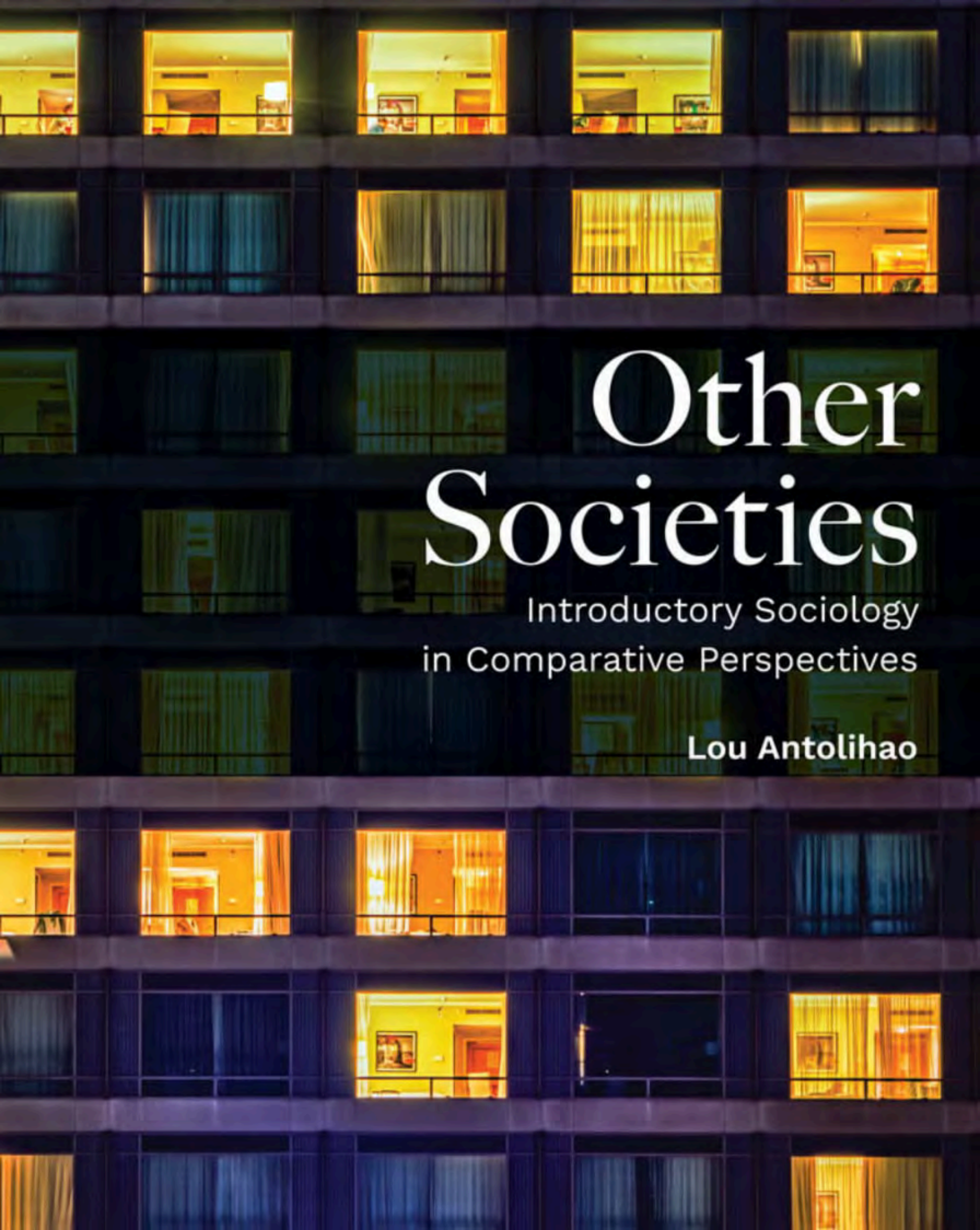


Other Societies

Introductory Sociology in Comparative Perspectives

Lou Antolihao

Other Societies

Introductory Sociology in Comparative Perspectives

Lou Antolihao
National University of Singapore

Cengage

Australia • Brazil • Canada • Mexico • Singapore • United Kingdom • United States

Cengage

Other Societies: Introductory Sociology in Comparative Perspectives

Lou Antolihao

Regional Director, Marketing:
Melissa Chan

Senior Marketing Manager:
Charles Ho

Senior Editorial Manager:
Lian Siew Han

Assistant Editorial Manager:
Tanmayee Bhatwadekar

Senior Development Editors:
Kenneth Chow
Ng Wei Yi

Development Editors:
Iris Poh
Cecile Zhang

Senior Regional Manager, Production and Rights:
Pauline Lim

Production Executive:
Rachael Tan

Copy Editor:
Maureen Tan

Cover Designer:
Benson Tan

Compositor:
International Typesetters

Cover Image: Roberto Rizzi/iStock

© 2022 Cengage Learning Asia Pte Ltd. ALL RIGHTS RESERVED.

No part of this work covered by the copyright herein may be reproduced or distributed in any form or by any means, except as permitted by U.S. copyright law, without the prior written permission of the copyright owner.

For product information and technology assistance, contact us at
asia.techsupport@cengage.com

For permission to use material from this text or product, please email to **asia.permissionrequest@cengage.com**

ISBN: 978-981-5059-50-2

Cengage Learning Asia Pte Ltd
30A Kallang Place #12-06
Singapore 339213

Cengage is a leading provider of customized learning solutions with employees residing in nearly 40 different countries and sales in more than 125 countries around the world. Find your local representative at: **www.cengage.com**.

To learn more about Cengage Solutions, visit **www.cengageasia.com**.

Every effort has been made to trace all sources and copyright holders of news articles, figures and information in this book before publication, but if any have been inadvertently overlooked, the publisher will ensure that full credit is given at the earliest opportunity.

Printed in Singapore
Print Number: 01 Print Year: 2022

For my Ateneo mentors:

Ateneo de Manila University
Emma Porio, Fernando Zialcita, Wilfredo Arce, Ricardo Abad, Manuel Diaz, and Raul Pertierra

Ateneo de Davao University
Jimmy dela Vega, Ignacio Ver, Elvi Tamayo, Lucita Montojo, Jeremy Eliab, Randy Ceniza, Rex Rola, and Jose Maria Tomacruz

PREFACE

My primary objective in writing this textbook is to produce a set of materials that would bring the fundamentals of sociology to the Asian context by using cases and by featuring scholars from the region. While writing the manuscript, it became clear that presenting an Asian approach to sociology is not solely about focusing on the scholarships from the region but finding connections (and disconnections) of Asian sociology to the roots of the discipline in Western thought and societies. Eventually, the subtitle was changed from "Introductory Sociology in Asian Contexts" to "Introductory Sociology in Comparative Perspectives" to account for these regional and global interfaces that shape contemporary sociology.

The main title, however, remained. *Other Societies* not only highlights the comparative nature of the discipline but also underscores the fundamental orientation that sociologists take to recognize that "things are not what they seem" (Berger 1963: 23). It also refers to the principle of objectivity in positivist sociology or to the sense of distance and detachment that critical and interpretive sociologists see in the course of their relationships with their research subjects. Basically, "other societies" are what keen students and social observers will encounter as they take a more critical look into societies, even those of their own.

The textbook is broadly divided into five parts, with each part consisting of three topics covering some of the fundamental topics in sociology. The first part (Ideas) focuses on education, the second (Identities) on sports, the third (Interactions) on mass and social media, the fourth (Institutions) on travel, and the last (Issues) on social change. Part One introduces students to some of the key concepts, theories, and social thinkers who influenced the development of the discipline. A key feature of this section is the introduction of some important theories and scholars from the Asian region. Parts Two to Four cover comparative presentations featuring one country from East or Southeast Asia and one from another region. For instance, Chapter Six is a comparative presentation of class and social stratification in Singapore and the United Kingdom. Lastly, Part Five is intended for use in the summary session at the end of the semester. It does not compare cases from two specific countries but draws from several evolving cases to deal with current issues and to foster a more global perspective.

Other Societies came into fruition because of the help of those who are in my society. I am grateful to the following colleagues who encouraged me to work on this book and shared with me the challenges and joys of teaching our introductory sociology course: Kelvin Low, Daniel Goh, Vineeta Sinha, Leong Wai Teng, Anne Raffin, Volker Schmidt, Tan Ern Ser, George Radics, and Saroja Dorairajoo. Grateful acknowledgement is also made to our tutors who helped us reach out to the thousands of SC1101E students in the past five years: Tan Junbin, Juhauri Zaini, Amritorupa Sen, Chen Ying, Thian Wen Li, Carlo Gutierrez, Annisa Ridzkynoor Beta, Susan Chang, Ritsuko Saito, Pildoo Jung, Shrestha Saha, Adhvaidha Kalidasan, Soontree Siriinntawong, Jose Rafael Martinez, Radhika Saraf, Nabil Shaik, Chong Yen Kiat, Tiffany May Chuang, Sanjay Sharma, Syed Imad Alatas, Meisen Wong, Wajihah Shahul Hamid, Veronica Gregorio, and Tan Chun Yin. My appreciation goes to the staff of Cengage Asia who showed genuine interest in this project: Sean Tay, Han Lian Siew, Tan Xuansheng, Iris Poh, and Kenneth Chow. Finally, I would like to thank my students who opened my eyes to new ways of seeing society, to new ways of analyzing social issues, and to new ways of teaching sociology.

CONTENTS

Preface / **iv**

PART ONE – IDEAS

CHAPTER 1 Sociological Orienteering / **3**
CHAPTER 2 Sociological Theories / **16**
CHAPTER 3 Sociological Research / **34**

PART TWO – IDENTITIES

CHAPTER 4 Race and Ethnicity / **49**
CHAPTER 5 Gender and Sexuality / **66**
CHAPTER 6 Social Class and Social Stratification / **82**

PART THREE – INTERACTIONS

CHAPTER 7 Culture / **103**
CHAPTER 8 Groups and Organizations / **118**
CHAPTER 9 Deviance and Social Control / **135**

PART FOUR – INSTITUTIONS

CHAPTER 10 Family / **153**
CHAPTER 11 Religion / **171**
CHAPTER 12 Politics, Economics, and the Nation-state / **185**

PART FIVE – ISSUES

CHAPTER 13 Pandemics and Social Change / **205**
CHAPTER 14 The Environment and Social Change / **218**
CHAPTER 15 Armed Conflicts and Social Change / **231**

Bibliography / 243
Index / 275

PART ONE
IDEAS

CHAPTER 1
Sociological Orienteering 3

CHAPTER 2
Sociological Theories 16

CHAPTER 3
Sociological Research 34

This page intentionally left blank

CHAPTER 1

SOCIOLOGICAL ORIENTEERING

A man walks along a deserted road in Bagan, Myanmar.

In the autumn of 1837, a young university student who arrived in Berlin after traveling for days from the other side of Germany, wrote home to share stories about his disheartening journey to his father. Dismayed by the lackluster appeal of the heralded places in his itinerary, he wrote: "for the rocks that I saw were not rougher, the cities not more full of blood than my blood, the tables of the inns not more overladen and their fare not more indigestible than the stocks of fantasies that I carried with me." (McLellan, 1973: 19) The student was Karl Marx, one of the pioneering sociologists whose ideas had had such an unmatched influence in shaping our modern world. His disappointing journey and sense of disorientation that he felt as a newcomer in Berlin was a forecast of his life trajectory. From then on, Marx had to move from one place to another for different reasons – in search of better opportunities, expelled from the places for his activism, and to flee from persecution. Beyond the professional and political reasons for his itinerant life was a more fundamental wandering in search for that "ideal place" that seemed to continually elude him.

More than a hundred years later, Edward Said, the Palestinian-American postcolonial scholar, wrote about similar experiences growing up in Jerusalem and Cairo before eventually moving to the United States in 1951 to continue his studies. Feeling socially isolated as an undergrad at Princeton, he described how university life "has set in motion a series of deep currents, most of which are in conflict with each other, pulling me in different, radically irreconcilable directions" (Said, 1999: 278). The feelings of dislocation and exclusion had a profound impact on Said that when he wrote a memoir to look back to this period in his life, he titled it "Out of Place."

Apart from providing a signpost to the comparative orientation of this textbook, Marx's and Said's accounts of their impressions of university life will surely resonate with the feelings of apprehension and exclusion that trouble and overwhelm many of you, especially for the majority of first-year students. The transition to university life serves as a crucial turning point for many people. It is often the first instance to venture away from home, and even for those who remain with their family would recognize how its routines gradually take an individual away from the familiar circles of family and community. It connotes not only a sense of physical distance but also an emotional and intellectual re-orientation. Marx moved to Berlin after a year of studying law at the University of Bonn, mainly to move farther from home to set out a different path from what his father had set for him – to be a lawyer like himself. Coupled with personal disruptions that come with the adolescent transition, it is in the university where many individuals form their social and political selves. This period fosters a greater sense of independence that forces individuals to re-orient their conceptions of themselves and the world around them, rethinking one's identity, relationships, and sense of belonging.

Moreover, the anticipation of greater exposure to scholarly knowledge, critical thinking, and the opportunities to participate in collective endeavors create a set of idealistic expectations, especially for most new entrants whose conceptions of ideal university life is a reflection of larger life ideals. With waning support from family members, university students are more predisposed to connect personal advantages and insecurities with the larger social dynamics of advancement and marginalization. Deciding on an academic course, for instance, puts a university student at the crossroads of personal interests and family influence as well as with the broader social thoroughfares to align skills and other resources with a potentially rewarding career and a fulfilling life. With a greater realization of what is at stake, university life often fosters a broader awareness and deeper involvement in society – the wonders that make it thrive and the issues that drive it to change.

These concerns are also the type of issues that sociologists contend with in their work. What separates a university student, or any individual who tries to take a more critical look at society, are the theories and methods that the latter employ to come up with a more systematic knowledge of people and the world that they create. What is sociology? How did sociology develop? Why study sociology? How to study sociology? This chapter will explore sociology both as an academic field and as a practical guide for "sociological orienteering" – an exercise to help people navigate other societies as well as their own complex and characteristically unfamiliar world.

WHAT IS SOCIOLOGY?

Sociology is the study of human identities, interactions, and institutions. It employs theoretical perspectives and research methods in examining human societies to generate knowledge useful for administering social organizations, for promoting understanding among individuals and collectivities, as well as for revealing structures of power and inequality. Sociology is one of the

social science disciplines, along with anthropology, economics, political science, and psychology, among several other academic fields. *Social science* is a branch of science that deals with the foundations and functioning of society and the interactions of its members. Each of the social science disciplines deals with a specific aspect, phase, or function of society. For instance, economics deals with the production and distribution of resources while political science focuses on the allocation of power in society. Sociology, in particular, is interested in the influence that society has on people and on how people participate in shaping society. It deals with such varied topics as racial identities, street gangs, fake news, industrial food, community-based development, religious fundamentalism, and genetic engineering. It is concerned with love, crime, art, happiness, diseases, and migration.

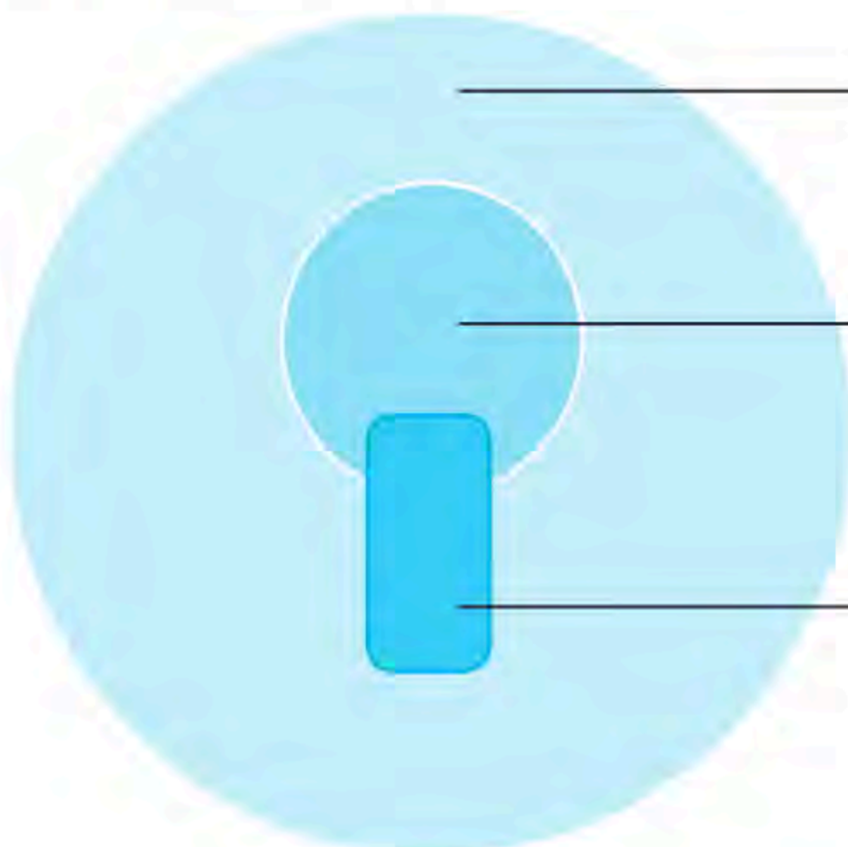
The scope of sociology is broad and each subfield in the discipline operates close to the boundary of another academic discipline, for example, political sociology, economic sociology, and historical sociology. In addition, cultural anthropology, cultural geography, and social psychology are among the many related fields. Given the complex and expansive scope of social issues, sociology also has a strong predisposition for multi-disciplinary, inter-disciplinary, and comparative approaches in understanding individual actions and collective activities. Overall, the boundaries that separate sociology from the related fields in the humanities and social sciences are defined by the use of theories and methodologies as well as the specific group of scholars and body of literature that a sociologist seeks to engage.

The process through which sociology operates to understand the workings of human societies can be described as **sociological orienteering**. This concept refers to the analytical and experiential inquiry to find one's way through society – mapping out individual positions, the marked waypoints, and the overall physical and social landscape that one seeks to explore. This analytical approach allows people (not just sociologists) to get a better sense of their place in the world and to come up with a well-planned strategy to accomplish specific goals.

Sociological orienteering (see Figure 1.1) has three key components: (a) personal compass, (b) cultural map, and (c) social terrain. First, **personal compass** refers to physical capabilities, practical skills, intellectual aptitude, and spiritual resources. Second, **cultural map** concerns the individual's socio-economic background, professional career, social network, and other spheres of immediate interaction. Lastly, **social terrain** represents the economic, political, and other major institutions that indirectly shape people's everyday lives.

A key element in sociological orienteering is the ability to establish one's life bearing, knowing your location and the possible navigational directions within your social environment. A student who is having a hard time deciding on what to major in, for instance, does not have to be overwhelmed by the situation. Sociological orienteering will help the person pursue his or her own interests and goals (personal compass), the network of family and friends (cultural map), and a sense of the future economic conditions (social terrain) in coming up with the best deci-

FIGURE 1.1
Sociological Orienteering



sion. It is useful in finding out exactly where you are when you are lost. "Being lost" however, can mean several things from having the faintest idea about where you are on the map to knowing the area you are in but not your precise location. People also purposively "get lost" or "aim off" to map out a more calculative approach to a challenging goal or simply to get a different perspective. "The familiar now seems not quite so familiar anymore" was how Peter Berger, a prominent sociologist, explained the fundamental viewpoint of the discipline (1963: 22). Getting one's bearing, at times, entails getting lost because understanding yourself and the world around is not about discovering new worlds but taking a hard look at familiar ones.

For sociologists, sociological orienteering allows for a more integrated approach in analyzing social issues and in setting the course for exploring and understanding society, accounting for different factors at the individual, community, and societal levels.

Contrasting Concepts: *Sociological Imagination vs Sociological Orienteering*

C. Wright Mills' concept of "sociological imagination" (2000) has become vastly influential in demonstrating the fundamental principles of sociology and as "a quality of mind" that can help enhance people's everyday lives. In sum, it focuses on promoting the linkage between biography and history so individuals can view their own society from the outsider's point of view (Mills, 1959: 3-4). This objective viewpoint empowers people to see the world in a new way, giving them a better grasp of what is going on around them, and in their own personal lives. The concept is profoundly insightful, but it has a few critical limitations as a tool in understanding contemporary society. First, conveyed in the U.S. post-war context, the concept is crisis-driven and casts a pessimistic view of society. Its emphasis on "troubles" and "issues," in particular, discounts the necessity of reflection and critical thinking even in periods of pleasure and prosperity. Second, the sociological imagination presents people as creatures with limited agency, "trapped" by the overwhelming dictates of their social conditions. However, given the greater access to education, the advancement in media technologies, and the

A scholar's contribution to the production of knowledge (research) and their dissemination (teaching and publication) is shaped by his or her academic training, intellectual aptitude, research interest, and personal values (personal compass). This element is influenced by his or her theoretical perspectives, methodological approaches, and institutional resources (cultural map), as well as the academic environment and the larger economic and political conditions (social terrain). A sociologist studying social awareness among university students, for instance, might be influenced by his own experiences as a student, his chosen theoretical framework, and the prevailing debates in the subfield of the sociology of education. The outcome of his study is not a purely independent account of "what is going on out there" but a product of sociological orienteering – a careful calibration and navigation of a complex terrain to come up with empirical and diagnostic analysis.

growth of empowerment movements, people in recent years have become better equipped in engaging their worlds. Lastly, the emphasis on "imagination" underscores the intellectualist leaning of modernity that discounts the fact that "personal troubles" and even "social issues" are emotionally and physically experienced.

In contrast, sociological orienteering, as explained in the main text, accounts for a more holistic approach to knowledge, counts the capacity of individuals to be more active agents, and takes a more balanced and dynamic view of society. Rather than understanding society within a dualistic self-society (troubles-issues) framework, it seeks to incorporate a mid-level structure (cultural map) to get a better picture of how individuals take on the world around them.

Finally, a key component in sociological orienteering is the element of time. Any personal or professional undertaking has a specific timeframe, and this analytical approach does not only account for individual, community, and social factors but also focuses on the historical context and how time unfolds within a specific period. In a given task, sociological orienteering guides us to know when to go fast, when to reduce speed, and when to slow down to a measured pace. On a higher level, this analytical approach provides us with a better sense of the larger sociohistorical dynamics – of when things and occurrences begin and when they end.

HOW DID SOCIOLOGY DEVELOP?

Although people have always been concerned with "sociological matters," the emergence of modernity during the "long 19th century" (1789–1914) in Europe and North America has brought in an unprecedented social transformation that everyone has to re-orient his or her social outlook and scholars have to come up with new ways of understanding society. **Modernity** refers to the social processes and discourses that are founded on rational knowledge, self-determination, and the advancement of humanity. It is largely characterized by four inter-related revolutions: (1) Intellectual Revolution, (2) Industrial Revolution, (3) Democratic Revolution, and (4) Development Revolution. These revolutions shook the world and pushed people to re-orient the way they think, act, and interact in society.

Intellectual Revolution

Although the emergence of modernity is characterized by remarkable events that happened in the nineteenth century, the ideas that inspired the dramatic social upheavals can be traced earlier with the dawning of the period of **Enlightenment** in the seventeenth century. This scholarly movement was primarily centered on the belief in reason, empirical knowledge, and humanity's ability to perfect itself. The movement was revolutionary during that period and was largely derided and condemned since it undermined the basis of the authority of the monarchy and the Church. The Italian astronomer Galileo Galilei, for instance, who found evidence to support the heliocentric theory (the sun is the center of the universe) had to retract his research findings. He faced the possibility of being expelled from the Catholic Church because his study (published in 1632) contradicted the geocentric view (the earth as the center of the universe), which the powerful religious group embraced as an expression of its teachings. The Enlightenment was marked by an emphasis on the primacy of science as a method of inquiry into the physical world. This outlook progressed with the series of important discoveries and inventions in the fields of mathematics, physics, chemistry, biology, and other scientific fields. Isaac Newton's formulation of the laws of motion and gravitation (published in 1687) and Blaise Pascal's invention of the mechanical calculator in 1642 were two of the most prominent achievements of the Scientific Revolution. Soon, prominent philosophers such as Thomas Hobbes and Rene Descartes started to call for the development of a science of society. When sociology emerged as a distinct discipline in the mid-19th century, early sociologists expressed commitment to the principles of science, particularly on the use of evidence (empirical proof) as the basis in understanding the workings of society.

Industrial Revolution

The Industrial Revolution (1760-1840) emerged as scientific discoveries and inventions were increasingly applied to enhance economic production and other aspects of the lives of people. **Mechanization**, the process of replacing human and animal power with machinery as a mode of production was the defining feature of the Industrial Revolution (Hunter and Bryant, 1991). The use of hydropower, steam, and coal resulted in the rise of factories as the main sites of production. The demand for factory labor and the decline of agriculture resulted in the massive migration of people to major industrial centers. This resulted in the **urbanization**, a process where a large proportion of the national population moves from rural to urban areas. The Industrial Revolution did not only transform the way people produced and distributed goods but also influenced how people conceived their lives and the way they interacted with one another. The meaning of work, leisure, consumption, community, education, and other aspects of social life were profoundly transformed. The social upheaval presented social thinkers with a host of actual social problems that called for new ideas for solutions. Their efforts in investigating the impact of the Industrial Revolution provided the most important catalyst in the development of sociology as a distinct discipline.

Democratic Revolution

The rise of science and the destabilizing effect of industrialization pushed many people to rethink their religious and political outlook, particularly in their roles in organizing society. The American Revolution (1765-1783) resulted in the defeat of the British colonial regime and the establishment of the United States of America, the first modern nation-state founded on the ideals of liberty and equality (liberal democracy). Shortly after the end of the American Revolution, the French Revolution (1789-1799) broke out and resulted in the overthrow of the monarchy. Both events demonstrated that people can liberate themselves from their rulers and organize to take more active role in governance and public life. Not long after these two revolutions, anti-colonial struggles emerged against Spanish power in Latin America. Eventually, independence movements rose in most European colonies in Asia and Africa, many lasting until after the Second World War. As Democratic Revolutions spread to the rest of the world, social thinkers also intensified their effort to establish different disciplines to seize the opportunity that science could play a larger role in understanding and shaping the new world that is about to unfold (Steinmetz, 2013). Sociology, in particular, emerged to find ways in helping people overcome social problems, improve their welfare, and achieve personal and societal goals.

Development Revolution

Development Revolution is one of the new concepts presented in this book to account for the broader geopolitical context of modernity beyond Western Europe. Generally, the Development Revolution brought together the economic (Industrial Revolution in Great Britain) and political (Democratic Revolution in France) components of modernity. It is often assumed that the British Industrial Revolution took place in the market, financed by private capital, and designed by entrepreneurs. However, the state played key roles in providing the legal and financial structures that supported the expansion of the Industrial Revolution in Great Britain. On the other hand, the French Revolution was partly caused by a severe economic crisis that resulted from heavy war expenditure, inefficient taxation, and poor harvests. Although the connection between the economic and political spheres of modernity is not as prominent within the domestic realm, they operate in tandem in the context of British and French imperialism. **Imperialism** refers to the extension of a country's influence to other territories through military conquest, colonization, or more broadly, through geopolitical, economic, and cultural domination.

The Development Revolution is based on two related historical and social terrains focusing on the material foundation and intellectual legacy of modernity. The first component of the Development Revolution highlights the key role that colonialism played in the emergence of modernity. South Asian postcolonial scholars, in particular, argue that the Industrial Revolution in England was partly financed by resources appropriated by the British colonial regime in India (Alavi, 1989). The second component refers to the transformation of non-Western societies

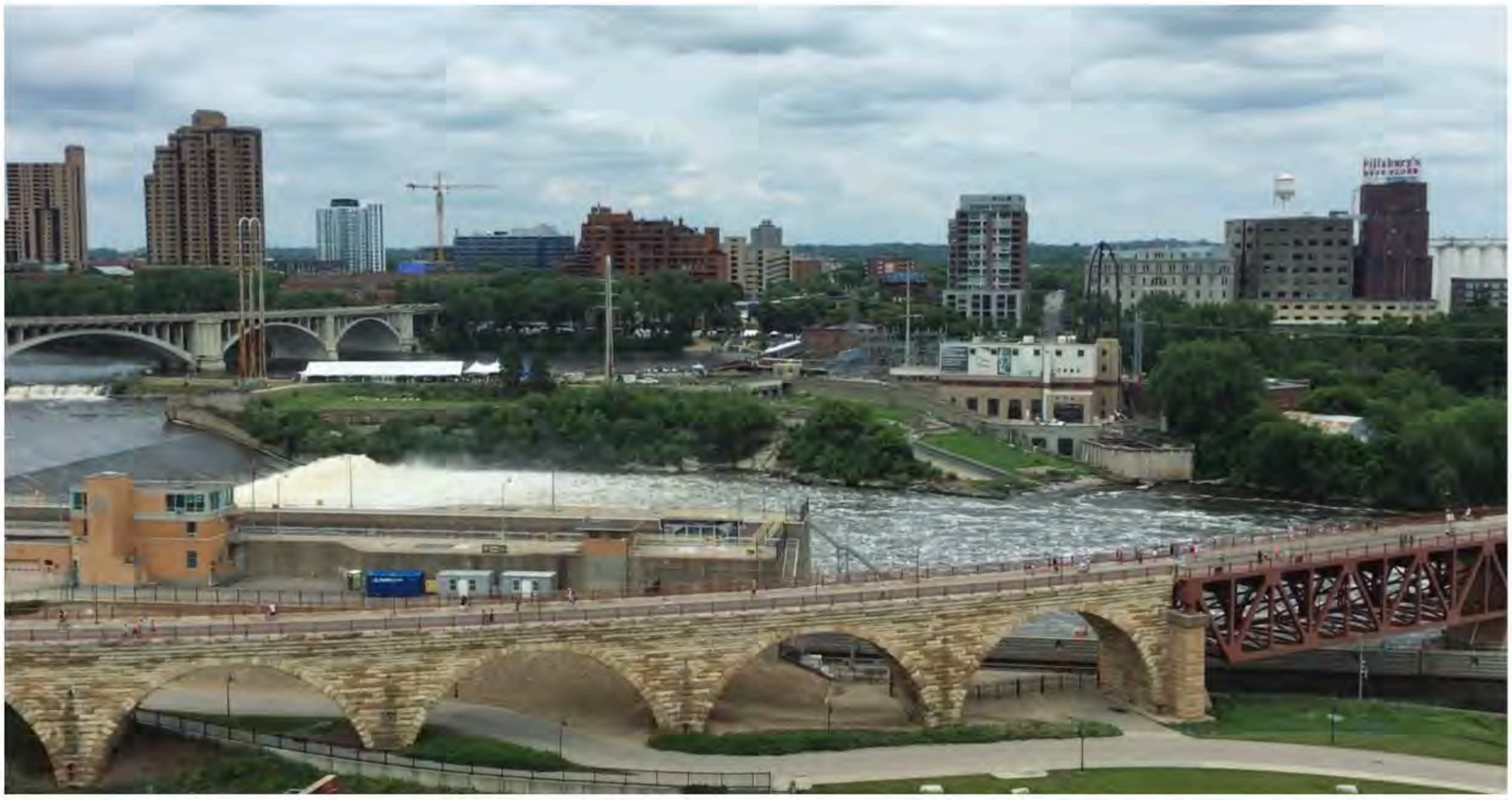
with the expansive influence of modernity as universal and normative structures and discourses resulting from imperialism. As a universal structure, modernity is seen as something that could uplift the different societies in the world. Stemming from its growing influence, modernity became a normative structure, a barometer of success that is used to test the development of societies. While the Democratic Revolution led to the rise of the revolutionary wave and the independence of European colonies, a new form of imperialism has emerged that maintained the economic, political, cultural dominance of Western societies.

Modernity and its various manifestations, such as the industrialized economic system, democratic political structure, advanced technology as well as modern education, sports, tourism, among many other fields, became the universal and normative standards for other societies to follow. For many non-Western societies, the basis for progress has shifted from internal knowledge and resources to external expertise and technologies associated with modern Western societies (Antolihao, 2021). Along with the Development Revolution is the global spread of sociology not only as one of the modern academic fields but also as a technocratic tool for governments and as a source of discourses for the opposing and alternative groups.

In sum, the Scientific Revolution laid down the foundation for a science of society. The Industrial Revolution provided the social setting where some of the early sociological thoughts were formulated and tested to address a host of social problems. The Democratic Revolution gave a conducive environment for sociology to grow as an important source of knowledge and strategies in implementing social reform and in administering society. Finally, the Development Revolution ushered in the global spread of the discipline as a product and a tool for the universal and normative expansion of modernity.

The world has been radically transformed since modernity emerged more than two hundred years ago and this social process has also evolved, most notably depicted by the four successive industrial revolutions (1. mechanical, 2. mass production, 3. electronic, 4. digital). More recently, discussions about modernity are deliberated in conjunction with the process of globalization. **Globalization** refers to the pervasive flow of knowledge, products, and people across national borders. It is characterized by "the compression of the world and the intensification of consciousness of the world as a whole" (Robertson, 1992: 8). This historical and social process is characterized by the increasing influence of multinational corporations (MNCs), particularly in the everyday lives of people around the world. Although the rise of the MNCs is coupled by the relative waning of state influence, the far-reaching influence of Coca-Cola, McDonald's and other major conglomerates are often seen as a manifestation of imperialism.

Many sociologists, however, saw how the concept of globalization does not completely capture the multi-directional and multi-dimensional characteristics of the contemporary world. They noted, for instance, that how global products, such as the McDonald's burgers are altered to suit local tastes and cultures. This contention resulted in the formulation of the concept of **glocalization**. Combining globalization and localization, this process refers to how a locality exercises



After Industrialization. This is a photo of the Mississippi River taken from the Mill City Museum in Minneapolis, United States depicting some of the remnants of the city's industrial past. The Stone-Arched Bridge (now a pedestrian bridge) was part of a railway system that brought passengers and cargo all the way to the country's Pacific coasts. The water of the St. Anthony Falls was harnessed to power flour mills, including the well-known Pillsbury brand (red brick building to the right).

greater control in adapting, resisting, and modifying a global product or knowledge. Glocalization also accounts for the process by which a local product (e.g., bubble tea, K-Pop) immensely expand to take on a global influence (Featherstone et al., 1995). Overall, these recent developments have forced sociology to rethink its theoretical and methodological bearings, which have traditionally worked within the context of the nation-state. Sociologists, for instance, have to contend with the emergence of new types of identities, new forms of interactions, and the new structures of institutions. Overall, the impact of the globalization process underscores how the development of sociology continues to evolve and the four revolutions continue to unravel in the different parts of the world.

WHY STUDY SOCIOLOGY?

Students take sociology courses, including large introductory modules, for a variety of reasons. Some are first-year students who intend to major in the discipline while others are more senior (often from business, engineering, computing, and other unrelated disciplines) who take sociology as an "exposure module." Most are convinced that having some basic knowledge of the workings of society will be useful in pursuing their academic and career goals. Indeed, the importance of taking a sociology course is that what you learn will never veer far from the most important waypoints in your life. Sociological orienteering is not so much about leading you to new worlds

as it is to inspire you to explore familiar terrains with a more critical sense. It will be useful in helping you find your PATH:

- **P** (position) – helps us assess both opportunities and constraints in our lives.
- **A** (alertness) – helps us assess the veracity and intention of information.
- **T** (tolerance) – helps us live in a diverse world.
- **H** (headway) – helps us to be active participants of society.

First, *position* refers to the necessity to get a better grasp of one's life bearing. Our discussion of identities (gender, race, class, etc.) and how these categories are related to a system of stratification (inequalities) will help us get a better understanding of who we are, the privileges that we enjoy, and the penalties that are imposed on us as part of a specific identity group. Second, *alertness* is about the importance to develop an independent mind, to be a critical thinker, and to acquire skills (theories and methods) needed to screen out fake news, biased views, and embedded discourses in the different information that we encounter in our everyday lives. Third, *tolerance* focuses on the value of broad-mindedness and acceptance to the whole range of ideas, actions, and people that share your paths and influence your everyday undertakings. Fourth, *headway* highlights how sociology can turn you into a more informed and engaged member of society. In sum, the ultimate importance of learning sociology is the ability to apply sociological orienteering (or reasoning) in your everyday life. Whether you are deciding on what to have for dinner or what degree to pursue in the university, sociological reasoning will improve the quality of your decisions. These benefits will continue throughout your life as you make important decisions such as whether to start a family or what advice to give to a friend who is planning to start his own business.

Apart from this protracted path, sociology is also useful in treading a more pressing path to embark on towards your future career. If you check an online job portal, it is likely that you will not find any organization advertising an opening for a "sociologist." While few occupations specifically require a degree in sociology, such academic training can be a valuable asset in entering a wide range of professions. Sociology graduates have successfully established careers in business, sports, tourism, civil service, law enforcement, public health, non-government organizations, and many other fields. The robust training that they receive in research and data analysis are in demand in the fields of advertising, marketing, public relations, and broadcasting. Moreover, sociology equips its graduates with communication and organizational skills. Their familiarity in dealing with social issues is also useful in problem solving and in making effective decisions. Lastly, the practical value of having a background in sociology is in how the discipline nurtures a reflexive mindset and abilities. Reflexivity does not only allow an individual to take on different positions within an organization, but it also makes shifting to another academic discipline or another profession relatively easy.

HOW TO STUDY SOCIOLOGY?

Sociology is not a collection of established facts to be noted down and memorized. Fundamentally, it is a way of thinking and a mode of inquiry to understand our complex and ever-changing world. To get the most out of your study of sociology, you need to use the concepts like a set of navigational tools (compass and map) to explore the social terrain that you set out to traverse. You need to connect the ideas in this book to the outside world, to people's everyday activities, and the larger social issues around you. Leading print and online news sources, magazines, and social media forums describe events driven by various social forces. These social forces also manifest in our immediate social environment, so it is important to be more observant and engaged with what is going on around you. Perhaps, you might want to stop yourself from browsing your phone or remove those earphones during your commutes to get a better sense of how people behave and interact. Your neighborhood, classroom, or favorite hangout place are some of the best settings where sociological concepts such as gender performance, cultural relativism, or class inequality can be applied to understand how people interact among each other. Identifying the social forces or pointing out the connection between sociological concepts and what is happening can be a challenge but over time, it will be easier to recognize and tease out the sociological insight behind everyday interactions, or even inside major news headlines.

Concepts are easier to apply and become part of your own ideas when you are able to express them in your own words. It is also through your ability in communicating your knowledge that your performance in this sociology course will be evaluated. Your module facilitators will not be able to read what is going on inside your mind but will certainly assess the depth of your knowledge by listening to you and by reading your work. Hence, it is crucial in sociology that you can clearly express your POINT. Participants complete an orienteering course by finding a series of designated (control) points and the same process applies in sociology when you are posing an argument. What is your POINT?

- **P** (probing) – the amount of useful research that was undertaken.
- **O** (opinion) – the incisive analysis of relevant social issues.
- **I** (insight) – the formulation of creative ideas or a compelling argument.
- **N** (narrative) – good composition skills and careful editing.
- **T** (texts) – engagement of concepts and theories from the course materials.

The *POINT criteria* are not only a formula to come out with a good sociological explanation but are also a set of measures that the module facilitators will use in assessing your work. For a 40% final assignment, for instance, each component can be given a four-point value so how well you covered every component will determine your score for the final assignment. In short, the POINT criteria will be a crucial part of your learning experience, so it is important to understand and keep it in mind. First, *probing* emphasizes the significance to base your analysis on solid, empiri-

cal, and verifiable data. Research can be a simple library research, a short social media survey, or a set of interviews involving a couple of informants. Second, *opinion* refers to how well you establish your standpoint. Your opinion will show your familiarity with the everyday interactions and the social issues that are happening in society. Third, *insight* involves the depth of your knowledge and the uniqueness of your analysis. This component relies on your creativity in assessing the limits of concepts to put forward a novel idea. Fourth, *narrative* simply refers to your storytelling or writing skills, on how well you arrange the different parts of your exam answer/essay to clearly express your argument. Lastly, the *texts* refer to the different concepts, theories, and cases that you need to use in framing your analysis.

There is a misconception among many students that since sociology is about society you can come up with a good answer to an essay or an exam question by simply relying on your own opinion. This is wrong and will definitely lead to a low, if not a failing score. The *texts* (concepts, theories, and cases) make your analysis sociological, distinguishing it from the various commonsensical opinions that you will hear from other people who, unlike you, do not possess the unique perspective that one can only acquire by taking a course in sociology. Make sure that you get the POINT and use it effectively in making your point.

KEY CONCEPTS

Cultural map
Globalization
Imperialism
Modernity
Sociological imagination
Social terrain
Enlightenment
Glocalization
Mechanization
Personal compass
Sociological orienteering
Urbanization

DISCUSSION QUESTIONS

1. What does the concept of social orienteering mean and how can we use it in understanding the role of social media in our everyday lives?
2. What are the main factors that shaped the development of sociology? Trace their influence in the history of your own country.
3. What might be the effect of globalization on university education? How would you explain the changes using glocalization?

SUGGESTED READINGS

1. Berger, Peter L. and Kellner, Hansfried. (1981). "Sociology as a Way of Seeing," in *Sociology Reinterpreted: An Essay on Method and Vocation*. NY: Anchor Press.
2. Mills, C. Wright. (2000) [1959]. "The Promise" (Chapter 1), *The Sociological Imagination, 40th Anniversary Edition*. New York: Oxford University Press, pp. 3–24.
3. Lim, William S.W. (1999). "Development and Culture in Singapore and Beyond." *Sojourn: Journal of Social Issues in Southeast Asia,* Vol. 14(1): pp. 249–261.
4. Shah, Mohd Hazim. (2007). "Historicising Rationality: "The Transmission of Rationality and Science to the Malay States Under British Rule." *Asian Journal of Social Science*, Vol. 35(2): pp. 216–241.

CHAPTER 2

SOCIOLOGICAL THEORIES

If tertiary education has proven to be a distressing experience for many, including Karl Marx and Edward Said, why do you think millions of students continue to go through challenging admission procedures every year to enter colleges and universities around the world? With a number of college drop-outs (e.g., Bill Gates, Mark Zuckerberg) who emerged as extremely wealthy entrepreneurs, does school still matter for young people to become successful? These are some of the questions that school administrators, policymakers, and many of us grapple with the changes that are happening in society. Sociologists are also concerned with these types of questions, although there are some distinctive ways that they employ in assessing their importance, in the conceptual framing of their hypothesis, and in designing the approaches to gather the necessary information. This chapter is an introduction to sociological theories and how one can think sociologically.

Two segments of the Berlin Wall are on display in a park inside the National University of Singapore. These important historical pieces show how theories can divide societies in ideological and "concrete" ways.

Over many years, sociologists have developed a wide range of principles that are useful for understanding almost any sociological questions, from the relatively simple everyday decisions that individuals make to the workings of highly complex social organizations such as government bureaucracies and multinational corporations. In this chapter, we will explore how sociologists think and formulate theories to frame their analysis of society. The first section expounds on the meaning of sociological theory and its crucial distinction from the everyday theorizing that people engage in to make sense of unfamiliar situations. The second section presents a list of key pioneering scholars who paved the way for the development of sociology and for formulat-

ing a host of theoretical perspectives that guide how sociologists conduct research and analyze a social phenomenon. The third section classifies the fundamental sociological theories into four broad approaches and highlights the varying insight that each can provide in our effort to make sense of society. Finally, the fourth section demonstrates the uniqueness of each insight in analyzing the social significance of education in contemporary society. This comparative illustration will also underscore the strengths and weaknesses of each approach as well as their overall vision of society.

WHAT IS SOCIOLOGICAL THEORY?

Sociology focuses on the study of human identities, interactions, and institutions. However, all of us have experiences, knowledge, and opinions about all of these matters. Hence, everyone formulates theories to make sense of the different questions that we confront in our everyday lives. This can be a simple thought concerning mundane things or a more complicated view of social issues that dominate the morning news. People have theories about why some eggs are more difficult to crack or how to ensure sustainable access to food during a pandemic. Our theories typically come from **common sense** – our capacity to process information, emotions, recollections, and imaginations to come up with basic judgments. As the term implies, these basic judgments are shared by many people within a specific group as a set of readily available knowledge. We rely on common sense to guide us through many unfamiliar situations. However, commonsensical knowledge is, at times inaccurate, and not always reliable because it is based on information that is not rigorously collected and examined. In the earlier chapter, we discussed how it is common sense to accept the idea that the universe revolves around our planet until it was challenged and disproved by Nicolaus Copernicus and Galileo Galilei. The rise of science has provided our modern world with a different set of principles of what sets of knowledge are acceptable as well as the tools to verify the "truthfulness" of such information.

