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man must clothe certain parts of body. This is a universal of culture. On the other hand, a person may choose among a number of religious beliefs, or even adopt none. Specialists are the elements of culture, which are shared by some, but not all groups, within a society. Linton used the term 'contra-culture pattern' to designate those groups, which not only differ from the prevailing pattern, but sharply challenge them. For instance, a group of thieves has its own norms and standards, which are compelling for all members of the group. However, these norms and standards sharply differ from the conventional prevailing patterns.

3.6 CULTURE AND CIVILIZATION

According to McIver and Page, two great areas of human experience and of human activity are 'culture' and 'civilization'. All that man does, all that he creates, all his artifacts, etc., fall permanently into one order or the other. It would include not only our systems of social organization but also our techniques and our material instruments. It would include the ballot box and the telephone alike, our laws as well as our schools and our banking systems as well as our banks. They argued that technology is a part of civilization. Within the order of civilization, they distinguished between basic technology and social technology. Basic technology is directed towards man's control over natural phenomena. It is the area of the engineer and the mechanic. It applies the laws of physics, chemistry and biology to the service of human objectives. It rules the process of production in industry, agriculture and extractive industries. It constructs ships, planes, armaments, tractors and elevators and an endless variety of artifacts. It shapes and assembles the objects of every scale. It plans the modernized city and its parkways and also the newest design of women's hats. Social technology, on the other hand, is a collection of techniques that are directed to the regulation of the behavior of human beings. It has two essential divisions, economic technology and political technology. Economic technology is concerned with economic processes and the immediate relationships between men, for the pursuit of economic means. Political technology regulates a wide range of human relationships. While McIver and Page describe culture, they believe that, just as the type writer belongs to one great order, similarly the book that has been typed on it belongs to another great order. All material things that we bring into existence, give us something that we crave for or we need. All of them are expressions of us. They have been created to satisfy the need within us. This need is not an outer necessity. They belong to the realm of culture. This is the kingdom of principles, styles, emotional strings and intellectual ventures. They argue that culture is then the antithesis of civilization. It is the expression of our nature in our modes of living and thinking, in our everyday intercourse, in art, in literature, in religion, in recreation and in enjoyment.

MacIver and Page pointed the difference between culture and civilization in the following ways:

- **Civilization has precise standard of measurement, but not culture:** When we compare the product of civilization, we can prove which is superior and which is inferior. Since they are means to ends, their degree of efficiency can be readily estimated. This efficiency can be measured only if the end is clearly postulated. For instance, a lorry runs faster than a bullock cart, an airplane runs faster than a lorry, a power loom produces more than handloom, etc. On the other hand, cultural aspects that raise the ultimate problem of value cannot measure the culture.
- **Civilization is always advancing, but not culture:** Civilization not only marches, it marches continuously, provided there is no catastrophic break of social continuity in the same direction. An achievement of civilization is generally exploited and improved, until it is superseded or rendered obsolete by some new invention. It is true that in the past, some achievements of civilization have again been lost. Men forgot the art which raised the pyramids of Egypt and constructed the roads and aqueducts of Rome. The reason for this was that these losses were a result of catastrophic changes which blotted out the records of civilization. With a wide area of civilization and superior methods of recording discoveries, any utilitarian or technical gain becomes a permanent possession within the social heritage. It then conditions further gains. It is otherwise a cultural achievement. Since man first invented the automobile, it has continuously improved. Our means of transportation develop constantly. They are much superior to those which the ancient Greeks employed. But the same cannot be opined about our dramas and sculptures, our conversation and our recreation, etc. Here certitude fails us. There are no automobiles which are today comparatively inefficient as the first vehicle of Henry Ford. His work and that of other inventors inevitably prepared the way for better cars. But our plays are not necessarily better today because of the achievements of Shakespeare. Culture is subject to retrogression as well as advancement. Its past does not assure its future.
- **Civilization is passed on without effort, but not culture:** Culture can only be assimilated by the like-minded. It can be had only by those who are worthy of it. No one can appreciate art without the quality of an artist. Civilization in general, makes no such demand. We can enjoy its products without sharing the capacity which creates them. Civilization is the vehicle of culture; its improvement is no guarantee of finer quality in that which it conveys. Television can show movies, but there is no guarantee of their quality.
- **Civilization is external and mechanical, while culture is internal and organic:** Civilization is inclusive of external things. Culture is related to internal thoughts, feelings, ideals, values, etc. According to MacIver, 'Civilization is what we have, culture is what we are'.

Though culture and civilization have certain kind of demarcation lines, they are interdependent. One can believe that they hardly exist apart from each other. Both

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are not only interdependent but also interactive. The articles of civilization called 'artifacts' are influenced by articles of culture known as 'mentifacts'. Similarly, culture is influenced by articles of civilization. The objects of civilization gradually acquire cultural aspects. The tools and artifacts of primitive communities are not tools, but they are symbols of culture.

CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

7. What is the hallmark of every society?
8. Name the two kinds of geniuses proposed by Benedict.
9. What is social technology?

