.2.1. Feminism's Basic Questions

- The impetus for contemporary feminist theory begins in a deceptively simple question:*"And what about the women?"*
- In other words, where are the women in any situation being investigated? If they are not present, why? If they are present, what exactly are they doing? How do they experience the situation? What do they contribute to it? What does it mean to them?
- In response to this question, feminist scholarship has produced some generalizable answers. Women are present in most social situations. Where they are not, it is not because they lack ability or interest but because there have been deliberate efforts to exclude them. Where they have been present, women have played roles very different from the popular conception of them (as, for example, passive wives and mothers).
- Indeed, as wives and as mothers and in a series of other roles, women, along with men, have actively created the situations being studied. Yet though women are actively present in most social situations, scholars, publics, and social actors themselves, both male and female, have been blind to their presence.
- Moreover, women's roles in most social situations, though essential, have been different from, less privileged than, and subordinate to the roles of men. Their invisibility is only one indicator of this inequality.
- Feminism's second basic question is:*"Why is all this as it is?"*
- In answering this question, feminist theory has produced a general social theory with broad implications for sociology.
- One of feminist sociological theory's major contributions to answering this question has been the development of the concept of *gender.*
- Beginning in the 1970s, feminist theorists made it possible for people to see the distinctions between *(a) biologically determined attributes associated with male and female* and *(b) the socially learned behaviors associated with masculinity and femininity.*

- They did so by designating the latter as "gender." The essential qualities of gender remain a point of theoretical debate in feminism, and these debates offer one way to distinguish among some of the varieties of feminist theory.
- But a starting point of agreement among nearly all varieties of feminist theory is an understanding of gender as a social construction, something not emanating from nature but created by people as part of the processes of group life.
- The third question for all feminists is:*"How can we change and improve the social world so as to make it a more just place for all people?"*
- This commitment to social transformation in the interest of justice is the distinctive characteristic of critical social theory, a commitment shared in sociology by feminism, Marxism, neo-Marxism, and social theories being developed by racial and ethnic minorities and in postcolonial societies.
- Patricia Hill Collins (1998:xiv) forcefully states the importance of this commitment to seeking justice and confronting injustice: *"Critical social theory encompasses bodies of knowledge . . . that actively grapple with the central questions facing groups of people differently placed in specific political, social, and historic contexts characterized by injustice."*
- This commitment to critical theorizing requires that feminist theorists ask how their work will improve the daily lives of the people they study.
- The word gender has origins as early as the fourteenth century when it was used interchangeably with sex but especially in discussion of grammar (whether a noun is understood as masculine or feminine).
- Gender is used occasionally in early sociology articles of the 1900s but in a sense interchangeable with sex.
- The first feminist sociological conceptualization of the distinction between biologically determined attributes and socially learned behaviors was made by Charlotte Perkins Gilman in her 1898 classic *Women and Economics*, where she created the concept of *excessive sex distinction* to refer to what we now mean by *gender*.

- As the circle of feminists exploring these questions has become more inclusive of people of diverse backgrounds both in the United States and internationally, feminist theorists have raised a fourth question: *"And what about the differences among women?"*
- The answers to this question lead to a general conclusion that the invisibility, inequality, and role differences in relation to men that generally characterize women's lives are profoundly affected by a woman's social location—that is, by her class, race, age, affectional preference, marital status, religion, ethnicity, and global location.
- But feminist theory is not just about women, nor is its major project the creation of a middle-range theory of gender relations. Rather, the appropriate parallel for feminism's major theoretical achievement is to one of Marx's epistemological accomplishments.
- Marx showed that the knowledge people had of society, what they assumed to be an absolute and universal statement about reality, in fact reflected the experience of those who economically and politically ruled the world; he effectively demonstrated that one also could view the world from the vantage point of the world's workers.
- This insight relativized ruling-class knowledge and, in allowing us to juxtapose that knowledge with knowledge gained from the workers' perspective, vastly expanded our ability to analyze social reality. More than a century after Marx's death we are still assimilating the implications of this discovery.
- Feminism's basic theoretical questions have similarly produced a revolutionary switch in our understanding of the world: what we have taken as universal and absolute knowledge of the world is, in fact, knowledge derived from the experiences of a powerful section of society, men as "masters."
- That knowledge is relativized if we rediscover the world from the vantage point of a hitherto invisible, unacknowledged "underside": women, who in subordinated but indispensable "serving" roles have worked to sustain and re-create the society we live in.