Sociologists fundamentally follow the *scientific* method of inquiry to come up with an analysis that is based on calculable evidence that is open to further scrutiny. Like other scientists, they do not accept something because "it is obvious, or everyone knows it." Instead, every piece of information must be systematically collected, recorded, tested, and analyzed in relation to existing information and previous studies. Sociologists do not create new knowledge through their perception and reflection but depend on a wealth of scientific knowledge in charting the contours of different social terrains. Sociological findings may seem commonsensical since they elucidate on a familiar landscape. However, these results differ from common sense because they are obtained through a rigorous process of scientific inquiry.

Ultimately, what sets a sociological knowledge apart from common sense and other scientific interpretations is how it is framed by sociological theory. A **sociological theory** is a visualization that tentatively explains how and why certain elements of our social world are related. For instance, Robert Bellah (1957), in his theory of modernization, explain how the Japanese reli-

gious traditions during the Tokugawa period provided the foundation for the country's industrial growth. Particularly, he highlighted that, although religious practices inspired magical and mystical elements, they stressed practical values such as industriousness, diligence, frugality, and devotion to a larger collective good, which supported the commercial expansion and economic growth of Japan in the latter periods. Before he conducted his study, it was widely thought that religion, especially the so-called "Eastern religions," was incompatible with modernity, especially with its basic tenets on rationality and individualism.

Fundamentally, Bellah's groundbreaking study demonstrates how sociology works, by establishing the strong correlation between religion and modernization in Japan, he managed to dispel some misconceptions and changed how people view the world. We can think of theories as a way of mapping complex terrains – human identity, behaviors, interactions, institutions, and issues in an exploratory and predictive way. Just like how Bellah revealed the link between religion and modernization, theories can help us see the relationships among seemingly unrelated phenomena.

However, a sociological theory, even the most influential ones, is not infallible and hence, does not serve as a final explanation about a social phenomenon. Each study is open to further scrutiny and sociologists continue to examine various social factors as society continues to change. Robert Bellah's study was built on the theories of Max Weber and Talcott Parson (discussed in the following section) while his own work influenced or was the subject of criticisms of other scholars. For example, Kiyomitsu Yui (1994), went against Bellah's emphasis on religion and pointed out how "non-religious" elements, particularly its pre-modern "bureaucratic system" served as an important catalyst for the modernization of Japan. Nonetheless, Bellah's theory served as an important milestone in sociology and was again, put on the spotlight when interest in Asian Values emerged in the 1990s to explain the economic development of Singapore, Malaysia, and other Asian countries.

THE PIONEERING SOCIOLOGISTS

The advent of the modern period has brought about an unprecedented transformation in European societies. Although technological innovations and the development of democratic institutions have increased economic production and resulted in a better standard of living, these achievements also came with the overcrowding of cities, labor exploitation, and a host of other social problems. With the advancement of science, social thinkers started to believe that by applying the theories and methods developed by the natural sciences, they can discover the laws of human behavior to address social problems. The Enlightenment's belief in reason and humanity's ability to perfect itself inspired the emergence of early sociologists who blazed the trail for the development of the discipline. Here we present seven of the most influential early sociologists: Auguste Comte (1798–1857), Harriet Martineau (1802–1876), Karl Marx (1818–1883), Herbert

Spencer (1820–1903), Emile Durkheim (1858–1917), Georg Simmel (1858–1918), and Max Weber (1864–1920).

Auguste Comte (1798–1857)

The French social thinker is largely considered as the "founder of sociology." In 1839, he coined the term *sociology* by combining the Latin term *socius* (being with others) with the Greek *logos* (study of) to describe a new science that would focus on the study of society. Deeply inspired by the progress of science, he believed that rationality and empiricism (the use of hard evidence) could advance human understanding of how society functions, how to deal with social problems, and how to cope with social change. Comte's theoretical standpoint became known as **positivism** – the study of society based on verifiable information (positive knowledge) using observation, documentation, and experimentation. According to Comte, positivism has two elements: (1) methodological – the application of scientific knowledge, and (2) social – the use of such knowledge to examine policies, to predict their impact, and to choose the most effective interventions (Comte, 2009). He realized that the advent of modernity would create new social problems but his faith in scientific progress made him believed that such challenges would be resolved with the help of sociology.

Harriet Martineau (1802–1876)

Arguably, the first sociologist, unlike Comte who was strictly a social theorist, Martineau paved the way for the development of sociological research methodologies with the publication of her book, *How to Observe Morals and Manners* in 1838. The prolific British writer also travelled to the United States, Egypt, Palestine, and Syria, integrating her observations into her later works and also demonstrating the desire to engage the world, the hallmark of succeeding sociologists. Martineau's sociological standpoint is defined by an emphasis on the relationship between the moral (rhetoric) and the social elements (reality) of a populace (Hill, 1991). She pointed out that when studying society, one must focus on *all aspects* of it, underscoring the importance of examining the inter-connectedness among the various religious, political, and social institutions. A multi-awarded writer and influential intellectual, she published over 50 books and over 2,000 articles in her lifetime. Notably, Harriet Martineau's translation of Auguste Comte's work from French into English made some of the foundational work on sociological theory accessible to a wider audience.

Karl Marx (1818–1883)

The most influential among the early sociologists, Marx viewed history as a continuous clash between conflicting ideas, groups, and forces. He believed that conflict, especially class conflict is necessary to create social change and a better society. His theoretical approach is known as *conflict theory*, which views society as a setting where competing social groups are engaged in an end-

less power struggle for control of scarce resources (see Chapter 3). This theory is distinguished by two central themes that are crucial to the development of sociology. First, his analysis of social conflict as the engine of historical change brings the concept of *social class* into the discipline. In industrial societies, Marx described the conflict between two social classes: the bourgeoisie (dominant rulers and capitalists) and the proletariat (workers). He predicted that this unequal system would ultimately be toppled by a revolution, which would install an egalitarian society with the workers controlling the economy. Second, Marx introduced the concept of **alienation**, the experience of isolation and powerlessness that workers experienced in the mechanized industrial system, which estranged them from the meaningful purpose of work, from the products that they made, from their fellow workers, and even from their potentials as human beings (Marx and Engels, 1972; Marx, 1964). He called for people to develop a "**class consciousness**," an awareness of how they are exploited and to challenge the system that perpetuates such exploitation (Marx and Engels, 1967). Through his radical writings, Marx blazed the trail for active sociology in which sociologists are instrumental actors in bringing about change in society.

Herbert Spencer (1820–1903)

Drawing on Charles Darwin's study *On the Origins of Species*, Herbert Spencer applied the concept of the evolution of species to society to explain how they change (or evolve) over time. He equated society to a biological organism that has various parts (family, religion, government, etc.) that work to ensure the survival and the stability of the entire society. Just like any species, societies develop through a "struggle" (for existence) in an environment characterized by "the survival of the fittest" (Spencer, 1898). Because of his use of Darwin's concepts, Spencer's view of society came to be known as **Social Darwinism** – the belief that those individuals and groups that adapt best to their environment survive and prosper, whereas those poorly adapted die out. Critics point out how his ideas can conveniently be used to justify racial/ethnic, gender, class, and other social inequalities. Nonetheless, Spencer's theory remained influential for its steadfastly scientific approach to understanding society and some of his concepts became part of our everyday lexicon (Turner et al., 2002).

Emile Durkheim (1858–1917)

This French sociologist made many pioneering contributions to sociology, including his seminal work on religion, deviance, and suicide. His most fundamental contribution to the development of sociology, however, is the idea that societies are built on social facts. **Social facts** are manners of thinking, feeling, and acting that do not emanate from the individual but are imposed and encoded in them by society. For instance, norms, values, and religious beliefs that shape our thinking and action lie outside of each person and exist as part of society's social facts. According to Durkheim, social facts are the main object of sociological inquiry, distinguishing the discipline from the sciences, which are concerned with the natural world.

In his analysis of the impact of the advent of modernity, Durkheim focused on the link between division of labor and social solidarity. The division of labor refers to the way a society appropriates tasks needed for production and the organization of society. He looked into how the varying division of labor affected *solidarity*, the system of interpersonal ties that forge people as part of society. He described how the division of labor in pre-modern societies is defined by "**mechanical solidarity**" – a strong sense of communal unity maintained by a system of shared beliefs and morality. The advent of modernity, particularly of the industrial society, created a new division of labor based on "**organic solidarity**" – social relationships that are based on specialized roles and formal modes of interaction (Durkheim, 1933). While small traditional societies are bound together by a moral consensus, modern society works through functional interdependence. Durkheim founded and is one of the key figures of *functionalist theory* – a sociological perspective that focuses on how the different parts of society, directly and indirectly, contribute to the maintenance of an existing social order (see Chapter 3).

Georg Simmel (1858–1918)

Focusing on the dynamics of social life in the city, this German sociologist noted how the process of urbanization that came with the advent of modernity resulted in the increasing *individualism*, as society evolved into a capitalist, mechanized, and specialized system. Simmel lamented at how social relationships are often reduced to financial transactions. He linked the increase in individualism to the fact that people in industrial cities have overlapping "social spheres" due to their memberships in various organizations rather than the singular community ties of pre-modern societies. Simmel developed *formal sociology*, an approach that focused on universal social forms (dyad, triad, etc.) rather than the "content" (gender, class, etc.) of social interactions. He described how social interactions are different based on the size of the social group. For instance, interaction patterns between a *dyad* (a social group with two members) and a triad (a social group with three members) are different because the presence of an additional person often changes the dynamics of communication and the overall manner of interaction (Simmel, 1950).

Max Weber (1864–1920)

Born in Germany, Max Weber had a wide-ranging influence in the development of sociology. Generally, his contributions can be summed into three main areas. First, his long-standing interest in religion was capped by the publication of his most important work, *The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism* (1904), in which he traced the roots of European capitalism to the values and "work ethics" of the Calvinist and other Protestant denominations. Secondly, his interest in political sociology, presented in such works as the *Economy and Society* (1922), showed his concern with how large-scale organizations (bureaucracies) have set society towards increasing **rationalization** – a process in which thought and action rooted in emotion, superstition, and traditional beliefs are replaced by calculable and instrumental motivations. With the emergence

of modern society of rationality as the dominant mode of thinking, people inevitably experience a sense of "disenchantment." **Disenchantment** refers to the erosion of the mystical and spontaneous aspects of everyday life as a result of the modern world's obsession with efficiency and rational control (Weber, 1993). He warned that this process will eventually trap people in the "*iron cage of rationality*," the impact of living in a bureaucratic society based on rational calculation (Weber, 1958).

Finally, he laid down various systems of inquiry in authoritative essays published posthumously in translation as *Methodology of the Social Sciences* (1949). Weber believed that sociology should be *value-free*, which means that research should be done scientifically, excluding the researcher's personal interests and values. However, he was also aware that social behaviour cannot be analyzed by purely objective criteria. He emphasized that sociologists should gain the ability to see the world from the perspective of the people that they are studying (*verstehen*, German for understanding, insight). Overall, Weber's body of work can be distinguished by his effort to examine the rationalization of society, particularly in highlighting how bureaucratization embodied the most significant development in the modernization of Western societies (Weber, 1949). He also studied the religious traditions in Israel, China, and India, in each of which he underscored the crucial link between culture and society.

In summary, these seven pioneering social thinkers blazed the trail for the development of sociology in the "long 19th century." Each established some of the influential sociological traditions that contemporary scholars continue to engage. The list that is presented here, however, is not the standard roster of the discipline's founders. Each introductory sociology textbook often presents a different set of early thinkers depending on the geographical location (e.g., United States, Latin American) or sociological tradition (e.g., functionalism, critical sociology). Karl Marx, Emile Durkheim, and Max Weber who are widely accepted as the discipline's "big three" for the key importance of their writings were the only scholars who would most likely make it to any list of pioneering sociologists. Moreover, most of the pioneers listed here would probably not call themselves sociologists. As trailblazers, they laid down the path of a discipline that technically did not exist yet. In addition, these early thinkers' wide-ranging contributions did not only give critical impetus to the birth of sociology but also led to the important re-orientation in philosophy, law, economics, political science, and other academic fields.

Finally, the effort to uncover earlier forms of "sociological" works has led scholars, particularly those who are critical to the Eurocentric nature of the discipline, to excavate the works of a few medieval and early modern thinkers. For instance, the works of Ma Tuanlin (1245–1322), a Chinese encyclopaedist who recognized patterns of *social dynamics* in historical development and Ibn Khaldun (1332–1406), a Tunisian Islamic scholar whose book, *Muqaddimah*, formulated theories on social cohesion and social conflict. Similarly, the works of Indian feminist and social reformer Pandita Ramabai Sarasvati (1858–1922) and Filipino political reformer Jose Rizal

(1861–1896) are recognized for demonstrating key "sociological" insights useful in understanding society and in carrying out social reforms (Alatas and Sinha, 2017).

THE MAJOR THEORETICAL APPROACHES

The pioneering sociologists are notable for establishing scholarly traditions that shaped the history of sociology after its early development in the 19th century. Such scholarly tradition is anchored on a theory and serves as standpoints from where sociologists embark to investigate our vast, complex, and ever-changing world. Each theoretical approach strives to come up with an original and insightful principle, but some approaches are notably exceptional for presenting groundbreaking discoveries and for holding widespread and long-lasting influence. This book identified four major theoretical approaches that have been globally dominant in the field in recent years: (1) functionalist, (2) conflict, (3) interactionist, and (4) reorientationist approaches. Other theories such as social constructionism and world systems have gained significant recognition from scholars but their influence is not yet on par with these four approaches. Although this categorization will surely raise questions and other textbooks would have a different number of main theoretical standpoints (often just the first three) or add other key sociological theories (e.g., feminism, postmodernism). Nonetheless, this list of main sociological approaches suits the process of sociological orienteering from a comparative perspective or of those who want to see how sociological theorizing emerge beyond its Western core.

Functionalist Approach

The functionalist approach (or functionalism) is based on the assumption that society is a stable orderly system. Imagine your laptop computer with its various components – screen, keyboards, processor, hard drive, system memory, external ports, software, and other parts. Each component has a unique function to contribute to the overall computer system. Society, just like your laptop computer, is comprised of many different parts – family, schools, religious groups, political parties, transport systems, sports teams, and many other components. The components are interdependent, and each fulfills a specific *function*, which refers to the role or input that a component makes to an existing social order. This paradigm was first explored by Herbert Spencer, one of our pioneering sociologists, who compared society to the human body; he argued that just as the various organs of the body work together to keep the body functioning, the various parts of society work together to keep society functioning (Spencer, 1898).

Thus, **functionalism** is an analytical approach that sees society as a structure with interrelated and interdependent parts designed to meet the material and social needs of individuals. Emile Durkheim's study of suicide, which was published in 1897, is largely considered to be an early example of the use of functionalist theory. Apart from introducing a revolutionary way of understanding suicide, he also gave meaning to the concepts of *social order* and *social solidarity* that define the fundamental features of the functionalist paradigm.

Social order refers to an ideal condition wherein human interaction and other activities are governed by stable patterns of relations. Functionalism explores how social structures maintain or undermine social cohesion and stability. Challenging the widely accepted psychological and mystical reasons behind the phenomenon, Durkheim highlighted how the degree of social solidarity influences suicide rates. Protestants had much higher suicide rates than Catholics, single people had much higher rates than those who were married, and suicide rates were higher in times of peace than in times of war. He concluded a country's suicide rate is determined by the level of social solidarity. On the other hand, *social solidarity* refers to the role that homogeneity and shared values play in establishing consensus and in promoting stability. The processes of industrialization and urbanization in 19th-century Europe have lowered the level of social solidarity and contributed to social instability. One reflection of instability, according to Durkheim, is a higher suicide rate (Durkheim, 1951).

In the United States, the main proponent of functionalism was Talcott Parsons (1902-1979) who focused on the crucial role of social institutions (family, religion, economy, government, etc.) in maintaining social order. He believed that instability is an integral part of society and is a manifestation of how society reestablishes equilibrium. **Social equilibrium** occurs when there is "a dynamic working balance" among the different parts of society (Parsons, 1951: 482). Just like your laptop computer that adjusts its speed according to the amount of data that it needs to process, society also recalibrates its footing to find balance. The presence of high suicide rates, for instance, will force nations to formulate policies to ensure that people are well integrated into their communities and to the larger goals of society. Parsons was criticized for exaggerating the degree to which individuals share common goals and to which institutions contribute to the promotion of social order. In response, another American sociologist, Robert Merton (1910–2003), refined functionalism and distinguished between **manifest functions** (an intended or recognized consequence of action) and **latent functions** (unintended or hidden consequences of action). For instance, a laptop computer is a portable learning tool that allows university students better access to online information (manifest functions). This device became even more useful during the Covid-19 pandemic when learning shifted to online platform (latent functions). Moreover, Merton also raised the point that not all components of society are functional at all times. Some can be categorized as **dysfunctions** – the disruptive impact of any part of society to the larger social order (Merton, 1968). Dysfunctions are also distinguished between manifest dysfunctions and latent dysfunctions. For example, the use of laptop computers can be a distraction (manifest dysfunctions) if a student gets hooked to online games and plays during lectures. Meanwhile, physical injuries (latent dysfunctions), such as computer vision syndrome and musculoskeletal disorders often receive less attention due to the greater consideration given to the impact of technology on cognitive learning.

Conflict Approach

The childhood home of Karl Marx (now a museum) in Trier, Germany.

The conflict approach views the different components of society as engaged in a continuous power struggle for control over scarce resources. Money, housing, jobs, and political influences are just some of the many objects of tensions between individuals and groups. Such conflicts can take many forms – from amicable negotiations to violent confrontations. Karl Marx (1818–1883) set the foundation and stood out as the key figure of the conflict paradigm. As described earlier in this chapter, *class conflict*, the struggles between social classes to resist and overcome the opposition is the core tenet of his theory. The advent of modernity has resulted in the adoption of new tools, machinery, and methods that allowed the capitalists to maximize profits and dominate competitors. The drive for profit, however, also incentivizes capitalists to keep wages low and allocate little investments in improving working conditions. Thus, class conflict developed between a large number of poor workers and a small number of wealthy business owners. Marx believed that workers would eventually become aware of their adverse position (class consciousness) and mobilize themselves to set up trade unions and labor parties. Ultimately, these movements would lead to a revolution abolishing private property and bestowing the power to control the process of production on the workers (Marx and Engels, 1967).

Clearly, class and other forms of conflicts stem from social inequality. Proponents of *feminist theory* view inequality based on gender as central in shaping social interactions and institutions. They view the prevalence of patriarchy as a structure of power that perpetuates the subordination of women in society. Harriet Martineau, one of the pioneering sociologists that we discussed earlier, made critical studies of gender inequality and was a leading advocate of voting rights and women's education, and domestic equality.

In India, Pandita Ramabai Sarasvati (1858–1922), a Sanskrit scholar and social reformer, established a pioneering institution (Arya Mahila Samaj) in 1882 to promote the education of women. Her writings exposed the marginalization of women, including the inhumane oppression of child brides and child widows. Around the same period, Jane Addams (1860–1935) who

received training as a sociologist but was denied faculty appointments, turned to social activism and social work to help improve the condition of women in the United States. She co-founded the Hull House in 1889, a shelter for destitute women in Chicago and ultimately received the Nobel Prize for her dedication in fighting for social reform. Despite its early development, feminism did not have a strong influence in sociology until the 1960s when the rise of modern women's movement drew wider attention, started to influence policies, and helped advanced a more inclusive society around the world. Eventually, feminist theorizing branched out to a few variants (see Chapter 5, Gender and Sexuality) as different scholars continue to contend with the persistence of gender inequality in society.

Interactionist Approach

Although scholars would often link the emergence of the interactionist approach (or interactionism) to the interpretive methodology (*verstehen*, see earlier section) of the German scholar Max Weber, it developed in the United States, particularly with the works of Charles Horton Cooley (1864–1929) at the University of Michigan and George Herbert Mead (1863–1931) at the University of Chicago. The interactionist approach focuses on everyday forms of interaction to understand larger social dynamics. It argues that an adequate explanation of social phenomenon requires an understanding of the subjective meanings people attach to their circumstances. Cooley's most notable contribution to interactionism is the concept of "**looking-glass self**." It refers to the tendency of an individual to understand oneself through the perception which others may hold of them. Acting like a mirror (looking-glass), people react to us during the course of our interaction, giving us an idea about our "appearance" (Cooley, 1902: 183–184). This process of self-examination influences the way we conduct ourselves in public and shapes our overall sense of self.

Herbert Mead, on the other hand, focused on the unique human capacity "to take the role of others" as an important factor in the development of the self. He introduced the notions of "significant others" and "generalized others" in underscoring the importance of role-taking in the development of the individual. The *significant others* pertain to our parents and other influential people that we *imitate* as a child. In contrast, *generalized others* refer to our image of cultural standards and they apply to us (Mead, 1967). Moreover, one of Mead's students at the University of Chicago, Erving Goffman, likened social interaction as a stage play – with actors, social scripts, performances, props as well as routines to follow in the front stage and the backstage of the theater. He introduced the concept of **impression management** to describe the process in which people try to influence the perceptions of other people of himself by "acting" – by regulating and controlling information during the course of the interaction (Goffman, 1959). For Goffman, we are all actors within our social world.

Lastly, one category of interactionism that has become vastly influential (it can be a paradigm in itself) is the theory of social construction. **Social constructionism** examines the development

of a collectively generated understanding of the world that serves as the basis for a shared conception about reality. People generally assume that the things around them are "real" – natural or innately authentic. However, much of what we see as real is often created and sustained by institutional, historical, and cultural interventions. This view was introduced by Peter Berger and Thomas Luckman's book, *The Social Construction of Reality* (1966) which is considered as the foundational text for this theory. Eric Hobsbawm and Terence Ranger's, *The Invention of Tradition* also follows a similar path. It argues that many "traditions" which "appear or claim to be old are often quite recent in origin and sometimes invented" (1983: 1). For instance, *chinlone* (caneball) which is Myanmar's most popular pastime is revered as part of the country's ancient cultural traditions that dated back thousands of years. However, much of its current form and popularity can be traced to the government's intervention in 1953 to re-invent *chinlone* as Myanmar's national game (Aung-Thwin, 2012).

Overall, the interactionist paradigm can be distinguished by its *micro-level analysis*, an approach that views individual standpoints and interactions within small groups as essential steps in understanding society. In contrast to the macro-level analyses of functionalist and conflict paradigms, interactionism emphasizes the notion that people help create their social environment rather than merely reacting to them. Cooley's "looking-glass self " and Goffman's "impression management" demonstrate this approach. By stressing on how people *attach meanings* to things, the interactionist paradigm shows the importance of studying the subjective aspect of social life, which helps us go beyond official narratives and other discourses imposed on us by powerful institutions and other social forces.

Reorientationist Approach

This analytical approach was developed for this book to account for the development of sociological theorizing beyond its geographic and intellectual core in Western Europe and North America. The reorientationist approach (or reorientationism) combines the overlapping theoretical traditions of postcolonial sociology, indigenous sociology, and "alternative sociology." Alternative sociology refers to the effort to find new ways of understanding society beyond the mainstream paradigms that were established by early European and American scholars (Alatas, 2006). The development of reorientationist sociology was generally influenced by the writings of Frantz Fanon (1925–1961), a French-West Indian psychiatrist and political philosopher and Edward Said (1935–2003), a Palestinian-American literary thinker, although its generally fragmented proponents draw from many other early sociologists and social thinkers from around the world. Reorientationist scholars often engage the colonial legacies of sociology and attempt to unravel its imperial entanglements as an instrument of colonial administration and national modernization programs as well as a product of the broader process of Westernization (Steinmetz, 2013).

Reorientationism is often considered as an offshoot of conflict theory due to its interest in inequalities and because of the link of its early proponents in contending with the legacies of

colonialism and Westernism. The re-orientationist approach seeks to go beyond the long-drawn discourses on inequality and the binary concerns of postcolonial theory to open up a trail for a more constructive engagement and autonomous knowledge production. Fundamentally, it is a critique of the functionalist, conflict, and interactionist paradigms, which are strictly confined to the legacies of modernity and the four revolutions (intellectual, industrial, democratic, and development) that inspired the emergence of sociology (see Table 2.1).

Many succeeding scholars realized that these paradigms are inadequate to explain the social process in non-Western countries as well as the emerging new world that increasing veers away from the modern conditions and rationalities. An excellent example is James Spickard's examination of the "alternative sociologies of religion," where he started by exposing what he saw as the "default view" of Western understanding of sociology: "the idea that religion is largely focused on beliefs, is constituted by formal organizations, and promulgates moral rules" (2017: 15). He then explored alternative conceptions of religious practices – Confucius's (a Chinese philosopher) focus on *relationships* rather than the *individual*, Ibn Khaldun's (an Islamic thinker) emphasis on "*group-feeling*," and the Navajo's (a native American group) spirituality that values the transcendental *experiences* that rituals generate rather than their *meanings*. All of these conceptions of religion deviate from

Contrasting Concepts: *Postmodernism vs Postcolonialism*

These two perspectives play central roles in shaping contemporary sociology. They refer to the supposed passing ("post-") of the modern and colonial periods. These two periods are not only seen as historical eras but also as intellectual traditions that shape people's mindsets and actions at the institutional and individual levels.

Post-modern theory is based on the assumption that the emergence of a globalized world and the declining influence of science (progress led to the threat of nuclear and environmental destructions) has ushered in a new era (post- or after modernity). Since the 1970s, some sociologists have questioned the idea of progress and started to explore new ways of analyzing social phenomena. For instance, Jean-Francois Lyotard (1984) depicted the modernity as a period of "metanarratives"- theories that are totalizing and universalizing, such as the paradigms that we discussed here. Metanarratives also refer to scientific claims and ideologies that exclude or even persecute those who do not adhere to them. According to Lyotard, postmodernism saw the end of metanarratives and of the emergence of multiple legitimate rationalities.

Post-colonial theory, on the other hand, argues that our contemporary world can only be grasped in the context of colonialism and imperialism. It underscores not so much the end but the lingering influence of imperial rule. Lou Antolihao (2015), for instance, highlighted how basketball as a sport in the Philippines, which is seen as one of the scientific practices that promoted America's promise of progress, which in turn, justified its occupation of the Philippines. However, basketball became a space for the Filipinos to "play" against the U.S. and in constructing a distinct national culture after its independence.

Overall, both theories shook the foundation of sociology as a science of society. The ultimate goal of the discipline is to bring about "progress" in society. However, progress is both a metanarrative and an imperial project whose heyday has passed. How will sociology re-orient its goals to remain relevant to a rapidly changing world?

TABLE 2.1
Comparing the Major Sociological Approaches

	Functionalist	Conflict	Interactionist	Reorientationist
View of Society	stable, well-coordinated	disproportionate, tensions among groups	web of social interactions	dominated by Western ideals
View of the Individual	perform social functions	influenced by authority and institutions	create meanings and shape their social worlds	hybrid, shaped by local and global forces
Key Concepts	solidarity equilibrium dysfunctions	inequality class conflict	looking-glass self, significant others generalized others	imperialism globalization indigenization
Strength	logical explanation	exposes inequality, promote critical analysis	direct and in-depth analysis	exposes the limits of modernity, reflexive analysis
Weakness	unable to account for differences, favors the status quo	tends to exaggerate tensions and inequality	difficulty in generalizing findings	in flux, fixated with undoing the West's influence

the Western emphasis on beliefs (the centrality of the divine), formal organizations (Church), and moral rules (doctrines).

The reorientationist approach also includes scholars who work for the establishment of an indigenous (mainly nationalist) sociology. They promote indigenous intellectual traditions not only as an alternative but for what is construed as the deeper insight that they provide in understanding local social structures, particularly in societies located outside of Europe and North America – the so-called West. Indigenous sociology is critical of the universalist and normative tendencies of Western knowledge, particularly in the belief that rationality and science is "inherently good," and therefore, something that should be shared to the rest of the world. By asserting that local, non-Western sociological traditions are not mere imitations of Western knowledge or backward worldviews but are legitimate conceptions that were marginalized by the historical processes of colonization and modernization. An excellent example of indigenous sociology is Kim Kyong-Dong's analysis of Korean modernization. In contrast to the Western modernity's faith in limitless possibilities of progress (theory of evolution), he formulated the principles of limit-return, excess-moderation, and flexibility that is based on the East Asian *yin-yang* philosophy (Kim, 2017). With this framework, Kim found an indigenous rationality to explain the rapid economic development of South Korea towards the end of the 20th century. Apart from South Korea, there are notable indigenous sociology undertakings in India, Australia, Nigeria, and in many countries around the world.

Rather than an organized theoretical standpoint, the reorientationist approach is a host of independent or loosely assembled scholarly works that grapple with the limits of the "modernist" framing of classical sociology. Nonetheless, several broad concepts resonate throughout the works of those categorized under this sociological tradition. Among the most prominent is the concept of **hybridity**, which refers to the mixing of ideas, identities, and worldviews as a result of imperialism, internationalism, and globalization (Bhabha, 1994). For instance, Hamza Alavi (1989) argued for the link between the rise of the Industrial Revolution and the British colonial regime in India while other scholars would point out how some of the important elements of contemporary Indian culture such as cricket and railroad are hybrids of local and British cultures. Another key concept is "**indigenous rationality**," which points to the local body of knowledge that people use not to make sense of the world but as a repository of methods of gathering information and problem-solving strategies. In the modern context, such body of knowledge is marginalized as backward or even as a hindrance to economic and social development. Reorientationist scholars, such as Syed Hussein Alatas who criticized the colonial representation of the Malays as "lazy native," contend for the "indigenous rationality" of such actions, either as conditioned by their beliefs and practices or as acts of resistance against colonial subjugation.

UNDERSTANDING EDUCATION: FOUR SOCIOLOGICAL APPROACHES

What are you in school for? What is the social significance of education? Most countries allocate the biggest portion of their annual budget to education while social analysts use it as an indicator for various socio-economic conditions of a country: financial stability, political inclusion, cultural vibrancy, quality of life, among many others. As an important social institution, the four sociological paradigms can analyze education from various theoretical vantage points. The different explanations highlight their differences but also give light into the different insights that they can provide in understanding why young people spend a significant amount of time going through formal education.

Functionalist Approach

Functionalist sociologists focus on how education plays several important functions aimed at contributing to the smooth operation of society. These functions include: (1) facilitating personal growth, (2) transmission of knowledge and skills, (3) promoting citizenship and integration into a diverse population, and (4) contributing to research and in solving social problems. Education is seen as a vehicle for social mobility or in growing one's arsenal to maintain status and wealth. It also allows nation-states to perpetuate values and ideologies such as meritocracy and patriotism that would help ensure their long-term survival. Moreover, most universities are research institu-

tions that do not only transmit knowledge but also create new ones that would contribute to solving social problems and in enhancing our lives. Lastly, education has unintended (latent) functions such as care and supervision for young children, as a place for meeting potential mates and lifelong partners among university students, and a space where people establish and strengthen their social network that can be useful in their future career.

Conflict Approach

Sociologists who subscribe to the conflict route argue that social order is based on coercion and exploitation, pointing out how education reflects and exacerbates many of the division and inequalities in society. First, the conflict paradigm highlights how *illiteracy*, the inability to functionally read and write, is linked to gender, racial, class, and other forms of social inequalities. Around the world, low literacy rates are common among women, racial minorities, and people with a low-income background. Sociologists believe that education promotes the flawed idea that success can be achieved simply through hard work (meritocracy), while failure should be blamed on the individual rather than on the larger social system that perpetuates inequality and injustices. Second, the conflict approach emphasizes how education results in **social reproduction**, the social process through which schooling acts as a sorting mechanism that disproportionately eliminates socially disadvantaged students, which results in transmitting inequality from one generation to the next. For instance, students who grew up in a family who can afford books, vacations, and swimming or piano lessons can easily adjust to the school environment as compared to those with working-class backgrounds (Bourdieu, 1977). Lastly, conflict sociologists would warn that inequality in education is likely to continue with the increasing commodification of education. Private educational institutions, for instance, are businesses in which profit might be more important than the welfare of the students. Even public schools and universities are increasingly taking on the corporate model, viewing students as products that cater to specific market demands.

Interactionist Approach

In analyzing society, the adherents of the interactionist approach are particularly interested in shared meanings and how people construct their social world. Interactionists examine education at the micro-level by focusing on how students negotiate rules, norms, values, and the demands of the school environment. Schools enable students to build friendship and a network of peers that shapes their learning experience and everyday life. Despite gender, race, class, and other differences, schoolmates may work together and even look beyond common stereotypes and prejudices. Status and relationships within the school are also defined by an individual's position as student, membership in campus organizations, as well as academic/non-academic performances and personal reputation.

At the institutional level, educational institutions incorporate a **hidden curriculum**, an underlying set of values and norms that students learn while in school. A hidden curriculum can help promote punctuality, competitiveness, and "work ethic." Although these values appear harmless and are even ideal, critics argue that these principles prepare students for future labor exploitation. Nonetheless, interactionists are interested in hidden curriculum because they shape the learning experience of students and define the larger ethos of educational institutions.

Reorientationist Approach

Sociologists who adhere to the reorientationist approach would promote a "culturally-responsive pedagogy" to better align educational goals with the history, culture, and overall social conditions of localities. They expose how "the Eurocentric structures of modern education continue to yield to, if not perpetuate, systems of privilege, dominance, and power" that will not only continue to marginalize some minority groups (Pirbhai-Illich et al., 2017: viii) but will also create a wider chasm between the knowledge that students learn and their larger social environment.

Moreover, the effort to make education more inclusive has to be integrated with the larger discourses concerning colonialism and imperialism. Textbooks, videos, and other learning materials (including those in introductory sociology modules) are often based on Western contexts, perpetuating the use of foreign models in understanding and evaluating local phenomena. In response, alternativists advocate for the use and inclusion of local language, history, social, and cultural specifics in the different teaching curricula. A host of countries including Canada, New Zealand, India, and the Philippines are advocating for the localization and regionalization of educational aims and content to accommodate local communities and regional ethnic groups.

Overall, our analysis of education demonstrates that each of the four theoretical standpoints – functionalist, conflict, interactionist, and reorientationist – answers the same question in different ways. A comprehensive study on education in the Asia-Pacific region provides a similar multi-faceted analysis. Drawing from several cases from the different countries in the region, the collection of studies provides a glimpse of the various issues and ideas that shape educational policies and advocacies (Lam and Park, 2016). Among these concerns are the following: (1) the teaching of rationality and morality [functionalism], (2) the tension between Western and non-Western knowledge production [conflict theory], (3) teachers as translators [interactionism], and (4) the inclusion of sustainable development and Asian philosophy in the school curricula [reorientationism]. The four theoretical paradigms offer competing interpretations and a careful examination is required to determine which paradigm works better for the case at hand. Despite their differences, however, they would all agree that education is not simply about taking a series of exams to collect a certificate in the end.

KEY CONCEPTS

Alienation
Common sense
Dysfunctions
Hidden curriculum
Impression management
Latent function
Manifest function
Organic solidarity
Rationalization
Social Darwinism
Social facts
Sociological theory
Class consciousness
Disenchantment
Functionalism
Hybridity
Indigenous rationality
Looking-glass self
Mechanical solidarity
Positivism
Social constructionism
Social equilibrium
Social reproduction

DISCUSSION QUESTIONS

1. Who is your favorite among the pioneering sociologists? How will his or her ideas align with your proposed solution to the problem of racial inequality?
2. You are a sociologist who adhere to the reorientationist approach. How would you explain the social significance of sports? How would your view differ if you take the functionalist approach? The perspective of the conflict approach? The interactionist approach?
3. With the rapid technological advancement, do you think that modernity's promise of progress will be realized in the next fifty years? Why or why not?

SUGGESTED READINGS

1. Durkheim, Émile. (1987) [1897]. *Suicide, A Study in Sociology*, New York: The Free Press.
2. Marx, Karl and Friedrich Engels. (1978). "Manifesto of the Communist Party," in Robert Tucker (Ed.), *The Marx-Engels Reader*, New York: W.W. Norton and Co., New York.
3. Goffman, Erving. (1959). *The Presentation of Self in Everyday Life*, New York: Doubleday.
4 Said, Edward. (1978). *Orientalism*, New York: Pantheon Books.

CHAPTER 3

SOCIOLOGICAL RESEARCH

After learning about sociology's disciplinal parameters and major theoretical approaches, this chapter will introduce how sociologists carry out their studies in the real world. Sociological studies are based on *research*, an investigation into specific social phenomenon to establish facts and gain new knowledge useful in promoting individual well-being, public order, social change, and the advancement of knowledge. Research is key to every academic discipline, formal organization, or any individual who embarks on an inquiry into matters that concern them.

A Buddhist monk takes a photo of people who line up for the daily morning ritual of giving alms to the monks from the monasteries of Luang Prabang, a UNESCO World Heritage city in northern Laos. Often, the monks are the ones being photographed, especially as the alms-giving ritual has become one of the most popular tourist attractions in the city.

Sociologists go through a long period of training to learn a repertoire of research techniques but a good understanding of how research works will be useful even to those who do not intend to become an expert in the field. This chapter is an introduction to the different sociological practices, providing a glimpse into what "doing sociology" entails.

At times, serious issues emerge that make people doubt their conception and dealings with those around them. However, it is often everyday curiosities that lead many to probe deeper into things that pique their interest. Let us consider this scenario **(see Moore, n.d.)**, *Karl and Edward are overseas students who have asked a few women to go out on dates but none of the women have accepted their invitations. Why?* Anyone interested can come up with a theory to explain the situation. However, this seemingly ordinary issue that only concerns two people have wider social implications. As such, the four sociological standpoints that we discussed in the previous chapter

can provide insightful views on Karl and Edward's predicament. By focusing on order and cohesion, functionalist scholars would point out issues about compatibility: "they are foreigners, they do not 'fit' into the world of these local women." In contrast, those who adhere to the conflict approach would focus on inequality that marginalizes non-locals: "they are seen as immigrants, local women tend to look down on immigrants." The interactionists, however, would highlight their lack of knowledge about local dating etiquette and other cultural practices: "they are not cool, they do not know how to impress women." Finally, the reorientationists would describe "dating" as an expression of Western ideals of individualism and liberalism that diverge from the local courtship practices in their new place of residence: "Karl and Edward are having a hard time getting the trust of these women, they should also interact with their friends and families like what most local men do." Each of these theoretically substantiated statements is called a **hypothesis** (also referred to as assumption or assertion), a calculated, provisional, and testable explanation about the relationship between variables or specific social occurrences. It is "an informed guess" because it is not random but is based on the scholar's academic expertise and professional experience. Nonetheless, a hypothesis is still an assumption or an approximation (an informed guess) even if it is outrightly convincing. Its value is on its suitability for testing and measurement.

In this process, researchers choose variables to break down the hypothesis into testable and measurable parts. **Variables** are features that can have more than one value and liable to change. Age (measured in years), class (income), residence status (student visa, permanent resident, etc.), nationality (German, Singaporean, etc.) are variables. Although less apparent, love (degrees of affection) and perceived attractiveness are variables too. Once the variables are identified, researchers must decide on a corresponding actual determinant that can be objectively measured. Age is measured in years but class, which is often measured by annual income can also be calculated through property ownership, family net worth, and other more qualitative ways such as direct self-assessment or through casual observation of everyday activities. This process of deciding which determinants link to which variables is called **operationalization** (Arce, 2001).

Understandably, the researcher's theoretical approach determines how the hypothesis is operationalized and influences the course of action necessary to come up with a set of information which in turn leads to useful conclusions. The four sociological approaches are each linked to this set of research methodologies: (1) positivist methodology, (2) critical methodology, (3) interpretive methodology, and (4) comparative historical methodology. If theories set our standpoint, research strategies guide our course of action in our investigation.

No matter which course of action one takes, there are three essential principles that govern all research undertakings: (a) reliability, (b) validity, and (c) falsifiability. **Reliability** refers to the capability of the research strategy to yield consistent results when replicated. It allows studies to generalize an individual experience as a representation of a specific group. Karl and Edward's campus life struggles, for instance, can be used to understand the experiences of inter-

national students in comparable university settings. Moreover, **validity** is the degree to which a research strategy accurately measures or reflects a concept. Asking Karl and Edward (and a number of other international students) about their experiences can be a source of reliable data about their marginality. However, such experiences can be highly emotional or even traumatic that they might exaggerate their personal accounts. A more valid measure would be to check the club attendance records to obtain a more empirical information about their involvement in campus activities. Lastly, **falsifiability** indicates that research findings should not be regarded as absolute truths but are rationalizations that can be refuted by a subsequent study. Karl Popper (1963) argued that what separates scientific and non-scientific knowledge is not their empirical proofs or analytical insight but on whether a subsequent investigation can prove them wrong.

RESEARCH METHODOLOGIES

As the operational extensions of the sociological theories that we discussed in the previous chapter, these research methodologies are defined by their theoretical roots as well as by their strengths, weaknesses, and practical objectives. Generally, positivist sociology generates knowledge useful for institutional administration and development undertakings; critical methodology generates knowledge useful for dealing with power disparities and social transformation; interpretive methodology generates knowledge useful for understanding subjective experiences and social relations; and comparative historical methodology generates knowledge useful for comprehending societal differences and varying intellectual traditions.

The following discussion presents a brief introduction to the four research methodologies by identifying their key principles, common research tools (or methods), and the subject-position of the researcher. To highlight the insight that they could offer, this section will also look into how each of the methodologies would respond to this chapter's opening question on Karl and Edward's university life dilemma.

Positivist Methodology

This methodology is grounded on the classical link of sociology to science, emphasizing on systematic data gathering, empirical measurement, and statistical presentation. It aims to translate social phenomena into quantifiable units and strives to discover "laws of nature" (similar to the laws of science) that govern our social world. The common research tools used include experiments and surveys. An *experiment* is a study undertaken in a controlled condition or in actual environments to allow researchers to isolate cases and accurately measure causes and their effects (Campbell and Stanley, 1963). Moreover, **survey** is a research tool comprised of a series of questions designed to obtain information from a large number of people. It can be introduced as a self-administered questionnaire (distributed, mailed, online) or through an interview (face to face, telephone, video conference). Furthermore, a *census* is an official and periodic survey involving an entire population, instead of a specific segment. The term is often associated with

national censuses that governments implement (mostly done every 10 years) to collect demographic, housing, livelihood, and other data for administrative and planning purposes.

With positivist methodology, the researcher is seen as a *neutral observer*. As a scientific discipline, positivist methodology adheres to the principles of objectivity and neutrality. **Objectivity** compels researchers not to let their bias, values, and views influence their study. **Neutrality**, on the other hand, ensures that they adhere to their ethical obligation to accept their research findings even if the results contradict their personal values, theoretical views, or popular opinion.

To return to our opening question: *Karl and Edward are overseas students who have asked a few women to go out on dates but none of the women have accepted their invitations. Why?* A sociologist using a positivist methodology would check census data to look for some clues. For instance, in a population where there are significantly more male than female (e.g., China, India), men would have a small pool of women as a source of potential mate. A survey involving students in the university can also be used to obtain data on dating preferences and practices. Lastly, an experiment, for example, to compare the reaction of random female students given a bouquet of flowers by international students and local students might yield some results useful in understanding Karl and Edward's concerns.

Critical Methodology

This methodology perceives sociological inquiry as a *critic*, a skeptical and reproachful analysis aimed at exposing structures of power and in tearing down systems of domination in society. Instead of objectivity and neutrality, critical methodology is guided by the pursuit of emancipation and social change. It relies both on empirical study as well as interpretive ethnography to get into the core of complex and muddled power relations (Harvey, 1990). However, critical methodology is best exemplified by studies that employ action research and participatory research. **Action research** seeks to spur social transformation by implementing development initiatives while simultaneously conducting research. Apart from its practical objective that directly benefits the research subjects, action research also fosters a more dynamic and inclusive collection and analysis of data. **Participatory research** is an offshoot of action research that puts greater emphasis on collaborative inquiry and joint investigations that are grounded in experience and history (Reason and Bradbury, 2008).

Due to their active participation in working for change, the researcher often plays the role of an *activist*. Although not all sociologists who adhere to critical methodology are in the forefront of activism, many of them advocate for the empowerment of their research subjects and for the betterment of their economic and social conditions. This is something expected since critical methodology, and conflict theory in general, are inherently linked to social movements and revolutionary struggles.

Again, returning to our opening question: *Karl and Edward are overseas students who have asked a few women to go out on dates but none of the women have accepted their invitations.*

Why? A sociologist who employs critical methodology can organize a series of international student integration seminars and activities while conducting her research on the impact of foreign students in university dating culture. In addition, she might invite Karl and Edward as collaborators in the research project to ensure the collection of ample data while having the opportunity to fine tune the theoretical framework and other aspects of the study. With this strategy, Karl and Edward can also be informed about possible misconceptions about the power dynamics between men and women, which help shape their expectations and manner of interaction with female students. Using these strategies, the researcher is not only studying the case of Karl and Edward but is working to change the overall relationships between foreign and local students.