3.7 SUMMARY

- Culture is not simply an accumulation of folkways and mores; it is an organized system of behavior. Culture is always organized with cultural traits and complexes.
- Cultural traits are basically the smallest units of culture. Traits are, for instance, the actions of shaking hand, offering prayer, saluting a flag and small material objects like pen, cloth, etc. Each culture includes thousands of traits.
- Willam Graham Sumner, in his book, *Folkways* (1906), defined folkways as 'simply the customary, normal habitual ways the group does things'. Shaking hands, eating with knives and forks, driving on the left side of the street, etc., are folkways.
- Maclver and Page, believed that custom had a social order of its own. This prevented a conflict, which emerged between custom and law, from converting into a conflict between law and lawlessness.
- Cultural relativism implies that the operation and significance of a trait is affected by its cultural setting. If regarded independently, a trait is neither positive, nor negative. It can only be categorized as positive or negative, when it is considered relative to the culture in which it operates.
- Ethnocentrism is the inclination of every society to place its own cultural patterns at the centre of things. It is the act of regarding the cultural practices of others as inferior to one's own.
- Culture lag is defined as the duration between the emergence of a new material invention and its absorbance into its corresponding area of nonmaterial culture
- Generally, culture defines the type of personality that dominates a specific group. Culture plays a vital role in influencing the personality of a group. This has attracted the attention of the scholars of culture and various schools of thought that are concerned with personality.

- McIver and Page presented two great areas of human experience and human activity as 'culture' and 'civilization'. All that man does, all that he creates and all his artifacts, fall permanently into one order or the other. They argued that civilization is the whole mechanism and organization which man has devised, in his endeavor to control and condition his life. It would include not only our systems of social organization but also our techniques and material instruments.

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3.8 KEY TERMS

- **Material culture:** A term used by archaeologists as a non-specific way to refer to the artifacts or other concrete things left by past cultures
- **Nonmaterial culture:** A component of culture that consists of the abstract or intangible human creations of society (such as attitudes, beliefs, and values) that influence people's behavior
- **Sociofacts:** A term used to describe how cultural traits take on a life of their own, spanning over generations
- **Mentifacts:** A term used to represent the ideas and beliefs of a culture, for example religion, language or law
- **Australopithecines:** Extinct humanlike primates
- **Neanderthals:** An extinct human species associated with Middle Paleolithic tools
- **Culture complex:** A combination of related cultural traits (e.g., prevailing modes of dress; nationalism)
- **Folkway:** A practice, custom, or belief shared by the members of a group as part of their common culture
- **Cultural relativism:** The principle that an individual human's beliefs and activities should be understood in terms of his or her own culture
- **Ethnocentrism:** The tendency to look at the world primarily from the perspective of one's own ethnic culture

3.9 ANSWERS TO 'CHECK YOUR PROGRESS'

1. Edward Tylor's definition of culture says, 'Culture is that complex entirety which includes knowledge, belief, art, morals, law, customs and other capabilities and habits that are acquired by man, as a member of society'.
2. According to Marett, culture is communicable intelligence.
3. Culture complex is intermediate between the trait and the institution.
4. Cultural relativism can be defined as the function that measures trait on the basis of its cultural environment.
5. Ethnocentrism is the act of evaluating other cultural practices, in terms of one's own and obviously rating them as inferior.

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6. Culture lag is the duration or gap of time that exists between the emergence of a new material invention and the process of adapting it to the corresponding nonmaterial culture.
7. Culture is the hallmark of every society.
8. Benedict proposed two kinds of geniuses, Apollonian and Dionysian.
9. Social technology is a collection of techniques that are directed to the regulation of the behavior of human beings.

3.10 QUESTIONS AND EXERCISES

Short-Answer Questions

1. Which are the two forms of culture?
2. What does every culture comprise of?
3. How does conflict affect ethnocentrism?
4. List the characteristics of personality.
5. How did Linton divide culture?

Long-Answer Questions

1. What is culture? Discuss the characteristic features of culture.
2. Define and explain the types of cultures.
3. What is acculturation? How is it different from cultural lag?
4. Analyse the relationship between culture and personality.
5. What is civilization? How is it different from culture?

3.11 FURTHER READING

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UNIT 4 SOCIAL INTERACTION AND SOCIALIZATION

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Structure

- 4.0 Introduction
- 4.1 Unit Objectives
- 4.2 Social Interaction
 - 4.2.1 Forms of Social Interaction
- 4.3 Socialization
 - 4.3.1 Importance of Socialization
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- 4.4 Summary
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- 4.6 Answers to 'Check Your Progress'
- 4.7 Questions and Exercises
- 4.8 Further Reading

4.0 INTRODUCTION

This unit is divided into two parts, social interaction and socialization. Social interaction is the way in which a person acts towards or responds to others. Socialization is a process that teaches an individual his culture. This process goes on throughout one's life and it develops a sense of self and converts the individual into a member of the society. In order for this to succeed, the individual needs consistent and organized interaction with his culture and social surroundings. The growth of the self is influenced by contact with family, peers and the media.

4.1 UNIT OBJECTIVES

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

- Define social interaction
- Explain the different forms of social interaction
- Write notes on the process, stages and importance of socialization
- Name the agencies and theories of socialization
- List the types of socialization

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4.2 SOCIAL INTERACTION

Social interaction is the most important aspect of social life. When people live in a community they interact with each other, they communicate with each other. Such interaction is a continuous process. Social interaction is also essential for the survival of any community and culture.

One can study social interaction in two levels, micro and macro. Micro means limited to a person-to-person level. Micro interaction at a larger scale is within a community, state, nation and international level.

One can also argue that social interaction is the basic ingredient of social relationships. Social interaction refers to the entire range of social relationships, wherein there is reciprocal stimulation and response between individuals. An aggregate of individuals becomes a community and communities form a society. Social interaction is the base of social relations. It also establishes cultural and physical relations.