- This discovery raises questions about everything we thought we knew about society, and its implications constitute the essence of contemporary feminist theory's significance for sociological theory.
- Feminist theory deconstructs established systems of knowledge by showing their masculinist bias and the gender politics framing and informing them.
- To say that knowledge is "deconstructed" is to say that we discover what was hitherto hidden behind the presentation of the knowledge as established, singular, and natural— namely, that that presentation is a construction resting on social, relational, and power arrangements.
- But feminism itself has become the subject of relativizing and deconstructionist pressures from within its own theoretical boundaries.
- The first and more powerful of these pressures comes from women confronting the white, privileged-class of many leading feminists—that is, from women of color, women in postcolonial societies, and working-class women.
- These women, speaking from "margin to center", show that there are many differently situated women, and that there are many women-centered knowledge systems that oppose both established, male-stream knowledge claims and any hegemonic feminist claims about a unitary woman's standpoint.
- The second deconstructionist pressure within feminism comes from a growing postmodernist literature that raises questions about gender as an undifferentiated concept and about the individual self as a stable locus of consciousness and personhood from which gender and the world are experienced.
- The potential impact of these questions falls primarily on feminist epistemology—its system for making truth claims.

7.2.2. Varieties of Contemporary Feminist Theory

- This section presents a typology of contemporary feminist theories that guide feminist sociological theorizing. The typology is organized around answers to feminism's most basic question. *And what about the women?* Essentially there have been five answers to that question.

- The first of these can be framed in terms of *gender difference* —women's location in, and experience of, most situations is *different* from that of the men in those situations.
- The second is that of *gender inequality* —women's location in most situations is not only different from but also less privileged than or *unequal* to that of men.
- The third is that of *gender oppression* — that is a direct power relationship between men and women through which women are restrained, subordinated, molded, used, and abused by men.
- The fourth is that women's experience of difference, inequality, and oppression varies according to their location within societies' arrangements of *structural oppression* — class, race, ethnicity, age, affectional preference, marital status, and global location.
- The fifth, a major focus in third wave feminism, questions the concept of woman so central to other theoretical positions, asking what implications flow from assuming *the concept "woman" as a given in social analysis*.
- Within these basic categories we can distinguish among theories in terms of their differing answers to the second or explanatory question, *"Why is all this as it is?"*
- This typology also needs to be read with the following cautions in mind: that it outlines theoretical positions, not the location of specific theorists, who over the course of a career may write from several of these positions, and that feminist theory and feminist sociological theory are dynamic enterprises that change over time.
- At the current moment, this typology is located within the following intellectual trends:
    (1) A steady movement toward synthesis, toward critically assessing how elements of these various theories may be combined;
    (2) A shift from women's oppression to oppressive practices and structures that after both men and women;
    (3) Tension between interpretations that emphasize culture and meaning and those that emphasize the material consequence of powers;

(4) The fact that feminist theory is coming to be practiced as part of what Thomas Kuhn has called "normal science," that is, its assumptions are taken for granted as a starting point for empirical research.

- In combination, these efforts have generated a long list of types of feminist theory, including *black feminism, conservatism, expressionism, ecofeminism, existentialism, global instrumentalism, lesbian feminism, liberalism, Marxism, polarism, psychoanalytic feminism, radicalism, separatism, socialism,* and *synthesism*.

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