Contrasting Concepts:
Quantitative Research vs Qualitative Research

Rooted in the principles of science, ***quantitative research*** involves the collection, analysis, and reporting of data primarily in numeral and statistical form. Quantitative researchers process data using regression formulas and present their findings in tables and graphs. In contrast, ***qualitative research*** relies more on people's descriptive accounts of their experiences and the meanings that they create out of their interactions and everyday observations.

Theoretically, quantitative research can be traced back to the works of Auguste Comte and Emile Durkheim while qualitative research corresponds more to the research traditions of Max Weber and Georg Simmel.

Overall, the goal of quantitative research is to obtain a representative sample useful to make generalized conclusions about the entire population. Qualitative research, on the other hand, aims to illuminate on specific features of the population. For example, using Karl and Edward's (plus a number of others) opinions to provide a broad description of the foreign student population is quantitative research while using them to probe into key features, such as dating practices of the larger foreign student population is qualitative research.

Interpretive Methodology

This methodology likens sociological inquiry to "putting oneself in another's shoes." Max Weber (1949) used the German word, *verstehen* (emphatic understanding) which is a research strategy where the observer examines and presents from the subject's viewpoint and not from the researcher's own perspective. This is an anti-positivist approach aimed at treating research subjects as agents who actively shape their worlds rather than as objects of observation who simply exist as products of external social forces.

Field research methods, such as participant observation and ethnography, aim to study social life in everyday settings where the research subjects work, pursue other interests, and interact with other people. **Participant observation** is a method in which researchers collect observations while being part of the activities of the subjects of the study. This approach generates more "inside" information than merely asking questions or observing from a relative physical and personal distance. An **ethnography**, on the other hand, is basically an extended immersion to study the way of life and worldviews of specific cultural groups. The objective is to produce what

American anthropologist Clifford Geertz (1973) would describe as "thick description" of people's behavior and the layers of meaning that demarcate the context of the behavior.

The methods discussed above clearly signify the subject position of the researcher as *participant*. Interpretive researchers, at times, take on a "native" role to facilitate their entry into a social group or make their presence more discreet. Loic Wacquant (2004), for instance, trained to become a boxer to gain access to a poor black neighborhood in Chicago where he spent three years conducting research on corporeality and marginalization.

So how would an interpretivist researcher design a study to address our opening question: *Karl and Edward are overseas students who have asked a few women to go out on dates but none of the women have accepted their invitations. Why?* To get a deeper insight into the plight of Karl and Edward, an interpretivist researcher can immerse himself into the dating scene in the university by working as a cleaner in a nearby mall. He can also live for a semester in the dormitory where Karl, Edward, and other foreign students stay to observe how they go about their daily lives, ask fellow residents about issues on integration and acceptance, and look into the different aspects of the campus dating culture.

Comparative Historical Methodology

This methodology has a long history that goes back to the early years of sociology, with works of Emile Durkheim (suicide), Karl Marx (capitalism), and Max Weber (religion) as among those who contributed to its development. Although mainly excluded from this West-centric methodological tradition (Adams et al., 2005), most reorientationist studies employed comparative historical methodology. Post-colonial and indigenous sociological writings have to contend with how the discipline and their societies, in general, are shaped by knowledge regimes and social forces emanating from other societies. As a result, their research including those of Edward Said, Homi Bhabha, and Syed Hussein Alatas often involves this reexamining research strategy.

More recently, this methodology has been taken by scholars who work on inter-regional area studies. For instance, Takeuchi Yoshimi's (a Japanese expert on Chinese literature) concept of "Asia as a Method" provided the inspiration for Asian scholars to focus on neighboring societies in order to challenge West-centric frameworks as well as to develop knowledge based on more familiar objects of comparison (Chen, 2012). Overall, comparative historical methodology has the ability to capture long-term social transformations and to provide broader insights by looking into two or more comparable cases.

Evidently, this methodology employs archival research and secondary analysis as its main tools. **Archival research** involves the collection of records, manuscripts, artefacts, and other primary materials held in archives, libraries, and other repositories. In contrast, **secondary analysis** uses studies published by other scholars as well as existing public records, organizational reports, popular media (newspapers, magazines, radio and television programs, online contents), and personal documents. There are apparent similarities between these two research tools but the

historical value of the materials and data that archival research deal with separates itself from secondary analysis.

In comparative historical methodology, the subject-position of the researcher is that of a *reviewer*. Central to the tenets of comparative historical methodology is the process of rewriting in order to give light to the experiences and rationalities of colonized and marginalized groups in societies. This research strategy has also been useful in the revival and development of autonomous intellectual traditions in Latin America, Africa, and Asian societies where scholars have long challenged the dominance of Western knowledge.

Going back to our opening question: *Karl and Edward are overseas students who have asked a few women to go out on dates but none of the women have accepted their invitations. Why?* A scholar using the comparative historical methodology can look into how colonization has altered Karl and Edward's host country through the introduction of a new religion that changed its family, dating, and sexual practices resulting in its divergence from Karl and Edward's own culture. Alternatively, one can trace the influence of Hollywood and American popular culture during the Cold War period through the analysis of print ads in lifestyle magazines to reveal it as part of an imperialist imposition that altered local dating and youth culture.

TABLE 3.1
Methodologies and Methods

Methodology (Theoretical Approach)	Methods/Tools	Strengths	Weaknesses
Positivist (Functionalism)	Experiment	control over variables easier to replicate	artificial setting, Hawthorn effect
	Survey Census	covers large population	difficult to probe deeper, difficult to measure nuances
Critical (Conflict Theory)	Action Research Participatory Research	directly benefits the subjects, empowering	questions about objectivity, researcher might get implicated in issues
Interpretive (Interactionism)	Participant-observation Ethnography	gain an insider's view subjects in natural setting, opportunity to verify data	difficult to generalize results, adjustment to local way of life
Comparative Historical (Reorientationism)	Archival Research Secondary Analysis	long-term view of change, comparisons provide key insights, inter-disciplinary	volumes of data to process, difficult to filter bias from the original accounts

Table 3.1 above outlines the strengths and weaknesses of the methodologies and the methods that they commonly employ. The most important advantage of positivist methodology is its ability to control variables in experiments and that it covers large areas in surveys and censuses.

Both are able to produce "hard" empirical figures and statistics, breaking down complex issues and large population into clear, simple, and more understandable sets of information. However, experiments are largely seen as artificial because they mainly take place in laboratory settings and not in real-life environment. Research subjects also tend to behave differently or even alter their behavior when under observation, leading to a phenomenon called the Hawthorn effect (named after a U.S. electric plant where the phenomenon was first observed) (Merton, 1968: 120–123). In addition, surveys and censuses have also been criticized for their superficial and sweeping reductions of the complexity and dynamism of society. Moreover, the main strength of critical methodology is its commitment to use research as a catalyst for change in mobilizing people to take part in the research and in working towards social change. The drawback, however, is it reduces the applicability of the research because of its apparent leaning in favor of the research subjects. At times, researchers also get entangled in the web of private and political issues in the research area that compromise her professional and personal well-being.

Furthermore, interpretive methodology gives us an up-close and personal account of the things that shape society. This position as an "insider," however, can lead the researcher to get caught up with the "juicy details" and lose sight of the larger issues in which details are embedded. Finally, the comparative historical methodology's advantage is that "it is not caught up in the present" and is able to trace how a social phenomenon evolves across different periods. It also allows sociology to engage with history and possibly with a few other disciplines (geography, political science, etc.), thereby getting access to useful theories and methodologies from these disciplines. The comparisons between cases or societies also provide a wider context that highlights the connectedness of cultures and the nature of societies to transcend the physical boundaries. The problem with this methodology is that its long and broad scope can result in the accumulation of a large set of qualitative data that is challenging to organize and interpret. Archival and secondary materials are also interpreted from various personal, political, and theoretical perspectives that require even more materials to filter and contextualize.

So, which one among the methodologies is the best? Just as there is no one theory better than the others, methodologies are also relatively equal, with their specific advantages and disadvantages. The decision on which methodology to choose often depends on the research objectives, the source of research funding and support, a gap in the available information, and more importantly, the theoretical leaning of the sociologist. It is also important to note that the linkage of the research methods to the methodologies is not completely exclusive. Scholars borrow and mix research tools from the different methodologies in order to obtain a varied set of data. Many sociologists believe that **triangulation** – the use of multiple research tools in a study – will enable them to get a better grasp of the complex and ever-changing social phenomenon that they are trying to decipher.

In summary, the discussion above demonstrates that research tools and techniques are crucial to sociological studies for their influence in how data are obtained and in how the investigator

A busy street in Kathmandu, the capital of Nepal. Sociological orienteering allows us to find patterns of meaning in a seemingly chaotic location.

interacts with the research subjects. To craft a more succinct overview, some research tools were not included and the different subcategories of those included were not discussed. Case studies, content analysis, visual ethnography, and digital methods are some of the popular (even familiar) research tools not covered in this chapter.

Digital methods, in particular, are revolutionizing the way sociologists conduct research as technology makes it easy for more institutions to collect, analyze, and use data in business operation. From the biometric passports, supermarket loyalty reward systems, to social media sites, **big data** (large quantity digital information) are continually produced in even more massive quantities that they have become an inexhaustible source of materials, particularly for scholars who adhere to the positivist methodology. Apart from the positivist methodology, which also conducts online surveys for a myriad of purposes, critical methodology (digital action research to study #me too and yellow vest movements), interpretive methodology (netnography of influencer culture), and comparative historical methodology (digital archival research of 1970s rap songs) have all been influenced by the digital revolution.

THE RESEARCH PROCESS

Although they constitute the core of any research undertaking, our earlier discussion on the methodologies and methods of research merely covers part (Steps 3 and 4 in Figure 3.1) of the entire research process. Basically, a sociological research involves the following steps: (1) finding a problem, (2) finding relevant materials, (3) finding the appropriate research strategy, (4) finding the needed information, (5) finding new trends and ideas, and (6) sharing the findings. People would normally avoid problems but the first step in every sociological study is ensuring that you have one. However, a practical problem involving money, relationships, and countless others is different from a research problem. While the former requires one to take action in order to *change the situation*, the latter necessitates that we *understand the situation* (Booth et al., 2016).

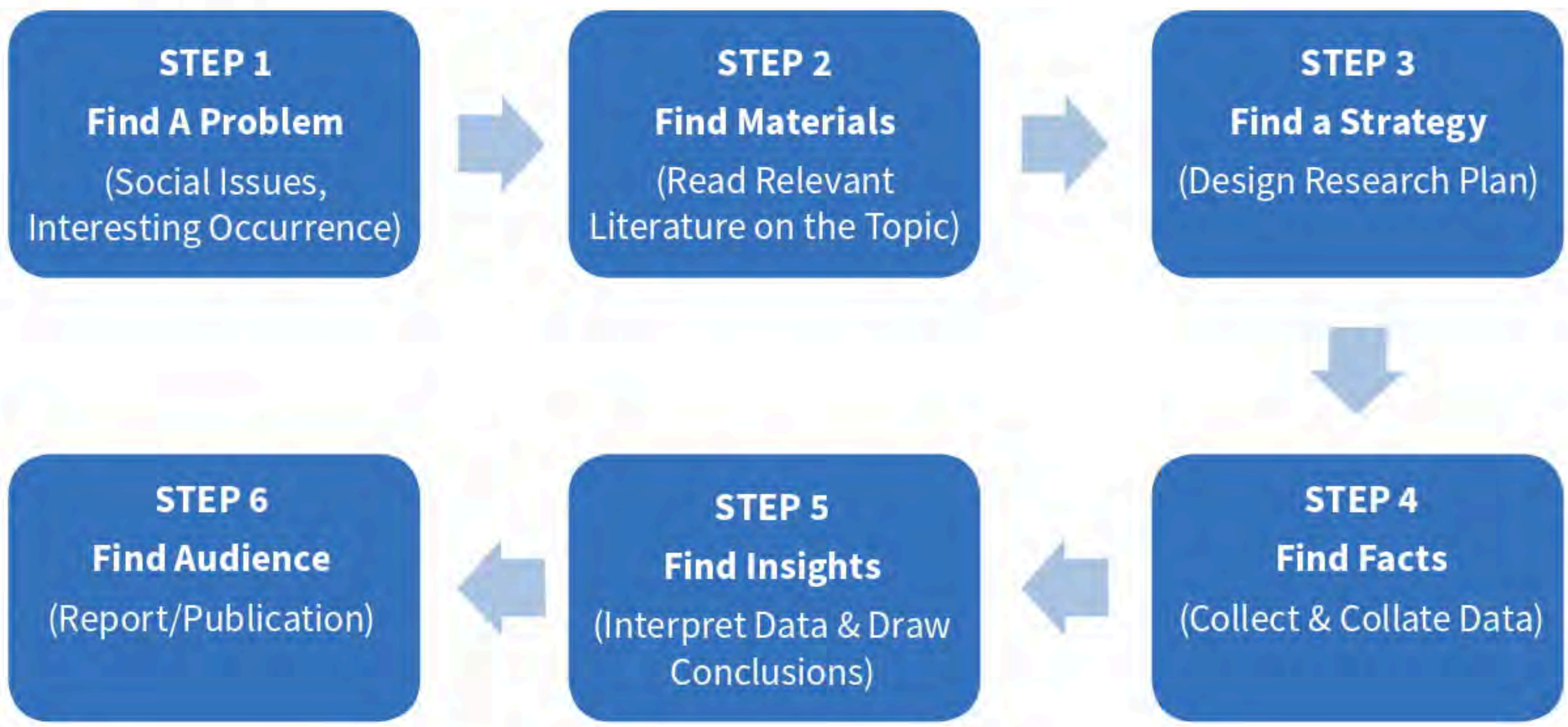
A **research problem** is a statement about a concerning question or a fascinating phenomenon that exists in the social world or in sociological literature that points to the need for a more extensive investigation. Once a researcher finds a problem, he moves on to find out if there are earlier studies that have been done on the topic. Reviewing the literature is done to account for the findings of other experts to avoid replicating their studies and to situate one's study within the existing body of work on the chosen topic. Situating your study is about establishing how your work would advance, verify, or correct earlier research as well as contribute to the debates and discussions within the relevant academic or professional fields.

The third step mainly involves the research methodologies that we discussed in one of the previous sections. After finding a problem and the materials to assess its significance, a researcher moves on to design a research plan that would guide data collection, data analysis, and the presentation of the findings. In planning a research, a sociologist would choose from a variety of research methods or tools, including survey, action research, participant observation, participatory research, or archival research, among several other options, to use in collecting data. Afterwards, the researcher, along with other research team members, if available, commences data collection. Later on, the data are sorted and organized for the next step – finding insights. This step involves the interpretation of data to draw conclusions. In the end, no research undertaking claims to produce the absolute answer or a complete explanation of a social phenomenon.

A research publication includes statements on the limits of the study in the introduction section and a few recommendations for further study in the conclusion section. These two important parts literally bookends a publication to show a sense of continuity of the research with the other existing and future studies. Therefore, the conclusion of the study is both the end and the beginning of the effort to advance our knowledge of society and the people who live in it (Arce, 2001). This part brings us to the final step in the research process – find audience. Some research outputs are read by a small group of scholars within a specialized subfield while others enjoy much larger influence, transcending the discipline and even developing to become part of everyday knowledge. Publication is the key element through which sociologists and other

scholars are evaluated by universities and other employers as well as recognized by their peers and the wider academic community. Beyond this, it is through the sharing of research findings that scholars realize their vocations to produce, disseminate, and contribute to the advancement of knowledge.

FIGURE 3.1
The Research Process



RESEARCH ETHICS

Apart from the prevailing moral standards that govern scientific research, sociologists are subjected to even more stringent ethical regulations due to the direct involvement of human subjects in their studies. In 2001, the International Sociological Association ratified a code of conduct to guide all of its members in their research undertakings (ISA, 2001). The following are its fundamental principles:

1. Should not discriminate on the basis of age, sex, sexual preference, ethnicity, language, religion or political affiliation.
2. Should not allow sponsors to influence research outcomes or compromise scientific standards in obtaining research funding.
3. Should ensure the transparency of data, protect the privacy of informants and data sources, and obtain consent from research subjects.

4. Should be entitled to fair compensation as well as maintain ownership and the rights to publish research outcome.
5. Should acknowledge collaborators, use databases appropriately, and be open to criticisms.
6. Should guard their work against misuse and stick to their area of expertise when contributing to public discussion and policy debates.

Overall, this set of fundamental principles emphasizes on the values of integrity, independence, and neutrality. Although no high profile controversies involving sociologists have emerged in recent years, there is an increasing drive to implement these ethical regulations as many sociologists themselves are actively involved in the studies and application of various ethical regimes in the context of governance, corporate, and other spheres of society. As a result, many national organizations, universities, and research institutions have also published their own code of conducts to protect the integrity of scholars and maintain high standards for research and education. To enforce these regulations, research projects now have to go through a couple of layers of ethical reviews before receiving an approval. Beyond these institutional regulations, sociologists are also shaped by values such as objectivity and empathy that developed throughout the history of the discipline. In her probe into the meaning of scientific inquiry, Laura Chapman (1979: 6) insightfully explained that "it is useful to think of research as an effort to be honest with ourselves." Personal principles, along with ethical guidelines, direct scholars in dealing with their collaborators and research subjects as well as in steering their studies through the various social and cultural ideals.

KEY CONCEPTS

Action research
Big data
Falsifiability
Neutrality
Operationalization
Participatory research
Research Problem
Survey
Validity
Archival research
Ethnography
Hypothesis
Objectivity
Participant observation
Reliability
Secondary Analysis
Triangulation
Variables

DISCUSSION QUESTIONS

1. Based on your personal assessment, which research methodology do you think is the most useful in understanding the dating culture in your campus?
   (a) Positivist Methodology
   (b) Critical Methodology
   (c) Interpretive Methodology
   (d) Comparative Historical Methodology
2. Is it possible for reorientationist researchers to be objective in their research? Discuss your answer in the context of the use of English as the main language of instruction in some Asian universities.
3. You are tasked to study one of the following issues in your university. What methods of data collection will you use? Is participant observation a better method than a sample survey? Explain your answer.
   (a) political activism
   (b) sexual harassment
   (c) gadget addiction
   (d) employability of graduates

SUGGESTED READINGS

1. Becker, Howard S. (1967). "Whose Side Are We On?" *Social Problems*, Vol. 14(3): pp. 239–247.
2. Chen Kuan-Hsing. (2012). "Takeuchi Yoshimi's 1960 'Asia as Method' Lecture." *Inter-Asia Cultural Studies*, Vol. 13(2): pp. 317–324.
3. Irvine, Janice M. (2014). "The Sex Lives of Sex Researchers." *Contexts*, Vol. 13(4): pp. 36–41.
4. Geertz, Clifford. (1977). "Thick Description: Toward an Interpretive Theory of Culture" (Chapter 1), in *The Interpretation of Cultures*. New York: Basic Books.

PART TWO
IDENTITIES

CHAPTER 4
Race and Ethnicity 49

CHAPTER 5
Gender and Sexuality 66

CHAPTER 6
Social Class and Social Stratification 82

This page intentionally left blank

CHAPTER 4

RACE AND ETHNICITY

"I accept with all humility," in a typical Japanese fashion, was how Kisenosato Yutaka first reacted to his promotion to the highest rank of sumo in 2017. His achievement, however, was something that he could not downplay as he instantly became a national symbol for becoming the first Japanese-born wrestler to reach the esteemed *yokozuna* (grand champion) title in almost two decades (Lui, 2017). Sumo is the national sport of Japan and has been an important feature of Japanese tradition for centuries. Since the 1990s, however, top-tier sumo tournaments have been won by several renowned Mongolians as well as wrestlers from Bulgaria, Estonia, and Georgia, which resulted in a crisis among many Japanese who saw this "foreign invasion" as a symptom of a larger ill afflicting their cultural identity and social stability. Coincidentally, this sporting crisis occurred during the so-called "lost decade" – a period of economic stagnation in the 1990s, which many observers have extended ("the lost decades") to refer to the country's comparatively subpar economic performance in the subsequent decades (Funabashi and Kushner, 2015).

A group of sumo wrestlers, including those who are from Mongolia and Eastern Europe prepare for a well-attended tournament in Osaka, Japan.

Given the centrality of the wrestler's body in sumo, it is expected that the discussion on the foreign takeover of this uniquely Japanese sport would center on race. In the course of the debate, however, the issues were largely tackled in the context of nationality, or through the broader concept of ethnicity. This is notable, especially in a comparative context, since the concerns sur-

rounding identity, discrimination, and racism in Japanese sumo are similar to some of the racial issues that hound sports in many countries around the world. From the African footballers in Europe to the Chinese table tennis players in Singapore, the same type of questions come up when one sees foreigners in a sport that is supposed to represent the "true Japanese spirit" (Light and Kinnaird, 2002). Perhaps, because it is about the "spirit" and not the body that the concept of race is less relevant than ethnicity. However, by taking the discussion away from the racial discourses on sports, more emphasis is given to the politics of sumo than on the plight and welfare of the wrestlers, both foreign and local.

What is the relevance of the concepts of race and ethnicity in understanding the issues about the foreign domination of sumo? How will Japan, and its national sport, in particular, enrich our understanding of these two fundamental sociological concepts? The following sections define and distinguish race and ethnicity, demonstrate how they are socially constructed, and explore the consequences of such social constructions on the everyday lives of people.

WRESTLING WITH CONCEPTS: RACE AND ETHNICITY

Race and ethnicity are important social categories that classify people based on human ancestry and geographic origin. They emerged as people identify with groups and collectively distinguish themselves from other groups. In the modern period, these distinctions were formalized and utilized as tools in classifying empirical information about specific human populations. In turn, these sets of data are necessary for policymaking, for delivering social services, and as instruments of surveillance and social control. As such, the categories of race and ethnicity are commonly viewed as **social constructs** – ideas that are created and given great importance by people as part of the everyday functioning of society. Being social constructs, however, does mean that these concepts are merely imaginations since they materially manifest in objects (e.g., identity card, dress) and are corporeally and socially experienced (e.g., privilege, discrimination) by people in their interaction with others in society.

Race is the categorization of people based on perceived biological commonalities such as molecular structure and physical traits. There is an ongoing debate on the link between race and genetics, particularly in the fields of molecular science and biomedical research. However, this discussion has previously been subjected to criticism and currently has received limited interest in sociology due to its highly technical character and the lack of direct relevance to people's everyday knowledge and social interaction. In official categorizations, bodily attributes like skin shade, hair type, and height remain the most common markers in sorting individuals into specific race groups. For instance, in a photo with his fellow top sumo wrestlers, Kisenosato Yutaka can be distinguished as Japanese (deemed a distinct "race" in his country) through some distinctive physical attributes that identify his Japanese-ness while differentiating him from the Eastern European wrestlers, and even those who are from Mongolia. Here is an enumeration of the "new bodies" that threatens the "purity" of sumo as it "wrestles with globalization" (Beech, 2011).

> For here is the blond topknot of an Estonian ex-bouncer called Baruto (real name: Kaido Höövelson) and the hairy chest of Bulgaria's Kotooshu (born Kaloyan Stefanov Mahlyanov). There is the telltale cellulite of a trio of Georgian wrestlers, whose bodies accumulate fat quite differently from the way the Japanese physique does. And everywhere, it seems, are the wide cheekbones of Mongolian athletes.

Whether it is obvious or less apparent, the use of physical features in racial identification is largely considered outdated in contemporary social science, and even in wider social settings. Such practices are largely deemed to be inaccurate and inappropriate mainly due to their earlier use by those who espoused the ideas of Social Darwinism. **Social Darwinism** (see Chapter 2) refers to the theory that racial groups are subject to Charles Darwin's laws of natural selection resulting in the survival of the best competitors and the continued evolution of societies. Although data on race are still collected and used in many societies, information is based less on biological features but more on a person's geographic origin, language, religion, and other cultural backgrounds which result in the conflation and entanglement of race with the concept of ethnicity.

In contrast to race, which is based on perceived biological commonality, **ethnicity** is the categorization of people based on the discourse of cultural commonality. The shared entity can be language, religion, colonial history or anything that is employed to set an ethnic group apart from other groups, or the larger society. An **ethnic group** is a distinct population living within a larger society that possesses a shared identity that is based on a perceived common ancestry or geographical origin (Francis, 1947). Despite a common perception that Japan is a homogenous society, it has a diverse population that includes several ethnic groups (e.g., Ainu, Okinawan, migrants) Moreover, the term "Japanese" which has traditionally been considered as a race in Japan is used to refer to an ethnic group in the United States since the Japanese are subsumed under the "Asians" race group, which also includes Chinese, Indians, Filipinos, and other groups.

These ethnic categories, however, have a varying impact on the everyday lives of people. Its use in official transactions (housing, health, other services) in some societies will likely lead people to place ethnicity at the core of their identity and will likely have a strong influence on their everyday interaction. On the other hand, in societies where categorization is hardly utilized, ethnicity will likely remain a taken-for-granted part of people's everyday lives. As such, an individual's sense of belonging to an ethnic group can vary from fervent to non-existent (Verkuyten, 2005). For instance, being a sumo fan can be an avid way of honoring one's sentimental connection to ancient Japanese traditions, while for others, it is merely an occasional pastime to support a wrestler who hails from their hometown. In the same way, ethnicity can be an all-encompassing identifier for a Japanese-American which also points to her first language (Nihongo), religion (Shintoism), or even her affinity for sumo. On the other hand, ethnicity could be something that has been passed down by her first-generation immigrant parents but has no relevance to the language that she speaks, her religious affiliation, or which sports channel she watches after dinner.

Apart from their diverging biological-cultural positions, race notably differs from ethnicity on how it is *institutionalized* in certain societies. The collection of information on race in the United States, for instance, is required by federal laws and are used on a variety of policy-making decisions and in the implementation of civil rights, equal employment, health, and other programs (Prewitt, 2005). Although other countries do not officially collect data on race, a comparable practice often happens when categories such as religion, nationality, or ancestry are utilized in the same way as race. For instance, despite the absence of official records on race in Japan, citizenship (foreign residents) and indigenous group membership (Burakumin) are *racialized* (Yamashiro, 2013). In some countries, **racialization**, the process of ascribing a racial (or ethnic) mark on a group of is instituted, when they are partly or completely not receptive to the categorization.

In many places, the institutionalization of race has resulted in the formation of identity tags and rigid social boundaries that are imposed on people. Many feel uncomfortable with these impositions, especially when such tags are not representative of their assumed identity or when they put people in marginalized positions. When there are no opportunities to negotiate with these institutional interventions, the situation can lead to **involuntary ethnicity**, a condition when people, from different geographical origins or cultural backgrounds, are compulsorily assigned to an ethnic (or racial) category. The Hispanics in the United States and the Others in Singapore, which will be discussed in the proceeding section, are just two of the many examples of involuntary ethnicity that exist around the world. In the long run, the institutionalization of race results in the reification of its labels and categories. *Reification* refers to how people tend to view race (as well as other social categorizations) as real, natural and incontestable, forgetting that they are creations of powerful regimes.

In contrast to race, ethnic categories tend to be more fluid and flexible allowing for an individual to straddle or move between groups. This can happen, for example, when a second-generation immigrant successfully assimilates into the host country, or when an individual undergoes a religious conversion. Over a longer period, individuals, to some extent, can also negotiate their ethnicity through **selective forgetting**, a process by which individuals are not aware, resist, or fail to pass an ethnic heritage to the next generation. A Mongolian migrant family in Japan might put less emphasis on practicing their traditional customs and encourage their children to be fluent in Nihongo and adopt other aspects of Japanese culture to facilitate their assimilation into their new country of residence. As a result, these children might not learn how to speak the Mongolian language or even have limited knowledge about their parents' customs and traditions.

Finally, an individual's sense of ethnicity can also shift the other way through ethnic renewal. **Ethnic renewal** happens when individuals, such as an adopted child or descendants of immigrants, seek to learn, live out, and make a concerted effort to identify with newly found biological relatives or with a forgotten ancestor's ethnic group. A descendant of a Japanese who migrated to Brazil in the 1900s, for example, might revive his connections to his lost Japanese ethnic identity

by mastering the Japanese language, participating in sumo wrestling competitions, making the Japanese culture an intrinsic part of his identity.

SYSTEMS OF RACIAL AND ETHNIC CLASSIFICATION

Most societies have to construct a system of racial and ethnic classification to deal with an inherently diverse population, to account for the arrival of a large group of new migrants, or to conform to international conventions (see Table 4.1). This section looks into the cases of Japan, the United States, and Singapore to present a comparative analysis of how racial and ethnic classification are formulated and enforced in different historical, political, and social settings.

In her work on the social construction of race and minorities in Japan, sociologist Jane Yamashiro (2013) highlighted the following key points that outline the historical and social location of race and ethnicity in Japan. First, the Japanese government does not collect data on race and ethnicity but records citizenship to keep track of foreign residents. Second, the idea of being "Japanese" conflates the concepts of race and ethnicity with language, citizenship, and cultural literacy. Third, race and ethnicity are largely seen as foreign concepts that were appropriated by Japanese scholars or imposed by foreigners who came to study Japanese society.

With the huge majority of its population, which is currently at 98.1%, considered as "Japanese," the absence of official race classification in Japan appears to be an expected result of its racial homogeneity. This homogeneity, however, is not a mere expression of the country's "inherent uniqueness" or "pureness" but is a product of a long history of isolationist policies, hardline assimilation of indigenous communities, and the ideological construction of a "myth of homogeneity" (Yoshino, 1992). Since the 1868 Meiji Restoration, the social construction of race was developed as part of the larger project of modernization, nation-building, and imperialism. To emulate and to raise their country to be at par with Western powers, local scholars affirmed the existence of a distinct "Japanese race" to distinguish their people from other Asians as well as to draw its minority groups in forging a unified and grander race that assumes a higher place in the world's racial hierarchy (Yamashiro, 2013; Siddle, 1996). This racial ideology lived through the country's emergence as a modern nation-state, its rise as an imperial power, and its renaissance as an industrial giant after the Second World War. This ideology of racial homogeneity serves as the rationale behind why Japan currently does not collect data on race.

In contrast to Japan's emphasis on racial homogeneity, the United States is one of the most racially diverse countries in the world and diversity has been at the core of the country's population policy since the early period of its history. The United States has several patterns of original settlement (e.g., Alaskan Natives, Native Americans), colonial history (e.g., British, French), immigration history (e.g., transatlantic migration, slavery), and imperial expansion (e.g., Mexican-American War, Philippines' colonization). Throughout this period, key legislations, such as the Indian Removal Act of 1830, 1865–1866 Black Codes, and the Chinese Exclusion Act of 1882, decreed the subjugation of minorities and immigrants. Nonetheless, the ideal principle that "all

men are created equal," that is enshrined in the country's 1776 Declaration of Independence, inspired subsequent actions against slavery and racial discrimination. These actions resulted in the 13th (abolition of slavery), 14th (citizenship rights) and 15th (right to vote) Amendments to the U.S. Constitution (Omi and Winant, 2015) as well as hosts of other legislative and legal actions at the state and local levels.

The United States currently identifies five racial categories: (1) White or European American, (2) Black or African American, (3) Native American and Native Alaskan, (4) Asian American, and (5) Hawaiian and other Pacific Islanders. In addition, Hispanics and Latino are classified not as a race but as an ethnicity. This was formulated to account for the racial diversity of the Hispanic and Latino population in the United States (e.g., White Hispanic, Black Latino, Asian Hispanic). As of 2016, White Americans are the racial majority making up 77% of the population. When its population across all the races are combined, the Hispanic and Latino Americans are the largest minority group comprising 18% while the African Americans are the second largest with 13.4% of the entire population. Asian Americans (5.9%), Native Americans (0.8%), and the Hawaiians and Pacific Islanders (0.2%) make up the rest of the minorities (U.S. Census Bureau, 2020).

Finally, the system of racial and ethnic classification in Singapore closely resembles that of the United States for its diversity but is enmeshed in the same regional matrix as Japan. Singapore was a sparsely populated island when the British decided to turn it into a regional trading hub in 1819. In the subsequent years, the British colonial regime populated the island by facilitating the immigration of a diverse mix of people from the different territories in the Asian region and beyond. When the first official census was made in 1871, 33 categories were used to classify the local population. The classification involved groupings that were based on racial, ethnic, religious, geographical, and social backgrounds. Ten years later, the list was reclassified into six main categories: (1) *Europeans and Americans*, (2) *Eurasians*, (3) *Chinese*, (4) *Malays and Other Natives of the Archipelago*, (5) *Tamils and Other Natives of India*, and (6) *Other Nationalities*, which brings together racial, ethnic, and national identifications (PuruShotam, 1998). This classification became the basis of the current CMIO model (Chinese, Malays, Indians, and Others), which was formulated when Singapore gained its independence in 1965. The CMIO model is founded on an immutable definition of race where individuals are recognized to have only one unchanging racial identity. This fixed identity category is determined through the paternal line and is recorded in one's national identity card and travel passport (Vasu, 2012). As the colonial and national states focused on the *institutionalization* of race, various ethnic groups were subsumed under these umbrella categories. The Chinese (Fujian, Cantonese, etc.) Indians (Tamil, Bengali, etc.) and Malays (Bugis, Boyanese, etc.) are made up of various ethnic backgrounds. The Eurasians, which earlier held its separate category, were subsumed under the "Others" category.

The *racialization* of the CMIO categories during the British colonial period was expectedly influenced by Social Darwinism that emphasized difference and hierarchy, crystallizing intergroup boundaries and justifying inequality with notions of inherent racial characteristics (Hirschman, 1986). After gaining independence in 1965, the CMIO classification was pivotal in the implementation of the state's ideology of **multiculturalism**. This principle refers to the political arrangement where different cultural groups strive to co-exist and build a shared society while maintaining their traditions and identity (Vasu, 2012). The racial classification became a tool of social engineering that influences an individual's access to housing, welfare benefits, and other government services. They are also the basis in adopting Singapore's four national languages: (1) English, (2) Mandarin, (3) Malay, and (4) Tamil. According to the recent census (Department of Statistics Singapore, 2019), the country's population is divided into the following racial composition: Chinese (76.2%), Malay (15%), Indian (7.4%), and Others (1.4%).

TABLE 4.1
Racial and Ethnic Classification

Country	Racial Classification	Ethnic Classification
Japan	No official record, Japanese (98.1%)	Ethnic Minorities (Ainu and Okinawans) Minority Group/Caste (Burakumins) Foreign Residents
USA		Hispanics or Latinos
	White Americans (77%)	Irish, Italians, etc.
	African Americans (13.4%)	Black Caribbeans, African-Brazilians, etc.
	Asian Americans (5.9%)	Chinese, Indians, Filipinos, etc.
	Native Americans (0.8%)	Cherokee, Inuit, etc.
	Hawaiians & Pacific Is. (0.2%)	Western Samoans, Chamorros, etc.
Singapore	Chinese (76.2%)	Hakkas, Teochews, Peranakans, etc.
	Malays (15%)	Bugis, Boyanese, etc.
	Indians (7.4%)	Tamils, Bengalis, Punjabis, etc.
	Others (1.4%)	Eurasians, Filipinos, etc.

Sources: Dept. of Statistics, Singapore (2019), U.S. Census Bureau (2020), Yamashiro (2013)

RACE-ETHNIC CLASSIFICATION AND SOCIAL BOUNDARIES

As systems of racial and ethnic classifications are utilized as the basis of governance and in facilitating the interaction between groups in society, they have a profound impact on people's everyday lives and life chances. Racial or ethnic categories confer social status that shapes the way a person views herself and influences how she interacts with others. They also influence an individual's access to a broad range of opportunities including education and employment. In

Japan, for instance, the Ainu (the indigenous people of the northern Japanese island of Hokkaido) have an average income that is 60% lower than the national average. They also have lower educational attainment and are more dependent on welfare when compared to the rest of the population. These challenges can also be observed among the other minority groups in Japan (Htun, 2012). Even foreign sumo wrestlers, despite their heralded success, decry the social discrimination and institutional obstacles that they have to wrestle with in the professional and personal undertakings. As a result, some top sumo wrestlers reluctantly take up Japanese citizenship in their effort to overcome these obstacles and further their careers in the country (Asahi Shimbun, 2021).

Majority Groups vs Minority Groups

Power plays a central role in racial and ethnic classification. They are planned and implemented by powerful regimes against varying degrees of acceptance and resistance but more importantly, these classifications influence the power dynamics between groups in society – animating conflicts, justifying inequalities, solidifying differences, and drawing a line between the majority and the minority groups.

A member of New Zealand's Maori community performed a traditional war dance in front of a group of tourists.

A **majority group** is the most dominant racial or ethnic group that controls most of the valued resources in society, especially political power. Except in a few cases such as the Alawis in Syria, majority groups often occupy the largest segment of the entire population. The White Americans and the Chinese Singaporeans are good examples. Moreover, within the monolithic Japanese identity is the less familiar ethnic identity called *Yamato*, which has been used historically to refer to the inhabitants of mainland Japan – technically, the country's majority group. (Weiner, 2009). Although the official use of this category has been discontinued to promote a homogenous Japanese identity, looking into this term gives us a better picture of the social locations of the Ainu, Okinawans, Burakumins, and other minority groups in Japanese society.

In contrast, a **minority group** are the subordinate racial or ethnic group whose members have significantly less economic and political influence than the members of the majority group. Although it is common to hear news about the discrimination and oppression of some minority groups, more subtle forms of deprivations also occur in the everyday lives of its members. Peggy McIntosh's *White Privilege: Unpacking the Invisible Knapsack* (1992: 73–75) received a wide

commendation for its insightful depiction of the majority group's taken-for-granted advantages that minorities do not enjoy. Below are a few of the statements written in McIntosh's list.

— I can if I wish arrange to be in the company of people of my race most of the time.
— If I should need to move, I can be pretty sure of renting or purchasing housing in an area which I can afford and in which I would want to live.
— I can turn on the television or open to the front page of the paper and see people of my race widely represented.
— I can be sure that my children will be given curricular materials that testify to the existence of their race.
— I can be pretty sure of having my voice heard in a group in which I am the only member of my race.

In Singapore, "Chinese Privilege" an idea influenced by "White Privilege" became a recent topic of debate in academia and other social circles. Its main critics questioned the relevance of the American concept to history and the everyday realities of racial discrimination in the Asian city-state (Yuen, 2021). This reasoning underscores the embeddedness of the practices of racial and ethnic classification to the specific historical, cultural, and political landscapes. Thus, there are varying numbers of categories, enforcement strategies, and impacts across the three cases that we covered in this chapter.

Contrasting Concepts: Amalgamation vs Assimilation

These two concepts demonstrate some of the ways in which racial and ethnic groups relate to one another. **Amalgamation** happens when a majority group and a minority group merge to form a new group. Early in the 20th century, there was a shared perception of the United States as a "melting pot" where people with different racial and ethnic backgrounds can come to forge a blended cultural identity (Gordon, 1978).

On the other hand, **assimilation** happens when an individual ceases to identify and abandons the traditions of her racial or ethnic group to become part of another group. Although the Ainu are viewed as a separate ethnic group in Japan, their history of dispersion, forced resettlement, and adoption of mainstream Japanese culture have made it difficult to identify its members from the larger population.

Between these two concepts is an idea that is typically used to describe Singapore's racial formation – "*rojak" integration*." Rojak (means "mix" in Malay) is a local salad of mixed vegetable and fruits, drizzled with sauce made from prawn paste and lime. The dish is used to exemplify the racial and ethnic diversity, emphasizing on mixing without losing the uniqueness of each part (Rocha, 2011).

Segregation

The boundaries between racial and ethnic groups are not only drawn through biological and cultural lines but are also constructed geographically by demarcating spaces where members of each group live, work, and feel a sense of belonging. **Segregation** refers to the spatial separation of people in social groups, mainly by residence but also by workplace and other social activities. The sociological roots of this concept can be traced back to the emergence of cities (urbanization) in the early modern period when people from various cultural backgrounds congregate in greater

numbers and participate in more complex social relations. This phenomenon is further distinguished into *de facto* segregation (occurs due to circumstances or customs) and *de jure* segregation (occurs due to institutional legislation).

De facto segregation prevails when existing communities (mainly based on religion and ethnicity), as well as new immigrants, develop in separate enclaves or districts. These congregations occur mainly for practical reasons as these spaces host houses of worship, shops, services, and other facilities that cater to specific ethnic or other social groups. The proximity to people who share similar beliefs, traditions, and cultural practices also contributed to the growth of enclaves. Moreover, new immigrants also arrive through family and other social networks that would likely bring them to such enclaves. Major cities around the world host such enclaves in varying historic and contemporary significance. For instance, a rising number of ethnic enclaves hosting Koreans, Chinese, Filipinos, Nepalese, and other ethnic groups have recently sprouted in Tokyo mainly as a result of the country's recent effort to attract migrants. With an ageing population, the government eased on its stringent immigration policies to address its shortage of workers (Gelin, 2020). Such enclaves, however, have long been a feature of many cities around the world.

De jure segregation utilizes the enactment and enforcement of laws to separate people into racial or ethnic groups. It mainly exists in the context of institutionalized racism (e.g., South African Apartheid, U.S. Jim Crow Laws) and colonialism. When the British colonial drew a town plan for Singapore in 1822, one of its prominent features was the demarcation of ethnic enclaves for its diverse population (Pearson, 1969). Due to the long struggle of minorities and the influence of the Civil Rights Movement, most of the *de jure* segregation was eventually abolished. For instance, U.S. segregation was abolished in 1964 while the South African Apartheid ended in 1991. Furthermore, the colonial-era racial segregation in Singapore was eventually dismantled in the 1960s when the government moved families from the crowded ethnic enclaves into its public housing townships. Around the same period, the country was also shaken by cases of "race riots" which drove the government to use the allocation of public housing to promote mixing among its various racial and ethnic groups. To achieve this objective, a "race quota" was implemented to ensure that a proportion of the CMIO, the four official races, live in each housing block and neighborhood. Policies were also instituted to control the resale of housing units to prevent the re-emergence of ethnic enclaves and to promote the state's ideology of multiculturalism (Loo, Shi, and Sun, 2003). So, what happened to the colonial-era ethnic enclaves? The old ethnic enclaves were developed as heritage zones, which currently serve as some of the most popular shopping and tourist attractions in Singapore.

RACE-ETHNIC CLASSIFICATION AND SOCIAL INEQUALITY

People tend to use the terms stereotypes, prejudice, and discrimination loosely in everyday conversation. In sociology, however, these three are not just terms but concepts that are loaded with meanings, so it is important to understand their distinction. Overall, these concepts deal with

how practices of race and ethnic classification are inspired, intertwined, and impact the dynamics of power in society. In particular, they shed light on some of the important conceptual and concrete nuances that enrich our understanding of social inequality and exclusion.

Stereotypes

People create generalized and rough ideas about the different and unfamiliar people they encounter in their environment. Such stereotypical ideas about specific individuals can be expanded to several others and eventually, to an entire race and ethnic groups – some disappearing as quickly as they are made, others lingering on for a long time, while a few crystalize as a widely accepted description of specific social groups.

A **stereotype** is a widely held, simplistic, and sweeping description of members of a social group. It is used to point out "typical" characteristics of members of a social group, which vary greatly in their consistency and accuracy. Stereotypes are instant categorizations that help people process unfamiliar things or practices that differ from their own ways. Sport is a common stereotypical description used to identify members of a certain race and ethnic group, particularly in the United States. For instance, White Americans play hockey, African-Americans play basketball (white men can't jump!), Latinos play baseball, Pacific Islanders are natural-born American football players, while Asian-Americans don't play sports (they are doing their homework). In Singapore, the Chinese play table tennis, Malays play football (soccer), while Indians play cricket. With the recent success of Mongolian sumo wrestlers in Japan, there is a good possibility for people to assume that every Mongolian that they meet on the street knows how to wrestle. All of these stereotypes are based on an assumption that each group has the "typical" physical attributes (race) and/or culturally acquired skills (ethnicity) that make their members excel in that specific sport.

Prejudice

A **prejudice** is a stereotypical description of members of a social group that is held despite evidence against it. It is usually a negative prejudgment. Such negative prejudgment can be kindled and maintained through socialization through one's family, peers, religious organizations, educational institutions, and state ideologies. One's personal experience of antagonism against another group can also fuel prejudicial mindsets and emotions. Although the sports stereotypes of the different races and ethnic groups in the United States are taken lightly by more people, they can also be prejudicial. These prejudices are marginalizing, especially for the members of minority groups whose opportunities can be constrained by this relegation to a specific profession. The idea that members of the minority groups as "natural-born athletes" sidelines those minorities who are not interested in sports (Adair and Stronach, 2011; Entine, 2000). Moreover, these prejudgments promote the Social Darwinist idea that members of minority groups have limited intellectual capacity. Thus, their success and overall contribution to society can only be accomplished through

their physical labor (brute). Similar rationality was used by imperial powers to justify slavery and colonization.