According to Park and Burgess, social interaction has two essential aspects:

- (i) Social contact
- (ii) Communication

Social contact can be established through a medium of conversation, letters, messages, mobile phone/telephone and other modes of communication, even between people who are separated by thousands of miles. Social contact is also strengthened by physical contact.

4.2.1 Forms of Social Interaction

Social interaction essentially takes place in associative and dissociative forms. These forms of social interaction are also designated as social processes.

Associative social processes

Associative forms of social interaction can be divided into three categories:

- (i) Cooperation
- (ii) Accommodation
- (iii) Assimilation

(i) Cooperation

Cooperation is the most pervasive and continuous form of social processes. It integrates one individual with the other, it also integrates one community with the other. The word 'cooperation' has been derived from two Latin words, *co* means together and *operari* means work. Cooperation generally means working together in pursuit of continuous and common endeavour of two or more persons to perform a task or to reach a goal that is commonly cherished. According to Merrill and Eldredge, 'Cooperation is a form of social interaction wherein two or more persons

work together to gain a common end'. Cooperation always requires joint or organized efforts and a common end.

According to Cooley, 'Cooperation arises when men see that they have a common interest and have at the same time, sufficient intelligence and self control to seek this interest through united action. Perceived unity of interest and faculty of organization are the essential facts in intelligent combination'. Cooperation also requires mutual aid. Cooperation is possible when there are similarity of purpose, mutual awareness, mutual understanding and mutual helpfulness. Cooperation is brought about by several circumstances like, desire to active common goal, situational necessity, desire to achieve larger objective, etc.

The modes of cooperation in social life may be divided into two principal types:

- (a) Direct cooperation
- (b) Indirect cooperation

Direct cooperation may include all activities which people perform together. The essential character of these activities is that people perform them in company, which they cannot do separately or in isolation. When two or three companies carry a load together which would be very annoying for one of them to carry alone, such a cooperation may be characterized as direct cooperation.

Indirect cooperation may include those activities which people perform, unlike tasks towards a common goal. The principle of division of labour, that is embedded in the nature of social life, exemplifies indirect cooperation. This mode of cooperation is revealed wherever people combine their differences for mutual satisfaction or for a common goal.

Cooperation is a universal phenomenon. Without cooperation, neither an individual nor a community will survive. Mutual aid starts with cooperation in rearing of progeny and in the provision of protection and food. Even among the lowest group of animals such as ants and termites, cooperation is evident for survival.

(ii) Accommodation

Accommodation is essentially a process of adjustment, a sort of working arrangement among persons or groups who are not favourably disposed towards each another. Just as adaptation is a biological process, so is accommodation a social process. The question of accommodation arises only in situations of conflict. Had there been no conflict, there would have been no necessity for adjustment and hence no need for accommodation. A compromise that is reached by conflicting parties is termed as accommodation.

Accommodation is the resolution of conflicts which generally means adjusting oneself to the new environment. Adjustment may be to the physical or social environment. Adjustment to physical environment takes place through organic or structural modification that is transmitted by heredity and is termed as adaptation, while adjustment to social environment is achieved by an individual through the

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acquisition of behaviour patterns. These behavioural patterns are transmitted socially and through adoption of new ways of behaving and are called accommodation. Therefore, animals that are lower than man adjust themselves most frequently through adaptation; man does this primarily through accommodation as he lives in a truly social environment. Accommodation is a social process, whereas adaptation is a biological process.

Modes of accommodation

Accommodation is social adaptation that involves the invention or borrowing of devices whereby one ethnic group develops modes of life, economic and otherwise. These modes complement or supplement those of others groups. It is primarily concerned with the adjustment issuing from the conflict between individuals and groups. In a society, individuals have to resolve their conflicts sooner or later. This compromise that is reached by conflicting parties is accommodation. According to Park and Burgess, in accommodation the antagonism between conflicting elements is temporarily regulated. This is why Summer referred to accommodation as antagonistic cooperation. Accommodation or resolution of conflicts may be brought about in many different ways and accordingly, may assume various forms. The most important of these forms are:

Compromise: When the combatants are equal in strength and neither may be able to prevail over the other, they attain accommodation by agreeing to a compromise. In compromise each party to the dispute makes some concessions, yields to some concessions and yields to some demand of the other. The 'all or nothing' attitude gives way to a willingness to yield up to a certain point in order to gain other. A compromise is a state in which everyone can find consolation for his disappointment by reflecting that every one else is disappointed too. The settlement of disputes in the parliament involves accommodation of this kind.

Arbitration and conciliation: Accommodation is also achieved by means of arbitration and conciliation which involves attempts on the part of the third party to bring an end to the conflict between contending parties. The labour management conflict may be between a husband and a wife or sometimes it may be a political conflict. These are resolved through the intervention of an arbitrator or a mediator in whom both the parties have complete confidence. In the international law, mediation or arbitration is a recognized mode of settling international disputes.

Toleration: Toleration is the form of accommodation in which there is no settlement of difference but there is only the avoidance of overt conflict. In toleration, no concession is made by any of the groups and there is no change in the basic policy. It involves accepting a group despite some state of affairs that are definitely objectionable to the other group. However, each group must bear with the other. Toleration is best exemplified, particularly in the field of religion where the different religious groups exist side by side. Each has some rights over others which it can also claim for itself. The coexistence of states with radically different economic and social systems such as communist and capitalist systems is an example of

toleration. The difference in such cases cannot be resolved as they involve irreconcilable ideologies.

Superordination and subordination: The most common accommodation is the establishment and recognition of the order of superordination and subordination. The organization of any society is essentially a result of this type of accommodation. In a family, relationships among parents and children are based in terms of superordination and subordination. In larger groups, whether social or economic, relationships are fixed on the same basis. Even under a democratic order, there are leaders and followers who give orders and others who follow them. When individuals ordinarily accept their relative positions as a matter-of-fact, accommodation is said to have reached a state of perfection.

- Accommodation also checks conflicts and enables persons and groups to maintain cooperation, which is an essential condition of social life.
- It also enables individuals to adjust themselves to changed conditions. Therefore, it is not only controls but also maintains the necessary security of a social order, without which it may be difficult for the individuals to carry on their activities together.
- Society is the result of accommodation.

(iii) Assimilation

Assimilation refers to a process whereby a group of people that has lived among another group of people for a considerable period of time, adopts the way of life of the latter. This way both groups are completely indistinguishable from each other. Assimilation is both psychological and social. According to Nimkoff, 'Assimilation is the process whereby individuals or groups, once dissimilar, become similar and identified in their interests and outlook'. According to Lundberg 'Assimilation is a word used to designate a process of mutual adjustment through which culturally different groups gradually obliterate their differences to the point where they are no longer regarded as socially significant or observable'.

According to Horton and Hunt, 'The process of mutual cultural diffusion through which persons and groups come to share a common culture is called assimilation'.

According to Park and Burgess, 'Assimilation is a process of interpenetration and fusion in which persons and groups acquire the memories, sentiments, attitudes of other persons or groups and by sharing their experiences and history are incorporated with them in a cultural life'.

When different cultures come into contact, originally it is the sentiment of mutual conflict that is most prominent, but they gradually assimilate elements from each other. In the process of assimilation, the two distinct groups do not just compromise to get along with each other, they also become much like each other, such that they are no longer distinguishable as separate groups. Assimilation is a social and a psychological process.

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Assimilation also takes place with foreigners or migrants, who are being assimilated in the host culture. Assimilation also takes place in the other way round. It is a very slow and gradual process, it takes quite some time for individuals or groups who were once dissimilar to become similar, that is become identified by their interests and outlook. Acculturation takes place before assimilation, when one cultural group which is in contact with another appropriates or borrows certain cultural elements from it and incorporates them into its own culture. Social contact and acquisition of new values and norm are also part of assimilation.

Hurdle in assimilation

Assimilation is not a simple but an essentially complex process. There are certain factors which facilitate assimilation and others, which create hurdles in the process of assimilation.

According to Gillin and Gillin, factors that favour assimilation are:

- a. Tolerance
- b. Equal economic opportunity
- c. Sympathetic attitude on part of the dominant group, towards the minority group
- d. Exposure to dominant culture
- e. Similarity between cultures of the minority and dominant groups

Factors that go against assimilation are:

- a. Isolated condition of life
- b. Attitude of superiority on part of the dominant group
- c. Excessive psychological pressure
- d. Cultural and social difference between the groups
- e. Persecution of the minority group by the majority group

According to Melver, cultural differences, particularly those of language and religion are usually considered to be the main constitutions of culture. Immigrants having the same religion and language as people of the country of their adoption can easily adjust themselves there. For example, in USA English speaking people are assimilated quickly and easily, whereas those who do not speak English face difficulty in being assimilated there. Customs and beliefs are other cultural characteristics which can aid or hinder assimilation.

Prejudice may also impede assimilation. As long as the dominant group prejudices those who have been set apart, neither the other group nor their individual members can easily become assimilated to the general culture. Prejudice also impedes assimilation between constituent elements within a given society. Religious groups often allow the social distance that is created by prejudice to maintain there separateness. Prejudice may be the outcome of some unpleasant experiences such as, fear of losing superior status, dread of economic competition or some form of collective phobia.

The differences between assimilation and accommodation are shown in Table 4.1

Table 4.1 Differences between Assimilation and Accommodation

Assimilation	Accommodation
Assimilation is permanent.	Accommodation is non-permanent.
Assimilation is a slow process.	Accommodation may be a sudden process.
Assimilation is unconscious.	Accommodation is deliberate.

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Dissociative social processes

Dissociative forms of social processes can be divided into two categories:

- (i) Competition
- (ii) Conflict

(i) Competition

According to Kingsley Davis, 'Competition simply aims to outdo the competitor in achieving a mutually desired goal. The urge to outdo arises only when the desired goal is in scarce supply. Competition is actually the most fundamental form of social struggle. It is also considered to be very healthy and a necessary social process. Competitive spirit is deliberately inculcated in order to produce a result which is considered to be socially desirable.

According to socialization, competition is defined as follows:

According to Anderson and Parker, 'Competition is that form of social action in which we strive against each other for the possession of or use of limited material or non-material good'. According to Bogardus 'Competition is a contest to obtain something which does not exist in a quantity that is sufficient to meet the demand.

Sutherland, Woodward and Maxwell defined competition as, 'Competition is an impersonal, unconscious, continuous struggle between individuals or groups for satisfaction which, because of their limited supply, all may not have'.

- a. Competition is impersonal struggle: According to Park and Burgess, 'Competition is an 'interaction without social contact'. It means that it is an inter-individual struggle that is impersonal. It is usually not directed against any individual or group in particular. The competitors are not in contact and do not know each other.
- b. Competition is an unconscious activity. It takes place on an unconscious level
- c. Competition is universal. It is found in every society and in every age group.
- d. Competition is not an inborn tendency; it is a social phenomenon. It takes place only when the desired thing is in short supply.
- e. Competition can be seen at different levels like social, cultural, political and economic.