Prejudice is often a product of **ethnocentrism**, which refers to the belief that one's group is superior to all other groups (this concept will be discussed again in Chapter 7). Ethnocentric people feel that their group is chosen by divine providence or they adhere to a universally superior ideology that they are more pure, advanced, and powerful than other groups. As a result, they use their racial or ethnic group as the yardstick against how all of the other groups are measured and judged of their worth. Most people would readily disapprove of racial or ethnic prejudice, yet all of us hold prejudices against other people, in varying intention and intensity. They do not necessarily lead to ill feelings or hostility against others. Prejudices can serve as productive foundations for open dialogues, mutual understanding, and social harmony.

Discrimination

If prejudice is an attitude, **discrimination** involves actions and practices of majority groups that are detrimental to members of a minority group. Discriminatory actions also vary in intention and intensity, ranging from a disparaging comment to genocide – the systematic extermination of an entire population. In examining its nature and impact, sociologists often distinguish between individual and institutional discrimination. *Individual discrimination* is a damaging action against a minority (or his property) that is perpetuated by a member of a majority group. It is often emotionally driven and can take place as an isolated incident or a premeditated action. For instance, a sumo fan might verbally abuse a foreign wrestler to express his strong objection against their participation in Japan's national sports. On the other hand, *institutional discrimination* is a system of rules and practices of private organizations or state bureaucracies that harm members of a minority group. The citizenship requirement to coach sumo in Japan, for instance, is one of the discriminatory rules that prevent Mongolian wrestlers from advancing their careers after their retirement from the sport (Asahi Shimbun, 2021).

Despite their difference, individual discrimination and institutional discrimination are closely intertwined and are intrinsically just two aspects of the same social phenomenon. Individuals who carry out discriminatory actions are influenced by their locations in a structure of inequality or by their affiliation to specific institutions. In turn, systemic discriminations are implemented by individuals who reinforce and help maintain these discriminatory rules in organizations and institutions. Discriminatory practices are seemingly impossible to eradicate because beliefs and attitudes are passed on from one person to the next and from one generation to another. Despite the challenges, however, many societies around the world, including Japan, the United States, and Singapore have made considerable progress in making some changes to address racial and ethnic discrimination. Moreover, many people who are the objects of discrimination do not merely accept or passively experience their marginalization and oppression. Members of minority groups individually and collectively respond to escape, resist, and change their disadvantaged conditions.

Racism

When the Japan Sumo Association instituted rules to limit the number of foreign wrestlers to one per stable in 2002, many decry the move as a manifestation of the "embedded racism" that reflects the larger marginalization of foreigners (including citizens) in Japanese society (Arudou, 2017). Apart from questions regarding their racial "purity," foreigners are also seen to lack the strength, discipline, and dignity to represent the Japanese physical and spiritual might as sumo champions. **Racism** refers to the beliefs that genetic and physical differences explain and even justify inequalities between racial and ethnic groups. These biological differences (e.g., skin color, height, good "genes") are seen to represent physical strength, intelligence, beauty, among many other qualities.

Racism has existed for a long time and so are the efforts to eliminate them. Modern racism emerged out of the subjugation of African, Asian, and South American people by European colonizers. Colonialism created a system of hierarchy wherein the White European colonizers are placed at the apex while the local population are subjected to military conquest, slavery, exploitation, or expulsion. This system facilitated the exploitation of resources that brought about economic prosperity and technological advancement in Europe. Soon, progress also reached the colonies as new technologies were introduced, new institutions were established, some members of the local population were given access to education and power, which led to the entrenchment of their political and economic influence. These advancements justified the highly unequal system and were used to demonstrate the racial superiority of the colonizers. In particular, **scientific racism** used the principles of science (e.g., Darwin's theory of evolution) to create a system of racial ranking that places whites at the top of the highest stage of human evolution. The field of *eugenics*, a field popular at the turn of the 20th century, developed to identify ways to improve the genetic, physical, and intellectual qualities of the human race. Eugenics promote racial segregation and purity as mixing was believed to result in degeneration (Heggie, 2016). Japan imposed an isolationist policy for 220 years to shield itself from European imperialism before the country was eventually forced to open by the Americans in 1854. This relationship with foreign imperial power, along with Japan's own modern state-building and imperialist history, shaped the current stringent racial and ethnic policies that some criticize as marginalizing (Yamashiro, 2013), or even as "racist" (Arudou, 2017).

Eventually, the anti-colonial struggles resulted in the dismantling of most colonial regimes around the world. The resulting post-colonial state formation and the civil rights movements led to the dissolution of institutional racism and the universal denunciation of racism in contemporary society. The movement to promote racial and ethnic equality as well as to condemn racism come through legislation and reforms in the workplace and other social settings. Sports, in particular, has emerged as an important stage in the protest and mobilizations against the persistence of racism – from the Black Power salute at the 1968 Olympics to the recent involvement of the NBA (National Basketball Association) in the Black Lives Matter movement in the United

States. Nonetheless, despite the major advances in promoting equality, racism continues to be a considerable cause of the marginalization of many people and conflict between racial and ethnic groups in many societies.

WRESTLING WITH RACE AND ETHNICITY: FOUR SOCIOLOGICAL APPROACHES

Racism and the other issues concerning race and ethnicity can be examined using the four theoretical approaches. The functionalist approach mainly focuses on macro-level race relations between members of the majority and minority groups to analyze their impact on political stability and economic development. The conflict approach concentrates more on the dynamics of power and economic disparity between groups to uncover instances of social inequality and exclusion. The interactionist approach, on the other hand, studies how micro-level interactions between people affect race and ethnic relations within a specific group or locality, emphasizing how people make sense of their experiences of racism and other related issues. Finally, the reorientationist approach puts greater attention on finding the historical roots of race and ethnic conflicts and in comparing these cases across larger cross-national or cross-regional contexts.

Functionalist sociologists study migration patterns, migrant and immigrant policies, as well as other demographic information to analyze issues concerning integration, conflict, and the overall impact of the interactions between race and ethnic groups on the larger economic, political, and social relations. Racial and ethnic categories are utilized for national planning and policymaking to control the flow of migration, to tailor reproduction or other programs to specific racial and ethnic groups, address insurgency problems, and other interventions to ensure that a sense of cohesion exists among groups and that they are aligned with the larger project of political stability and national progress.

Conflict sociologists investigate access to power and resources in their analysis of race and ethnic relations. For instance, they investigate the links of race and ethnicity to the formation of class structure in society. Who are the people who belong to the upper class? Who are those in the lower class? Are these class groups dominated by a specific racial or ethnic group? Class divisions can also follow the boundary between race and ethnic groups. **Split-labor market**, for instance, refers to the division of the economy into two areas of employment, an upper tier of highly paid professionals (majority group) and a lower tier of blue-collar workers (minority group) (Bonacich, 1972). Such disparity is often traced to people's displacement from their ancestral land, histories of marginalization, or to the prevailing system of inequality. To address these types of issues, a sociologist who used conflict theory works to contribute to reforms in land use, labor, education, and other policies to improve the conditions of disadvantaged groups. One of these reforms is the policy of **affirmative action**. This policy takes race or ethnicity into account to ensure the consideration of largely overlooked minority groups in hiring decisions and university admissions, among several other settings.

Interactionist sociologists focus on the significance of race and ethnicity as the basis of a person's identity and interaction with others. In 1954, Gordon Allport (1954), a psychologist studying race relations in the United States, highlighted three conditions that would reduce prejudice between two groups: (1) the contact must be among individuals of equal status, (2) the contact must be sustained, and (3) social norms favoring equality must be agreed upon. These findings were affirmed by Herbert Blumer, the American sociologist who coined the term, "symbolic interactionism," who also emphasized that racial prejudice developed due to the lack of interactions between the majority group and the minority group. For instance, majority groups tend to develop an abstract picture of a minority group (racial myths) within their circle, which results in prejudice against minority groups (Blumer, 1958). Both studies are in line with Singapore's effort to prevent the formation of enclaves and promote social "mixing" among the different race groups in its public housing development (Loo, Shi, and Sun, 2003).

Apart from its focus on social interaction, interactionist sociologists also emphasize how such interaction influences identity formation. The case of Hakuho, the Mongolia-born wrestler who eventually decided to acquire Japanese citizenship after almost 20 years, provides a good picture of how people negotiate with the politics of race and ethnicity. His deep cultural roots in Mongolia, the image of his father as Mongolia's sports hero, strict sumo rules, stringent Japanese rules that do not allow dual citizenship, his marriage to a Japanese, his children who were born in Japan, and his desire to stay in sumo as coach after retirement were some of the things that he had to consider before he eventually decided to abandon his Mongolian citizenship (Gunning, 2018). Despite his acquisition of Japanese citizenship, other people might still question his Japaneseness for not being born in Japan, for not having the "typical" Japanese looks, or for not having the Japanese "character." Erving Goffman, a prominent interactionist scholar used the term stigma to describe the significance of race and ethnicity among many minorities. **Stigma** refers to a physical trait (e.g., Hakuho's Mongolian facial features) or other attributes (e.g., Hakuho's Mongolian ethnicity) "that disqualifies an individual from full social acceptance" (1963: 8). If a celebrity like Hakuho can be subjected to such a discrediting question, can you imagine the experience of an ordinary person?

Finally, reorientationist scholars give attention to the legacy of colonialism on race and ethnic issues as well as the rootedness of these issues to specific national or local settings and how they can contribute to the larger discussion on matters of race and ethnicity. The works of Franz Fanon (1925–1961), a French-West Indian psychiatrist, is seen as one of pioneering and landmark studies on race and colonialism. His first book, *Black Skin, White Mask* (1967), offers a potent and enduring take on the profound impact of racism and subjugation on the lives and minds of minority groups. By looking into the embeddedness of racial prejudice in literature, art, and academic works, he noted how white-dominated colonial society created so many harmful myths about black people that both groups ended up being trapped in their own racial looping. Across the globe, Syed Hussein Alatas echoed the message of Fanon's work in his analysis of the

enduring impact of colonialism in Southeast Asia. In his seminal work, *The Myth of the Lazy Native* (1977), Alatas explained how colonial rulers constructed the idea of the Malay's inherent indolence to underscore their moral and intellectual inferiority that justified their subjection and cooptation into the empire's modernizing project.

KEY CONCEPTS

Affirmative action
Assimilation
Ethnicity
Ethnic renewal
Involuntary ethnicity
Minority group
Prejudice
Racialization
Scientific racism
Selective forgetting
Stereotype
Social Darwinism
Amalgamation
Discrimination
Ethnic group
Ethnocentrism
Majority group
Multiculturalism
Race
Racism
Segregation
Split-labor market
Social constructs
Stigma

DISCUSSION QUESTIONS

1. You lead the operations office of a professional football league. During the player recruitment period, you were tasked to make recommendations about the league's policies on the hiring of foreign players. You must deal with two issues: (1) Should there be a limit, for each team, on the number of foreign players? (2) How should the league and its teams provide support for the athletes who come from other countries?
2. There is a persistent practice among landlords (e.g., rental apartments, Airbnb accommodations) of refusing to rent out units to people from certain ethnic groups and nationalities. Is this practice a form of racial discrimination? Explain your answer by taking into account both the views of the owner and the renter?
3. Both the conflict theory and reorientationist approach discussed the importance of "myth-making" in understanding racism and other issues concerning race and ethnicity. How does this concept manifest in your everyday experience? Provide at least two examples in your answer.

SUGGESTED READINGS

1. Morning, Ann. (2005). "Race." *Contexts*, Vol. 4(4): pp. 44–46.
2. Miner, Horace. (1956). "Body Ritual among the Nacirema." *American Anthropologist*, Vol. 58(3): pp. 503–507.
3. Alatas, Syed Hussein. (1977). *The Myth of the Lazy Native*. London: Frank Cass.
4. Fanon, Frantz. (1952) [1967]. *Black Skin, White Mask*. Translated by Charles Markmann. New York: Grove Press.

CHAPTER 5

GENDER AND SEXUALITY

"The failure of men!" was how the dramatic defeat of Taiwan to China in a crucial 2008 Olympics men's baseball game was described by Taiwanese press. Already a well-known baseball powerhouse, Taiwan saw an ideal opportunity to play out its political rivalry with China through the East Asian region's most popular game. Since the 1980s, Taiwan has dominated this rivalry by winning all of the competitions against its giant neighbor (Ying et al., 2015). This streak, however, came to a halting end on August 15, 2008, when the Taiwanese team lost in a highly contested match against China in Beijing. The loss was seen as a "national humiliation" (Morris, 2011: 156), especially among Taiwan's millions of avid baseball fans.

A woman walks along a row of historic houses in Sisinan Village, a restored military complex in downtown Taipei that now hosts a museum and a collection of art shops. In the background is the iconic Taipei 101 skyscraper.

Fortunately, all hope was not lost. Instantly, the Taiwanese fans' attention shifted towards the women's softball team which was scheduled to compete against the Chinese team two days later. Living up to everyone's expectations as the "national hope," the women's softball team won over China to regain the country's pride. That was not the first time when Taiwan's women athletes brought pride and honor to their country (Ying et al., 2015; Morris, 2011). Chi Cheng, the hurdler who bagged the bronze medal in the 1968 Olympics and Yani Tseng, the LPGA (Ladies Professional Golf Association) champion in 2008 are the most prominent, although several women players have also excelled in taekwondo, weightlifting, badminton, tennis, and archery. Between 1968 to 2016, 15 of the 21 Olympics medals that Taiwan had collected were won by female ath-

letes. This remarkable history of success has turned women athletes into important symbols of Taiwanese independence and identity.

The notable achievements of female athletes underscore the Taiwanese women's success in other areas (education, politics, etc.) as the country enacted a number of policy reforms to improve the social status of women and to promote gender equality. The country's family law, in particular, was revised five times between 1996 and 2002 to institute laws on property ownership, child custody, salary equity, and other legislation to promote women's rights (Chen, 2005). In 2016, the election of legal scholar Tsai Ing-Wen as its first female President was viewed as a key milestone in the advancement of the role and status of women in Taiwan. Two years later, Taiwan became the first country in Asia to legalize same-sex marriage, cementing its place as the beacon of inclusivity and liberty in the region. Recently, the territory admiringly placed first in Asia and sixth in the world in gender equality, based on the 2019 ranking published by the UNDP (United Nations Development Program). Compared to its neighbors, Taiwan was placed higher than South Korea (11th), Singapore (13th), Japan (25th) (Chen and Mazzetta, 2021), and stood along with Norway, Finland, and France – countries that are widely known as inclusive and egalitarian societies.

Baseball and softball themselves continue to advance in providing women spaces to pursue their sports interests and to gain social recognition. In 2019, Liu Po Chun, the first female professional baseball umpire from Taiwan, achieved greater heights when she received the World Trophy, the top prize given at the International Olympic Committee (IOC) Women and Sport Awards. Liu was recognized for her advocacy for gender equality in sports and women empowerment (Taiwan Today, 2019). A year later, the territory achieved another distinction with the inauguration of the first professional softball league in the world, the Taiwan Professional Women's Softball League (TPWSL) on April 25, 2020. In her speech during the inauguration, Lu Shiow-Yen, the prominent female Mayor of Taichung City, talked about her city's commitment to support the league despite the pandemic. She recognized the importance of the leagues towards another important goal. She explained: "I also want to point out that the launch of the softball season is a demonstration of our continuous pursuit of gender equality in sports"(Morgan, 2020).

Despite these remarkable achievements, Taiwan continues to face obstacles in its effort to become a truly inclusive society. Its government needs more time and the participation of its people to allow its gender development policies to trickle down and get embedded into the everyday lives of people. Among a number of impediments, the influence of patriarchy serves as the most formidable stumbling block due to rootedness in Taiwan's tradition and culture (Tsai, 2017; Sechiyama, 2013). For instance, Liu Po Chun wanted to become a baseball player when she was young but was told that "skirts are not allowed in baseball," a prejudicial mindset that Liu continues to tackle in her current advocacy work (WBSC, 2020). Even the formation of the professional female softball league also fits into the stereotype that men play baseball while

women play a downgraded version called softball. All of these issues point to the contradictions and complexities of the location of sex and gender in sports and larger society.

How would a deeper understanding of gender and sexuality enrich our knowledge about Taiwan and other societies? How would sociology view gender and sexuality as one of the key elements of people's identity and one of the bases of social inequality? This chapter responds to these questions by introducing some of the key ideas and crucial issues on gender and sexuality. These ideas and issues are interpreted using different sociological standpoints in various periods and social contexts.

PITCHING CONCEPTS: SEX AND GENDER

Sex and gender are social categories that essentially classify people based on their intended roles in the process of human reproduction. Throughout history, some people have been excluded or have opted out from engaging in sexual relationships or from having children due to religious and other reasons. The modern period, however, has seen a greater divergence of the meanings and practices of sex from the process of reproduction. New technologies, new rationalities, and changing social norms influenced this crucial shift. The invention of contraception, for instance, has detached reproduction as the likely consequence of sexual activity, allowing people to put more emphasis on pleasure and relationships. As a result, sex and gender have expanded to refer to a person's identity, relationships, and sense of belonging rather than to a specific role in human reproduction.

Sex and the Biological Bases of Identity

Sex is a category of identity based on genetic and physical traits essential to reproduction. An individual's sex is determined at the time of fertilization (also called conception). The mother contributes an X chromosome to the embryo; the father contributes either X or Y. The combination of two X chromosomes results in a female while the combination of an X and a Y produces a male. The combined chromosomes influence a biological process that leads to the formation of male or female genitalia (primary sex characteristics). In rare cases, irregularities in the process of chromosome formation can produce a person with mixed biological sex characteristics, a condition known as **intersexed**. If these cases occur, why are we not using "intersex" as a formal third sex category? The main reason is the medicalization of the intersex condition which labels it as a "disorder" that should be treated by surgery, hormonal therapy, and psychiatry (Dreger, 1998). However, this medical model has been subjected to criticism for its archaic roots in Victorian-era medical conventions and for contributing to the stigmatization and marginalization of people who have intersex conditions. For instance, when a chapter of the Organization Intersex International (OII) was founded in Taiwan in 2008 (OII-Chinese), the organization pointed out that one of its primary missions is to end "normalizing" surgeries on intersex children. The

organization argues that the intervention should be delayed until the individual is already mature enough to make an informed decision (Ho, 2013). Taiwan's highest regulatory body (Control Yuan) also showed its criticism of the larger influence of the medical model by reprimanding the country's Ministry of Health in 2018 for failing to protect the rights of intersex people (Chung and Hsiao, 2018).

There are several appellations used to refer to an intersex person in Taiwan but the most commonly used term is *yingyangren*, which means *ying* and *yang* people (referring to the Chinese concept of dualism). This label can be equated to the English term "hermaphrodite," which is taken after Hermaphroditus, the Ancient Greek deity who is depicted with both male and female genitalia. Both *yingyangren* and hermaphrodite are considered derogatory and stigmatizing. The use of the word "hermaphrodite" has been discouraged in academia or in most Western societies. However, the OII-Chinese encouraged the continued use of *yingyangren* to "draw attention to and reverse the negative association with being abnormal and a shame to one's family; and highlight the sense of fluidity connoted in the idea of yin and yang that transcends the male-female binary" (Ho, 2013).

Since the genetic and internal anatomical attributes are not readily visible, people determine one sex from another through the **secondary sex characteristics**. This concept refers to physical traits such as bodily structure, facial profile, hair growth, voice characteristic, and breast development that are not essential to reproduction but developed through the impetus of the sex hormones (Richards and Hawley, 2010). These characteristics usually begin to appear at the onset of puberty, a period of physical changes which signifies sexual maturity and capability for sexual reproduction. However, there are exceptions to this classification and no clear boundaries are set to attribute certain secondary sex characteristics to a specific sex group. For instance, some men can have relatively larger breasts while some women can have flat breasts. Thus, determining biological sex can even be more complicated if there is a discrepancy between a person's primary sex characteristics (genetical and anatomical features) and secondary sex characteristics.

This discrepancy in sex characteristics can result in stigmatization and marginalization. For instance, Lu Ying-Chi, a weightlifter who won the bronze medal at the 2008 Olympics was singled out by the media as a "23-year-old fake guy" because of her muscular physique and "masculine" ways (Ying et al., 2015). Yani Tseng, the former golf champion, also received similar scrutiny regarding her boyish image and sexual identity (Sun, 2019). Due to the critical role of physical structure, aptitude, and development, the femininity of weightlifters, fighters, and other athletes often become a subject of disparaging comments and public scrutiny. In extreme cases, female athletes have been subjected to "sex tests" in international sports competitions and a few have been disqualified for "failing" the test. Among the prominent athletes who were required to undergo "sex tests" are track athletes Caster Semenya (South Africa, 2009 World Athletics Championships) and Dutee Chand (India, 2014 Commonwealth Games).

Gender and the Cultural Bases of Identity

Gender is a category of identity based on socially prescribed principles and practices associated with a person's conventional role in reproduction. Many sociologists emphasize how knowledge and behavior related to gender are culturally learned, although people also fail or resist learning many cultural impositions. Nonetheless, the key point is that unlike sex, which is embedded in the genetic and anatomical depths of the human body, gender is largely shaped by people's interactions with others. This outward orientation affords individuals greater freedom in negotiating with the boundaries and expectations set by society.

Social expectations associated with gender vary across different societies. In the 2019 UN Gender Inequality Index ranking, Taiwan shared the sixth spot with Norway with an identical 0.045 score. Men and women in Norway, however, are influenced by different gender expectations and pursue different gender ideals than the men and women of Taiwan. One clear distinction is in professional women's sports. While softball is popular among the women in Taiwan, women in Norway are known for their passion for football.

Although the rise of women's sports promotes gender inclusion, it also sheds light on how people across the globe tend to view males and females in binary positions, and even as the "opposite sexes." The concept of **gender polarization** highlights how people's lives are organized around male-female ideals that their assigned sex influences their daily schedules, dress styles, sports activities, how to conduct themselves in specific situations, how to handle emotions, as well as other everyday concerns (Bem, 1993). Even with Norway's perennial top placement in global gender rankings, the persistent influence of traditional gender stereotypes and prejudices continue to categorize people in binary positions. In a study involving 20 kindergartens across Norway, sociologists found that traditional gender roles are still expected and reproduced among early kindergarten students. **Gender roles** refer to the attitudes and actions that are socially defined as appropriate for each sex and are acquired through socialization. For instance,

Contrasting Concepts: *Sexual Identity vs Gender Identity*

Sexual identity, also referred to as *sexual orientation*, is an individual characteristic based on sexual attractions, related behaviors, and an identification with a gender group. This group is categorized into homosexual (same-sex attraction), heterosexual (other sex attraction), bisexual (attracted to both same-sex and other sex), and asexual (non-sexual). Most societies view heterosexuality as the default or the ideal sexual orientation, placing the other groups in marginal positions. This form of inequality led to the LGBTQ (lesbians, gays, bisexuals, transgenders, queers) movement that seeks to empower these marginalized groups.

Gender identity refers to how individuals view their connection to their assigned or ascribed gender. This identity (male, female or something else) often develops from one's biological sex at birth, although it can diverge from that biological identity. The recognition that gender is not necessarily fixed at birth as either male or female and that individuals are not inherently heterosexual has only emerged recently in some countries and remains divisive topics in many others. For instance, Norway only legalized same-sex marriage in 2009 while Taiwan ratified the same law ten years later on May 24, 2019.

the staff tended to refer to girls' clothing as "sweet" and "nice" while those of boys' as "tough" and "cool." The staff also expected boys to be physical and active when playing, while the girls must be quieter and calmer. In sum, the study shows that the staff responded to boys and girls in different ways and encouraged traditional stereotypical play even though the children themselves chose something else to do (Meland and Kaltvedt, 2019).

Conceptions of gender roles are based on a society's masculine and feminine ideals. **Masculinity** refers to the physical, mental, emotional, and behavioral attributes associated with males. In contrast, **femininity** refers to the physical, mental, emotional, and behavioral attributes associated with females (Morawski, 1991). Social expectations about what is defined as masculine or feminine vary across societies and periods. For instance, wearing a skirt might be considered feminine in most societies while in some societies, notably Scotland, India or Myanmar, it can be masculine. Similarly, the acceptance of men wearing long hair (and short hair for women) has also fluctuated across different periods. Overall, this variability of gender expectations and their rootedness in specific cultural contexts demonstrate the social construction of sex and gender.

THE SOCIAL CONSTRUCTION OF SEX AND GENDER

In the previous chapter, we learned that race and identity are *social constructs*, ideas that do not exist objectively but are created and highly valued by people as part of the everyday functioning of society. This important concept can also be used to understand the significance of sex and gender, particularly as elements of human identity that are shaped by the interventions of various factors and agents. The social construction of sex and gender is primarily achieved through the processes of socialization and institutionalization.

Learning Gender

Gender socialization is the process by which social expectations regarding gender are taught and learned. Socialization does not only occur among children, but it is a lifelong process of discovery, adaptation, rejection, and "living out" one's gender identity. Parents, teachers, friends, sports celebrities, and many other people help shape the individuals' knowledge about the meanings of their sexual identity as well as how to behave in masculine or feminine ways. Our immediate families provide our earliest and long-lasting beliefs and values about being a man or a woman. Children's toys, for instance, reflect the parents' gender expectations. Guns and trucks are considered common play objects for boys, while dolls and clothing are for girls. Religion also shapes family interactions. Gender-specific beliefs and practices in religion are often introduced by parents to their children. Moreover, entertainment shows and advertisements shape children's ideas of gender roles as they appeal differently to boys and girls. Kaklenberg and Hein (2010) observed how boys are typically portrayed engaging in sports and playing outdoor while girls are more

often shown in cooperative play activities. These observations are in line with the typical gender expectations regarding male and female behaviors.

The socialization process continues in schools where earlier gender expectations can be reinforced or changed due to the knowledge introduced in the school curriculum or through the child's interaction with teachers and other students (peers). Sex education course for middle school students provides an opportunity to cover issues that might be challenging to cover in the family or other settings. These courses also expand the importance of sex and gender in the context of puberty, sexual relationships, and health. Sports, which occupy a large chunk of most students' time, also serve as an important agent of gender socialization. Schools often provide opportunities for both boys and girls to participate in athletic activities. In sports, "boys learn to become men," for example, to be tough (deal with pain), aggressive (have the winning attitude), and even to be violent (to instill fear on the opponent) (Hartmann, 2003). Women who participate in sports are subjected to such masculine attitudes and behaviors that often contradict society's expectation of them to embody and enact feminine qualities.

Gender socialization continues into adulthood as people adapt to varying gender expectations in the workplace, at home, and in other social environments. There are jobs, household chores, and hobbies that are supposed to be "appropriate" only for men and some only for women. Driving a taxi, doing home repairs, and fishing are supposed to be for men while working as a nurse, cooking meals, and gardening are supposed to be for women. Ageing also brings about varying gender expectations and adjustments for men and women. For instance, issues concerning menopausal changes or physical illnesses or new social roles as grandfathers and grandmothers also force people to learn new gender-based behaviors and practices as well as conform to new gender expectations.

Constructing Gender

"We have no true sexual selves," French scholar Michel Foucault explained as he revealed how our conceptions of sex and gender roles are not ours but developed through the influence of institutions and their *discourses*. He was referring to the expansion of the influence of medicine, law, education, and the nation-state into sex during the modern period, which turned sex and gender into a "political object" (Kimmel and Plante, 2007: 64; Foucault, 1990). Gender is not only based on individual identity but is also influenced and embedded in social institutions. This means that institutions do not only prescribe their rationalities on gender, but gender plays a part in how they operate and exert their influence in society. Sociologists analyze gender not just as part of social identities and interactions but as a distinguishing characteristic of institutions.

Sports, for instance, are often viewed as gendered institutions. A **gendered institution** refers to an organization where gender-specific standards permeate through its ideologies, images, and practices. Sports are not just recreational practices but are institutions that are founded on gendered ideals (e.g., muscular Christianity), practices ("turning boys into men"), and images

(e.g., professional leagues, sports celebrities). A study that was conducted in Taiwan highlighted the way gender stereotypes, such as the notion that men should study the sciences while women study the arts, can have long-lasting effects on gender segregation in the workplace. For example, Taiwan's proportion of professional researchers who are women, at 22.6%, is higher than that of Korea or Japan, but remains significantly lower than the United Kingdom (38.6%) and Finland (33.7%), the Gender Equality Committee (GEC) said (Chen and Mazzetta, 2021). In sum, viewing institutions as gendered reveal how gender is not just a social role but is closely intertwined with power, and with the systems of social inequality and exclusion.

SEX-GENDER CLASSIFICATION AND SOCIAL INEQUALITY

When, how, and why did women subordination come into existence? Scholars from various disciplines have long been trying to trace the origins of gender inequality. These studies can be roughly divided into two analytical streams: one perspective views gender inequality as a social construct while the other follows a socio-biological method to trace the problem back to the evolutionary and biological roles of women in reproduction and child-rearing. Joan Huber's insightful analysis on the role of milk and lactation, for instance, traced back the origins of gender inequality to "male inability to feed an infant with the only food it could digest" (2007: 11). The amount of time and energy needed for gestation and lactation took women away from accumulating economic and political resources, which serve as the bases of power and influence. It is only during the modern period with technological advancement (e.g., milk pasteurization, paediatrics) that women can acquire more time for economic and political pursuits.

The social constructivist highlights a number of socio-historical transformations as the "origins" of gender inequality. Among these key developments are the emergence of trans-regional warfare (4300–4200 B.C.E.), and plow agriculture (3000 B.C.E.). Trans-regional conquests raised the status of men in society, took them away from the domestic sphere for long periods, and male-dominant religious and cultural practices spread across wider regions (Lerner, 1986). Moreover, the emergence of plow agriculture resulted in parallel productions that required men to venture out to the fields while women tended to subsistence gardens closer to home. The amount of surplus that the fields produced and the value that they contributed to the larger society (instead of just the household) brought more prestige to male labor. This also led to a resource ownership system wherein the land was passed from the father to the eldest son (Coontz and Henderson, 1986).

Sociologists, who are traditionally concerned with the dynamics of modern societies, shed light on how the prevailing gender arrangement in economic production, political structure, and family life was transformed with the advent of industrialization. Following the social constructionist perspective, sociologists underscored how the separation of the public and private resulted in an idealized division of labor wherein men played greater roles in the economic and political institutions while women remained in the domestic sphere. In her study of the influence of

patriarchy in East Asia, Sechiyama (2013) traced the entrenchment of gender inequality to the enactment of modern legal systems, such as the 1896 Meiji Civil Code, which upheld and institutionalized patriarchal traditions as part of society's political-economic system. Following the socio-biological perspectives, gender inequality can also be traced to the subjection of the female body to state (e.g., birth control) and consumerist (e.g., milk formula) influence.

Sexism

Gender discrimination fundamentally exists because it is supported by beliefs that gender inequality is a "natural" biological and cultural fact. **Sexism** is a belief that one sex is superior to another, and it is often directed towards girls and women. It includes stereotypical views, prejudicial judgments, and discriminatory practices that manifest both at the individual and institution levels. Sexism creates social myths that work to maintain the advantages of the majority group over the minorities. Thus, when Liu Po Chun became the first professional baseball umpire in Taiwan, her achievement also challenged the sexist stereotype that "women should be in the kitchen" or that there are "no skirts allowed in baseball" (GSMP, 2018). Often compared to racism, sexism is difficult to tackle and dismantle because it is entrenched in most of society's highly esteemed institutions. The idea that "real" women don't excel in sports is sexist, but this perception is rooted in the physical and competitive structure of sports. This institutional dimension to sexism allows it to transcend individual interactions and to evolve into a reified structure that makes people see gender inequality as an inherent part of sports.

Sexism is prevalent in societies where patriarchy is deeply entrenched in the everyday lives of people. **Patriarchy** refers to the set of institutional arrangements which are based on beliefs and practices that privileged men over women. Originally used in the context of family, the concept has been expanded and applied in other levels of social interactions, including property rights, access to resources, and connections to positions of power. In Taiwan and other parts of Asia, seniority is also emphasized as a key element of patriarchy to account for the influence of filial piety as part of Confucian, Shinto, and other local traditions (Sechiyama, 2013). In contrast, *matriarchy* is used to define a society where women hold primary control over institutions of power. This social arrangement is based on kinship and inheritance (matrilineal), residence (matrilocal), and family headship (matrifocal). The Minangkabau (Indonesia), Musuo (China), Khasi (India), Umoja (Kenya), and Bribri (Costa Rica) are some of the few matriarchal societies that exist today. Most of these communities are classified as indigenous communities and they mostly constitute a small fraction of their country's population.

Societies that are dominated by men, however, are much more widespread than those in which women play the dominant role. Patriarchy is geographically and historically more common, although its forms and influence vary across the world. In some societies, it is strictly upheld through religion, state policies, and everyday cultural norms. Globally, most feminists see patriarchalism as the roots of gender inequality and the subjugation of women (Sechiyama, 2013). Thus,

there are efforts to limit its influence as most contemporary societies strive to promote a more egalitarian social order. This objective has been achieved with varying progress and results. For instance, despite their similar use of legislation in promoting women empowerment, the values of gender equality are more rooted in Norwegian society than in Taiwan. This is primarily due to the long history of women rights activism and policy reforms in Norway that goes back to the early 19th century (Bergstrom, 2013). In contrast, Taiwan's reforms only came in the 1990s, and despite its remarkable achievement in narrowing the gender gap, patriarchy remains an integral part of Taiwanese society (Horton, 2020).

Gender Discrimination

Although the discrimination of women manifests in different social spheres, sociologists have historically given more attention to how it occurs in the workplace. **Gender discrimination** refers to any action that privileges or denies opportunities to an individual or a group because of gender. Allowing a person's gender to become a factor in hiring, promotion, or any other employment decision is gender discrimination. Gender discrimination is the main reason for the relatively low participation of women in the labor force across the globe. In 2019, the global female labor force participation rate was just 47%, 27 percentage points below the male rate (at 74%). These figures came out in an ILO (International Labor Organization) study, which also revealed that "gender stereotypes that emphasize the role of women as the main caregivers and that of men as the main breadwinners remain deeply ingrained" in many countries (ILO, 2020a: 13).

Even when women manage to enter the workforce, they are still saddled by a considerable *wage gap* between them and their male counterparts. In Taiwan, women made 14.2% less than men in 2019 (an average of NT$291 (US$10.39) per hour, compared to NT$340 for men), constituting a 3.7-percentage point improvement on the 17.9% gap of 10 years ago (Chen and Mazzetta, 2021). Women in Norway fared slightly better, earning 13% less than men, which remained largely unchanged over a 5-year period (Lindahl, 2019). Globally, women in formal employment

A group of women laborers working in a road construction project in Bagan, Myanmar.

earn 21% less than what men in formal employment earn in average monthly wages (ILO, 2020b). The wage gap results from the concentration of women in low-wage occupations and industries, the undervaluation of women's labor, the impact of domestic responsibilities, among other social and cultural factors. For instance, the higher proportion of women than men working in the informal economy (e.g., domestic workers, street vendors) in many countries contributes to the high global gender wage gap (ILO, 2020b).

Apart from wage gap, women also encounter a **glass ceiling**, a term used to describe a barrier that prevents eligible women from rising beyond a certain level in an organization. Women who possess the needed qualifications and abilities experience difficulty in advancing their careers due to the lack of connection with top management, which is often occupied by men. As of August 2020, only 13 women (2.6%) were CEOs of Fortune Global 500 companies (Hinchliffe, 2020). In addition, an inquiry into over 1,100 organizations by Mercer (2020) across the world in the same period found a problematic trend with the representation of women in leadership roles decreasing as the levels progress: professionals (42%), managers (37%), senior managers (29%), and executives (23%).

Moreover, women who are productive wage earners often face the challenge of trying to juggle work and family responsibilities. Although the disparity has narrowed down in recent years (Leopold, 2019), studies reveal that there is still a clear gender gap in the performance of chores and other household responsibilities (see Table 5.1). The term **second shift** has been used to refer to the double responsibilities of full-time work and housework (including childcare) that many women have to handle (Hochschild, 2012). The prevalence of extended family living (43%) in Taiwan helped lessen the burden on wives, especially because most grandparents are already retired and enjoy relatively long senior years (Hu and Kamo, 2007). The availability of foreign domestic workers in Taiwan, as well as in other affluent countries in Asia (Asato, 2014), is another

TABLE 5.1
Differences in Women's and Men's Weekly Housework Time

Country	Women		Men	
	Richest Tenth	Poorest Tenth	Richest Tenth	Poorest Tenth
Taiwan	19.2	14.4	5.6	4.7
Norway	12.8	9.5	4.7	5.6
Japan	26.4	25.6	5.9	2.7
United States	16.5	12.3	10.9	5.7
Philippines	26.9	16.5	15.7	13.8
Australia	26.3	18.5	12.8	10.4

Source: Heisig (2011)

factor that differentiates their experiences from women in lower and middle-class households in most Western countries.

Finally, while most gender discrimination issues put women as the disadvantaged group, there have also been cases where males have claimed that they have been discriminated against based on gender. There are many areas (e.g., breadwinner expectations, military conscription, non-priority emergency evacuation) in which men are disadvantaged relative to women. However, one of the most apparent discrepancies is life expectancy. According to world data (CIA, 2017), women outlive men anywhere in the world by 4.1 years, on average. From a global perspective, the average male lives about 67.0 years while the woman can live up to 71.1 years. The size of this life expectancy gap varies by country. Russia has the largest gap of 11.8, Taiwan 6.5, while Norway is closest to the global average of 4.2. The following is the average male-female life expectancy in these countries: Russia with 65.3 years (male), 77.1 years (female); Taiwan with 77.1 years (male), 83.6 years (female); Norway with 79.8 years (male), 84.0 years (female).

THEORIZING SEX AND GENDER: FOUR + ONE SOCIOLOGICAL APPROACHES

Since issues concerning sex and gender transcend the immediate interactions between people, sociologists have employed various theories and methods to understand their historical and contemporary significance in society. In this section, one important paradigm, the feminist perspectives, is added to the usual four sociological approaches used in providing a broad overview of how sociologists tackle each of the topics that we cover in this book. The feminist perspectives are often subsumed under conflict theory due to its emphasis on social inequality and social activism. However, many feminist scholars have produced important studies in the past 70 years that all of the topics that we covered in this textbook can be interpreted and explained using the feminist perspectives.

Functionalist Approaches

Several functionalist scholars have studied the impact of industrialization on the family, particularly on the dynamics of power between husbands and wives. Among them was the influential American sociologist, Talcott Parsons, who wrote a piece on the importance of traditional gender roles. He categorized the role of men in the family as *instrumental tasks* while those of the women as *expressive tasks*. Instrumental tasks included providing for the family's financial needs and making decisions whereas expressive tasks involved imparting emotional support and maintaining the family home (Parsons, 1955). This division of labor followed the post-WWII emergence of the nuclear family and the breadwinner model as the ideal family arrangement. This perspective affirmed the traditional gender roles and their importance in promoting stability among the family members while ensuring the efficiency of the household as part of the larger economic system.

This functionalist view of gender and family relations provided a relevant theory, especially given the economic condition that enables the single-income family to live a fairly comfortable life and the larger industrialist cultural context that supports a clear-cut division of labor. However, the narrow definition of gender roles received criticism as more women enter the workforce. Men who are also interested in taking a more active role in domestic "expressive tasks" are also marginalized. As a result, the influence of the functionalist view of sex and gender relations eventually declined, although it remains popular among the conservative members of society, both in America and beyond.

Conflict Approaches

Friedrich Engels, a pioneering German sociologist and collaborator of Karl Marx, came up with the most insightful ideas on the roots of gender inequality in his book, *The Origin of the Family, Private Property, and the State* (Engels, 2010). In the book, Engels theorized that the first domestic arrangement was not the patriarchal nuclear family but the matrilineal clan. These female-centric households were the foundation of what he and Marx called "primitive communism," a system of production and distribution among hunter-gathering societies where property and resources were shared equitably among its members. Eventually, this system fell apart with the rise of agriculture, land ownership, and the shift towards the patrilineal structure. This, according to Engels, was the root of gender inequality and the subjugation of women in capitalist society. He argued that the owner-worker relationship in the economy was also seen in the household with women taking the role of the marginalized proletariat. Current gender issues concerning the wage gap, workplace discrimination, and the "second shift" resonate with some of the points raised by Engels in this trailblazing study.

Interactionist Approaches

While the functionalist and conflict approaches typically focus on the linkages of sex and gender issues to the workplace, political participation, and other macro-level concerns, interactionist scholars tend to focus on issues concerning identity, everyday interactions, and other micro-level affairs. Candace West and Don Zimmerman's concept of *"doing gender"* interprets gender as "a complex of a socially guided perceptual, interactional and micro-political activities that cast particular pursuits as expressions of masculine and feminine 'natures'" (West and Zimmerman, 2002: 42). Thus, gender is conceived not as a fixed attribute but as something that is performed and accomplished through the ongoing interactions that individuals have with others. A key element of this concept is the notion of "gender accountability," which underscores a normative system through which individuals are judged in terms of their success or failure to meet gendered social expectations.

The concept of "doing gender," however, has its limits and it has been criticized for ignoring human agency and the individual's capacity to "not do" and resist gender expectations. None-

theless, it continues to be influential and has been expanded to address issues on race, class, and other aspects of human identity (West and Fenstermaker, 1995). Overall, apart from the more abstract concerns on gender roles and identity, interactionist sociologists also look into more practical issues on depression, gender harassment, body image, and the influence of media.

Reorientationist Approaches

The reorientationist scholars on sex and gender have touched on a variety of themes to highlight the historical impact and the continuing legacy of colonialism and imperialism on many societies across the globe. Researchers such as Maria Lugones (The Coloniality of Gender, 2016), Oyeronke Oyewumi (The Invention of Women, 1997), and Chandra Talpade Mohanty (Under Western Eyes, 1984) rethink the concept of gender as a Western construct that was imposed upon the rest of the world through colonialism and highlight its insufficiency in articulating the experiences of women in African, Latin American, and Asian contexts. They seek to shed light on the variety of gender norms that were displaced by the current Euro-centric conception, including a more porous and less hierarchical categorization than the binary male-female system. Lugones and Oyewumi's historical studies focus more on colonial objectification of women and the transformation of the existing gender relations to accommodate the capitalist system while Mohanty's work is a theoretical critique of the Western feminist movement. Overall, these scholars are motivated by the desire to find alternatives to the hegemonic Western-centric gender norms.

Touching on more practical issues, some reorientationist scholars focused more on the impact of development and globalization on women in developing countries. These studies highlight how current global economic processes such as labor migration, tourism development, and sports perpetuate imperialist and neo-colonialist ideologies that exploit, exoticize or exclude women from developing or Non-western countries. In 2017, Liu Po Chun, the first female professional baseball umpire in Taiwan, received a fellowship to the prestigious Global Sports Mentoring Program, an initiative of the U.S. State Department to promote women empowerment. Although Liu received mentorship in an area where she did not have the training or experience (sports management), her academic training and remarkable achievements as a sports official, social worker, author and activist seem to make her overqualified for a "mentorship." In addition, Liu's mentorship appears to recreate the U.S.-Taiwan relations that perpetuate the imperialistic influence of the United States through the promotion of sports and women empowerment.

Feminist Approaches

Feminism refers to the set of political ideologies and social movements that aim to establish the equality of the sexes. Originating from Western countries, feminism has spread globally, and in various social institutions, including politics, the corporate sector, and academia. Historically, the modern feminist movement was customarily divided into four "waves." The first wave (suffrage movement) occurred between the 1840s–1920s to call for the women's right to vote. The second

wave (women's rights movement) emerged in the 1960s to call for legal and social equality, to fight against workplace discrimination, and to challenge the rootedness of patriarchy in institutions. It drew attention to reproductive rights, domestic violence, divorce and child custody issues, as well as initiated legal reforms to counterwork discrimination. The third wave (women's liberation movement) developed in the 1990s as some groups aspire for more radical changes to emphasize individualism, self-expression, diversity, and intersectionality. **Intersectionality** describes how aspects of an individual's identity (gender, race, class, nationality, religion, educational attainment, physical appearance, etc.) combine to create modes of bestowing privileges and penalties. Thus, gender is seen not as an independent attribute but something that is entwined with a person's entire social identity. The fourth wave (hashtag feminism) came to the fore in the 2000s to protest against the prevalence of sexual harassment, the entrenched misogynistic culture in many work sectors, and the continuing marginalization of women. It is distinguished by its wide use of digital technology and social media. The #me too movement became one of its iconic and influential expressions. Starting as a support group for victims of sexual violence in 2006, it eventually grew in the next decade, resulting in the legal punishment and public condemnation of powerful men in politics, business, and entertainment (Rivers, 2017).