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(ii) Conflict

According to Gillin and Gillin, 'Conflict is the process in which individuals or groups seek their ends by directly challenging the antagonist either by violence or by threat of violence. As a social process it is the anti-thesis of cooperation. Conflict is conscious action. It is a deliberate intent to oppose. Conflict is also universal. Conflict expresses itself in numerous ways and in various degrees and over every range of human conduct. Its modes are always changing with changes in social and cultural conditions. Some types disappear and new types emerge.

According to Maclver, conflict can be divided into two types

a. Direct conflict

b. Indirect conflict

a. Direct conflict: When individual or groups thwart, impede, restrain, injure or destroy one another in an effort to attain a common goal, direct conflict occurs.

b. Indirect conflict: When individuals or groups do not actually impede the efforts of one another but nevertheless, seek to attain their ends in ways that obstruct the attainment of the same ends by the other, indirect conflict occurs.

Kingsley Davis has argued, 'Conflict is a part of human society because of the kind of society. He further observed, 'As a matter of fact, society itself engenders conflict situations and cannot avoid doing so. By allotting different statuses to different people, it lays the base for envy and resentment. By giving authority to one person over another, it sets the stage for the abuse of authority and for retaliation by force. By instilling ends that are competitive, it makes it possible for competition to convert into violence.

As we have discussed, conflict is universal. It occurs at all times and in every place. There has never been a time or a society in which some individuals or groups did not come into conflict. According to Malthus, scarce means of subsistence is the cause of conflict. According to Darwin, the principle of struggle for existence and survival of the fittest are the main causes of conflict. According to Freud, 'the innate instinct for aggression in man is the main cause of conflict'. It arises primarily due to a clash of interests within groups and societies and between groups and societies. Conflict also arises as a result of the difference between the rate of change in moral norms of a society and men's desire, hopes, dissatisfactions and demands.

Cultural differences among groups sometimes cause tension and lead to conflict. Religious differences have occasionally led to wars and persecution in history. Clash of interests also cause conflict. The interest of workers, clash with those of employers which leads to conflict among them. When a part of society does not change along with changes in other parts, then conflict occurs. Social change causes a cultural lag which leads to a conflict.

CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

1. What is the most important aspect of social life?
2. What is accommodation?
3. Name the factors that favour assimilation.

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4.3 SOCIALIZATION

Meaning

The term 'socialization' refers to processes whereby individuals are taught the skills, behaviour patterns, values and motivations that are needed for competent functioning in the culture in which they are growing up. The most dominant among these are social skills, social understandings and emotional maturity. These are needed for interaction with other individuals to fit in with the functioning of social dyads and larger groups. Socialization includes all those processes in which culture is transmitted from one generation to the next, including training for specific roles in specific occupations.

According to Maclver, 'Socialization is the process by which social beings establish wider and profounder relationships with one another, in which they come closer to each other and build a complex structure of association.

According to Kimball Young, 'Socialization means the process of inducting the individual into the social and cultural world of making him a particular member of a society and its various groups and inducing him to accept the norms and values of that society. Socialization is definitely a matter of learning and not of biological inheritance.'

4.3.1 Importance of Socialization

A new born individual (human infant comes into the world as a biological organism with animal needs. He/she is gradually moulded into a social being and learns the social ways of acting and feeling. Without this process of moulding, neither the society nor the culture would exist, nor would the individual become a social person.

4.3.2 Stages of Socialization

Socialization takes place within a 'simplified' social world. The social system in which the infant or the child is being trained is much less complex than the society as a whole. This simplification makes it possible for the child to attend to relatively few things at a time.

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There are four stages of socialization from infancy to adulthood. The names given to these stages have become fixed in usage and they are fairly appropriate although far from being adequately descriptive. They are:

- (i) First stage—The oral stage
- (ii) Second stage—The anal stage
- (iii) Third stage—The oedipal stage and latency
- (iv) Fourth stage—Adolescence

In all these stages, especially in the first three, the family is the main socializing group. Therefore, one can consider the structure of the family as it bears on socialization. The family varies in composition from one society to another, but the nuclear family is universal. One can ignore the variation in particular families and concentrate on the institutional structure of the nuclear family. A nuclear family has four roles: husband-father, wife-mother, son-brother and daughter-sister. The details of these roles vary from one society to another. One obvious feature is the division according to generation. This is division is also according to the relative power to control interaction; father and mother are able to control their son and daughter more than the son and daughter being able to control parents.

(i) First stage—The oral stage

In the womb, the fetus is presumably warm and comfortable. At birth the infant faces its first crisis, it must breathe, exert itself to be fed, it is susceptible to cold, and other discomforts; it cries a lot. The essential goal of the first stage of socialization is to establish oral dependency. The infant builds up fairly definite expectations about feeding time and it learns to signal its pressing needs for care. During this stage, the infant is not involved in the family as a whole. It is involved only in the subsystem consisting of itself and its mother. For other members of the family, as Parsons says, 'the baby is little more than a possession.' If the father or anyone else shares the task of caring for the baby with the mother, no role differentiation is involved. The person will also be performing the role of a mother.

Freud called this stage 'primary identification'. In the personality of the infant, by the time oral dependency has been established, its own role and that of the mother are probably not clearly distinguished. Mother and infant are merged. Some control over the hunger drive has been established.

(ii) Second stage—The anal stage

The crisis with which this stage begins is caused by the imposition of new demands. These are the demands for the child to take over some degree of care for himself. Toilet training is the main focus of new concern. During this stage, the child recognizes two roles, its own and that of its mother. The child not only receives care but receives love and gives love in return.

In this stage one can clearly see the importance of a general fact about socialization; the socializing agent always has a dual role. During this stage, the

mother first participates in a limited social system. She is the instrumental leader relative to the child, for she is still chiefly responsible for meeting his specific needs. The child's contribution to the system is mainly expressive. He helps to integrate the system by cooperating and giving love. He is still too young and dependent to contribute much to the accomplishment of tasks.

The dual role of the socializing agent is to train the child so that he will ultimately be able to participate in a more complex social system. Obviously the socializing agent has to know the roles and common values of the larger system.

Secondly, socialization is an unpleasant task, to some extent for the socializing agent as well as for the child. The mother does not enjoy seeing her child suffer through the process of weaning, toilet training, etc. Though she can console herself with thoughts of the final accomplishment, but probably she is forced to some extent, by pressure from the larger social system, of which she is a member.

At the same time, the mother as a socializing agent, mediates between the subsystem and the larger system. She is also supported by that larger system. Her husband will understand the strain she is undergoing and will relieve her off some other burdens, for instance by spending more time with other children, etc.

(iii) Third stage—The oedipal stage and latency

The third stage extends from the fourth year to puberty (the age of twelve or thirteen). The 'Oedipal crisis' occurs typically during the fourth and fifth years, followed by the latency period.

In the course of the third stage, the child becomes a member of the family as a whole. He must accept all four roles of the family and he must, above all, identify himself with the social role ascribed to him on the basis of his biological sex.

The 'Oedipus complex' as Freud named it, is the feeling of jealousy the boy is believed to have toward his father on account of their rivalry for the mother. For a girl, the 'Electra complex' is the corresponding set of feelings that she has for her father and is therefore jealous of her mother.

When the proper stage of socialization has been reached, many social pressures are brought to bear on the child, to identify with the appropriate sex. Boys begin to get rewarded for behaviour that is appropriate towards boys and girls are rewarded for acting feminine. Moreover, the toys given to boys are different from those given to their sisters. Fairly striking anatomical differences make the correct identification easy, yet the correct identification is largely an achievement of socialization.

The term 'identification' has been used in different ways. Firstly, one is said to identify with a social role, if one not only recognizes the role but also adopts it as ones own. One strives to attain the necessary skills and to conform to the role norms. Secondly, one is said to identify with a social group if one recognizes the role system of the group and considers oneself to be a member of it. Identification in its first sense links a boy with his father and brother, for example, but not with his

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mother. Identification in its second sense links a boy with his family, including both parents and all siblings.

(iv) Fourth stage—Adolescence

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The fourth stage is adolescence which is roughly at puberty. This is the stage during which young boys or girls are ordinarily more and more 'emancipated' from parental control. The crisis of this period is the strain that is produced by greater demands for independence. At the same time, in the middle class of a different society, the adolescent may still be controlled to some extent by his parents in many activities wherein he might like greater freedom. This is especially true when individuals become aware of their sexuality. The psychological changes that accompany adolescence would not produce problems till sexual maturity.

The goal of adulthood is considered to be attained when a person can support himself or herself, entirely independent of the parental family. Full adulthood also implies the ability to form a family.

4.3.3 Processes of Socialization

After discussing the stages of socialization, a basic and fundamental question arises; how does the process of socialization begin to work? As we know that every man tries to adjust himself to the conditions of his social environment. The process of adjustment itself is socialization. Socialization is the process of transforming a biological being to a social being. As we have discussed earlier in the stages of socialization, direct socialization begins only after birth.

Socialization is a continuous and unending process. It is a process of inducting an individual into the social world. It is consisting of learning cultural values and norms which he/she must learn and share. Socialization is social learning.

The fundamental process of socialization is the emergence and gradual development of 'self'. It is in terms of the self that a personality takes shape and mind begins to function. The notion of self begins to arise as a child learns about the feeling of sensation. According to Johnson, the 'self might be regarded as the internalized object representing ones own personality.' Self is an internalized object that includes ones own conception of ones abilities and characteristics and an evaluation of both.

4.3.4 Agencies of Socialization

One can conceive of socialization, then, as a succession of processes occurring at various stages of development, with the child's family of origin being the first.

There are various agencies of the socialization process:

The family

The family gets the baby first. Therefore the process of socialization begins in the family. The child is born with some basic abilities that are genetically transmitted from his parents. These abilities and capacities are shaped in a way that is determined

by culture. The mother, with whom the relation of child is most intimate, plays a significant role in the process of moulding the child in the initial stages. Subsequently, the father and older siblings transmit other values to the child. Values like knowledge and skill are transmitted, that children are expected to acquire in a particular society.

The peer group

As the child grows older, his contemporaries begin to influence him. He spends most of his spare hours outside his work and study schedule, with his peers in the playground and places outside his/her home. The attraction of peers is virtually irresistible to him. He learns from them and they also learn from him. As time passes, the peer group influence surpasses that of his parents, significantly. Teenage is the stage when misunderstanding occurs between parents and children. In socialization of the child, the members of the family, particularly those who exercise authority over him and members of his peer group exercise two different types of influences on him. Both, authoritarian and equalitarian relationships are equally significant to him. He acquires the virtues of respect, constraint and obedience from the first type of relationships and the virtues of cooperation that is based on trust and mutual understanding, from the second.