In sociology, the intellectual roots of the feminist movement are distinguished into the following categories: (a) liberal feminism, (b) radical feminism, and (c) multicultural feminism. *Liberal feminism* focuses on individual rights and equal opportunity as the basis of the feminist movement. For the liberal feminist, *gender discrimination* serves as the major barrier to the advancement of women in the workplace and other social spheres. Thus, the implementation of anti-discriminatory laws and practices is the primary means to raise the status of women in society. In contrast to the more pragmatic approach of liberal feminism, *radical feminism* argues that the dominance of men is deeply entrenched in all social institutions that a drastic social transformation is needed to empower women and achieve gender equality. For radical feminists, patriarchy serves as the main stumbling block to the liberation of women (Hurtado, 2010; Maynard, 1995). In her wide-ranging analysis of the deeply rooted influence of patriarchy in East Asian countries, Kaku Sechiyama (2013: 7) underscored that "patriarchy is not simply a concept to be used as an analytical tool; it also serves as a matrix in which feminist anger is generated and expressed." Therefore, dismantling the influence of patriarchy in the current family arrangement, property ownership system, and institutional practices is the primary means to raise the status of women. Finally, rather than focusing on political equality, *multicultural feminism* emphasizes the differences in which gender inequality are experienced by women from different racial, class, religious, and other cultural backgrounds. For multicultural feminists, the *cultural detachment* of gender ideals is the main barrier to the emancipation of women. The group adheres to the principles of intersectionality to locate initiatives towards women empowerment within the context of other social exclusions and the various undertakings to address them.

KEY CONCEPTS

Femininity
Gender discrimination
Gender polarization
Gender socialization
Intersectionality
Masculinity
Second Shift
Sexism
Gender
Gendered institution
Gender roles
Glass ceiling
Intersexed
Patriarchy
Secondary sex characteristics

DISCUSSION QUESTIONS

1. Describe at least three ways sex differences are socially created in the context of advertising.
2. You are a new editor at *Sports Illustrated*. At your first editorial meeting, the major item on the agenda is the June swimsuit issue. It is decided that it is not wise economically to drop the swimsuit issue, but it is also decided that if the swimsuit issue is continued, there must be other changes in the magazine to present a fair image of women in sports. As a new editor, you are called to make three suggestions for changes. How would you respond?
3. What does "doing gender" means? Use the concept in comparing the preparations that you make in attending a face-to-face class to your pre-online class routines.

SUGGESTED READINGS

1. Kimmel, Michael S. and Rebecca F. Plante. (2007). "Sexualities." *Contexts*, Vol. 6(2): pp. 63–65.
2. Oyewumi, Oyeronke. (1997). *The Invention of Women: Making an African Sense of Western Gender Discourses*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.
3. West, Candace and Don H. Zimmerman. (2002). "Doing Gender," in Stevi Jackson and Sue Scott (Eds.), *Gender: A Sociological Reader*. London & NY: Routledge, pp. 42–47.
4. Ying Chiang, Alan Bairner, Dong-jhy Hwang and Tzu-Hsuan Chen. (2015). "Multiple Margins: Sport, Gender and Nationalism in Taiwan." *Asia Pacific Journal of Sport and Social Science*, Vol. 4(1): pp. 19–33.

CHAPTER 6

SOCIAL CLASS AND SOCIAL STRATIFICATION

Run, run, run
Far beyond the setting crimson sun
Never meant to be easy
When you're trying to be more than ordinary

This is the inspirational chorus of *Ordinary* (The Sam Willows, 2015), the most popular theme song of the 28th Southeast Asian Games (SEA Games), which was held in Singapore from 5 to 16 June 2015. Echoing the event's motto, "Celebrate the Extraordinary," the song focused on the meritocratic values of sports to convey the significance of the event beyond the playing field. Along with the use of upbeat sound and catchy lyrics, latching on the perceived higher values of sports is typical to major tournament theme songs. However, there is more to the ideals of meritocracy that enabled the *Ordinary* to make that deep connection with the local sports fans, and to all Singaporeans, in general.

A row of foreign worker dormitories located in the northern edge of Singapore.

First, the theme song is an artistic narrative of the life of Fandi Ahmad, Singapore's most successful football player and the nation's most prominent sports celebrity. Fandi Ahmad is the "little boy from a little town" portrayed in the first line of the theme song who, later on, saw himself standing "in front of a crowd" as a successful football player. *Ordinary* is also the title of a separate short film (SG Sports TV, 2015) in which the dramatic theme song was used to set the mood to highlight Fandi's ascent from a humble beginning as a *nasi lemak* (a local rice dish)

seller to a wealthy sports superstar and national sports icon. Apart from Fandi's life story, the theme song also points to another familiar "ordinary" to "extraordinary" narrative – the history of Singapore. The rapid development of Singapore from its independence in 1965 is often described as an ascent from "a tiny fishing village to a big metropolis" or "from third world to first." During this period of growth, meritocracy was taken up as a state ideology to promote social inclusion and to build trust among its diverse population (Harney, 2020). As one of the key ideals that inspired the emergence of Western industrialization and modernity, Singapore also employed meritocracy as the ideological foundation of its own goal of establishing a modern, progressive, and prosperous society.

In a recent global survey (WEF, 2020) on social mobility, Singapore is placed 20th among 82 countries – the highest in Southeast Asia and putting it alongside most of the economically advanced and socially equitable countries of Western Europe. More notably, the country is ranked 10th in education, one of the survey's five dimensions of social mobility, which overall, is a testament to the realization of the ideals of meritocracy. The survey defined social mobility as the conditions "whereby people see their circumstances become better or worse off than those of their parents or within their own lifetimes" (WEF, 2020: 9). Basically, it pertains to how people move up or down a society's different social class categories. Thus, the study indicates that people in Singapore have a better chance of improving their socio-economic conditions than the rest of Southeast Asians and many other people around the world.

An interesting comparison is the United Kingdom (U.K.), which is ranked 21st – one place lower than Singapore and markedly lags behind Germany (11th), France (12th), Ireland (18th), and its European neighbors. The most important area of concern is on the Fair Wages pillar where the incidence of low pay is relatively high compared to its regional peers (WEF, 2020: 25). Of course, the United Kingdom is Singapore's former colonizer that put in place the backbone of Singapore's modern institutions, including football. However, despite its distinction as the birthplace of industrialization, contemporary British society is known for the strong influence of its traditional social class system.

The following sections discuss the meanings of social stratification and the modern class system. It compares Singapore and the United Kingdom to examine how class categories are formulated and how people are classified using them. Two sections tackle some issues concerning class inequality and social mobility to trace their linkages to state policies, economic trends, and cultural influences. Finally, the last section demonstrates how the four main sociological standpoints provide unique insights into our understanding of the historical and contemporary significance of class and social stratification.

SOCIAL STRATIFICATION

Apart from race and ethnicity, or gender and sexuality, people are also identified or socially differentiated into groups based on wealth, occupation, or family backgrounds. All cities and ma-

jor towns have zones that are referred to as working-class areas, middle-class neighborhoods, or gated communities. There are even areas where butchers, tailors, laundry cleaners, or some other people of similar professions traditionally live. These geographical segregations, however, illustrate that rather than merely differentiating people, they are arranged into a hierarchy. **Social stratification** refers to the hierarchical categorization of people into groups based on their access to basic resources, political influence, and social privilege. For a family with an average income, buying a house in some neighborhoods might be relatively affordable but not so in other areas. Thus, certain income groups enjoy greater economic freedom while others struggle to provide for their basic needs. People's place in the social hierarchy not only determine where they live, but also what food they eat, where they shop, the schools they attend, what sports they play, how long they live, in short, their overall quality of life.

Sociologists broadly classify social stratification systems into four categories: servitude system, caste system, estate system, and class system. The **servitude system** (or slavery) categorizes people into an extreme hierarchy that enslaved individuals are *owned* and treated as properties by other people. This extreme form of social stratification is an ascribed status based on racial, cultural, and legal validations. The servitude system was part of ancient civilizations (e.g., Israelites in Egypt), pre-colonial kingdoms (e.g., Torajan slaves in Java), colonial societies (e.g., enslaved Africans in French Haiti), and settler societies (African slaves in the U.S.). This long history and widespread occurrence mean that there are variations in the way that it is practiced (Eltis and Engerman, 2011). There is a long history of violent struggles (e.g., Haitian revolution) and legal reforms (e.g., U.S. abolition laws) to end slavery around the world. However, some forms of slavery surprisingly continue to exist today. The most common problem that haunts many countries even today is *debt bondage* or debt slavery, which happens when people are subjected to a rigid and exploitative labor arrangement to pay for a debt that they or a relative has acquired or inherited. This arrangement happens in agricultural, mining, or primary industrial settings, especially in many developing countries where poverty and the lack of livelihood opportunities are rampant. Migrant workers are also vulnerable to debt bondage, particularly when recruitment agencies or employers change exorbitant processing, deployment, and lodging fees that make them heavily indebted and trapped in unfavorable working contracts (Derks, 2010).

The second category, the **caste system** classifies people based on an *ascribed status*, a position that a person inherits at birth and passes down to one's children. People are not allowed to move between caste groups and must marry within their caste, so the position and identity are almost perpetually maintained. This rigid hierarchy is often enforced and preserved through formal laws, religious customs, and cultural practices. The Indian caste system is the most well-known although similar structures are present in other South Asian countries as well as in Japan, Korea, Yemen, and in a few African countries. In India, the 3,000-year-old system divides Hindus into four hierarchical categories (*varna*): the Brahmins (priestly people), the Kshatriyas (administrators and warriors), the Vaishyas (artisans and merchants), and the Shudras (laborers). Techni-

cally, there is a fifth category called the Dalits, also characterized as the "untouchables" (garbage collectors, tanners, other "unclean" jobs) who are not included in the varna system. Overall, the influence of the caste system around the world has been declining in the past 70 years. In India, an affirmative action law allocates positions to the traditionally disadvantaged in educational institutions and government jobs (Jodhka, 2017).

The third type of social stratification, the **estate system** of *feudalism* categorizes people based on land ownership and political position. The system requires peasants to work on land leased to them by nobles in exchange for economic patronage, military protection, and other arrangements. Property ownership and inheritance serve as the basis of the estate system with the nobles deriving their power and status from their land and the titles that accompany them, which are then passed on to the next generation. The peasants who also inherit and impart their subservient positions are often confined to this rigid system of stratification for generations. The estate system flourished in Medieval Europe, as seen in the United Kingdom where noble titles such as dukes and barons remained as one of the many legacies of this period. The estate system came to a gradual decline (Industrial Revolution) or a more drastic elimination (French Revolution) at the outset of the modern period. Various forms of the estate system, such as the *haciendas* in Latin America and the Philippines, continue to exist in many parts of the world. However, industrialization, the mechanization of labor, and land reform policies have curtailed the influence of the estate system in contemporary society.

Lastly, the emergence of the modern period has resulted in the **class system** being the most widespread form of social stratification. The class system categorizes people based on the individual's *achieved status* or personal acquisition of resources, power, and social titles regardless of one's origins. In contrast to the estate and caste systems, the class system does not strictly depend on birth and allows individuals to rise or drop from one class level to another. Nonetheless, the class that a person is born into serves as his or her starting point in an uneven race to success. A safe and nourishing childhood environment, access to quality education, social status, professional network, and inheritance all help to shape a person's life achievements. Max Weber, one of the pioneering sociologists, introduced the term **life chances** to refer to the range of opportunities available to individuals based on their social class (Weber, 1922). Members of each class tend to share a common way of life, for example, live in similar neighborhoods, share the same passion in sports, and can be identified through their language, mannerism, artistic taste, and other distinctive cultural attributes.

SYSTEMS OF CLASS CATEGORIZATION

The social classes are typically divided into three groups: the upper class, the middle class, and the lower class. The upper class is made up of wealthy and powerful people, the middle class are professional workers and small entrepreneurs, while people in the lower class rely on low-paying jobs and experience poverty. However, most countries formulate their own official social

class categories in analyzing and presenting the results of state-sanctioned censuses and other population case studies. Moreover, sociologists and other researchers also come up with models that are relevant to their studies. Among the most influential are John Goldthorpe's family-centric analysis of the British class system and Frank Olin Wright's economic production-based class schemes (Bergman and Joye, 2005). The difference often results from modifications to account for the changing dynamics of class structures as well as other economic, political, and cultural factors.

Studies on social class in Singapore (Loh, 2017; Tan, 2015; Tan, 2004; Quah et al., 1991) use either a six-category system (upper, upper-middle, middle, lower-middle, upper-lower, lower-lower) or a four-category scheme (upper, middle, working, lower). The former has more variation in the middle-class range to account for the varying conditions and experiences of people within this bracket. This system is often used in sorting quantitative data, particularly income or other socio-economic data that are collected through censuses and other large-scale surveys. The four-category scheme, on the other hand, is more ideal in qualitative research because it is easier for informants (people who are interviewed) to locate themselves in this simpler categorization.

In contrast, studies on social class in the United Kingdom utilized a series of categorizations since the early 20th century, including Goldthorpe's class scheme in the 1970s. More recently, the analysis of the 2011 Great British Class Survey (Savage et al., 2013) revealed seven class categories: (1) a wealthy "elite," (2) a prosperous salaried "middle class" consisting of professionals and managers, (3) a class of technical experts, (4) a class of "new affluent" workers, (5) an ageing traditional working class, (6) a group of emergent service workers, and (7) a "precariat," which is characterized by very low levels of capital. This categorization is notable for the splitting of the middle-class and lower-class brackets to account for the impact of technological and generational factors.

How are people in a given population slotted into the different social class categories? How do sociologists and other social analysts determine an individual's social class? Social classes are measured either through an *objec-*

Contrasting Concepts:
Social Class vs Socio-economic Status

Social class is a marker of an individual's position in society that is primarily based on socio-economic status. Apart from socio-economic status, however, social recognition and political influence also contribute in determining one's social class position. Thus, social class is not only a demographic classification but pertains to specific cultural groups that carry distinctive identities, membership, patterns of interaction, and social norms.

On the other end, *socio-economic status* (SES) refers to the combined measure of one's income, educational attainment, and occupation. It is a quantitative calculation that is used to gauge how individuals and groups fare economically when compared to others in the same population.

In contrast to the more subjective and cultural ambiguity of social class, SES is easier to determine because it can be empirically calculated and involves tangible marks. People in the highest SES bracket are generally considered as upper class. They most likely reside in posh neighborhoods, attend elite schools, go on overseas holidays, and exercise greater political influence than those in the middle and lower classes.

tive or a *subjective* method. If the objective method is chosen, people are classified according to income, occupation, or educational attainment. **Socio-economic status** (SES) refers to the use of multiple measures combining these three variables to determine an individual's placement in the social class matrix. On the other end, if the subjective method is chosen, people are asked what class they think they are in. Table 6.1 shows how these two methods have been utilized to determine the class distribution of the Singapore population. The objective method data is based on the people's annual income while the subjective method data is based on personal assessment collected through a survey. Closely examine and compare the two sets of data. What are the differences in the figures? Which method, do you think, is more appropriate in determining a person's social class?

TABLE 6.1
Measuring Class in Singapore

	Class (Based on Income)	Class (Personal Assessment)
Upper	1	1
Upper Middle	4	5
Middle Middle	**11**	**48**
Lower Middle	30	33
Upper Lower	**33**	**10**
Lower	21	4

Source: Tan (2015)

Apparently, Table 6.1 shows a clear discrepancy between the objective data and the subjective data, particularly on Middle-Middle and Upper-Lower class segments. Simply put, one can impute that the discrepancy reveals how people in Singapore tend to overestimate their class position. On the other hand, it can also be interpreted as evidence that income is not a sufficient determinant of people's access to valued resources and quality of life that affects their class awareness. Moreover, Singapore's relative affluence compared to its Southeast Asian neighbors must have resulted in people's high perception of their class standing. A number of researches have shown that strong national identity and national pride can help boost one's personal pride and happiness (Ha and Jang, 2015; Munsey, 2011). Finally, another factor that led respondents to hold a higher assessment of their social class position is the stigma attached to being part of the lower-class strata, particularly if a person sees himself as poor in an affluent society. Being poor is not just about the lack of material means but is often equated to low intellectual capability, indolence, and other negative connotations.

Ultimately, one's position in the social class hierarchy can even be a matter of life or death. The RMS Titanic disaster that took place on 14–15 April, 1912, is often used to demonstrate the extreme implications of class and social stratification. The ocean liner's passengers were divided into three separate classes: first class, second class, and third class. The average cost of tickets was 450 pounds (about 45,000 pounds today) for first class, 13 pounds for a second class, and 7 pounds for third class. Those who travelled first class included industrialists, socialites, and other prominent members of the upper class. Second-class passengers were predominantly middle-class professionals and tourists while third-class passengers were primarily immigrants. Their ticket also determined the location of their accommodation with the first class occupying the luxurious suites on the upper decks, the second class on the middle decks, and the third class on the steerage decks located at the lowest part of the ship (Hall, 1986).

When disaster struck, 818 of the 1,317 passengers perished. In accounting for the casualties, it was later revealed that a huge percentage of third-class passengers (75%) did not survive. In comparison, 58% of the second-class passengers and 37% of first-class passengers died when the ship sunk (Hall, 1986). Three factors contributed to the relatively low survival rate among the third-class passengers. First, the lifeboats were located on the top decks, which required passengers in the lower steerage deck to navigate narrow alleyways and staircases to reach evacuation areas. Second, the crew prioritized the evacuation of first and second-class passengers while the third-class passengers were left to fend for themselves. Third, many of the third-class passengers were immigrants who did not speak English, which resulted in confusion during the evacuation.

CLASS, SOCIAL INEQUALITY, AND POVERTY

As the story of the Titanic has shown, social class categories do not only account for distinct groups of people who have varying earnings, pursue different vocations, or "live separate lives," but they also give us a picture of how individuals take uneven slices from the same pie, benefit from the part that they take, and struggle to enlarge their share. Social classes are not merely sets of categories but are relational standpoints based on the advantages and disadvantages that individuals assume at birth or acquire through their own efforts in the course of their life. Because the class system is an open system (people can move from one category to another), issues arise when some people obtain *unearned* advantages (privileges) or disadvantages (penalties) that put one ahead or behind others. Within this context, social class also provides insights into the degree of social inequality in a particular society. **Social inequality** refers to the disparities in the allocation of economic assets and opportunities that affect an individual's overall quality of life. This disparity depends on how: (1) wealth, (2) prestige, and (3) power are allocated among members of a specific society (Weber, 1968). The level of social inequality varies between societies, depending on economic, political, and cultural conditions. All societies are assessed

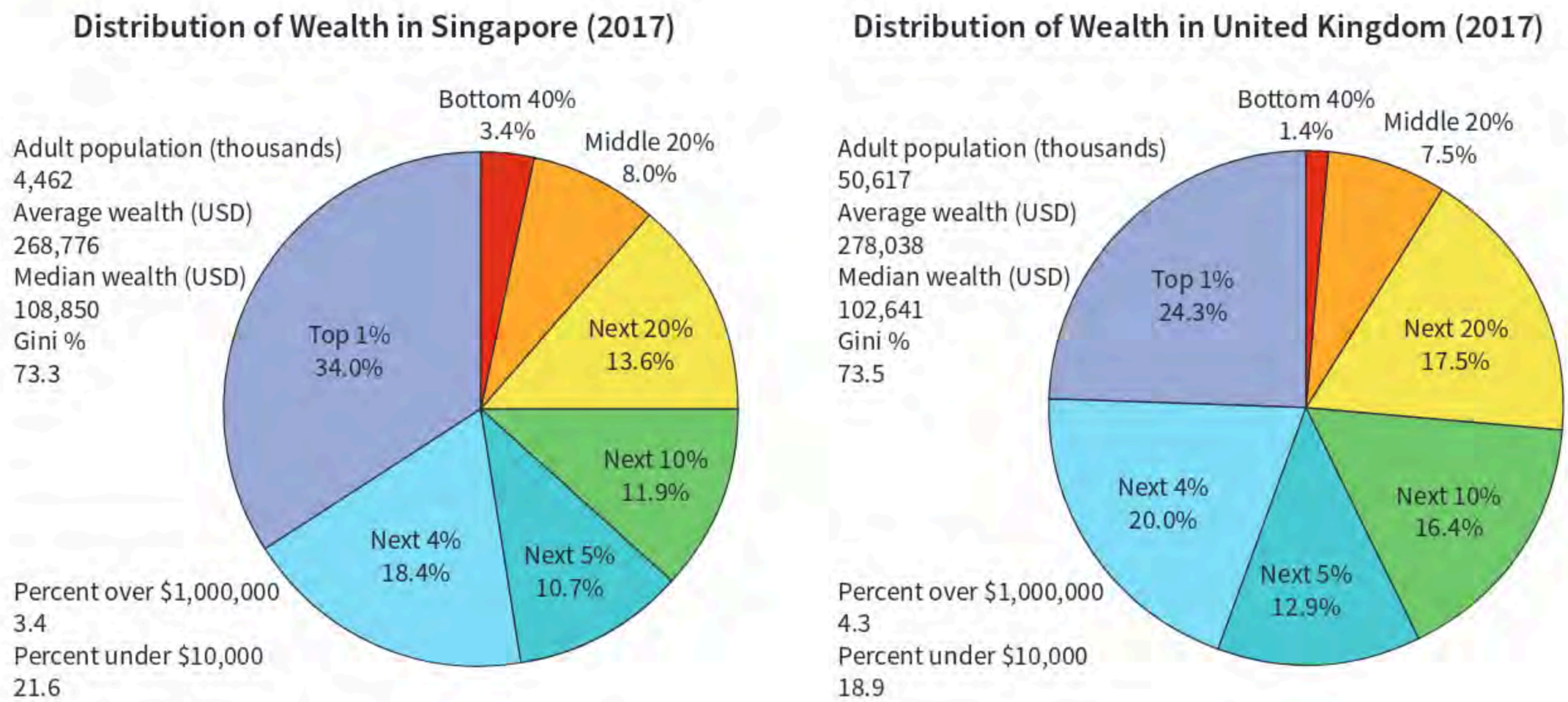
Homeless people set up tents in front of the Palace of the Argentine National Congress in Buenos Aires.

not only on how well they enlarge their resource pool but also on their ability to control the impact of social inequality.

Wealth refers to the monetary value of a person or a family's economic possessions. It includes cash, real estate, personal properties, financial instruments, and income. *Income* is the money that an individual earns through salary, business proceeds, and other sources of livelihood. While income is more limited, largely tied to work and spent on everyday expenses, wealth is cumulative (e.g., investments) and can be passed on to the next generation, resulting in the preservation of privilege. Wealth and income disparities are crucial factors in measuring the level of social inequality in society.

Figure 6.1 shows the staggering wealth inequality in Singapore and the United Kingdom, with the top 1% of the population owning 34% (Singapore) and 24.3% (U.K.) of each country's total wealth. In contrast, the bottom 40% only takes a paltry 3.4% (Singapore) and 1.4% (U.K.) from their respective resource pools. In the social mobility survey cited earlier, the Fair Wages segment was shown as Singapore's biggest weakness. It reveals how the income share of the bottom 50% of the population only represents 25.7% of the labor share of the top 50% of the population (WEF, 2020: 25). This means that there is a relatively high incidence of low pay in key employment sectors, putting Singapore at 51st place, it is second lowest after social protection (61st), among the 82 countries included in the survey. This problem is confounded by the lack of minimum wage in

FIGURE 6.1
Distribution of Wealth in Singapore and the United Kingdom (2017)



Source: Delphi234, CC0, via Wikimedia Commons

Singapore, which means that many people do not have the institutional guarantee to ensure that they are able to provide for their needs.

Apart from wealth, the differences in prestige that individuals possess in society also determine that level of social inequality. *Prestige* refers to the respect, recognition, regard, or admiration attached to social class positions. It is based on wealth, family background, educational accomplishments, and professional achievements. Graduating from a highly reputable university is generally viewed as prestigious in all societies. However, being a professional football player might be lucrative and well regarded in the United Kingdom but not in Singapore where local sports have a limited entertainment and cultural appeal. Prestige is typically determined according to the kind of work that people do. Table 6.2 shows that higher prestige occupations include scientists, medical doctors, architects, senior managers, and lawyers. Artists, firefighters, social media managers, police officers, and farmers are examples of occupations at a medium prestige level. Jobs at the lower prestige level include builders, influencers, factory workers, truck drivers, and call center workers.

Finally, the level of inequality in society is also determined by the discrepancy in access to power among the members of society. *Power* refers to the ability to influence or control the mindsets and actions of others to achieve a political or personal goal. Wealthy people tend to occupy influential positions in the government and the private sector. Since the social class categories, especially at the highest levels, constitute a cultural group that share certain outlooks and way of life, they tend to create a network of alliances to advance their interests. These net-

TABLE 6.2
Occupational Prestige, Selected Countries

	UK	Singapore	US	China	Average
Medical Doctor	+78	+63	+70	+59	+69
Senior Manager	+68	+61	+56	+69	+64
Lawyer	+72	+58	+54	+66	+57
School Teacher	+63	+55	+51	+63	+50
Athlete	+64	+26	+40	+27	+43
Artist	+51	+26	+47	+51	+39
Police Officer	+38	+32	+14	+42	+23
Farmer	+47	+13	+41	−23	+23
Receptionist	+32	−2	+29	−19	+11
Retail Shop Worker	+21	−3	+20	−15	+7
Builder	+41	−20	+44	−26	+6
Social Media Influencer	−20	+9	−7	+25	−3
Factory Worker	+9	−21	+15	−27	−6
Truck Driver	+19	−20	+21	−28	−11
Call Center Worker	−6	−5	+5	+2	−11

Source: Smith (2021)

works can be established via family and personal relationships or through connections forged in elite schools, dance balls, and country clubs. Those from the upper class, therefore, have more channels and greater chances of having their opinions heard than people who are in the lower rung of society.

While those in higher class strata enjoy occupational prestige and political influence, a large number of people are struggling to make ends meet, receive no recognition for their hard work, and suffer from exploitations and injustices. Recent figures reveal that 689 million people or 9.2% of the world's population live in extreme poverty, subsisting on US$1.90 per day (Schoch et al., 2020). Even developed countries such as Singapore and the United Kingdom are saddled by issues concerning a relatively high incidence of poverty in their population. Between 10–14% of Singaporeans face difficulties meeting basic needs, with hunger as a constant concern for many (Sim, 2017). This substantial figure comes as a surprise to many since poverty is hardly visible in the country's clean and well-kept environment and glitzy reputation as the home of many "crazy rich Asians." In the course of her research on poverty in Singapore, sociologist Teo You Yenn is

often met with the question, "there are poor people in Singapore?" She explained how the country's high global wealth ranking and the emphasis on progress in political, cultural, and personal narratives created "myths" regarding the absence of "real" poverty in Singapore or that social inequality is merely an inevitable outcome of development (Teo, 2017).

Sociologists distinguish between absolute poverty and relative poverty when they try to determine the extent and impact. **Absolute poverty** is a social condition wherein people do not have the means to provide for basic necessities such as food, clothing, and shelter. In comparison, *relative poverty* happens when people may be able to secure their basic needs but are not able to maintain an average standard of living. In the United Kingdom, 11.7 million or 18% of the population suffer from absolute poverty while 14.5 million or 22% of the population experience relative poverty (Francis-Devine, 2021). What is the cause of poverty? Why is there so much poverty even among affluent societies?

Amartya Sen, the Indian political economist, described poverty as "capability deprivation" (Sen, 1999). In his study of some of the great famines in the 20th century, Sen noted that the ultimate cause of poverty and hunger is not the lack of material resources such as food but on how economic and social factors, such as declining wages, rising prices, and poor distribution system, deprive people of the capability to secure their basic needs. *Capabilities* refer to the kind of activities that individuals can undertake ("doings") and the kind of persons that they can be ("beings"). Capabilities are not just the range of possibilities that people can do with their income. Rather, capability points to a broader "freedom," an enabling structure that empowers them to provide for their necessities and achieve their potential (ibid., pp. 87–92). Here, freedom does not merely refer to legal or formal freedom that allows people to do something or be somebody but the substantial opportunity to achieve it. A person is free to find a job but what are the institutional opportunities that enable one to secure employment? Thus, the cause of poverty is the lack of robust economic and social structures that enhance the capability of people to provide for their needs. This is also the reason why poverty is prevalent even in affluent societies.

For Amartya Sen, human development, not just economic development, allows for the expansion of people's capabilities. When people are healthy, feel safe in their environment, and are able to participate in society, they are not the only ones that make progress; society also advances (ibid., pp. 10–11). For instance, education does not only provide an individual with skills to earn a living but also allows that person to contribute to the betterment of society. Thus, development is intrinsically linked to the process of social mobility.

SOCIAL CLASS AND SOCIAL MOBILITY

We opened our discussion in this chapter with a short piece on the rags-to-riches story of Fandi Ahmad. Fandi's rise from a kampung (village) boy to a football celebrity is an example of social mobility. **Social mobility** refers to an individual's movement from one social class category to

another. It is the key distinguishing feature of the class system of stratification. The servitude, caste, and estate systems are all closed systems that rarely allow an individual to shift from one group to another. In the 28th SEA Games theme song, Fandi was extolled for his exceptional talent, exemplary character, and extraordinary determination to become successful. The admiration for Fandi and many others who rose to the top make it seems like anyone who is talented, intelligent, and hardworking can become fabulously rich and famous. Both sports and modern states subscribe to the ideals of meritocracy. **Meritocracy** is a system where social advancement is based on individual capability and merits rather than on wealth, influence, and other social backgrounds. Therefore, Fandi Ahmad, both as a sportsman and as a Singaporean, embodies the ideals of meritocracy.

Largely viewed as the equivalent of the "American Dream," the Five Cs: (1) cash, (2) credit card, (3) condominium, (4) car, and (5) country club membership has long been considered as the measure of success in Singapore. This set of aspirations was especially popular during the height of Singapore's economic rise in the 1990s. However, the Five Cs has been criticized for its over-emphasis on materialism and as the people's aspirations changed after the new millennium, several variations of the Five Cs have been proposed. A recent survey came up with the New Five Cs : (1) cash, (2) career, (3) being *cultured*, (4) holding *credibility*, and (5) enjoying *conveniences* (Goh, 2019), which shows a more holistic approach to living and setting one's life aspirations.

Social mobility is classified into two types: intragenerational mobility and intergenerational mobility (Lopreato and Hazelrigg, 1970). *Intragenerational mobility* involves changes in a person's social class position within his or her lifetime. Again, Fandi Ahmad, who started as a poor *nasi lemak* seller and rose to become a wealthy sports celebrity is a good example. Since the development of Singapore happened within a relatively short span of 30 years, many people in the city-state also experienced intragenerational mobility as development brought in more educational, employment, and entrepreneurial opportunities. The second type, *intergenerational mobility*, involves changes in the social position of the children relative to their parents. In the 28th SEA Games Fandi Ahmad biopic, his two sons, who are also professional footballers, appeared in cameo roles towards the end of the short video. The highlight scene showed Fandi giving a pair of football shoes to his second son, Ikhsan, to symbolize the passing of sporting tradition from one generation to the next. Having a wealthy and prominent father have made it easier for Fandi's sons. Apart from growing up in a comfortable environment, they also had the chance to get football training and try-outs overseas, including the United Kingdom, Portugal, Spain, and Chile. Fandi's third son even went to a boarding school in the United Kingdom to facilitate his entry into an English Premier League team (Sazali, 2018; Parmar, 2021). Beyond Fandi's family, the aspiration for intergenerational mobility is blamed for the tough education system in Singapore that includes after-school tuition and other extra-curricular activities to ensure that children are in the best position to improve or maintain a family's middle-class status.

The story of Fandi Ahmad and those of his sons are examples of upward mobility. *Upward mobility* refers to the shift in social class from a lower to a higher position. The discourses on upward mobility have become more prominent with the development of many societies, the growth of labor migration, and the widespread influence of a capitalist culture that puts great emphasis on wealth, prestige, and power. A study on social mobility in Singapore revealed that success stories of upward mobility do occur but rags-to-riches stories are rare (Ng, 2015). Globally, research has shown that those born both at the top and at the bottom are very likely to remain where they are (WEF, 2020). With the occurrence of a number of global financial crises and the restructuring of economic production, many people even have undergone *downward mobility* – a shift in social class from a higher to a lower position. The emergence of new digital technologies and greener economies, for instance, has resulted in the reduced demand for low-skilled jobs as well as jobs that are based on outdated technologies (WEF, 2020). These changes resulted in increasing cases of unemployment, underemployment, or unstable working arrangements.

UNDERSTANDING CLASS AND SOCIAL STRATIFICATION: FOUR SOCIOLOGICAL APPROACHES

Social class is one of the earliest topics covered in sociology. Both Karl Marx and Max Weber viewed class as one of the most important social forces influencing the interaction of people and the transformation of society. Marx introduced some of the basic concepts, such as bourgeoisie, proletariat, and alienation, that we now use in the making of class. On the other hand, Weber built on Marx's work to formulate some of the most influential analyses of class, particularly with his work on the key roles of wealth, prestige, and power. The following four sociological standpoints have built on their pathbreaking ideas in understanding the dynamics and complexities of class, inequality, and mobility.

Functionalist Approaches

The most enduring depiction of social class is that of a ladder, with the rungs representing the hierarchy of the different class groups. Individuals can either climb up or come down the steps as they succeed or fail in their effort to accumulate more wealth, honor, or power. In one of the early functionalist analyses of social stratification, Kingsley Davis and Wilbert Moore (1945) argued that social stratification is necessary to motivate and reward the most talented individuals to train for specialized jobs (scientists, physicians, lawyers, etc.) that require high tuition fees, years of training, and other social sacrifices. This assertion is based on the premise that some jobs are more crucial than others for society's survival. A surgeon's work, for instance, is seen as more important than the work of a cleaner. The high income and prestige that society confers on surgeons, therefore, is the reward for their sacrifices. Veering away from its elitist ideals as a space

for intellectual pursuit and cultural refinement, education has been given greater importance as a means to move up the social ladder.

Davis and Moore's argument, however, has some serious loopholes. First, the work of the surgeons relies on the work of the cleaners in maintaining the cleanliness of hospitals, including the surgery rooms that have to be maintained according to the highest sanitary standards. Second, not all of the most talented individuals go on to fill the "more important jobs." Bright and hardworking students may be forced to drop out of college to support their families. Finally, this functionalist theory also omits how people pass their advantaged positions to the next generation (Tumin, 1953). Although Davis and Moore's argument has been subjected to criticism, it remained influential in the justification for the persistence of social inequality. For instance, during the debates about the proposal to reduce the high salary of government ministers in Singapore, those who opposed the move explained that the reduction will discourage the best talents from taking up ministerial jobs, which in the long run, will harm the entire country (Toh, 2018). In this case, social inequality is perceived as something necessary for the efficient functioning and continued development of society.

Conflict Approaches

This sociological standpoint views class as an unequal arrangement that results from the uneven distribution of resources and power in society. Based on the pioneering ideas of Karl Marx, conflict scholars argue that class is not only about the income and prestige that individuals possess but how these possessions are defined by the relationship of the classes to the larger system of economic production. Marx believed that the increasing influence of capitalism would ultimately reduce society into two classes: the bourgeoisie (the capitalist class) and the proletariat (the working class). The **bourgeoisie** are those who own and control capital and the means of production while the **proletariat** sell their labor for wages. Under a capitalist system, the bourgeoisie can amass wealth and power while the proletariat earn barely enough to survive and receive hardly any recognition for their work.

John and Barbara Ehrenreich (1979) introduced the term **professional-managerial class** to refer to a group that is neither bourgeois nor proletarian but is distinguished by their high educational attainment and relatively high income. Members of this class have substantial control over other people as managers, supervisors, and professionals. Although these groups have control over workers in the lower rung of the corporate order, they have minimal control over the means of production. Ultimately, as the influence of capitalism continues to take root in society, those in the managerial-professional class would drop into the working class as advanced technology, new management techniques, the restructuring of production would enable companies to require less supervisory personnel. In turn, professional jobs, such as office clerks and production engineers would be organized according to the traditional working-class employment. More recently, the

high incidence of job retrenchments among the PMET (Professional, Managers, Executives, and Technicians) due to the global pandemic in Singapore reflect this rising disenfranchisement of the professional-managerial class (Gei and Choo, 2020). In the United Kingdom, the decline of the middle-class has been noted, particularly concerning its impact on the next generation. Children of the professional-managerial class can no longer expect affordable housing, job security, or a decent salary (Jones, 2020). In sum, these developments reflect the growing class polarization in society, affirming Marx's idea about the centrality of conflict in the class system.

Despite the apparent concern about the rising class polarization around the world, Karl Marx and the other conflict theorists were not entirely accurate in their predictions. First, conflict scholars ignored the role of the state in addressing poverty and social inequality. Various governments have instituted programs such as welfare assistance, housing subsidies, family support, and health insurance. When the PMET sector in Singapore was threatened by the emergence of financial crises and the global pandemic, the government ramped up its "skills upgrading" program to help retrenched workers acquire new skills to help them transition to jobs that are more in line with the current economic demands (Gei and Choo, 2020). Second, many middle-class workers found a sense of fulfillment when they moved to the "gig economy." The **gig economy** is a system in which temporary positions are common and organizations hire independent workers for short-term projects. Although, having a regular salary and job security provide a sense of stability, they also come with issues such as long working hours and stressful work demands. The gig economy afforded people greater control over their time and creative resources to enjoy a better work-life balance.

Interactionist Approaches

Interactionism focuses on how people create, maintain, and change their social class positions. They are mainly concerned with micro-level issues such as public image, lifestyle, fashion trends, and other ways in which class manifests in people's everyday lives. Mark Caldwell (2014) provided an insightful interpretive take on how class relations manifest in our food preferences. Caldwell examined the rising popularity of the "gourmet hamburgers" (burgers with premium, exotic, or authentic ingredients) in the United States as a reflection not only on a changing food culture but also of how being "cultured" is expressed through food. He argued that eating gourmet burgers exemplifies *cultural omnivorousness* – "a type of cultural consumption that allows high-status groups to show off their distinction from other groups through their knowledge of a range of cultural forms, from low culture to high culture" (ibid., p. 73). Being cultural omnivorous is a high-status marker that is characterized by cosmopolitan and eclectic taste.

Cultural omnivorousness also manifests in people's preferences in sports, both as a participant and as a follower. Traditionally, sports have been divided along class lines. Golf, tennis, and sailing are largely considered upper-class sports while basketball, football, and boxing are

seen as working-class pastimes. Cultural omnivorousness rejects high-brow snobbery and the repudiation of low-class taste for greater appreciation of the "rawness" and "authenticity" of the life experiences of farmers, cooks, boxers, and other people in the lower rung of society (Wilson, 2002). As a result, white-collar boxing, after office basketball tournaments, and other similar activities have become popular in recent years.

Interactionist theories are often criticized for ignoring larger structural factors such as the state, the economy, and other institutions that influence social stratification and inequality. For instance, the global supply chain that facilitated the emergence of gourmet burger stores or the corporate sports media that "popularized" elite sports were not covered in the discussions about the rise of the cultural omnivore class. Moreover, unlike functionalist and conflict standpoints, the interactionist approach does not address why stratification and inequality exist. It simply assumes that, just like everything else, not all burgers are created equal.

Reorientationist Approaches

Reorientationism views social stratification and social inequality as a legacy of Western colonialism and cultural imperialism. This sociological standpoint generally examines how social class intertwines with issues concerning race and ethnicity. Settler societies, such as countries in North America, Latin America, and Oceania where Europeans displaced the indigenous population, are largely characterized by a class system wherein the displaced native population occupy the lowest rung of society. Much of their current condition is shaped by the long-term impact of forced land eviction, labor exploitation, and various discriminatory policies. The First Nations of Canada, Native Peruvians, and the Maoris of New Zealand are just a few of the many cases of indigenous communities whose members generally occupy working-class or lower-class positions. Moreover, descendants of African people who were subjected to servitude in the Americas or the Chinese and South Asian indentured laborers who worked in colonial plantations in Southeast Asia, the Caribbean, and Polynesia, also factor in the class structure of many countries around the world.

Currently, the large presence of expatriates who enjoy executive and administrative positions, lucrative "expat rate" compensation packages, and high social status in their host societies, is often viewed as the modern-day equivalent of settler and colonial societies (Fechter and Walsh, 2010). An **expatriate** (or expat) is a professional who temporarily moves outside of his or her home country for employment or business reasons. Expat communities in Dubai, Shanghai, Singapore, and various cities in Africa, Latin America, and Asia largely enjoy an elite status that is, at times, viewed as an *unearned privilege* bestowed mainly due to their racial background (McNulty, 2016). In the end, another group of temporary "migrant workers" who are mostly from developing countries come to occupy the lowest rung of affluent societies. In Singapore, for instance, this "new lower-class group" involves construction workers from South Asia and

domestic workers from the neighboring Southeast Asian countries who receive a very low salary, possess low status, and are largely segregated from the rest of society. Reorientationist scholars employ post-colonial theory to underscore the linkage of the expatriates' elite status and the migrant workers' lower-class to the rootedness of colonial and imperial structures in modern and globalized societies.

Finally, some reorientationist scholars view social stratification and inequality as an intrinsic part of indigenous culture that cannot be evaluated by merely using Western social class frameworks. For instance, in accounting for the emergence of a "new Indian middle-class," Rowan Ellis (2011: 77) advocated for "a post-colonial approach that is attuned to the more personal experiences of class as they are articulated with recent histories of economic and political restructuring, as well as the legacies of colonial and post-colonial forms of domination and subordination." In contrast to Western countries, Ellis underscored that Indian social class cohesion does not rely much on income and property but is based on caste, language, and other personal characteristics.

Reorientationist theories are often criticized for their fixation on undoing the legacies of colonialism that they ignore the impact of more recent economic and political structuring on social class dynamics. The emergence of "white poverty" in South Africa or the increasing affluence of Asian-Americans are emerging class structures where the traditional linking of colonial identities and social class has to be reconfigured. Moreover, the view that some forms of social stratification are rooted in some cultural traditions and are crucial for individual and collective well-being could result in the justification for) maintaining social inequality. For instance, the idea of the "happy poor," which is often associated with less developed societies essentializes poverty and neglects the everyday hardships and unfair treatment that poor people face in their everyday lives (Bundervoet, 2013). Nonetheless, reorientationism continues to provide an insightful view of class, inequality and mobility for its criticism of the universalistic tendencies of the dominant discourses on social equality.

KEY CONCEPTS

Absolute poverty
Class system
Estate system
Gig economy
Meritocracy
Professional-managerial class
Socio-economic status
Social mobility
Bourgeoisie
Caste system
Expatriate
Life chances
Proletariat
Servitude system
Social inequality
Social stratification

DISCUSSION QUESTIONS

1. The automobile is one of the most important symbols of industrialization. It revolutionized production, influenced urban planning, and shaped the everyday lives of people. Compare the social significance of the automobile in two countries by highlighting its roles in defining racial, gender, and class identities.
2. Compare the concepts of "life chances" and "capabilities" and use them to describe the social class of a graduating university student.
3. Use two of the four sociological standpoints to explain why poverty continues to exist in developed countries. How should governments address poverty?

SUGGESTED READINGS

1. Caldwell, Mark. (2014). "The Rise of the Gourmet Hamburger." *Contexts* 13(3): pp. 72–74.
2. Hall, Wayne. (1986). "Social Class and Survival in the SS Titanic." *Social Science and Medicine* 22(6): pp. 687–690.
3. Sen, Amartya. (1999). *Development as Freedom*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
4. Teo, You Yenn. (2017). "Poor People Don't Eat Oats Either." *New Naratif* (September 9). Retrieved June 8, 2021. (https://newnaratif.com/research/poor-people-dont-like-oats-either/)

This page intentionally left blank

PART THREE
INTERACTIONS

CHAPTER 7
Culture 103

CHAPTER 8
Groups and Organizations 118

CHAPTER 9
Deviance and Social Control 135

This page intentionally left blank

CHAPTER 7

CULTURE

The year 2012 is purportedly the breakthrough year of "brand Korea." Samsung Electronics, one of its most iconic brands, rose to become the world's top smartphone manufacturer based on sales and revenue. On another front, K-Pop (Korean popular music) was riding on an unprecedented global upturn, exemplified by the phenomenal success of rapper, Psy and his "Gangnam Style" single. The song and its music video garnered worldwide audiences and broke several records to become one of the most iconic dance crazes of all time (Hewitt, 2012; Arthur, 2011). Later that year, Samsung announced that they were signing Psy as one of its brand ambassadors, joining forces to bring "brand Korea" to even greater heights (Mahr, 2012). Samsung and Psy were not doing things by themselves, however, as both the technology and entertainment industries are not autonomous private sector driven enterprises but are closely linked to the Korean government's long-term economic and political agenda. Psy, in particular, is part of the "Korean Wave" (*Hallyu*), a phenomenon that pertains to the global popularity of South Korean television dramas, films, music, and other aspects of its cultural economy. The Korean Wave is part of the Korean government's strategy to develop its "soft power" and advance its global economic and political influence (Cho, 2012).