The importance of equalitarian element in the socialization process rests on altogether different grounds. There is free and spontaneous interaction instead of coercion among those who have equalitarian relationships. They view the world in the same way, share the same subjective attitude and consequently have perfect understanding of one another. This applies to age mates, sex mates and class mates. They learn shades of meaning, fads and crazes, secret modes of gratification and forbidden knowledge from one another. Part of this knowledge is often socially useful and yet socially tabooed. Kingsley Davis has given the instance of knowledge of sex which is supposed to remain undisclosed until marriage. If this were followed, the problems of maladjustment and aberration of many kinds would not have been infrequent. Fortunately such knowledge is transmitted as a part of the lore that passes from child to child.

The school

The school is the second agency of socialization. When a child comes to school, his formal indoctrination into the culture of the society begins. In school the child gets his education, which moulds his ideas and attitudes. He is formally introduced to the lore and the learning, the arts and the science, the values and beliefs, the customs and taboos of the society, from a wider circle. His teacher plays a very significant role. Education is of great importance in socialization. A well planned system of education can produce a socialized person.

The books

In literate societies, another important agency of socialization is the printed word in books and magazines. Experiences and knowledge of the cultural world, values and beliefs, superstitions and prejudices are expressed in words. According to

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Bierstedt, 'words rush at us in torrent and cascade; they leap into our vision as in newspaper, magazine and text book'. Text books are written by authors. They join the teachers, the peers and the parents in the socialization process.

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The mass media

Apart from newspapers which carry printed words, the two other mass media, viz., radio and television, exercise tremendous influence in the socialization process.

4.3.5 Theories of Socialization

Some important theories of socialization were developed by Charles Horton Cooley, George Herbert Mead and Sigmund Freud.

Charles Horton Cooley

Cooley, in his book *Social Organization*, writes that the construction of self and society are twin-born and that we know one as immediately as we know the other. He further says that 'the notion of a separate and independent ego is an illusion'. He reiterates that self consciousness can arise only in a society and it is inseparable from social consciousness. According to him, the self is social. The basic idea of the conception is, 'the way we imagine ourselves to appear to another person is an essential element in our conception of ourselves. He believes that there are three steps in the process of building 'looking-glass self'.

- (i) Our perception of how we look to others
- (ii) Our perception of their judgement of how we look
- (iii) Our feeling about these judgements

Thus, we are constantly revising our perception of how we look. Just like a mirror that gives an image of physical self, so the perception of the reaction of others gives an image of the social self. Another important point is that the perception of the judgement of others, is the active factor in the self-image forming process.

G.H. Mead, basically a psychologist, agreed completely with Cooley that it is absurd to look at the self or the mind from the viewpoint of an individual organism. Although it may have its focus on the organism, it is undoubtedly a social product and a social phenomenon. He believes that the self arises in interaction with the social and nonsocial environment. The social environment is particularly important.

The basic argument which Mead developed was in support of this conclusion and also in support of his theory of 'Me' and 'I'. For Mead, 'Me' is that group of organized attitudes to which the individual responds. He called the acting self the 'I'. The 'Me' on the other hand, is part of the self which consists of the internal attitudes of others.

The process of personalizing the attitudes of others has been aptly described by Mead, who developed the concept of 'generalized other'. This generalized other is composite of the expectations that one believes, others hold towards one. Awareness of the generalized other is developed through the process of taking

and plying roles. Taking role is an attempt to act out the behaviour that would be expected of a person, who actually holds the role. Playing a role is acting out the behaviour of a role that one actually holds, whereas in taking a role, one only pretends to hold the role.

Mead argues that a three stage process is through which one learns to play adult roles. These three stages are:

- (i) Preparatory stage (1–3 years): In which a child imitates adult behaviour without any real understanding.
- (ii) Play stage (3–4 years): When children have some understanding of the behaviour but switch role erratically. At one moment, the boy is a builder who is piling blocks and a moment later, he knocks them apart. Similarly, at one moment, he is a policeman and a moment later he becomes an astronaut.
- (iii) Game stage (4–5 years): Where the role behaviour becomes consistent and purposeful and the child has the ability to sense the role of the other players. To play baseball, each player must understand his or her own role, as well as the role of all other players. Thus, one develops an ability to see one's own behaviour in its relation to others and senses the reaction of the people who are involved.

Mead's theory of role taking is an essential learning process in socialization. Both Cooley and Mead explain the process of interaction. They saw personality as shaped through our social interaction with others. Both assumed a basic harmony between self and society. To Cooley, the separate individual was an abstract idea that had no existence apart from society, just as society has no meaning apart from individuals. The socialized self is shaped by the society and the society is an organization of the persons it socializes. Thus self and society were two aspects of the same thing.

Sigmund Freud saw self and society in basic conflict, not harmony. He believed that self is the product of the ways in which basic human motives and impulses are denied and repressed by the society. Freud believed that the rational portion of human motivation was like the visible part of an iceberg. The larger part of human motivation that rests within the unseen forces has a powerful affect on human conduct. He divided the self into three parts:

- a. The Id
- b. The ego
- c. The super ego

The Id is the pool of instinctive and unsocial desires and impulses, which are selfish and anti social.

Ego is the conscious and rational part of the self, which oversees the super ego's restraint of the Id.

Super ego is the complex of social ideals and values which one has internalized and which form of consciousness.