Seoul in late winter, with the royal palace in the background.

This global aspiration pushed "brand Korea" even to the farthest corners of the world. Before 2012 ended, Samsung sought to boost its presence in West Africa by signing Ghanaian rapper and music icon Michael Owusu, best known as Sardokie, as its brand ambassador in the region.

Sardokie is one of the few artists that could keep up with Psy's popularity in 2012. Just a year earlier, he released a song ("You Go Kill Me"), which started the Azonto dance craze that spread across West Africa, Europe, and to the African diaspora around the world (Mark, 2012). Just like in Korea, Sardokie did not make it big time through sheer talent. He benefited from Ghana's position as the center of popular music and entertainment in the West African region (Shipley, 2013). Ghana has a long history of popular music that goes back to the 19th century. Since the 1960s, the government has also invested in its entertainment industry to promote a sense of nationhood among its ethnically diverse population (Meyer, 2015). Its entertainment industry also serves as a "soft power" to lead the way in promoting a pan-African consciousness in the 1960s and, later on, in advancing its image as one of the most progressive African nations. More recently, Ghanaian artists and producers remained one of the key drivers of the international growth of Afropop music (Shipley, 2013). Its local film industry (Gollywood), which is also one of the pioneers in Africa, has received international acclaim in recent years (Olele, 2019).

Moreover, the entertainment scene in Ghana has a unique relationship with Nigeria, its larger West African neighbor. Nigeria's popular music (Afrobeat) is enjoying a "talent boom" and phenomenal expansion to Europe and America while its film industry (Nollywood) is already the second largest in the world in terms of output (Abumere, 2018). However, among those who benefited from the growth of the Nigerian entertainment industry are Ghanaian musicians and film artists, such as Sardokie, whose careers straddle both countries and whose talents are equally recognized and celebrated (Enengedi, 2013). The two countries' entertainment industries have a long history of collaborations, and it allowed the music and film industries of Ghana to prosper even with its relatively smaller market.

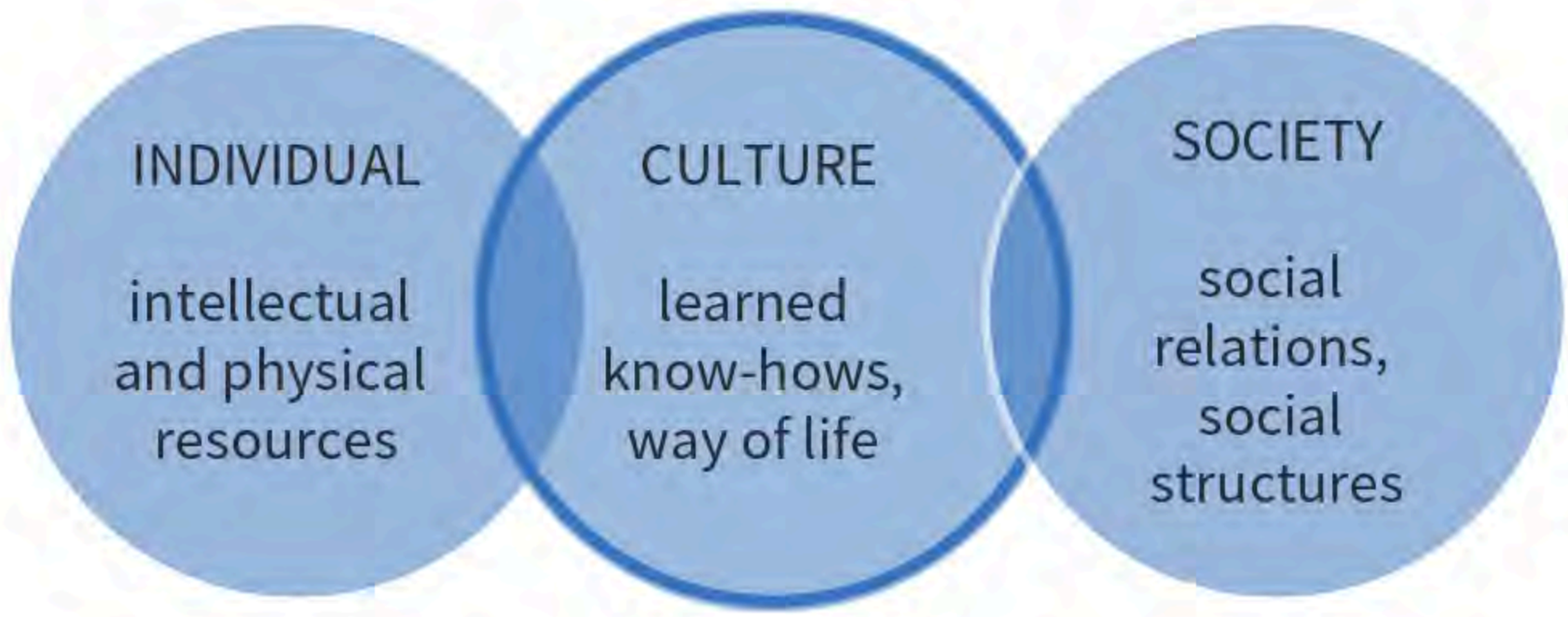
The successful forays of Ghana's artists beyond its borders, just like the wide-ranging reach of the Korean Wave, is largely attributed to how states and other institutions capitalize on culture. What sets South Korea and Ghana's cultures apart from others that allowed their cultural economy to flourish? How can culture help us better understand the emerging conditions in our increasingly globalizing world? The following sections will answer these questions as well as explain why culture is such a "superstar" concept in sociology and other academic fields.

THE RHYTHM OF CULTURE

Culture is a common yet complex concept that shapes how people think, guides their actions, and influences how others treat them. In 2014, "culture" emerged as the Merriam-Webster's Word of the Year, resulting from the spike in lookups and reflecting the greater interest in culture in recent years (Rothman, 2014). Clearly, as people listen to more foreign music, watch more foreign films, eat more foreign food, and partake in something that comes from beyond their immediate environment, these lead them to use the word "culture" more often. Merriam-Webster has two entries for culture (noun and verb) and a total of eight definitions, ranging

from soil to customary beliefs. In sociology, *culture* refers to the sets of knowledge and strategies people use to navigate through their physical and social environment. For instance, these sets of knowledge include the appreciation of music or the strategy that one employs to get the best spot in a concert. Simply put, culture is a way of life – the know-hows that connect an individual to society (see Figure 7.1).

FIGURE 7.1
What is Culture?



One can equate culture to choreography. Choreography allows a dancer to use his distinctive physical traits (sense of balance, "gracefulness," stamina, etc.) and technical skills (learned sequence of movement, use of the dance floor, etc.) to move according to the rhythm of the music. Choreography also embodies the five key characteristics of culture.

1. **Culture is shared.** The purpose of choreography is to ensure a synchronous group movement and the same can be said of culture. Culture brings members of society together. People feel a sense of connectedness and belonging because of the beliefs, values, and norms that they share. Culture helps people in a society think and move with the same purpose and procedure. A dance performance would be chaotic without choreography, and society would be the same without culture.
2. **Culture is learned.** Culture is not innate but is acquired and developed from a young age through socialization. **Socialization** refers to the life-long process through which people develop self-awareness, take on a number of social roles, and learn the necessary physical, mental, and social skills to navigate society. People learn culture through the influence of various *agents of socialization*: family, school, religion, mass media, nation-state and other institutions. Since culture is learned, especially as part of a child's development, it is transmitted from one generation to the next. For example, a mother teaches her son how to dance, kids learn how to dance in school performances, a teenager follows the latest dance craze, or a state mobilizes group calisthenics to promote physical fitness.

3. **Culture is taken for granted.** The best indication that one has already learned a dance routine is when the dancer is no longer conscious about the steps and the sequence. The knowledge has been internalized and dancing becomes a taken-for-granted routine. Most aspects of culture are already deeply ingrained in the person's system that he or she doesn't need to think about in a given situation. For instance, commuting is a taken-for-granted knowledge that enables a local to effortlessly navigate her locality. A tourist who has just arrived, however, needs to be mindful about the metro stops and bus schedules as well as the etiquette and norms about how to queue or when to give up a seat to another passenger because of his lack of knowledge about the city and its transport system.
4. **Culture is invented.** Although culture dictates how people think or act, it is the people who create culture. Smartphones, meritocracy, and dance floor etiquettes are inventions that govern our actions in specific settings and help define who we are. In particular, the iconic horse-riding moves in the "Gangnam Style" were invented by Lee Ju-sun, a professional Korean choreographer. Meanwhile, Ghana's Azonto dance moves had a longer process of invention. It originated as a folk dance mimicking the everyday lives of people to a football goal celebration, and eventually as a popular dance craze (Park, 2014; Mark, 2012). Some cultural aspects of culture have long histories that make it difficult to trace their origins while other are recent creations that can be attributed to specific "inventors."
5. **Culture is dynamic.** Culture changes over time. Many people would cringe at the idea of dancing the "Gangnam Style" or the Azonto. Both are now outdated and several dance crazes have emerged since the two which started in the early 2010s. People adapt to new technologies, new economic conditions, new political arrangements or to crises and other social disruptions.

Cultural Universals vs Cultural Particulars

Our juxtaposition of the entertainment industries in South Korea and Ghana demonstrates the similarities that societies have even across vast geographical distances. People are confronted with the same needs (food, clothing, Internet service, etc.) no matter where they are, so it is expected that they also employ similar strategies in order to survive. George Murdock (1945), an American anthropologist, came up with a list of **cultural universals** – beliefs, customs, and practices that all societies have in common. His list included dancing, joking, and other social interactions (marriage, funeral rites, etc.) as well as those involving identities (names, clothing, hairstyles, etc.) and institutions (family, religion, etc.). All societies, no matter which part of the world they are located, have these cultural attributes. Although such attributes are indeed present in all societies, their structures and expressions vary from one group to another.

Cultural particulars are specific responses that people have formulated to address challenges that they encounter within their environment. All societies, for instance, value feminine

beauty but every culture has different standards on what is beautiful and suggests unique strategies on how to achieve or maintain beauty. In South Korea, the ideal feminine beauty involves having a small face, big eyes, and a slim body. In contrast, women in Ghana have to adhere to the standards of having full lips, high cheekbones, lighter skin, and a "full figure." In South Korea, green tea extract is one of the most popular beauty product ingredients while shea butter is a beauty regimen staple for most Ghanaian women (Cho, 2021; Adkins, 2019).

Material Culture vs Non-Material Culture

Culture is broadly classified into two main components: material culture and non-material culture. **Material culture** consists of the tangible objects that people create, use, and share. These objects include preserved vegetables, voodoo dolls, smartphones, trains, hydroelectric plants, and space shuttles. *Non-material culture* consists of the intangible ideas that people create to make sense of the world and harness its resources. Culinary traditions, religious beliefs, communication techniques, modes of transport, energy production systems, and aerospace engineering are examples of non-material culture.

ELEMENTS OF CULTURE

One of the international celebrities who managed to connect the seemingly distant worlds of South Korea and Ghana is fashion model and media personality, Sam Okyere. Sam Okyere arrived in Seoul in 2009 as a Korean government scholar aiming to complete a degree in computer engineering. However, his good looks and artistic talent eventually opened great opportunities for him, and he eventually rose to become one of the most successful foreign artists in South Korea. Nonetheless, things have not always been easy for Sam Okyere as he has to face racism as well as many other issues that come with his adjustments to working in a different cultural environment (Van Heteren, 2018). Recently, Sam Okyere got into some serious controversies which streamed from his online criticism of high school students who wear blackface in a yearbook photo. While many were supportive of his action, others criticized Sam Okyere for being "too sensitive" and even pointed out his inappropriate sexual remarks and racist behavior towards Asians in past social media posts and television appearances (Park, 2020). It is obvious that Sam Okyere's rise to stardom and the issues that he is facing hinges on some of the key elements of culture. Understanding these elements would provide the coordinates of Sam Okyere's location in the South Korean society.

Symbols

Symbols are objects, signs, gestures, and words which convey meanings that are recognized and shared by members of society. National flags, traffic signs, dance choreographies, and languages are symbols that allow people to make sense of their environment, communicate with each

other, and maintain order in society. New symbols or symbols that are not shared by people from different cultural backgrounds can create confusion and conflict. The wearing of blackface, for instance, was viewed by the Korean students as a theatrical interpretation of the immensely popular "coffin dance" meme, which originated from Ghana. For Sam Okyere, however, blackface is part of the racist and offensive stereotyping of Africans and dark-skinned people that he has experienced while living in South Korea.

Language

Language is a system of shared symbols that enables people to communicate with each other. It includes speech, scripts, and non-verbal expressions. Language allows individuals to express their feelings, convey their ideas, transmit information, and influence others. It also gives people a sense of belonging to a group or the larger society. Sam Okyere's mastery of the Korean language, for instance, did not only allow him to obtain work and connect with his audience, but also gives him a sense of belonging. "Once you learn the language, you feel like you're a part of the people and the people feel like you're a part of them. Learning Korean really was the difference between 'my black friend Sam' and 'my friend Sam,'" he explained (Van Heteren, 2018: n.p.). Thus, learning the language of a society is essential to becoming part of that society.

Beliefs

Beliefs are the principles that members of society collectively hold to be true. Shared beliefs are part of what bind people together and provide a sense of identity that distinguishes them from other cultures. Beliefs are often associated with religion, but they could also stem from folklore, spiritual leaders, political systems, humanist ideals, and science. They provide answers to profound questions concerning the meaning of life, death, and the ultimate destiny of humanity. Apart from its spiritual significance, beliefs also serve as the basis for the values and norms of societies. The "dancing pallbearers" social media phenomenon, which became the bone of contention between Sam Okyere and his critics, reflects the Ghanaian beliefs about death and the afterlife. However, the global popularity of the meme did not only take the dance from its spiritual roots but also led to its entanglement with people's beliefs in freedom of expression (high school students) and racial equality (Sam Okyere).

Values

Values are the ethical standards that are set to define the ideal principles in society. It defines what is pleasing or undesirable, good or bad, right or wrong – providing broad parameters to regulate and regularize the behavior of people in society. South Korea and Ghana both put emphasis on filial piety and the sense of "face" (dignity and honor). However, while Ghanaians tra-

ditionally have a more relaxed approach to life, South Koreans stress the importance of toughness and tenacity. South Korea is also known for its strong adherence to the values of education (Kim, 2017; Mensah-Bediako, 2019). In fact, the root of the backlash that Sam Okyere received from the people is due to his comment that pressed for "the need to educate people here in South Korea" and that their "ignorance cannot continue" (Park, 2020). Such a statement was taken as a disparaging attack on the South Korean culture that takes pride in the crucial role that education has played in its economic development.

Norms

While values present abstract ideals, norms provide more concrete directions on how people should behave in certain situations. **Norms** refer to the established rules of conduct through which society is structured. With norms in place, people know the proper course of action and social interactions are predictable, assessable, and learnable. They operate at all levels of society: from the state's judiciary system to family rules about sharing household chores.

Norms are classified as formal and informal. *Formal norms* are written and codified, and involved specific penalties and punishments for violators. *Laws* are the most common formal norms but so are student codes of conduct, employee manuals, sports play rules, and no eating rules in MRT trains. *Informal norms* are unwritten rules and standards that members of society follow and enforce. *Etiquettes* are examples of informal norms. They are customary codes of behavior in specific settings that are meant to facilitate social interaction. Etiquettes cover rules of conduct on posting on social media, business meetings, attending musical performances, eating, talking, and other forms of social interaction. Despite his righteous intention to address racism in South Korea, Sam Okyere received public backlash from his criticism of the students' blackface stunt for failing to adhere to the social media etiquette of obtaining permission before posting anyone's photo online.

Norms are further divided into *mores* (pronounced more-ays) and folkways. **Mores** are norms that embody the most valued moral principles that are essential to the stability of society. They are strictly enforced through religious or legal structures and violating mores entail serious consequences. Mores provide strict rules and punishments against killing other people, treason, corruption, and other serious transgressions. *Taboos* are actions that are strictly forbidden as they violate deeply-held moral beliefs. Cannibalism, incest, and parricide are largely considered universal taboos.

Unlike mores, **folkways** are customs and conventions that are not morally significant but can be important for social acceptance. They dictate the appropriate behavior in everyday social interaction. When in South Korea, one should use both hands in accepting or receiving business cards or gifts from others or someone who ranks higher than you as an expression of respect, for example, your boss or elders. In Ghana, however, one should only use the right hand in giving

or receiving something, in shaking hands, and in most situations. The left hand is considered unclean because it is used for cleaning oneself after going to the toilet (Kim, 2017; Mensah-Bediako, 2019).

Norms compel members of society to adhere to them because their violation invokes some degree of sanction. **Sanctions** are mechanisms of social control that reward appropriate behaviors or confer penalties on inappropriate actions. Just like norms, sanctions are also divided into formal and informal categories. Formal sanctions involve legal penalties and punishments such as fines and prison terms while informal sanctions involve a range of expressions, from someone "raising an eyebrow" to violent attacks.

Being "called out" or canceled was the sanction that Sam Okyere received for the social media controversies that emerged from his action to call out what he saw as an incident of racism in South Korea. This form of sanction has grown to an epidemic proportion in recent years that it resulted in the emergence of the "**cancel culture**" which is a collective social media-driven action to thrust out a well-known figure from an influential position. It involves public criticism and withdrawal of support for the public figure who has expressed or done something objectionable until the person apologizes, loses his or her job, or disappears from public view. Sam Okyere eventually had to issue an apology, forced to quit from a television show, and the future of his career remains uncertain. Public and expert views of cancel culture have been divided with one side praising its importance in promoting accountability and social justice, while the other side criticizing it for stymieing free speech and promoting mob mentality. In fact, many people are supportive of Sam Okyere underscoring the need for the largely homogenous South Korean society to engage issues beyond its border as its economy and culture continue to expand globally.

LOCATING CULTURE

The contrasting norms and other cultural differences between groups of people demonstrate that culture is shaped not only by its people but also by the geographical terrains and historical currents within society. Climatic conditions influence food culture, natural resources serve as inspirations for music, histories of colonialism shape language, and the nationalist struggles shape beliefs, values, and norms (see Table 7.1). Kimchi (a preserved vegetable dish) is the national dish of South Korea, which is consumed as a side dish in most meals, making it a ubiquitous part of the local diet. The history of the dish is tied to the country's mountainous topography, limited arable lands, and the humid continental climate that makes food preservation essential. Geographical location and historical change were also factors since the introduction of Buddhism through China during the Silla Dynasty resulted in the rise of vegetarianism (Logarta, 2013). Fufu (a cassava and plantain dish) is the national food of Ghana where the country's shrubland topography and tropical climate are ideal for cultivating fufu's ingredients (Marz, 2017). However, although plantains are indigenous to West Africa, cassava was only introduced

TABLE 7.1
Culture, Geography, and History

South Korea	Ghana
South Korea's geographic terrain is harsh, limiting the types of crops that can be grown. Preserving vegetables become important.	Ghana's shrubland topography and tropical climate are ideal for the cultivation of plantain and cassava.
Hangul (writing system) was an example of Korean ingenuity and set itself apart from the larger Japanese and Chinese influences in the region.	English as the national language, legacy of British colonialism, serves as a good compromise for its multi-ethnic, multi-lingual population.
Low patterns of intermingling between people led to a homogenous society with very rigid social mores.	Colonial history, presence of different ethnic groups, and immigration from neighboring countries have led to the emergence of a diverse and multi-cultural society.

Sources: CIA (2021a), Kim (2017), Logarta (2013)

in the 16th century when Portuguese colonizers brought it from Brazil (Ministry of Food and Agriculture, Ghana, n.d.). Both kimchi and fufu are not only popular food but are also viewed as national symbols that underscore the cultural uniqueness of South Korea and Ghana.

Moreover, the language system is also an important element of culture that is often used to underscore sovereignty and national unity. Likewise, having an extensive vocabulary, sophisticated grammar rules, and a systematic writing system symbolize the "civilizational" advancement of a society. The Korean language can be traced back to the 6th century but is best known for its writing system (*Hangul*), which was created in 1443 by King Sejong, The Great, its ruler during the period. Hangul was invented to promote literacy in the kingdom and to replace the complex *Hanja* writing system, which is based on Chinese scripts (Kim, 2017). On the other hand, Ghana is a multi-lingual country, with about 80 languages spoken. Its national language, however, is English, a legacy of the British colonial period, which lasted from 1821–1957. When Ghana gained its independence, English was retained as the country's official language because it serves as a compromise and common denominator among its 80 indigenous languages (Morris, 1998).

Lastly, the population compositions of South Korea and Ghana also have a crucial influence on the formation of the respective culture. Until recently, South Korea has largely remained as a homogenous society with rigid norms that are practiced by most members of society. The American soldiers stationed in the country live in self-contained camps and most migration is outward, with South Koreans moving to the United States and other parts of the world. It was only in the 1990s with the development of its economy when foreigners started to come to South Korea (Kim, 2017). Ghana's population, on the other hand, is culturally diverse with about 70 ethnic groups. Its main ethnic group, the Akans, comprise 47.5% of the population and apart from its other indigenous ethnic groups, the country also hosts a sizable number of Ghanaians

who are of European descent as well as Chinese immigrants who started to arrive in the 1940s (CIA, 2021a).

Although most of the other aspects of South Korean and Ghanaian cultures are connected to each of the country's geographical and historical conditions, symbols (food), language (writing system, national language), and population (ethnic diversity, migration) show how cultures are not only "created" by people but are also influenced by its landscape and climate as well as the influence of local and foreign actors. These factors do not only help shape the overall cultural identity of nations but also influence the relationships of the different cultures within its boundaries.

INSIDE CULTURE

In spite of their seemingly homogenous façade, great diversity exists among the many cultures around the world. Despite having a largely homogenous population, South Korea has attracted an increasing stream of foreigners since the 1990s. There are currently over two million foreign residents in South Korea, with almost half coming from China. Vietnamese, Thais, North Americans, Filipinos, and Eastern Europeans also make up a sizable number of the residents (CIA, 2021b). Today, Seoul is home to a number of ethnic enclaves, including Chinatown (Myeongdong), Little Tokyo (Ichon), Filipino Village (Hyewha), Muslim Village (Itaewon), Little Russia (Dongdaemun), and the French-Seorae Village (Ladner, 2011). These enclaves host restaurants offering foreign cuisines and stores selling imported products.

Subculture vs Counterculture

Apart from the presence of different ethnic groups, some groups follow different beliefs, values, or other cultural practices that veer from the mainstream society. Specific communities develop their own culture inside a culture. A **subculture** is a group of people that share distinctive values, norms, and lifestyles that vary from the larger society. Music preference has long been one of the practices that brings people together to form a subculture. The global prominence of K-Pop has resulted in the marginalization of other music subcultures in

Despite the effort to promote it as an Olympic sport and a popular means of travel, skateboarding is still largely seen as a subculture that is associated with danger, carelessness, and non-conformity.

South Korea. However, other musical genres also attract their own community followers who are distinguished not only by the music that they listen to but also by their manner of clothing, language, and lifestyle. One of these groups is the South Korean hip-hop subculture whose members try to construct an authentic image that is distinct from the African American-dominated global hip-hop culture by tapping into local issues and cultural themes (Hare and Baker, 2017). Apart from music, sports practices, university campuses, and other cultural interests can facilitate the emergence of subcultures.

A **counterculture** is a group of people that strongly rejects mainstream society's values and norms to pursue an alternative way of life. The history of popular music in Ghana has been closely intertwined with countercultural movements in the country. From the 1950s to the 1960s, *highlife* – Ghana's homegrown music genre, played an important role in uniting the people during the country's anti-colonial struggle and during its early post-independence period. More recently, *hiplife* – a genre fusing highlife with American hip-hop music, assumed a similar role in the transition from a military-controlled regime to a democratic government in the 1990s (Shipley, 2013; Oduro-Frimpong, 2009). The countercultural movements in music, as well as in art, film, and literature also work beyond the political sphere to criticize and offer alternative lifestyles to current materialist and consumerist-driven society.

High Culture vs Popular Culture

Related to the concept of class (Chapter 6), societies are also divided by how their ways of life are shaped by wealth, status, and power. **High culture** refers to the cultural ideals and practices of a society's highest social classes. It is often associated with a luxurious lifestyle, exclusive social circles, refined aesthetic taste, and intellectual elitism. Places and events associated with high culture are exclusive, expensive, and require exquisite sensitivity that can only be appreciated by those who have a privileged background. In contrast, **popular culture** refers to the cultural ideals and practices widespread among the masses or in mainstream society. Unlike high culture, popular culture is familiar, accessible, and common to most people (Eagleton, 2016). Fine dining, opera performances, and golf are just a few examples of activities that are identified with high culture. On the other hand, food court dining, rock concerts, and football are examples of activities considered as popular culture.

Ghana's popular music genres, the highlife and hiplife, that we discussed earlier can also be used to distinguish high culture and popular culture. Highlife, which became extremely popular in the 1920s, was associated with the African aristocracy during the British colonial period. The term "highlife," was coined by people to describe the orchestra-accompanied performances in exclusive clubs that many of them could not attend, not only due to the high entrance fee but also because attendees were expected to wear full evening dresses, including top hats (Collins, 1986). In contrast, hiplife (a fusion of highlife and hip-hop) emerged among the urban youth in the 1990s to embody the cosmopolitan aspirations, economic anxieties, and cultural energy of

a globalizing Ghana. Hiplife is produced using basic musical instruments and equipment, the lyrics drawn from the everyday lives of people, and its records and performances are relatively inexpensive (Shipley, 2013). More importantly, hiplife venerates the disenfranchized and marginalized members of society making it appealing to lower-class audiences.

BETWEEN CULTURES

The influence of American hip-hop on Ghana's hiplife as well as on K-Pop demonstrates that cultures travel beyond their geographical locations and are, in turn, influenced by social forces originating from other societies. **Transcultural diffusion** refers to the process by which ideas, products, and other aspects of culture spread from one society to another. This process has been an integral part of ancient civilizations, which came as a result of conquest, trade, and religious proselytization. As discussed earlier, the making of *kimchi* (South Korea's national dish) developed with the rise of vegetarianism after Buddhism was introduced to South Korea during the 6th century. Similarly, *fufu* (Ghana's national dish) would not have existed if the Portuguese colonizers did not bring cassava to West Africa from Brazil. Most people think that the "unique" material and non-material cultural attributes that defined their society and their own identity are born out of their ancestors' ingenuity. However, societies have been exchanging, borrowing, stealing, imitating, imposing, and giving ideas and other aspects of their cultures to each other.

Technological advances, the integration of world markets, and the global spread of political ideologies resulted in the acceleration of cultural diffusion, particularly through the processes of modernization and globalization. *Modernization* fundamentally refers to the spread of the ideals of the Industrial and Intellectual Revolutions from Europe to the rest of the world. Ideas (democracy, sociology, etc.), items (sliced bread, flush toilets, etc.), innovations (railroad, electricity, etc.), and institutions (nuclear family, nation-state, etc.) are some of the modern ways embraced by most societies around the world. More recently, globalization has resulted in greater integration of international markets which facilitated the expansion of multinational corporations as well as the cultural economies of food, sports, and music, etc. The advancement in transportation technologies did not only facilitate business relations and logistics but also the movement of people. Sam Okyere in South Korea and the millions of other migrants from different parts of the world fanned out in recent decades into global diasporas. **Diasporas** refer to the dispersions of people from their homeland due to violent conflicts and economic opportunities. The emergence of ethnic enclaves in Seoul as well as in most major cities in recent years is proof of how the current global era has facilitated the extensive movement of people across the globe.

Transcultural diffusion, indeed, is less about the interactions between cultures than the interactions of people who represent them. People who travel to other countries either as short-

term tourists or as migrants feel disoriented when they experience foreign cultures. Sociologists use the term **culture shock** to describe the feeling of disorientation that comes with the immersion into a new cultural environment. The sense of disorientation can come from adjusting to a new food, language, and other everyday activities as well as the realization that homegrown knowledge and strategies do not apply in the foreign setting. Inversely, some people who lived abroad for a long time, experienced *re-entry shock* when they realized that the culture that they were familiar with has already changed while they were away.

Both culture shock and re-entry shock, however, are momentary disorientation and the way an individual walks out of these situations mainly depends on two important sociological concepts: ethnocentrism and cultural relativism. Since people inherently view other cultures through the lens of their home culture, they also pass judgment on them using the standards of their own culture. Sociologist William Sumner (1959) introduced the term **ethnocentrism** to refer to the tendency to assume that one's own culture represent the norm or the ideal and view others as deviations from what is normal or as subpar versions of a superior principle, practice, or product. In a talk show episode, Sam Okyere and two South Koreans were talking about the celebrity status of Okyere in his native country when one of the speakers asked, "They have TVs in Ghana?" and probed further if there were broadcasting stations, buildings, or clubs (Im, 2018). The South Korean's discriminatory question was posed from an ethnocentric position, using South Korea's advanced technology and infrastructure as a standard to look down on Ghana as a less developed country.

In contrast, **cultural relativism** refers to the belief that other cultures should be viewed and judged using their standards. "Locating culture" (see section above) or by situating a cultural product or practice within the larger geographical context and historical background helps us see the rationality behind what we often judge as abnormal or bizarre. For instance, instead of dismissing *kimchi* as "smelly," someone who judges this popular side dish using the cultural relativism perspective is aware that its distinctive smell is a result of fermentation and the smell can turn into an addictive aroma once a person gets used to the dish. Besides, the world is full of smelly food, for example, shark meat from Iceland, blue cheese from France, durian fruit from Southeast Asia, and stinking toe fruit from the Caribbean.

Overall, how the increasing transcultural diffusion that is happening around the world can be seen by using these three theories: (1) Samuel Huntington's "The Clash of Civilizations," (2) George Ritzer's "The McDonaldization of Society," and (3) Homi Bhabha's concept of "cultural hybridity." Samuel Huntington (1996) views world cultures as separate tectonic plates that clash with one another as they move from one part of the world to another. He argues that the "fault lines" or cause of conflicts are no longer on ideology (post-Cold War) but on culture. He highlights Islam (conflicts in Afghanistan and the Middle East) or the Confucian tradition (conflict with China) as sources of friction because of their irreconcilable differences with West-

ern cultures. George Ritzer (see Chapter 8), on the other hand, describes transcultural diffusion as "the process whereby the principles of the fast-food restaurant are coming to dominate more and more sectors of American society as well as the rest of the world" (1993: 19). He argues that the world will eventually become culturally homogenous (all people will share the same culture) as the rest of the world embraces Western capitalism as a way of life. Finally, Homi Bhabha (1994) describes the emerging global order as made up of mixed cultures – hiplife, fusion food, Korean-American, and many other cultural combinations. Hybridity, however, emerged not as a completely new phenomenon but out of the increasing recognition of mixed identities, languages, and other hybrid forms as the ideals of purity and differentialism are increasingly challenged by the intensification of transcultural diffusion (Nederveen-Pieterse, 2003).

Contrasting Concepts:
Can Culture Trigger Social Change? Protestant Ethic vs Asian Values

Our discussion has mainly focused on how culture can change, but is it also possible for culture to be a catalyst for change in society? In 1904 and 1905, Max Weber published two essays that were later combined to form his most influential work, *The Protestant Ethic and the Rise of Capitalism*. In this work, Weber argued that changes in the people's belief system (religion) is not merely a result of economic changes, but rather what occurred is the opposite. The Protestant beliefs in predetermination (wealth as a sign of being favored by God) and asceticism (avoiding worldly indulgence) were not created by the change in institutions (e.g., money, commerce, politics, etc.) but emerged separately as a consequence of the Reformation (founding of Protestantism). These new principles and practices led to the rise of modern capitalism as people built enterprises and sought to accumulate wealth for investment.

Towards the end of the 20th century, the economic development of Japan and of the "Four Tigers" (Hongkong, South Korea, Taiwan, and Singapore) later led many to question Weber's ideas since these are not Protestant countries. Eventually, scholars and political leaders used the concept of "Asian Values" as the equivalent to Weber's Protestant Ethic to underscore how values such as filial piety, the emphasis on education, and communitarianism were the catalysts to the economic development of these Asian countries (Chua, 1999).

In sum, the "clash of civilizations" means that mixing is not possible and transcultural diffusion will eventually lead to conflict. Meanwhile, the "McDonaldization of Society" argument suggests that all societies will eventually be Westernized, creating a world where people eat the same type of food, wear the same style of clothing, and live following a homogenized cultural standard. Finally, hybridity expects the emergence of new hybrid cultures that will result from increasing contact between people and cultures.

KEY CONCEPTS

Beliefs
Counterculture
Cultural relativism
Cultural universals
Cancel culture
Cultural particulars
Culture shock
Diasporas

Ethnocentrism
High culture
Material culture
Norms
Sanctions
Subculture
Transcultural diffusion
Folkways
Language
Mores
Popular culture
Socialization
Symbols
Values

DISCUSSION QUESTIONS

1. Some social analysts believe that university students relate better to advertising culture and social media than they do to history, literature, and other academic traditions. Explore the meanings and links between socialization and popular culture to test the validity of this assertion.
2. Choose three of the five characteristics of culture and explain their relevance in the context of your favorite pastime.
3. Discuss the cultural attributes (values, norms, etc.) associated with your campus organization. "Locate" the organization's culture by exploring its linkages to geography and history.

SUGGESTED READINGS

1. Chua Beng Huat. (1999). "'Asian Values' Discourse and the Resurrection of the Social." *Positions*, 7(2): pp. 573–592.
2. Miner, Horace. (1956). "Body Ritual among the Nacirema." *American Anthropologist*, Vol. 58(3): pp. 503–507.
3. Nederveen-Pieterse, Jan. (2003). "Globalization and Culture: Three Paradigms." Chapter 3 in *Globalization and Culture: Global Melange* (Lanham: Rowman and Littlefield), pp. 43–64.
4. Rothman, Joshua. (2014). "The Meaning of Culture." *The New Yorker*, 26 December. Retrieved June 15, 2021. (http://www.newyorker.com/books/joshua-rothman/meaning-culture)

CHAPTER 8

GROUPS AND ORGANIZATIONS

2021 is a year of dramatic transformations for television. In the Philippines, the failure of its largest television company, ABS-CBN (Alto Broadcasting System – Chronicle Broadcasting Network), to secure an extension for its franchise has fast-tracked its transition into digital platforms. Currently, the television company is "the most subscribed and most viewed YouTube channel" in Southeast Asia and enjoys a large following on Facebook, Twitter, Instagram, and other streaming platforms (Cruz, 2021). Across the Pacific, Mexico's biggest television company Televisa merged its content and production assets with long-time American broadcast partner, Univision, to create the largest Spanish-language media company in the world. The main objective of the merger is to transition into the streaming format, currently the most popular and lucrative content delivery platform that is dominated by Netflix (Villafañe, 2021).

An evening musical show at Parque Santa Lucia in Merida, the capital of Yucatan in southeastern Mexico.

Although both developments are laudable examples of how organizations adapt to changing technological and economic environments, the transitions also marked the end of an era. Gone are the days of "the television of 'sharedness,'" according to sociologist Elihu Katz. The television of family togetherness, viewer groups, and nation-building is no longer with us. In its place is the "television of hundreds of channels, of 'niche' broadcasting, of portability, one that is part of a system that integrates with the Internet and the other new media." ABS-CBN's transition towards

social media and Televisa's shift towards online streaming point towards "the end of television" (Katz, 2009: 7). Tougher competition, weak advertising sales, and a global trend towards online content delivery have cast gloomy clouds over the future of what used to be a ubiquitous media form and a powerful political organization.

These transformations, however, do not only point towards the end of television but could also mark the end of society. They mark the declining influence of social groups and the continued rise of individualism, the disintegration of organizations into networks, and the shifting focus from society to globality. The social significance of television is closely intertwined with those of the family and nation-state. In the second half of the 20th century, television grew to take on an important place in family consumption and socialization that would only come second to family meals (Livingstone, 2009). At the national level, television is also the key component of mass media, which is viewed as the "fourth estate" due to its capacity to wield political influence (Katz, 2009). As such, television brings the family out to partake in public affairs while taking politics from the hallowed halls of institutions into the informal and intimate spaces of the home.

Moreover, the family and the state, respectively, are the basic forms of the groups and organizations that people use to obtain their basic needs and serve as the basis of their identity and sense of belonging. What are groups and organizations? What are their roles in the age of social media and the current global world order? How would television and the different social issues surrounding it help us get a better grasp of these important social entities? If culture refers to the *sets of knowledge* (software), groups and organizations are the *structures* (hardware) where these sets of knowledge are applied to help individuals navigate their physical and social environment. Everyone is simultaneously a member of many groups and organizations that range from informal interactions with one or a few others to complex social relations involving hundreds or more people.

VIEWING GROUPS

Before the Covid-19 pandemic, several queues would normally form outside the ABS-CBN studios in Quezon City. One is a queue to the special entrance for celebrities and executives, another for low- to mid-level employees, a visitor's queue for suppliers and partners, one or two queues for people who are trying to avail themselves of the company's charity programs, and another one or two for those who want to participate as live audience in one of its daily shows (Ong, 2015). This scene provides a good setting to categorize the different types of social collectivities and groups that serve as boundaries of human interactions.

Types of Social Collectivities

Social collectivities, such as the different queues outside ABS-CBN, can be broadly classified into three types: (1) category, (2) aggregate, and (3) group (Forsyth, 2010; Cooley, 1963). Each of the queues constitutes a **category** – a collection of people who may never have met one another but share a similar characteristic such as social class background, occupation, or educational attain-

ment. People with lower-class and upper-class backgrounds make up categories, as do gender, age, or ethnicity. The people in categories do not have stable structures of interaction or have anything in common other than a particular trait. Moreover, the people waiting for charity services or those who want to enter for the daily shows is an **aggregate** (or a casual crowd) – a collection of people who happen to be at the same place and at the same time but share little else in common. They share a common objective, either to receive assistance or to participate in the television shows as live audience, but they rarely know each other nor interact with one another.

Lastly, a **group** is a collection of people who interact frequently with one another, form an interdependent relationship, and share a sense of belonging. The queues for the employees and the celebrities are made up of groups because these collectives interact every day as colleagues, their specific role in the company allows them to develop a sense of interdependence, and they likely share a sense of belonging as ABS-CBN employees or creative talents. There are instances when people in aggregates and categories form groups. The people who queue every day to participate in live television shows can organize themselves into a fan club while people from lower-class backgrounds who come to avail themselves of the charity programs can form a community-based livelihood organization.

Types of Groups

Because of the large number of groups that shape the everyday lives of people, sociologists have also come up with several classifications to underscore their importance in establishing individual identities, facilitating social interactions, and sustaining institutions (see Table 8.1). Groups can generally be classified according to size (dyads and triads), social boundary (in-groups and out-groups), pattern of interaction (reference groups and networks), and structure of relationship (primary groups and secondary groups).

TABLE 8.1
Types of Groups

	Focus	Characteristics
Dyad	Group size	Group of two members
Triad	Group size	Group of three members
Ingroup	Social boundary	Sense of belonging and identification
Outgroup	Social boundary	"Other" group, competitor, adversary
Reference Group	Interaction pattern	Influences one's behavior, member or not
Network	Interaction pattern	Web of relations, expands influence
Primary Group	Relationship structure	Small, emotion driven, long-term interaction
Secondary Group	Relationship structure	Large, goal-oriented, short-term interaction

Sources: Forsyth (2010), Cooley (1963)

German sociologist Georg Simmel (see Chapter 2) pioneered the examination of "social forms" (group size) that recur in different contexts rather than the content (gender, class, etc.) as important factors in shaping social interaction. He focused his research on *dyads* (groups of two people) and *triads* (groups of three people), and discovered that even the smallest groups have a significant influence on individual behavior (Simmel, 1950). We often hear of phrases like "three is a crowd" or "third wheel." George Simmel was the first scholar to examine the phenomenon surrounding these everyday phrases. He came up with the term, *triadic segregation* to describe the tendency for triads to break up into a pair and an *isolate* (a single person). This shows that triads (or larger group sizes) are relatively unstable in comparison to dyads. Although the distinction appears minor, Simmel's research has been influential in subsequent studies on coalitions and group dynamics in management, productivity, sports, and other settings.

Moreover, the relative weakness of a triad stems from the tendency of individuals to set boundaries in their relationships with different people. In larger groups, systems of inclusion (or exclusion) that distinguish people between insiders and outsiders can have a powerful effect on an individual's sense of belonging in specific groups. William Graham Sumner (1959) came up with the terms "ingroups" and "outgroups" to describe the boundaries that people set to enclose members of their group while separating those who belong to another group. An **ingroup** is a group wherein an individual feels a sense of belonging and the group constitutes a key part of the individual's identity. An *outgroup*, on the other hand, is the "other group" that an individual views as the competition or adversary of his or her group.

Television viewers in Mexico and the Philippines are roughly divided between the supporters of each of the countries' two major companies: Televisa and TV Azteca in Mexico, and ABS-CBN and GMA (Global Media Arts) Network in the Philippines. ABS-CBN fans are known as *Kapamilya* (of one family) while their GMA rivals are known as *Kapuso* (of one heart). Television viewers in Mexico also follow a similar distinction that is not only reflected in the supporters' program preferences but also in how they identify and feel a sense of belonging to their favorite television network (Pertierra, 2020). Generally, Sumner's concepts of ingroup and outgroup apply to how television viewers (and creative talents) in Mexico and the Philippines understand themselves as belonging to specific television groups. Moreover, Sumner's ingroup-outgroup classification does not only provide people with a strong sense of identity but also with a point of reference.

A **reference group** is a group that people use as comparative measures to get a sense of their life situation and social position. When people assess their appearance, behaviors, ideas, or goals, they instinctively refer to the standards of specific groups. Family members, classmates, and co-workers are common reference groups but Wall Street investors, sports leagues, armed forces units, and television networks are also used by people who aspire to become bankers, professional athletes, soldiers, or artists and anticipate being part of these specific groups. An individual can simultaneously have different reference groups and their number and importance vary as one moves through different life stages and social settings.

Groups, however, do not merely define the boundaries of people's relationships and belonging, they also connect them to the larger society. Groups allow people to get acquainted and foster relations with others within their personal, professional, and other social circles. These linkages are called **networks**, which refer to a web of social relationships that link an individual directly to others and, through them, to an even larger number of people. Coincidentally, television companies are also called networks because they usually own a central production facility that feeds several stations with news programs and entertainment shows. Similarly, a network allows people to expand their influence beyond their immediate relations.

The term *networking* is currently popular in professional settings to describe the contact that people make to find jobs, business deals, and other opportunities. LinkedIn, an online professional networking company, allows individuals to expand their network beyond the traditional face-to-face and personal correspondence channels. Outside professional settings, social media platforms such as Instagram and Facebook are also networking channels that allow individuals to connect with others in a wider range of intentions and intensity.

Finally, sociologist Charles H. Cooley (1963) distinguished between primary groups and secondary groups to underscore the characteristics and structure of the interactions between their members. A **primary group** refers to a small group in which members engage in face-to-face, emotionally-driven interactions over an extended period. Households, sports teams, and church groups are examples of a primary group. They are instrumental in the process of socialization and often play key roles in the everyday lives of people. In contrast, a **secondary group** refers to an impersonal goal-oriented relationship over a limited period. Secondary groups often exist within the workplace wherein members assume defined roles and interactions transpire in formal and impersonal ways. Formal organizations such as multinational corporations and government bureaucracies are examples of a secondary group.

Contrasting Concepts:
Group Conformity vs Groupthink

Group conformity is the process of adjusting one's behaviors to align them with the norms established by society, organizations, or groups. People often feel the pressure from other group members to "go with the flow." The pressure to conform may compel individuals to do things that they would otherwise be unwilling to do.

Groups are often judged based on their capacity to ensure conformity. Those beset by discord are weak while those that show cohesion are the best groups. However, cohesiveness can have its downside since a dissenting voice can save the group from committing mistakes. *Groupthink* is a process of reasoning or decision making by a group, especially one characterized by uncritical acceptance or conformity to a perceived majority view (Janis, 1972).