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Ego is the control center, whereas super ego is the police officer and Id is a combination of selfish, destructive desire. Since society restricts the expressions of aggression, sexuality and other impulses, the Id is continually at war with the super ego. The Id is usually repressed, but at times it breaks through in open defiance of the super ego, creating burden of guilt that is difficult for the self to carry. At other times, the forces of the Id find expression in misguided forms which enables the ego to be unaware of the real and underlying reasons for its actions, as when a parent relieves hostility by beating the child, believing that this is for its own good. Thus, Freud finds that self and society are often opponents and not merely different aspects of the same thing. Freud sees self and society in eternal conflict.

4.3.6 Types of Socialization

According to Ian Robertson, the socialization that a person undergoes in the course of his lifetime may be divided into four types:

- (i) Primary socialization
- (ii) Anticipatory socialization
- (iii) Developmental socialization
- (iv) Re-socialization

- (i) Primary socialization is the most fundamental and essential type of socialization. It takes place in early childhood. In this stage, a child internalizes norms and learns language and cognitive skills.
- (ii) Anticipatory socialization is where human beings learn the culture of a group of which they are immediate members. They also learn the culture of a group with the anticipation of joining that group. This is referred to by R.K. Merton as 'anticipatory socialization'.
- (iii) Developmental socialization is the kind of socialization that is based on the achievement of primary socialization. It builds on already acquired skills and knowledge as the adult progresses through new situations, such as marriage or new jobs. These require new expectations, obligations and roles. New learning is added to and blended with old in a relatively smooth and continuous process of development.
- (iv) Re-socialization takes place mostly when a social role radically changes. An individual not only changes roles within a group, but also changes groups.

CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

4. Name the four stages of socialization.
5. Define the fundamental process of socialization.
6. Name the four types of socialization.

4.4 SUMMARY

- Social interaction is the most important aspect of social life. Social interaction is also essential for survival of any community and culture.
- Cooperation is the most pervasive and continuous of the social processes. It integrates one individual with other individual; it also integrates one community with other community.
- Cooperation is brought about by several circumstances: desire to active common goal, situational necessity, desire to achieve larger objective, etc.
- Accommodation is essentially a process of adjustment, a sort of working arrangement among persons or groups who are not favourably disposed towards one another.
- Accommodation is social adaptation that involves the invention or borrowing of devices whereby one ethnic group develops modes of life, economic and otherwise. This complements or supplements those of the others.
- Assimilation refers to a process whereby a group of people, having lived among another group of people for a considerable period of time, adopts the way of life of the latter in such a way as to be completely indistinguishable from the later.
- Assimilation is both psychological and social process.
- According to Kingsley Davis 'Competition simply aims to outdo the competitor in achieving some mutually desired goal.' The question of out-doing arises only when the desired goal is in scarce supply.
- Competition is actually the most fundamental form of social struggle. It is also considered to be very healthy and a necessary social process.
- Competition spirit is deliberately inculcated in order to produce a result which is considered to be socially desirable.
- According to Gillin and Gillin 'Conflict is the process in which individuals or groups seek their ends by directly challenging the antagonist by violence or threat of violence. As a social process it is antithesis of cooperation. Conflict is a conscious action. It is a deliberate intent to oppose.'
- The term 'socialization' refers to processes whereby individuals are taught the skills, behaviour patterns, values and motivation needed for competent functioning in the culture in which the child is growing up. Paramount among these are the social skills, social understandings, and emotional maturity needed for interaction with other individuals.
- Socialization processes include all those wherein culture is transmitted from one generation to the next, including training for specific roles in specific occupations. There are four stages of socialization from infancy to adulthood.

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They are as follows:

- (i) First stage: The oral stage
- (ii) Second stage: The anal stage
- (iii) Third stage: The oedipal stage and latency
- (iv) Fourth stage: Adolescence

4.5 KEY TERMS

- **Interaction:** The activity of communicating
- **Socialization:** The process by which somebody, especially a child, learns to behave in a way that is acceptable to the society
- **Superordination:** A word with a general meaning that includes the meanings of other particular words
- **Subordination:** The act of treating someone/something as less important to someone/something else
- **Assimilation:** The activity of someone becoming a part of a group rather than a separate entity

4.6 ANSWERS TO 'CHECK YOUR PROGRESS'

1. Social interaction is the most important aspect of social life.
2. Accommodation is essentially a process of adjustment, a sort of working arrangement among persons or groups who are not favourably disposed towards each another.
3. According to Gillin and Gillin, factors that favour assimilation are:
 - (i) Toleration
 - (ii) Equal economic opportunity
 - (iii) Sympathetic attitude on part of the dominant group, towards the minority group
 - (iv) Exposure to dominant culture
 - (v) Similarity between cultures of the minority and dominant groups
4. The four stages of socialization are:
 - (i) First stage—The oral stage
 - (ii) Second stage—The anal stage
 - (iii) Third stage—The oedipal stage and latency
 - (iv) Fourth stage—Adolescence
5. The fundamental process of socialization is the emergence and gradual development of 'self'. It is in terms of the self, that a personality takes shape and mind begins to function.

6. The four types of socialization are:
- (i) Primary socialization
 - (ii) Anticipatory socialization
 - (iii) Developmental socialization
 - (iv) Re-socialization

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4.7 QUESTIONS AND EXERCISES

Short-Answer Questions

1. What are the essential aspects of social interaction, according to park and Burgess?
2. What are the three categories of associative form of social interaction?
3. List the factors that go against assimilation.
4. How did Sigmund Freud divide self?

Long-Answer Questions

1. Define and discuss social interaction.
2. What is the difference between accommodation and cooperation?
3. Write a short note on conflict and competition.
4. Discuss the agencies of socialization.
5. Discuss the stages of socialization.

4.8 FURTHER READING

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