In the 1970s, Miguel Sabido, a Televisa writer and producer pioneered education-entertainment, when he incorporated "social themes" into the telenovelas (soap operas) that he produced. The themes included adult education and family planning, which all aligned with the government's literacy and population control programs. Apart from its intended goals, the hugely popular soap operas were praised for their abilities to promote conformity, and even national unity. However, critics were worried that the enormous influence wielded by these television programs could lead to groupthink (Burns, 2017).

VIEWING ORGANIZATIONS

As the largest media conglomerate in the Philippines, ABS-CBN is a colossal organization involving two television channels and 80 local stations. In addition, the organization has 65 subsidiaries that are involved in radio, telecommunications, theater operation, education and training, money remittance, call center, logistics, print and publishing, real estate, theme park, food services, and investment. ABS-CBN also belongs to an even larger organization, the Lopez Group, which has substantial holdings in power generation and distribution, real estate development, engineering and construction, and manufacturing (Lopez Holdings Corporation, 2020; ABS-CBN Corporation, 2019). Therefore, a Manila resident not only can watch an ABS-CBN program on television but also receives electricity supply as well as choose to read a magazine, listen to the radio, receive money from overseas, go to a mall, and live in a condominium, all of which are produced by companies that are directly affiliated or linked to the ABS-CBN conglomerate.

Much of people's lives today are dominated by large organizations. From multinational corporations to government bureaucracies, organizations are present the moment a person is born (hospitals, infant formula companies, etc.) and until he or she passes away (funeral services, legal expropriation of an estate, etc.). **Organization** (also called formal organization) refers to a highly-structured group designed to accomplish specific goals in the most efficient manner. Apart from the involvement of many people, organizations are distinguished by their relative longevity. Most continue to exist beyond the lives of their founders through leadership succession practices and organizational arrangements that ensure the sustainability of production. Organizations continue to operate even as new members are hired while others resign, get fired, retire, or die. Emilio Azcarraga Jean, the previous chief executive of Televisa resigned in 2017, after 20 years at the helm. Eugenio Lopez III, the Chairman Emeritus and Director of ABS-CBN also resigned from his posts in 2020, after leading the media conglomerate for 23 years (De La Fuente 2017; Rivas,, 2020). Both are grandsons of the founders of the respective media companies and are symbols of corporate longevity, particularly as a family enterprise. However, despite the resignations of Azcarraga and Lopez, both the Televisa and ABS-CBN continue to exist with their new sets of leaders.

Moreover, organizations are also notable for their marked cultural impact. Often, they offer products and services whose values transcend their intended purposes. Televisa's primetime programs of popular *telenovelas* (soap operas) and a series of advertisements featuring the conglomerate's other products (youth magazines, merchandises, etc.) and multinational companies (McDonald's, Chevrolet, etc.) do not simply offer evening entertainment. According to communications scholar Patrick Murphy (1995: 256), they produce a "visual imagery of young and beautiful consumers fulfilling their lives, solving their problems, and defining their identities via the consumer products of choice." Just as how Televisa transformed family entertainment, McDonald's also changed the way people eat and Chevrolet revolutionized travel. Organizations, therefore, do not only provide products and services but also promote distinct lifestyles and values.

Types of Organizations

Sociologist Amatai Etzioni (1975) classified organizations into three categories: normative, coercive, and utilitarian (see Table 8.2). This classification is based on organizational goals and membership affiliation. **Normative organizations** (or voluntary organizations) attract members who pursue common interests and goals that they consider personally or socially meaningful. Examples of normative organizations include student organizations, sports clubs, art groups, political parties, advocacy groups, and people's associations. *Coercive organizations* are largely characterized by involuntary inclusion and the strict control of their members. Prisons, mental institutions, and military training centers are common examples of coercive organizations. Lastly, *utilitarian organizations* attract members by offering material benefits and other opportunities. A university (in pursuit of a degree) and a workplace (in pursuit of a salary) are examples of utilitarian organizations.

TABLE 8.2
Characteristics of Organizations

Type of Organizations	Membership	Form of Control	Affinity
Normative	voluntary	moral	shared
Coercive	mandatory	force	disciplined
Utilitarian	contractual	reward	structured

Source: Etzioni (1975)

The three types of organizations are further distinguished by the form of control used over them and the affinity between members. Normative organizations employ *moral control* and the basis of relationships among their members is their shared affinity for a common interest. Coercive organizations, on the other hand, use *force* to control their members who base their relationships on disciplined interaction. Lastly, utilitarian organizations utilize *rewards* to control their members who usually have structured relationships with each other.

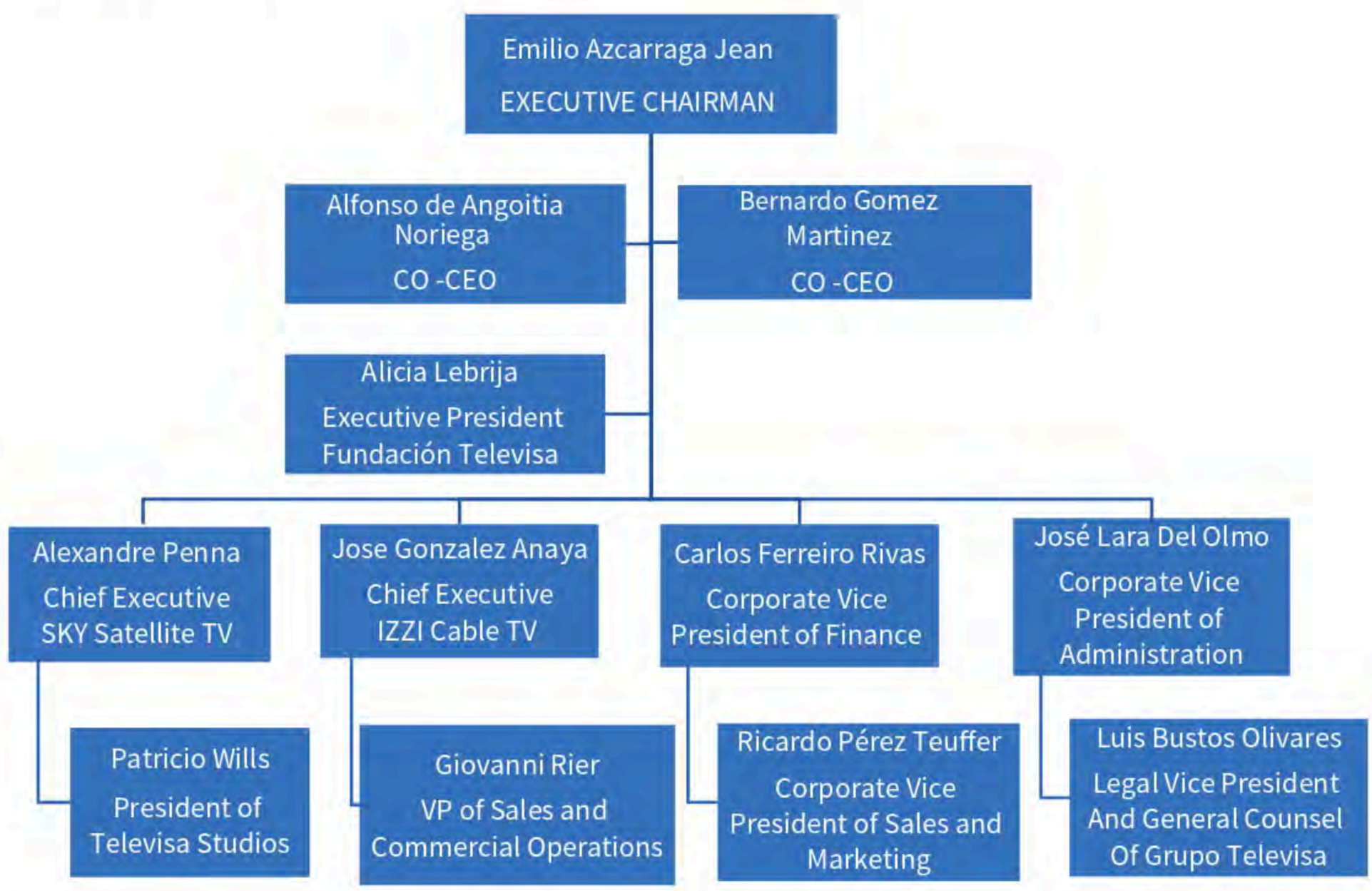
Normative, coercive, and utilitarian organizations differ in their goals, membership, and other characteristics, but a single organization can fall into all three categories. For instance, as business conglomerates, television networks are primarily utilitarian organizations. Both Televisa and ABS-CBN are major employers. The Mexican conglomerate provided jobs to 43,200 people while its Philippine counterpart provided 11,017 jobs before its franchise renewal was revoked in 2020. Television networks are also normative organizations. Both ABS-CBN and Televisa are known for their charity and social development programs. One of such programs is a *Voluntariado Verde* (Green Volunteering), which is a group of around 4,000 Televisa employees and other volunteers that organizes clean-up drives in different locations across Mexico (Fundacion Televisa, 2019).

Finally, television networks can be coercive organizations. The histories of ABS-CBN and Televisa are both shaped by their relationships with powerful government regimes. From the 1950s to the late 1990s, former Televisa executives were known for their open support to the country's ruling party. The network enjoyed the patronage of Mexico's past presidents but in return, Televisa played a role in stymieing political oppositions and in influencing public opinion in favor of the powerful elite (Hughes and Lawson, 2004). ABS-CBN, on the other hand, was on the other side of the coercive power of the government. The company was forcibly sequestered during the regime of Ferdinand Marcos (1969–1986) and the rejection of its franchise renewal application in 2020 stemmed from its conflict with the current administration (Cruz, 2021). However, these repressions occurred because of ABS-CBN's strong link with opposition parties and its capacity to wield political influence (potential coercive power) that threatened the two government administrations.

BUREAUCRACIES

As a colossal multi-media conglomerate, Televisa is administered by a professional management team (see Figure 8.1). After Emilio Azcarraga Jean resigned as CEO (Chief Executive Officer) in

FIGURE 8.1
Organizational Chart, Televisa Group



Source: Televisa (2020). This changed when Televisa and Univision merged in April 2021.

2017, he was replaced by his two long-time associates, Alfonso de Angoitia Noriega and Bernardo Gomez Martinez who serve as Co-CEOs. Below them is another line of senior managers who are in charge of the different divisions and subsidiaries of the media conglomerate. Under each of these senior managers are a series of managers, directors, unit heads, and supervisors that oversee the rest of Televisa's 43,200 employees (Televisa, 2020).

This organizational chart illustrates a structure that is the hallmark of bureaucracies. Bureaucracy is a familiar concept that people associate with the various branches of government administration. Sociologists, however, have a broader definition of this important concept. **Bureaucracy** is an organization characterized by a hierarchical structure, explicit rules, and division of labor (Weber, 1968). Today, bureaucracy has taken on a negative connotation and is associated with impersonal interaction, mechanical procedures, red tapes, paper chase, and even corruption. However, bureaucracy is originally seen as the ideal organizational system that embodies impartiality, rationality, and efficiency.

The Characteristics of Bureaucracy

Max Weber (1968) suggested that bureaucracies have the following five characteristics. These are ideal qualities that would allow bureaucracies to coordinate human activities in a large organization toward achieving organizational goals.

1. *Division of Labor*. Bureaucracies are characterized by *specialization*, which refers to a working arrangement that is based on individual skills and designed to place people in areas where they can perform the best, helping both the individual, as well as the organization. Televisa's co-CEOs, for instance, are distinguished by their respective expertise. Bernardo Gomez is the political expert who manages the news content and government relations while Alfonso de Angoitia is the financial whiz who is instrumental in maintaining the company's profitability and expansion (Webber, 2017).
2. *Hierarchy of Authority*. Televisa's organizational chart (see Figure 8.1) demonstrates a hierarchy of authority. Each higher office is responsible for the supervision of lower units, most of which are not included in the chart. Those few individuals in the chart wield more power than those who are in the lower levels. Those who are lower in the hierarchy report and, often, take orders from those above them.
3. *Rules and Regulations*. Televisa has a 23-page published Code of Ethics that outlines its vision, mission, policies (legal framework, social responsibility, etc.), sanctions, and other key organizational principles. This Code of Ethics, as well as the more specific rules and regulations governing specific aspects of the company's operations, is necessary to establish authority within the organization. These rules guide the actions of its employees, provide the standards for the assessment of their performance, and serve as the basis for other administrative decisions.

4. *Meritocracy*. Positions are filled based on objective criteria such as academic degree, work experience, or merit points and not on personal considerations, such as family ties or friendship. Despite its control by three generations of the Azcarraga family, Televisa needs technological and administrative competence to thrive in the complex and dynamic mass media industry. Despite being the grandson of Televisa's founder, Emilio Azcarraga Jean studied in Canada and in one of the most prestigious universities in Mexico, the *Universidad Iberoamericana* to help him prepare for an executive job at Televisa. In addition, each position in the bureaucracy is supposed to provide an opportunity for career advancement. Again, the organizational chart illustrates how each of the positions serves as a step in the career ladder. Thus, apart from the salary that employees receive, career advancement also serves as a motivation and reward for an individual's service to the organization. For the organization, the career ladder encourages loyalty from its members and provides continuity in production and management.
5. *Efficiency*. Governed by the principles of rationality and meritocracy, bureaucracies are designed to coordinate the activities of many people to pursue organizational goals. The resignation of Televisa's former CEO in 2017 was primarily a move to ensure the continued efficiency as the company suffered from the emergence of more competitors and declining sales (Webber, 2017). The challenges that mainly came with the rise of digital technology and social media have called for new decision makers to plan the best strategies to maintain efficiency and move the company forward.

MULTINATIONAL CORPORATION

During the course of the public debate concerning the controversies surrounding ABS-CBN's bid for the renewal of its radio and television broadcast in 2020, a report came out about the presence of ABS-CBN Global Hungary, a wholly-owned subsidiary of ABS-CBN based in Budapest. It was known that the subsidiary's operation is extensive (oversees 133 corporate enterprises and 71 subsidiaries) and profitable (US$54.74 million annual revenue). However, what piqued the interest of the public is the seemingly inconceivable information that the ABS-CBN Hungary subsidiary has only one employee (Dela Cruz, 2020). Through digital technology and a complex web of investment, banking, and tax policies, most of the Hungary subsidiary's operation is run by ABS-CBN's Amsterdam subsidiary as well as its other affiliates located in various locations across the globe, including Australia, Canada, United Kingdom, United States, Japan, Singapore, UAE, and the Cayman Islands.

This extensive global operation makes ABS-CBN a multinational corporation. Today, organizations are not merely measured by their number of employees and the amount of their revenue but also by the geographical scope of their operation. Multinational corporations, such as McDonald's, Apple, and Pfizer are some of the most influential organizations in the world. Funda-

mentally, a *corporation* is a formal organization that has a distinct legal existence, including the right to engage in legal transactions, that are separate from that of its members (Davis, 2001). Corporations are traditionally tied to local and/or national locations but the loosening economic control in many countries has facilitated the growth of many multinational corporations. A **multinational corporation** (MNC) is a corporation that is headquartered in one country but operates factories, sales offices, and other facilities in other countries. The size of an MNC can range from fewer than 10 to millions of employees. In fact, most MNCs have around 250 employees (Gabel and Bruner, 2003). Multinational Corporations expand their operations abroad for various reasons, including to obtain raw materials, tap cheap labor resources, expand markets, avoid paying taxes, and sidestep government regulations. The annual revenues of some of the largest multinational corporations are bigger than that of many countries.

As the ABS-CBN case shows, multinational corporations are both influential and controversial. Some praised MNCs for providing employment opportunities, transferring technologies to developing countries, and for promoting cultural understanding. Others, however, are critical of MNCs for causing environmental degradation, exploiting cheap labor, displacing local businesses, and for influencing policies to their advantage. **The CNN Effect**, a concept that highlights how television and mass media companies influence important government decisions as well as the actual outcomes of events. Both ABS-CBN and Televisa have been accused of political bias, particularly in the airing of political advertisements during elections (Mercado, 2020; Hughes and Lawson, 2004). In a much larger context, both media conglomerates also shape popular cultures through their entertainment programs. ABS-CBN *teleserye* (Philippine television drama) and Televisa's *telenovela* (Mexican television drama) programs have widespread influence on how their millions of audiences conceive poverty, marginalization, sexuality, violence, and other moral and social issues (Ong, 2015; Murphy, 1995).

A television van in central Moscow. Television is seen both as a vehicle in circulating information and in disseminating propaganda.

In 1993, American sociologist George Ritzer, published his book, "The McDonaldization of Society" to demonstrate the profound impact of multinational corporations on society. **The McDonaldization of Society** refers to "the process by which the principles of the fast-food restaurant are coming to dominate more and more sectors of the American society as well as the rest of the world" (1993: 1). Influenced by Max Weber's concept of rationalization, Ritzer explained how McDonald's operating principles of: (1) efficiency (hunger to full in a few minutes), (2) quantifications (delivery in 20 minutes), (3) predictability (similar Big Macs anywhere), and (4) control (monitoring and non-human technology) are being replicated not only by other food establishments but also in other sectors of society. Today, one can see the McDonaldization of medicine (e.g., multiple branches of clinics), education (e.g., customized degree in three years), and government services (e.g., service counters and kiosks) among many other sectors. In the same way, one can also conceive a "telenovelization" of society as governments and corporations used the drama and series platforms in producing public information drives and commercial advertisements. The use of social media, such as Facebook, YouTube, and Instagram, also allows individuals to present a dramatized and serialized facet of their lives to an audience.

THE DRAMAS AND DILEMMAS OF ORGANIZATIONS

Today, no one will have any difficulty pointing out a few problems with bureaucracy. Indeed, with its size and influence, scholars and any concerned individual may have an ambiguous view of bureaucratic organizations. At times, supporting them for their roles in promoting the political and economic well-being of societies while criticizing them for their shortcomings and their tendencies to control various aspects of our daily lives. When bureaucratic organizations started to gain more influence at the outset of the Industrial Revolution in the 19th century, pioneering sociologists began to examine their impact on society. In fact, the rise of bureaucracy arguably spurred the emergence of sociology as an academic discipline. The earliest studies of Karl Marx, Emile Durkheim, and Max Weber did not only introduce some of the basic concepts on modern organizations but, more notably, all of them set off warnings about their limits and negative consequences.

Emile Durkheim: Abnormal Division of Labor

Emile Durkheim's functionalist approach accounts for potential breakdowns in bureaucratic systems which could result in the emergence of *abnormal division of labor*. He classified this organizational dilemma into two categories: (1) anomic division of labor and (2) forced division of labor. **Anomic division of labor** happens when a political or economic crisis disrupts the existing social order and results in the weakening of solidarity between members of an organization. The concept of *anomie* is often associated with Durkheim's work on suicide, but it has a wider relevance, particularly, as a condition when the moral fiber that binds the individual to the organization loosens, resulting in social isolation and confusion regarding what are appropriate or

acceptable actions (Durkheim, 1933). In contrast, *forced division of labor* happens when an individual or a group exercises control over the bureaucratic process resulting in the marginalization or exploitation of certain individuals or groups in the organizations. Ideally, social inequalities (position, salary, etc.) should be aligned with natural inequalities (physical capabilities, skills, etc.). A forced division of labor manipulates this meritocratic system resulting in conflict between members or the overall weakening of the organization (ibid., pp. 376–387).

In the late 1990s, the issues that came with the leadership transition resulted in a crisis in Televisa. The crisis resulted in an *anomic division of labor*, which saw the resignation and termination of thousands of employees. However, even before the crisis happened, many were already concerned about the autocratic management style of the previous chief executive, Emilio Azcarraga Milmo. He was known for putting his allies in key positions to maintain control over the vast conglomerate. His decision to choose Guillermo Cañedo, a loyal supporter as his successor instead of his son, resulted in a power struggle that dragged the entire company into a period of uncertainty. This attempt to control the bureaucratic process is an example of *a forced division of labor*. Eventually, his son, Emilio Azcarraga Jean, prevailed over all the oppositions and became the chief executive of Televisa in 1997 (Preston, 2000).

Karl Marx: The Alienation of Labor

The emphases on rules, impersonality, and efficiency in a bureaucratic organization often create conditions in which workers lose the sense of meaning in the repetitive and standardized tasks that they are obliged to perform. This condition is called **alienation**, which refers to the feeling of isolation, meaninglessness, and powerlessness that workers feel due to the lack of control over the process of production and their estrangement from the values and goals of the organization. Karl Marx discussed the four aspects of the alienation of labor. They are: (1) alienation from the product of labor, (2) alienation from the activity of labor, (3) alienation from one's own humanness, and (4) alienation from others.

The restructuring of Televisa in the 1990s saw the resignation of Ricardo Rocha, one of the respected journalists in the company who specializes in documentary exposes. However, when his work uncovered the involvement of the government officials in heinous crimes, Rocha's programs were banned by Televisa's chief executive who was openly supportive of Mexico's ruling party. This suppression forced Rocha to resign from Televisa. Although this concept is used to describe the experiences of the working class, Rocha's last years in Televisa can be described by using Marx's "alienation of labor" wherein he lost control over his programs (alienation from the product of labor), his documentaries were subjected to internal censorship (alienation from the activity of labor), he became disillusioned with his life and purpose as a mainstream media journalist (alienation from one's own humanness), and he was ostracized in the organization where he worked for more than 20 years (alienation from others) (Preston, 2000).

Max Weber: The Iron Cage of Rationality

Bureaucratic organizations have emerged as a pervasive feature of modern societies. They are largely seen as the ideal system of managing the distribution of power, the production of goods, and the many other aspects of society. This widespread influence mainly relies on its distinction as a bastion of the modern principle of *rationality* – a mental and moral approach in which behaviors that are rooted in emotion (love, faith, hate, doubt, etc.), superstition, and supernatural beliefs are replaced by instrumental behaviors (time-saving, cost-efficient, maximized output, etc.).

Max Weber argued that the rise of bureaucratic organizations followed the emergence of "**the iron cage of rationality**," a condition in which individuals are trapped in working and relational arrangements that are solely based on efficiency, calculability, and control (Weber, 1958). Technological advancement (e.g., industrialization, digitization) and their resulting economic systems (industrial capitalism, global capitalism) develop to become fundamental forces in society that shape people's lives and worldviews. The recent restructuring of ABS-CBN and Televisa was a response to the rise of digital technology and social media. Moreover, the rise of smartphones did not only changed how people communicate with each other but also transformed the way they eat, commute, shop, stay fit, manage finances, and do many other everyday activities. The growing influence of mobile technology also led to gadget addiction, negative body image, and mental health issues showing how individuals are unmistakably trapped inside "the glass panel of digital rationality."

Wilfredo Arce and Niceto Poblador: Transcultural Contradictions

Outside the West, discussions on the rise of bureaucratic organizations have largely shifted from a discourse of change to that of contradictions. In contrast to Europe and North America where the rise of bureaucracies is largely viewed as an outcome of society's internal progression, the histories of bureaucracies elsewhere came as an external imposition or importation. The building of bureaucracies as part of enterprise or state projects in non-Western countries are beset with issues concerning conflict, domination, and compatibility. Following a reorientationist standpoint, Filipino sociologists Wilfredo Arce and Niceto Poblador (1977) underscored the *transcultural contradictions* between universalistic bureaucratic systems and local management practices as the post-WWII period (1950s–1970s) which saw the increasing rationalization of formal organizations in the Philippines. The study involved a comparative analysis between organizations (manufacturing and banking) in the Philippines and the United States.

Arce and Poblador compared monetary reward distribution, manager-employee ratio, status orientation in job titles, among a few other bureaucratic features. In sum, they found that Filipino banks have more formalized relations among their employees than American banks (to avoid face-to-face conflict situations) while American bank managers enjoy more autonomy than their Filipino counterparts (high degree of centralized decision-making). Ultimately, the differences

between the Filipino and U.S. organizations are traced back to the strong influence of traditional values on Filipino management practices. Arce and Poblador highlighted how local values such as *pakikisama* (conformity), *utang na loob* (indebtedness), and *hiya* (shame) contradict the bureaucratic characteristics of impersonal relations, meritocracy, and rationality (ibid., pp. 8–14). Their conclusion, however, shows a notable foresight for how things would unfold in the next 30 years. Instead of dismissing these values as obstacles to the development of organizations in the Philippines, they were able to predict an impending social condition where (ibid., p. 29):

> the model of the Philippine organization of the future will be a product of an evolutionary process, an interplay of indigenous and foreign elements. It will inevitably bear the marks of participation in the worldwide industrialization process; just as significantly it will have the distinctive characteristics that will make it truly Filipino.

This pronouncement embodies the main tenets of globalization, which came to prominence around 20 years after Arce and Poblador completed their study. The discussion on the *transcultural contradictions* between Western ideals and local values in organizations came about in the 1990s with the emergence of the Asian Miracle when several countries in the region recorded phenomenal economic growth.

Other Issues and Other Organizations

Apart from the issues raised above, sociologists have pointed out how organizations can be bogged down by bureaucratic inefficiency and oligarchic tendencies. First, bureaucratic inefficiency happens when organizations grow large, and their coordinating mechanisms are unable to adjust to the ensuing complexity. Large organizations become too rigid, even resistant to change as their success become a justification for maintaining the current system. They can be saddled by **red tape**, the excessive regulation (too much paperwork, licenses, committees) that often becomes redundant, hindering workflows and delaying decisions. Large organizations are also susceptible to **bureaucratic ritualism** (Merton, 1968), wherein employees become preoccupied with rules and regulations, more concerned with "going with the flow," instead of finding innovative ways to improve productivity.

Second, bureaucracies tend to consolidate power in the hands of a few people, which result in an oligarchy. **Oligarchy**, which means "the rule of the few," refers to the concentration of decision making on a select group who holds the top positions (Michels, 1962). Apart from their authoritarian tendencies (see Durkheim's forced division of labor), leaders might become too preoccupied with maintaining their position that they lose sight of the larger good or the long-term growth of the organization.

These issues have pushed many organizations to see ways to organize production more efficiently, implement a more inclusive decision-making process, and make a larger impact on society. Apart from the structural reforms that sought to improve working conditions to promote

safety and better work-life balance, organizations have also made efforts to reduce the number of people in dead-end jobs through skills upgrading programs. In addition, many organizations have restructured from large hierarchical production systems to a network of small teams, which allows employees greater control over their work, promote innovation, and increase efficiency. In addition, organizations have given rank-and-file members more opportunities to participate in decision making through employee's representatives in governing bodies or through labor unions and workers associations.

In recent years, there has been an increasing number of organizations that have embraced the ideals of social responsibility. **Social responsibility** is an ethical framework that instills accountability to individuals and organizations in order to promote sustainability and a more humane world (Cheney et al., 2007). The emphasis on social responsibility does not only allow organizations to make a positive impact in society through charity and development programs but also internally promotes efficiency and equitability among its members. For instance, the ABS-CBN Foundation and the Fundacion Televisa are known for their education, community development, entrepreneurship, and environmental programs, which not only help their beneficiaries but also promote a strong sense of identity and belonging among its employees who are encouraged to participate in their various activities.

Finally, the rise of digital technology and the post-industrial production system have also reshaped organizations. The growth of knowledge industries has resulted in the reduction in the managerial and supervisory segments since work generally does not involve material production nor require the coordinated labor of different groups of individuals. There is greater emphasis on innovation and an overall assumption that members of organizations should be agents of change rather than individuals who merely respond to change or needs to adapt to new opportunities and challenges. These organizational innovations encourage new working arrangements that are more flexible and mobile. Recently, flexible working has proven to be immensely advantageous when the global pandemic prevents people from going to their workplaces, making work-from-home as the default working arrangement in most countries.

KEY CONCEPTS

Aggregate
Anomic division of labor
Bureaucratic ritualism
Group
Ingroup
Networks
Oligarchy
Alienation
Bureaucracy
Category
Groupthink
Multinational corporation
Normative organizations
Organization

Primary group
Reference group
Social responsibility
The iron cage of rationality
Red tape
Secondary group
The CNN Effect
The McDonaldization of Society

DISCUSSION QUESTIONS

1. Which social media platform are you most active in? Analyze this platform using the three types of organization.
2. What is your favorite drink? Analyze its maker using the five characteristics of bureaucracy.
3. Think of the university as a bureaucratic organization. How would you describe your experiences as a student using Karl Marx's "alienation of labor" and Max Weber's "the iron cage of rationality"?

SUGGESTED READINGS

1. Arce, Wilfredo and Niceto Poblador. (1977). "Formal Organizations in the Philippines: Motivation, Behavior, Structure, and Change." *Philippine Studies,* Vol. 25(1): pp. 5–29.
2. Cole, Nicki Lisa and Keith Brown. (2014). "The Problem with Fair Trade Coffee." *Contexts,* Vol. 13(1): pp. 50–55.
3. Murphy, Patrick D. (1995). "Television and Cultural Politics in Mexico: Some Notes on Televisa, the State, and Transnational Culture." *The Howard Journal of Communications,* Vol. 6(4): pp. 250–261.
4. Ritzer, George. (1993). *The McDonaldization of Society.* Newbury Park, CA: Pine Forge Press.

CHAPTER 9

DEVIANCE AND SOCIAL CONTROL

2021 will be remembered as the year of unusual unions between Indonesia and Turkey. Early in the year, an uncharacteristic online engagement between an Indonesian and Turkish couple became a popular talking point in the two countries (Cecik, 2021). Unfortunately, another milestone celebration had to be put on hold as the much-anticipated state visit of Turkish President Recep Tayyip Erdogan to Indonesia was postponed due to the global pandemic. Erdogan's visit was part of the commemoration of the 70th anniversary of diplomatic relations between the two countries (Septiari, 2020). Apart from breaking cultural norms and bilateral traditions, both occasions highlighted the crucial role that social media played to connect the two countries.

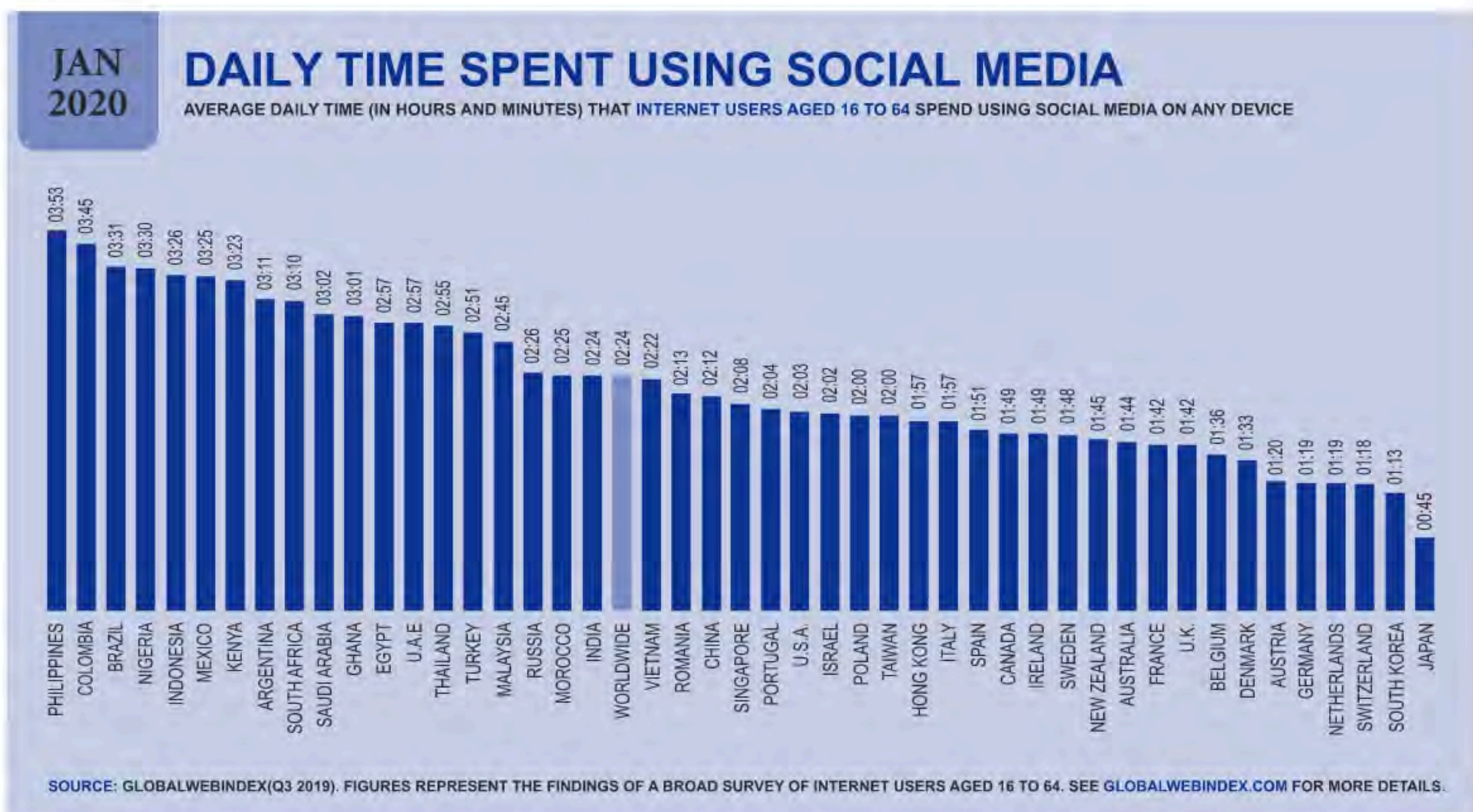
Smartphones have become a ubiquitous part of people's everyday lives.

Indonesia (5th) and Turkey (15th) are among the top countries with high social media usage. Indonesians spend around 3 hours 36 minutes every day while Turkish people spend 2 hours 51 minutes. Both countries spend above the global average of 2 hours 24 minutes (see Table 9.1). In addition, Turkish President Recep Tayyip Erdogan and Indonesian President Joko Widodo are two of the top world leaders in social media. Widodo has the second-highest number of Instagram followers with around 30 million while Erdogan is seventh with about 7 million followers. They are closely ranked in terms of the number of Twitter followers with Erdogan at seventh (16.1 million) and Widodo at eighth (13.8 million) (Statista, 2020a; Statista, 2020b). Both leaders

are using social media as part of their "digital diplomacy" to engage people and promote government programs internally while enhancing personal and national image to a wider external audience (Sevin, 2018; Syaifani and Qubba, 2017). Turkey, in particular, has been expanding its political influence abroad as one of the emerging leaders of the Muslim world (Mikhaylov, 2020). Thus, when Muhammad Mutawalli Asshidiqiy, the Indonesian man who travelled all the way to Turkey to ask for his girlfriend's hand in marriage, was asked about his impression of her home country, he said, "I love Turkey because it is a Muslim country, and its president Recep Tayyip Erdogan helps Muslim countries." (Cecik, 2021).

Despite the popularity of social media in Indonesia and Turkey, the two countries are known for enacting policies and exerting political pressure to restrict content and activities in social media. On November 24, 2020, Indonesia's Ministry of Communication and Information Technology released a new directive called Ministerial Regulation No. 5 (MR5 or Online Intermediary Regulation), which allows the ministry to remove prohibited content and exert control over social media platforms. This new directive has been criticized by Internet freedom and human rights groups who warned that it can stifle free speech and pose threat to individual privacy (The Star, 2021). Even before this law was passed, there were already several instances when people were severely punished for controversial cases on online defamation and hate speech, particularly on subjects that are deemed to be "immoral" or offensive to the country's religious values.

FIGURE 9.1
Top Countries, Social Media Use



Source: Kemp (2021)

On the other side of the continent, Turkey passed a similar legislation (Law No. 5651 or Internet Law) four months earlier, which explicitly requires social media sites to open a local office to enforce court orders. Expectedly, the new law was also met with opposition from local and international human rights groups, which believe that advertising bans, heavy fines, and other sanctions can be used to curtail civil liberties (Yackley, 2021). Although social media legislations are based on upholding traditional values punishing "immorality," they are also used to suppress those who are critical of the current administration. The failed coup in 2016 resulted in more stringent control after many of its supporters used social media platforms to mobilize or voice out their criticism of the government. As a result, Turkish authorities banned Wikipedia for about two years while YouTube, Facebook, and Twitter were forced to removed content and censor groups (Aljazeera, 2020).

Indonesia and Turkey provide an interesting comparison on how deviance, conformity, crime, and social control are constructed, enforced, contested, and changed. They have similarities that show how ideas and practices about deviance and social control are shared by different societies while simultaneously providing distinctive characters that demonstrate how these concepts are rooted in cultural traditions, economic conditions, and political relations. What is deviance and what are its consequences? How does society control people's behavior? What are the different ways in which sociologists analyze deviance? This chapter begins with a definition of deviance, its different types, and the corresponding sanctions imposed by society to curtail them and promote conformity. The discussion will then shift to "the disciplinary society" to examine the different mechanisms that society employs to control people. Finally, a relatively long list of sociological theories on deviance is discussed to demonstrate how each uniquely provides key insights into the analysis of deviance and social control.

"FOLLOWING" DEVIANCE

Deviance is a physical appearance, cultural identity, or peculiar behavior that is challenged or condemned socially because it diverges from established social norms. Social norms, as we discussed in Chapter 7 (Culture), refer to the collectively recognized rules of conduct through which society is structured. They include rules concerning practical matters that are relevant to everyday life (folkways) as well as more serious restrictions and taboos that are fundamental to the workings of society (mores). As such, deviance is also a broad concept that ranges from the violation of enacted laws that entails imprisonment and other heavy penalties to many rule-breaking actions that are not subject to persecution. It includes the inappropriate act of peering into the phone screens of other people in a packed subway train to serious crimes such as cyberterrorism that threatens public safety and social order.

Types of Deviance

Fundamentally, this key sociological concept is classified into formal deviance and informal deviance. Formal deviance involves the violation of formally enacted laws and is, therefore, considered illegal or a crime. Assault, theft, murder, and online fraud are examples of formal deviance. In contrast, **informal deviance** involves violations of informal social norms or "unwritten rules" that have not been codified into law. Examples of informal deviance include queue jumping, talking loudly in the cinema, or posting private matters on social media. Sociologist John Hagan (1994) offered a more elaborate classification of deviance based on three criteria: (a) the degree of public disagreement about whether an act should be considered deviant, (b) the perceived harmfulness of the deviant act, and (c) the severity of the social response. Based on these criteria, he classified deviance into the following categories:

1. *Social diversions* are minor transgressions that people generally consider harmless. This type of deviance elicits a mixed response, such as amusement or disdain, because most people are apathetic or even unsure whether these acts are deviant.
2. *Social deviations* are serious offences or wrongdoing, and a large proportion of people agree that they are somewhat harmful and should be subjected to institutional sanction.
3. *Conflict crimes* are deviant acts that are illegal but there is a considerable public disagreement regarding their perceived social harm.
4. *Consensus crimes* are grievous offenses or wrongdoings, and a great majority of people agree that the perpetrators should be severely punished.

Crime is an act of deviance that breaks not only a social norm but a law, requiring the intervention of law enforcement and judicial bodies. A country's judicial system classifies

Contrasting Concepts: *Conformity vs Obedience*

To maintain social order, people are socialized to conform to the values and norms of society. *Conformity* refers to the adherence to a behavior that follows the expectations of society.

Social psychologist, Stanley Milgram (1974), made an important analytical distinction between conformity and obedience. While conformity involves following peers or others who occupy a similar social position, *obedience* refers to an act of compliance with a higher authority in a hierarchical structure. Through his famous experiment, Milgram showed how obedience does not only help maintain social order, but it can also explain why deviance happens. He argued that the orders of a person holding a higher position can force others to accept an authority's definition of deviance and deliver sanctions even if they are initially against it.

The Milgram Experiment involved volunteers who were asked to play the role of a teacher. Convinced that the study was on the impact of punishment on learning, the teachers were ordered to deliver a punishment (an "electric shock") to every mistake that a learner committed. The learners were research collaborators who acted the painful experience of being electrocuted. Milgram's experiment found out that two-thirds continued to administer the highest level of shock because they were commanded to do so, even when the shocks seemed to be extremely painful and the learner pleaded to be let out" (Milgram, 1974). Milgram's experiment is often used to give insight into how events such as the Holocaust could have taken place.

crimes into different categories based on the character and severity of the offense, the age of the offender, and the judicial body that holds jurisdiction over the case. Sociologists classify crimes into seven categories: (1) victimless crime, (2) hate crime, (3) professional crime, (4) organized crime, (5) white-collar crime, (6) cybercrime, and (7) transnational crime. These classifications are not mutually exclusive since a crime can simultaneously be organized, technology-based, and transnational.

First, a *victimless crime* refers to a formal deviance that does not have a direct victim other than the offender. Illegal drug use and compulsive gambling are examples of victimless crimes. However, these types of crimes can indirectly affect the offender's family and the larger society. For instance, both illegal drug use and compulsive gambling are attributed to domestic violence and can lead to the rise of other criminal activities such as theft and fraud. Second, a *hate crime* is motivated by animosity against an individual who belongs to a particular gender, sexual orientation, race, ethnic group, religion, and other groups. The vast majority of hate crimes are committed by members of the majority group against members of minority and marginalized groups. Third, *professional crime* is perpetrated by individuals who take on crime as a main source of livelihood, developing specialized skills and techniques. Professional criminals specialize in burglary, forgery, scams, pickpocketing, and shoplifting. Fourth, *organized crime* is perpetrated by a group that takes on crime and illegal activities as an enterprise. Organized crimes often involve drug trafficking, prostitution, illegal gambling, and smuggling. Fifth, a **white-collar crime** is perpetrated by affluent and powerful people in the course of business transactions. Bribery, consumer fraud, embezzlement, stock manipulation, and tax evasion are the most common forms of white-collar crime. Sixth, *cybercrime* is an illegal activity that is primarily accomplished through the use of computers and other telecommunications technology. Cybercrimes include hacking, sabotage, espionage, and cyberterrorism. Lastly, a **transnational crime** is a formal deviance that occurs across national borders. The most common forms of transnational crimes are drug trafficking, human trafficking, smuggling of controlled goods, and terrorism. Transnational crime often overlaps with organized crime and other types of crimes listed in this section.

The Characteristics of Deviance

Sociologists believe that no person or act is inherently deviant. Rather, deviance emerges during social interaction and is shaped by two key factors: social context and social audience. First, *social context* refers to how deviance is defined by societies to delineate their own moral values and social norms. As values and norms vary across societies or among groups in a society, notions of what is deviant also differs between countries, communities, and other collectivities. For instance, although the use of dating apps is popular in Indonesia and Turkey, they are not closely linked to "hookup culture" which is more prevalent in the United States and other Western countries. Rather, dating apps are used more as a social media tool to establish personal contact and widen

one's social circle. Thus, despite the negative view on online dating as a deviant act, dating apps remain popular not only because they provide an alternative to the stringent traditional courtship practices that are focused on arranged marriage but also because their use has been changed to adapt to local values and social norms (Vasandani and Hodge, 2020; Uysal, 2019). Moreover, both Indonesia and Turkey are vast and diverse so what constitutes deviant not only varies among ethnic groups but also between urban and rural dwellers, social classes, and several other social divisions. Apart from the differences across societies, the social context of deviance also refers to variations across periods. For instance, the idea of dating, even in face-to-face settings, is still largely seen as a Western practice that only became more prevalent in urban areas in Indonesia and Turkey in the past 20 years (ibid.). These examples demonstrate that what constitutes as an acceptable behavior change over time.

Second, deviance only exists when there is a **social audience,** a group of people who are conscious of existing norms, participate in its enforcement, and advocate for the punishment of those who violate them (Erikson, 1964). Again, this outlook follows the assumption that no individual or behavior is inherently deviant. Deviance only occurs when a concerned group challenges an individual or a group behavior for veering away from established social norms. For instance, online sex crimes only become deviant when a victim or a witness garners support from a group of people or the authorities who condemn and punish the perpetrator. In the same way, online surveillance and media censorship are legitimate state actions unless a group of people mobilizes to condemn or stage a protest against such actions as deviant activities that infringe on personal privacy and civil rights.

The Social Construction of Deviance

Since deviant acts are fundamentally characterized by their social context and social audience, it follows that they exist not only because individuals continue to "break rules" but also because society constructs deviance. Deviance is socially constructed mainly through the processes of juridification, medicalization, and social movements. *Juridification* refers to "an increase in formal or written law, either in the form of an expansion of the law of hitherto unregulated conduct or in the form of a densification of law in the form of a more detailed regulation of conduct that was already legally regulated" (Habermas, 1981: 359). Thus, the **juridification of deviance** involves the enactment of laws or the establishment of regulating bodies to control certain social practices that contradict a society's moral values and social norms. Indonesia's Ministerial Regulation No. 5 (Online Intermediary Regulation) and Turkey's Amendment to the Law No. 5651 (Internet Law) are examples of the juridification of deviance. As a result, some online activities such as posting content that is critical to the government, which are not viewed as a deviant act by many sectors of society are now criminalized, subjecting its perpetrators to state sanctions.

The social construction of deviance also takes place in the process of medicalization. The **medicalization of deviance** attributes deviant behavior to a mental disorder that can be addressed

through medicine, therapy, or other psychiatric treatment (Conrad and Schneider, 1992). Studies highlighting the adverse impact of social media on mental health and the labeling of the overuse of electronic devices as a form of "addiction" are examples of the medicalization of deviance. This process of constructing deviance, however, has a long history that includes the medicalization of psychological problems, homosexuality, and alcoholism.

Moreover, the social construction of deviance can be influenced by **social movements**, which are groups or a coalition of groups that mobilize to support or resist changes in society. The mass protests that took place in various cities in Turkey in 2013 and in Indonesia in 2019 were fueled by the state legislations that seek to alter existing social norms governing environmental protection, democratic rights, media censorship, and civil liberties concerning sexual rights (Indonesia) and alcohol restrictions (Turkey) (Heriyanto, 2019; Letsch, 2013). Recently, social media has played an important role both as a tool in mobilizing social protests (e.g., Gezi Park protests in Turkey) and as a platform for social movements (e.g., #metoo movement in the United States). In Indonesia, a popular conservative cleric has utilized social media to call for banning women from taking selfies since he views it as sinful (Barrell, 2015). Meanwhile, another religious group has staged a campaign through Facebook, Instagram, and WhatsApp to encourage young Indonesians to skip dating and go straight to marriage. The movement views courtship as superficial and incompatible with Islamic teachings (Varagur, 2017).

SOCIAL CONTROL

Ideally, conformity is spontaneous and voluntary. People are socialized to see the value, accept the directives, and enforce the norms of society. Apart from socialization, sanctions also serve as mechanisms of social control to ensure conformity. **Sanctions** refer to the expressions of approval or disapproval of other people's appearance, attitude, or action. Sanctions can be positive or negative; they can also be formal or informal. *Positive sanctions* are rewards conferred to individuals who conform to expected social norms. *Negative sanctions*, on the other hand, are expressions of disapproval or punishments given to those who violate social norms (Erikson, 1964). The "rewards" points that are awarded by telecommunications service companies to loyal customers is an example of positive sanction. In contrast, the penalty fee that is levied by telecommunications companies to those who fail to pay for their telephone or Internet bills on time is an example of negative sanction.

Just as deviance is classified into formal and informal categories, sociologists also classify sanctions into informal sanctions and formal sanctions. Although those who are found guilty of cyberterrorism are meted with a long prison sentence in most countries, peering into phone screens of other people in a packed subway train is not illegal but people might express their annoyance with such action. **Informal sanctions** are everyday forms of disapproval and penalties that are directed against individuals or groups who are deemed to have transgressed established social norms. It may involve head shaking, raised eyebrows, frowning, ostracizing, and shaming.

Stigmatization (see Chapter 4, Race and Ethnicity) involves a negative view of people because of a physical or cultural marker that distinguishes them from the rest of society (Goffman, 1963). Although most informal sanctions are subtle, they are highly effective mechanisms of social control.

Formal sanctions are institutionalized penalties and punishments imposed upon an individual or group who violated organizational rules and enacted laws. These sanctions are clearly defined and documented in institutional policies, rules and regulations, and legal codes. Suspensions, expulsions, fines, community service orders, prison terms, forced labor, corporal punishments, and death sentence are examples of formal sanctions. In addition, formal sanctions can also have informal consequences as severe punishments, such as imprisonment, which tend to create a stigma.

Apart from its complex mechanisms of informal and formal sanctions, all societies also control people by regulating what they say, know, and do. These regulations are primarily achieved through censorship and surveillance. **Censorship** is a method of averting ideas and information from reaching a specific audience. The audience can refer to a certain group (children, religious groups, etc.) or the general public. Nation-states and, at times, other institutions such as schools and prisons, often have censorship units that review news materials, films, music, books, websites, emails, and other sources of information to block or remove any content that is considered unsuitable or prohibited. State agencies, in particular, often have a large number of personnel, advanced technologies, and large budgets to accomplish their tasks.

In 2018, Indonesia inaugurated its new $14-million state-of-the-art Internet censorship system. After years of manual monitoring which has failed to adequately control the proliferation of illicit online content, the new system has the capacity to automatically block pornography, gambling, drugs, terrorism, and other materials deemed to be unsuitable by the government. During a two-day period, the system managed to sift through 1.2 million sites, detecting around 120,000 with negative content (Tisnadibrata, 2018). When its director was asked about the concerns that the government might use the new system to monitor its citizen's online activities, he just dismissed the idea saying that it is not designed for surveillance (ibid.).

Surveillance is a mechanism of social control that involves the monitoring of communication, movements, and activities of individuals or groups to identify those who are involved in illegal activities. Surveillance techniques include the interception of letters, the use of an identification system for profiling, GPS (global positioning system) tracking, phone tapping, and electronic monitoring (emails, text messages, online activities, etc.). Surveillance is used by the government to monitor internal and external threats or by businesses to monitor employee performance and customer preferences.

In 2018, the Turkish government launched a military operation against an insurgent group in neighboring Syria. The repercussions involved the arrest of 600 individuals who criticized the violent campaign on their social media. Apart from state agents, civilian informants were also

involved in monitoring and reporting dissident social media users. In addition, authorities also targeted mass protests and sought to identify those who were involved using CCTV (closed-circuit television) footages (Topak, 2019).

Every government, not just in Indonesia and Turkey, engages in censorship and surveillance as mechanisms of social control. The advancement in video, communication, and digital technologies has enabled the monitoring of millions of people at one time. Every individual leaves a trace of information in the course of a typical day – from one's morning commute using a transport card, to the moment he or she logs in to the work computer, to the time he or she uses a credit card to pay for lunch, and until the time he or she checks the TV news before going to bed. French social philosopher Michel Foucault (1977) wrote about how the proliferation of censorship and surveillance in our everyday lives has resulted in the emergence of the "**disciplinary society**." This concept refers to the social condition wherein censorship and surveillance are so normalized that they become an integral part of the everyday functioning of society. In his influential book, *Discipline and Punish* (1977), Foucault argued that the emergence of modern society has shown the shift in how societies punish criminals from a culture of spectacle to a carceral culture. A culture of spectacle uses public punishments (caning, flogging, crucifixion, burning at the stake, hanging, guillotine, etc.) to deter others from committing the same deviant acts. These forms of punishment started to disappear in the 19th century and in its place came the *carceral culture*. Due to the rise of humanitarian ideals and the rise of new technologies, the carceral culture focuses more on surveillance to control people's behaviors rather than on physical and public punishments.

One invention that characterizes carceral culture is the **panopticon**. This architectural design, which was pioneered by British philosopher Jeremy Bentham, is a rational prison building that maximizes the surveillance of prisoners. The panopticon is centered on a guard tower that is surrounded by a gallery of cells. The front of the cells is barred so that the guard in the tower can always see the prisoners in their enclosures while the other sides have solid walls to prevent interaction between inmates. With its high position and the use of tinted glass windows, the inmates could not see the guards inside the central tower, so they constantly feel that they are being watched (ibid., p. 200). Michel Foucault used the panopticon as a metaphor for the disciplinary society. With the ubiquitous presence of CCTV cameras, the accessibility of information in identification cards, computers, smartphones, and other technologies, most individuals feel that their every movement is being watched by agents positioned in the high towers of the government and other institutions.

UNDERSTANDING DEVIANCE

Apart from transforming how society exercises control over individuals, digital technology and social media have also changed how deviant acts are construed, committed, and censured. New forms of deviance have even emerged not only because of the availability of new technologies

that enabled their development but also because some of the social norms that govern people's everyday lives have weakened or completely lost their influence with the advent of the digital era. Among these relatively new forms of deviance is **cyberloafing**, which refers to the use of the Internet by employees for non-work-related purposes. This Internet deviance includes checking private emails, browsing social media, surfing online, and playing games. Cyberloafing is largely described as an Internet deviance that results in resource wastage and productivity losses. However, other researchers do not believe that cyberloafing is necessarily detrimental or inappropriate. If done within a considerable length of time, online activities can provide the needed respite that promotes creativity and flexibility (Ozler and Polat, 2012).

Two employees are caught playing a game of solitaire on the office computer.

To take a comparative look into the issue, this section focuses on a study on cyberloafing in the private and public workplaces in Indonesia (Hartijasti, 2016) and as well as a similar case study on cyberloafing among computer science students in Turkey (Varol and Yildirim, 2019). In Indonesia, 43.5% of employees are doing low duration cyberloafing that lasts for around 44 minutes per day while another 26.0% are involved in high duration cyberloafing that lasts from 4 hours 48 minutes per day (checking emails, reading news, and other minor activities) to 5 hours 31 minutes per day (social media, watching a video, and other serious Internet deviance) (Hartijasti, 2016). In Turkey, results showed that participants often checked email (95%), searched for information for other courses (94%), and read the news (92%) during laboratory classes. In addition, more than 45% of the students reported that they showed this behavior very often (Varol and Yildirim, 2019: 133-134). With the tendency to spend a long period of time on various online activities, both studies show the seriousness of the cyberloafing problem in both workplace and university settings.

Furthermore, to demonstrate some of the approaches that sociologists employ in understanding deviance, these cyberloafing cases are examined using six major theories of deviance that stemmed from the four sociological standpoints. These major theories include the functionalist approach, structural strain, labeling theory, constructionist approach, differential association approach, and everyday forms of resistance.

Functionalist Approach

In Chapter 2 (Sociological Theories), we discuss functionalism as a theoretical standpoint that interprets society as an organism (or a machine) with various parts, including that which may seem dysfunctional, that contributes to its overall stability. Although deviance seems to be creating instability in society, functionalist sociologists believe otherwise and argue that deviance is functional because it promotes social cohesion. Emile Durkheim (1964), in particular, viewed deviance as a natural and inevitable part of all societies. It is universal because deviance fulfills three crucial functions. First, by punishing deviant behaviors, societies *clarify rules* and reaffirm their commitment to them. Second, deviance *unites a group* in opposing deviant behavior, reinforcing the loyalty of its members. Third, deviance *promotes social change* by allowing people to challenge obsolete or overly restrictive social norms. The counterargument that supports the importance of cyberloafing in promoting creativity and flexibility among employees and students is an example of a functionalist approach to deviance (Hartijasti, 2016; Varol and Yildirim, 2019). It highlights that even a seemingly dysfunctional activity such as cyberloafing has a function in promoting cohesion between the employee and the workplace.

Structural Strain

By focusing more on dysfunction rather than cohesion, Robert Merton elaborated on the functionalist approach in formulating his theory of deviance. The **structural strain theory** traces the origins of deviance in periods of crisis when the prescribed means to achieve the valued goals in society are no longer sufficient or are rendered ineffective. When the means (e.g., education, employment) to social goals (e.g., professional and economic success) are no longer feasible due to an economic crisis (e.g., rising tuition fees, high unemployment rate), individuals become more susceptible to committing deviant acts (Merton, 1968).

Table 9.1 illustrates the different ways through which people adapt to the emergence of structural strain in society. First, *conformity* occurs when individuals continue to accept both society's

TABLE 9.1
Methods of Adaptation to Structural Strain

Mode of Adaptation	Accept Society's Goals	Follow Prescribed Means
Conformity	Yes	Yes
Innovation	Yes	No
Ritualism	No	Yes
Retreatism	No	No
Rebellion	No, seek to replace	No, seek to replace

Source: Merton (1938)

goals and the means to achieve them. An individual who conforms might work harder to stay in school or to find employment, not losing faith in education and having a good job is seen as one of the ways in pursuing professional and economic success. Second, *innovation* occurs when individuals accept society's goals but follow an alternative means, including those that are considered deviant or illegal. An individual might be tempted to commit fraud or steal for financial gain. Third, *ritualism* occurs when people give up on pursuing society's valued goals but continue to adhere to the prescribed means of achieving them. An individual might give up on her dream of becoming successful but continues to study because of family expectations. Fourth, *retreatism* occurs when people reject both the valued goals in society and the prescribed means to achieve them. An individual might decide to drop out of school to pursue a less financially rewarding interest in becoming a street musician. Lastly, rebellion occurs when people challenge and seek to change society's valued goals and the prescribed means to achieve them. An individual might join a social movement or resort to violence (e.g., rioting, terrorism) to work towards changing society.

One of the reasons that Indonesian employees gave to explain why they commit Internet deviance was how they were pushed by the ambiguity or conflict in their role in the workplace (Hartijasti, 2016). The confusion and uncertainty that result from these ambiguity and conflict push individuals to commit deviance. Thus, if the means to job satisfaction is having a clear role in the organization, cyberloafing can be a form of innovation wherein individuals are forced to be deviant in finding ways to cope with the confusion and uncertainties in the workplace.

Labeling Theory

Labeling theory maintains that an appearance or an act becomes deviant when people take action to label it as a violation of social norms and enforce sanctions. Sociologist William Chambliss's study of two groups of high school boys, which he published as an article called, "The Saints and the Roughnecks" (1973) is widely considered as a classical text on labeling theory. In the article, Chambliss noted that despite the two groups' similar activities that involved loitering, binge drinking, vandalism, petty theft, and reckless driving, only the Roughnecks got into serious trouble with the police and the other town residents. The Saints largely maintained a reputation as promising young kids and their wrongdoings were often overlooked as "normal" behaviors of teenagers who, at times, became mischievous and unruly.

The Saints came from upper and middle-class backgrounds who planned on attending college, receiving good grades, and whose families were well-regarded in the community. In contrast, the Roughnecks came from lower-class backgrounds and were generally struggling in their studies. By focusing on three factors, visibility, demeanor, and bias, Chambliss concluded that social class played a crucial role in the varying social perceptions about the two groups. The *visibility factor* refers to the inability of the Roughnecks to be discreet because of their limited access to a car (the

Saints could drive out of town for their escapades) and recreational venues (the Saints hung out inside a billiard hall), they ended up loitering outside a convenience store in the town center. The *demeanor factor* refers to the reaction of the group when confronted by the police, teachers, and other town residents. The Roughnecks tended to become aggressive and disrespectful while the Saints instantly apologized and promised not to repeat their wrongdoing. Lastly, the *bias factor* refers to how the police and the larger society tended to be sympathetic and gracious towards the Saints while the Roughnecks aroused suspicion and admonishment (ibid., p. 257).

The study on cyberloafing in Turkey highlighted the personal and learning environment reasons for why students commit Internet deviance. In particular, students who do not have access to computers outside school not only need more time to complete school tasks (Varol and Yildirim, 2019: 139) but may also use the opportunity to do non-school related online activities. Furthermore, students who are not socialized well to the etiquette of computer use in low-income households or in less-funded public schools can be more inclined to commit cyberloafing than those who have been using computers for a longer period.

Constructionist Approach

Earlier, the chapter introduced how deviance does not naturally occur in society nor are there inherently deviant individuals. Instead, due to the fundamental roles of social context and social audience, deviance is socially constructed. The section (The Social Construction of Deviance) also introduced three social processes through which deviance is created: juridification, medicalization, and social movements. These processes involve making claims that are based on legalistic, scientific, and humanistic rationalities that seek to change the existing social norms.

Constructionist approach focuses on the role of claims-maker and claims-making activities in how certain things and actions are considered deviants. Specific objects (cigarettes, guns, etc.), activities (sitting, graffiti, etc.), and groups (immigrants, single mothers, etc.) become defined as deviants when clerics, activists, the justice system, a scientific organization, or any other claims-makers assert the inappropriateness, immorality, irrationality, or illegality of their existence. Claims-making activities include raising formal complaints, filing lawsuits, organizing a press conference, publishing an article, lobbying, and boycotts (Spector and Kitsuse, 1977). In the context of cyberloafing, the publication of a number of academic studies and news articles regarding the proliferation and the adverse impact of Internet deviance (Hartijasti, 2016) has effectively made many public and private sector employees in Indonesia unquestionably deviant.

Differential Association

Differential association theory argues that people learn deviance through socialization and interaction with others such as family members, peers, and community. Sociologist Edwin Sutherland explained that individuals are more likely to engage in deviant activities if they are exposed

to deviant attitudes than social conformity. Through prolonged exposure, individuals incorporate the rationality and values as well as acquire the skills and techniques of specific deviant behaviors (Sutherland, 1937). This theory explains how narratives about the lives of criminals are often traced back to their dysfunctional families or to their early life growing up in a "bad neighborhood." In the context of cyberloafing, new employees who join a bureaucracy where Internet deviance is rampant and left unchecked will likely learn and incorporate the deviant behavior after some time. The learning environment reasons for the prevalence of cyberloafing among Turkish students mainly focus on the physical environment and class size (Varol and Yildirim, 2019: 138-139) but it can be expanded to explore the impact of social relations and peer influence.

Everyday Forms of Resistance

James C. Scott, an American anthropologist and political scientist, introduced the concept of **everyday forms of resistance** to refer to the subtle and unorganized resistance and non-cooperation that peasants and other subjugated individuals employ in response to domination. Based on his research in rural Malaysia, Scott explained that resistance is not always characterized by a social movement and visible events but can also be expressed through everyday forms such as "foot-dragging, evasion, false compliance, pilfering, feigned ignorance, slander and sabotage" (1985: 29). Clearly, Scott's political theory can also be applied in understanding deviance, not only in an agrarian setting but also in many other contexts. Some of the aggravating circumstances that compelled Indonesians to engage in Internet deviance are perceived injustice and feeling of powerlessness at work. Thus, cyberloafing is not a sign of a lack of professionalism and sense of responsibility but an everyday form of resistance.

KEY CONCEPTS

Censorship
Constructionist approach
Deferential association theory
Everyday forms of resistance
Informal sanctions
Juridification of deviance
Medicalization of deviance
Sanctions
Social movements
Surveillance
Transnational crime
Crime
Cyberloafing
Deviance
Informal deviance
Labeling theory
Panopticon
Social audience
Structural strain theory
The Disciplinary Society
White-collar crime

DISCUSSION QUESTIONS

1. Open your favorite online news site and briefly browse through the news to find a few interesting stories about deviance and social control. From your list, identify three cases that correspond to John Hagan's types of deviance.
2. Recently, the influence of "fake news" in social media has reached epidemic proportions. In many countries, people are alarmed by the threats that the widespread phenomenon is posing to economic competition, political transparency, and social order. Explain your analysis of the impact of the "fake news epidemic" on individuals using Merton's "structural strain" and Scott's "everyday forms of resistance."
3. Is the promotion of legalized sports betting justified by its importance as a source of revenue for the sports industry even with its perceived detrimental effect on the moral fiber of society? Explain your answer using the concepts of juridification, medicalization, and social movements.

SUGGESTED READINGS

1. Chambliss, William. (1973). "The Saints and the Roughnecks." *Society* 11: pp. 23–31.
2. Rios, Victor M. (2012). "Stealing a Bag of Potato Chips and Other Crimes of Resistance." *Contexts*, Vol. 11(1): pp. 48–53.
3. Scott, James C. (1985). *Weapons of the Weak: Everyday Forms of Resistance*. New Haven: Yale University Press.
4. Varol, Filiz and Esat Yildirim. (2019). "Cyberloafing in Higher Education: Reasons and Suggestions from Students' Perspectives." *Tech, Know, Learn* 24: pp. 129–142.

This page intentionally left blank

PART FOUR
INSTITUTIONS

CHAPTER 10
Family 153

CHAPTER 11
Religion 171

CHAPTER 12
Politics, Economics, and the Nation-state 185

This page intentionally left blank

CHAPTER 10

FAMILY

Nongke, a village in Sichuan Province, holds the distinction as the birthplace of a unique form of rural tourism that has been immensely popular in China in the past two decades. Popularly called *nongjiale* (literally farmhouse fun), it follows the homestay arrangement involving farming families hosting guests in farm guesthouses (Yang, 2018). The defining feature of *nongjiale* is the family and all its associated ideals – hospitality, nostalgia, wellness, simplicity, authenticity, and tradition. It especially appeals to urban dwellers who are longing to escape their hectic, complicated, and "fake" lives in the city (Park, 2014).

A family of 5 rides on their motorbike along a road in old town Hoi An, Vietnam.

Despite experiencing some of the adverse impacts of tourism and development, Nongke still holds some of the rustic charms that allowed it to pioneer this popular tourism approach almost 30 years ago. Xu Jiyuan was the first person to open his residence to diners and guests. He could not imagine that his "Xu Family Courtyard" - a simple three-sided rural house - would grow into a 2.5-hectare recreational area that combines farm attractions, catering, and accommodation. Despite its growth, Xu makes sure that the familial atmosphere remains by ensuring that "rooms still feature old-fashioned furniture and such antiques as mechanical sewing machines. People dine, sip tea and chat over wooden tables amid rockeries, pavilions, fountains and sightseeing corridors. Newlyweds entertain guests. Children ride horses. Friends converse" (Yang, 2018).

Across China's southern border, homestays are also seen as "the next big thing" in India's hospitality market. Similar to *nongjiale*, homestays are revered for their ability to provide "true

Indian hospitality" that a hotel cannot match. Homely comfort, authentic home-cooked local cuisine, and personal touch are some characteristics that set homestays apart from other types of accommodation. From the Himalayan mountain town of Shimla, down to the tropical coasts of Kerala, homestays are increasingly getting popular due to their affordable, immersive, and familial qualities (The Economic Times, 2019; Puri, 2018). Apart from playing an increasing role in hosting travelers, the family also takes an even more important place in the Indian domestic tourism and hospitality industry – it is the main reason why people travel. Around 73% of Indians travel domestically, and even overseas, to visit families and relatives, way above religious pilgrimage (10.5%), health and medical (5.4%), holidays and leisure (3.5%), and business (2.85%) (Rukmini, 2017).

Beyond travel and tourism, the relationship of the family to religion, economy, and politics shapes the history, culture, and people's overall view of this fundamental institution in China and India. As two of the most populous countries in the world, China and India provide some of the interesting cases of political (e.g., one-child policy in China), cultural (e.g., arranged marriage in India) and other social interventions that shaped the principles and practices governing the family and its members. In this chapter, we examine how families adapt and are altered by changing economic and political conditions by focusing on its ideals, issues, and interpretations by different sociological traditions.

The family is the first among the three social institutions covered in this part of the textbook. **Social institutions** refer to the stable pattern of social interaction organized to establish social order and preserve basic social values. Typically, sociologists use the term to refer to complex social forms that operate autonomously and are capable of self-perpetuation and of exercising great influence on people. The economy, politics, religion, and the family (all discussed in Part Four) are examples of social institutions. When we use the term "institution" (e.g., "that restaurant is an institution in this city") in everyday conversation, we are likely to refer to something that "has stood the test of time." Throughout the modern period, there have been warnings about the pending end of the nation-state and its political-economic system (due to globalization), the end of religion (due to secularization), and the end of the family (due to individualism). However, all of these social institutions continue to exist, remain relevant, and still exert influence in the everyday lives of people. Indeed, social institutions have this sense of permanence and tend to be conservative. Despite their seemingly formidable characters, social institutions constantly evolve, such as the case with how families have changed over time.

"HOSTING" CONCEPTS: FAMILY

Family is a social institution that binds people together through biological, cultural, and legal affinities. Family members are connected by blood relations, marriage, or adoption, which form an emotional connection and serve as the basic unit of society. The family is important because it provides individuals with the basic *cultural map* (see Chapter 1) useful in navigating his or her

physical and social environment. It is a universal institution present in all societies, although there are wide variations of principles and practices. The term is derived from the Latin *familia* which refers to "the servants in a household, members of a household, the estate, property; the household, including relatives and servants" (Glare, 2012: 740; Meadow and Stacey, 2006; Gough, 1971). In the Chinese language, the character for family, 家 (jiā), combines the ideas of both a place and people. On the top of the character is 宀, indicating "cave" or "house"; at the bottom, there is 豕 (shǐ), meaning "pig" (source of food). Literally, the Chinese character depicts people who are under a shelter that protects them from the elements and stores provisions to ensure that they are well-nourished (Cai, 2021). Both etymological roots reveal the family's close association with two other important concepts: household and kinship.

Household System

A **household** refers to the physical and socio-economic units consisting of individuals who live together in the same residence and share resources. Although a family made up of a couple and their two children who live in the same house is a household, numerous living arrangements fall under this category. For instance, a group of four university students who share an apartment, workers who reside in a dormitory, a retirement home, a royal household including its staff and servants are all examples of a household. However, despite the variety of arrangements that allows people to "live under one roof" or "share the same pot," the household is closely identified with the family that government censuses and other institutional surveys often use as the basic unit of study.

In China, along with a few other countries, a distinction is made between family households and collective households in official censuses. *Collective households* or institutional households refer to a group of individuals who live together through an arrangement that is overseen by an organization. School dormitories, workers' hostels, military barracks, and prisons are examples of collective households. According to recent data, there are currently about 494.16 million family households and 28.53 million collective households in China (Ning, 2021). The average family household size is 2.62, which is lower than the average in 2010 (3.10), 2000 (3.44), 1990 (3.96), 1982 (4.41), and 1964 (4.43). These figures show that the family households have gradually shrunk in size in the past decades, which can be attributed to the impact of government population programs, labor mobility, and urbanization (Wang and Wei, 2019).

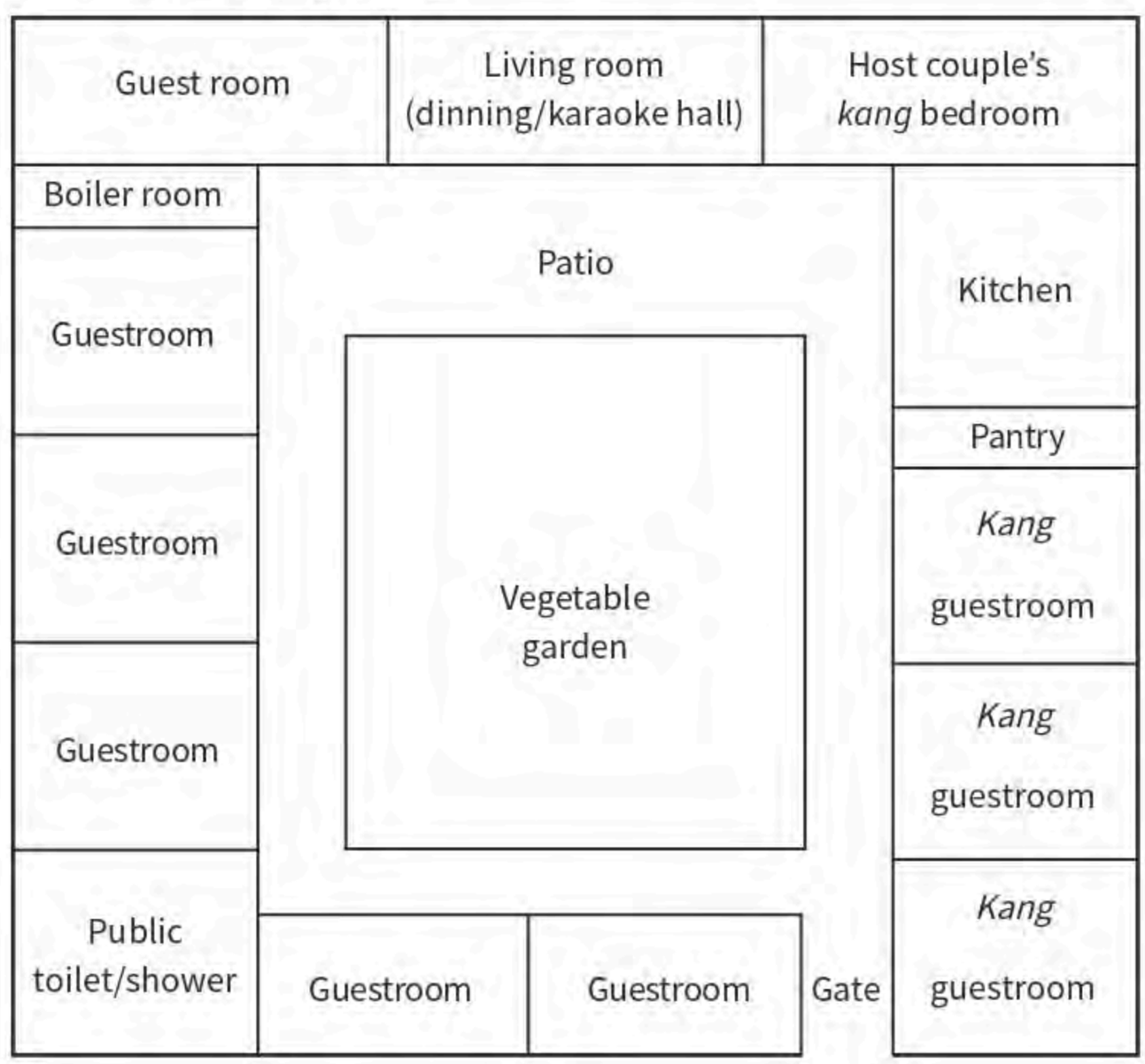
Family household size is important because it influences living arrangements and the larger family ideals regarding what constitute a family. Sociologists have traced the emergence of industrialization and modernity with the rise of the nuclear family as the dominant familial form. A **nuclear family** refers to a married couple who lives together with their children. Following a socio-biological perspective, it is seen as the "nucleus," the basic building block of society. With industrialization, paid employment was separated from domestic work, turning most men into breadwinners and women into housewives. Eventually, this arrangement came to represent the

modern and "normal" family (Meadow and Stacey, 2006). Historically, the nuclear family is supposed to replace the extended family which was the dominant family structure in agrarian societies.

An **extended family** refers to the network of parents, children, and other relatives who form a family unit. Overall, an extended family is characterized by a common residence ("live under one roof") and the sharing of resources ("cook in one pot"), which typifies communalism, cooperation, and mutual support. Choong-Hwan Park's illustration of a physical layout of a *nongjiale* (farmhouse) accommodation (see Figure 10.1) reflects its former use as a residence of an extended family. A typical farmhouse or a traditional Chinese residence is built around a courtyard, with the living and common quarters occupying three or the entire four corners (Park, 2014). Along with the shrinking household size, the nuclear family has become the most common living arrangement in China (Wang and Wei, 2019). Nonetheless, extended families, along with traditional communal living, continue to exist today, especially in rural areas. These rural communities attracted the interest of city dwellers who longed for the traditional and nostalgic appeal of the farmhouses and country life, resulting in the popularity of *nongjiale* tourism (Park, 2014).

With the coming of the post-industrial period and the diversification of family practices, the nuclear family is increasingly seen as a rigid ideal that is difficult to maintain within the current

FIGURE 10.1
A typical *Nongjiale* (farmhouse) layout, with a row of *kang* (traditional bedrooms) on the right wing.



Source: Park (2014: 524)

TABLE 10.1
Types of Family Structures

	Definition
Nuclear	Couple and their children.
Extended	Three or more generations living in one household.
Cohabitation	Also called domestic partnership, refers to individuals (with or without children) who are committed to each other and share a domestic life but are not joined in marriage.
Single-Parent Family	Single parent with child or children who does not have a spouse or partner.
Step-Family	Formed on the remarriage of a divorced or widowed person and that includes a child or children.
Same-Sex Family	Formed by the union of a same-sex couple (with or without children). The couple can be legally married or domestic partners.
Inter-Racial Family	Also, as a multi-ethnic family, members are from different racial (or ethnic) origins, often as a result of the union of a couple with different racial backgrounds.
Transnational Family	Members live in different countries but maintain emotional bond and economic interdependence.

Source: Quah (2015)

economic and social conditions. Along with the persistent presence of extended families, cohabitation, single parenthood, step-family, same-sex family, and a few other arrangements have emerged to form diverse familial forms (see Table 10.1) with varying acceptance and influence across different societies. For instance, single parenthood which was previously seen largely as a result of family breakdowns is now seen as an acceptable option to those who prefer to have a child or children but do not see themselves committing in marriage or as part of a domestic partnership. These family structures do not only involve the living arrangement of its members but have wider social consequences, including the legal implications (inheritance, welfare, etc.) and the redefinition of kinship.

Kinship System

Another concept that is closely related to family is **kinship**, which refers to the pattern of relationships that connects an individual to others through consanguinity and affinity. Basically, kinship determines who are considered as a person's family and relatives. It includes primary kin (mother, father, siblings), secondary kin (grandparents, nephews, nieces, etc.), tertiary kin (grandaunts, cousins, etc.), and beyond (great-great granduncle, second-degree cousins, etc.) (Parkin, 1997: 47–77). Moreover, people often forge close relationships with others who are not blood relatives or related through affinity. **Fictive kinship** refers to the adoption of non-relatives into kin-like relationships (Ibsen and Klobus, 1972). Membership to exclusive organizations (e.g., fraternities and sororities) and religion-based relations (e.g., godparents) are examples of fictive kinship.

Although people tend to maintain meaningful relationships with a handful of kin, everyone is involved in a vast kinship network (including living and deceased relatives), which makes up a majority of people that someone might never even meet in one's lifetime. Since it is a pattern of relationships (not just a matrix), kinship involves a process of knowing one's kin, of establishing connections, and maintaining them through the sharing of resources (e.g., inheritance), life events (e.g., religious rituals), and everyday interactions (e.g., family meals). Kinship also involves a process of exclusion. This is either done consciously when a conflict occurs among kin or unintentionally when a meaningful relationship has been cut off (e.g., through migration) or is already far removed from a recognized foundation or "the main trunk of the family tree."

A kinship system is founded on a marriage or a union of two individuals who form a family, from which the other family branches spring. **Marriage** refers to the socially sanctioned union between individuals who are bound by intimacy, economic cooperation, and shared goals. As presented in Table 10.2, kinship systems are distinguished by ideals and practices concerning: (a) choice of spouse, (b) place of residence, (c) authority, and (d) descent. For instance, marriage is traditionally important among the majority of Hindu followers in India because it provides a person "an entry into the *grihasthashram* (the stage of a householder) and the opportunity to beget a son without whom he cannot be released from the cycle of life, birth, and rebirth" (Pandey, 2006:

TABLE 10. 2
Structures of Kinship

A. Choice of Spouse	
Arranged Marriage	Parents select marriage partners for children.
Romantic Marriage	Individuals select a partner based on romantic attraction.
B. Place of Residence	
Patrilocal	Married couple resides in the household, neighborhood, or locality of the husband's family.
Matrilocal	Married couple resides in the household, neighborhood, or locality of the wife's family.
C. Authority	
Patriarchal	Father-rule, males are the figures of authority.
Matriarchal	Mother-rule, females are the figures of authority.
D. Descent	
Patrilineal	Descent is traced through the male lineage. Properties are inherited by sons, at times only by the eldest son.
Matrilineal	Descent is traced through the female lineage. Properties are inherited by daughters.
Bilateral	Descent is traced through both male and female lineages. Inheritance is passed to all children.

Sources: Shah (1964), Parkin (1997), Pandey (2006)

365). Ideally, marriage should involve a couple who are from the same caste (*varna*), although this restriction is carried down to the level of the subcaste (*jati*). Sociologists call this arrangement **endogamy**, which refers to the practice of marrying or having a partner from one's social group. If an Indian marries someone from outside his or her caste, it is called *exogamy*. The choice of spouse is often decided by the family, particularly by the father, in the case of girls. This practice of *arranged marriage* is often juxtaposed against a *romantic marriage* wherein a person selects a partner based on love or personal choice.

Due to the greater independence of young people and the influence of Western culture, an increasing number of Indians select their life partners themselves rather than rely on their families to help them. After the wedding, the bride is supposed to leave her parental home to move in and live with her husband and his family. This residential arrangement is called *patrilocal* (Parkin, 1997: 45) Due to the relative dominance of males in the Indian society, a **matrilocal** arrangement wherein the husband moves in to the household of his wife rarely happens.

Monogamy, the practice of sexually exclusive marriage with one spouse at a time is the most common form of espousal arrangement in India. Muslim men, however, are allowed to practice *polygamy*, which permits one to have multiple marriage partners of up to a maximum of four wives at a time (technically called *polygyny*). In addition, *polyandry*, a practice of a woman having more than one husband, used to be more common but is now limited to some tribes in northern India (Sahgal, 2005). Generally, the Indian kinship system can be described as **patriarchal**, a structure where males are the primary authority figures. With the father as the central figure, descent is largely traced through the male lineage in a system that is referred to as *patrilineal*. However, a few caste groups and tribes, such as the Nairs from the south and the Khasis from northeast India, follow both matriarchal and matrilineal systems. A *matriarchal* society follows the mother-rule system where females are the primary figures of authority. Among the Khasis, once married, husbands are subject to the authority of their mothers-in-law who exercise power over an extended family. They also adhere to a matrilineal system wherein the youngest daughter inherits property and children take the mother's surname (Bouissou, 2011).

Just like household composition, kinship ties are also influenced by technological and social changes. For instance, the development of digital communication and social media allows people to maintain relationships more easily with kin who live far away. Before the invention of smartphones, long physical distances (domestic or overseas) have most likely caused relatives to drift apart and lose contact with each other. Another important impact of technology on kinship is shown in the emergence of contractual surrogate (rent-a-womb) mothers who carry the child for parents who usually come from Western countries. In India, where "fertility tourism" has become popular in the past 20 years, local surrogate mothers attempt to forge kinship ties with the baby who "carries their own blood" (although not their genes) as well as with the mother through a relationship of "sisterhood" that is maintained through regular correspondence and exchange of gifts (Pande, 2015). This phenomenon defies long-held conceptions of kinship as

well as contributes another means to the myriad of ways through which family ties are established and challenged.

THE FUNCTIONS OF THE FAMILY

Despite the variety of ways through which families are constituted around the world, they are all similar in fulfilling important functions in society. Generally, the family performs the following six social functions that facilitate social interaction and maintain social order (Parsons and Bales, 1955): (1) regulate sexual activity, (2) facilitate human reproduction, (3) promote economic co-operation, (4) provide care and emotional support, (5) primary agent of socialization, and (6) confer social status.

Regulate Sexual Activity

Marriage and family life subject individuals to a system of laws and informal norms that regulate sexual behavior. For instance, China's Supreme Court released a pronouncement to clarify specific provisions in the amendments to the country's Family Law on how to deal with issues concerning bigamy and extramarital affairs. With the rampant practice of taking a "second wife" in the provinces, the new Marriage Law ensures that those who commit *bigamy*, which refers to an offence of marrying someone while already married to another person, will be criminally liable and punished with a maximum two-year imprisonment (Li, 2001). A universal norm regulating sexual behavior is the *incest taboo*, a strict rule that forbids sexual contact between primary kin or those considered as close blood relatives. Lastly, most of the elements of the household and kinship systems, such as endogamy, matriarchy, patrilineal, and the nuclear family, are not just conceptual categories but are normative structures that dictate what are appropriate social behaviors and enforce sanctions on those who fail to conform.

Facilitate Human Reproduction

Human reproduction or procreation is an essential function of the family because it helps replenish society's population. As all people will eventually die, the survival of society relies on its ability to replace members who pass away. Through the cultural and legal sanctions that legitimize marriage and family as institutions, they provide a relatively stable environment into which new members can be born and nurtured. The emergence of modern nation-states saw the increasing institutional control over the family, particularly in the context of reproduction. Governments closely monitor three important measures in tracking population growth: (a) birth rate, (b) mortality rate, and (c) migration rate. *Birth rate* (or natality rate) typically refers to the total number of live births per 1,000 population per year while *mortality rate* (or death rate) is often expressed in units of deaths per 1,000 individuals per year. Similarly, the *migration rate* (number of immigrants less the number of emigrants) is typically expressed as the net number

of migrants per 1,000 population. In addition, the fertility rate and life expectancy are also used for monitoring long-term population trends. *Fertility rate* (or total fertility rate) refers to the total number of children a woman would bear during her lifetime if she were to experience the prevailing age-specific fertility rates of women and survive until the end of her reproductive life. On the other hand, *life expectancy* refers to the average period that a person is expected to live (Mather et al., 2021).

After being saddled by overpopulation for years, the Chinese government imposed the one-child policy in 1979 to curb the country's high fertility rate. As a result, the controversial policy helped bring down the country's fertility rate from 6.11 in 1950 to 1.3 in 2020 (Qi, 2021). With the improvement in social conditions, life expectancy also increased from 44.6 to 77.5 years during this period. However, seeing the unprecedented economic growth of China in the past two decades, these two population trends also contributed to the rapid ageing of the country's population that could hamper its long-term growth. In response, the Chinese government introduced the two-child policy in 2016 as a solution to the issue. In 2021, a new three-child policy was enacted to further address the ageing problem (Mullen, 2021). These policies directly affect the family, demonstrating its key social function in facilitating human reproduction.

Promote Economic Cooperation

In 1943, Talcott Parsons wrote a pioneering piece characterizing the division of labor in the family into *instrumental* and *expressive* roles. Instrumental roles, which typically involve work outside of the household that provides financial support and establishes family status, are often assumed by men. In contrast, expressive roles, which typically involve work in the household that provides physical care and emotional support, are taken on by women (Parsons, 1943). Today, this view is largely seen as outdated as both men and women are expected to carry out both instrumental and expressive roles. Nonetheless, it demonstrates how each family member is seen as performing a specific role to keep the overall functioning of the family. This division of labor in the family promotes productivity and provides security. Fundamentally, the family is the source of food, shelter, clothing, and other material resources for its members.

The economic cooperation among family members is not only limited to the procurement of basic needs but also in providing a sense of comfort, well-being, and quality of life among its members. The family is often associated with beach holidays, fun dining, and sports spectatorship, among many other activities. Recreation is not critical for survival but more and more families consider leisure activities such as watching movies together, going on a holiday, or dining outside as an essential part of "family bonding" and bolstering close relationships.

In China, about 76% of travel are done by families. A major travel company, for instance, is trying to capitalize on the popularity of family travel by ensuring that "40% of the itinerary focuses on engaging with a child's personal interests, 30% is reserved for fun and education, and

the rest is for attractions that interest parents and grandparents and includes relaxation" (Lubin, 2019). Moreover, one of the several myths about outbound Chinese travellers is that they mainly rely on travel agencies in planning their trips. However, research has found that 57% of Chinese outbound tourists rely on families and friends to obtain inspiration and information about their travel plans (Dichter et al., 2018). Indeed, apart from providing the essential material resources, the family is also a source of security and trust that promotes a stable relationship among its members.

Provide Care and Emotional Support

There is an expectation for the family to care for the physical and emotional needs of its members. As the basic institution that connects individuals at the personal level, the family is seen ideally as a space for intimacy, nurturance, and sustenance where people feel happy and healthy. This function of the family is nurtured by the physical and emotional intimacy between the couple, as well as on the close emotional ties between parents and their children, and among siblings. Although expressions of care and emotional support are supposed to be shared spontaneously, freely, and genuinely among its members, there are various social norms governing family interactions. Thus, the provision of care is purely a personal and subjective decision but is also seen as an individual responsibility. In some cases, some laws compel individuals to fulfill their responsibilities with the use of positive and negative sanctions.

A mother and child come out of their house to greet a neighbor. They live in Chefchaouen, the famous blue city of Morocco.

In 2013, China introduced the "Elderly Rights Law" to address a growing problem of social isolation and emotional stress among elderly people. The law orders them to visit their elderly parents to care for their "spiritual needs." It also warned against people who "snub or neglect elderly people." A violator can be sued in court for arbitration. However, if a settlement is not reached or if an individual fails to fulfill court rulings, fines and jail terms can be imposed. However, the law has been ridiculed by many, especially in online forums, as an excessive interference into the private lives of people, with one comment arguing that "family bonds should be based on spontaneous emotions" (Hatton, 2013).

Primary Agent of Socialization

In Chapter 7 (Culture), we discussed how the family serves as the first place where people learn culture. Through the family, children learn languages, beliefs, values, and norms as well as develop interpersonal and social skills needed to function effectively in society. However, socialization does not only occur during childhood. It is a life-long process of adaptation, self-assertion, and social orienteering to find one's way in a changing physical and social environment.

For instance, what seems to distinguish the *nongjiale* tourism from any other forms of tourism is the value that the guests (especially families) and the host families both put on socialization. Urban families bring their children to stay in farm guesthouses to learn not only the rural way of life (e.g., feeding animals, harvesting crops) but also values such as simplicity, resourcefulness, and resilience (Park, 2014). In turn, host families are motivated not only by the prospect of earning money but also by the opportunity to interact with guests (Wang, 2014), especially those from the city whose lifestyle and worldview enable them to learn more about the world beyond their villages.

Confer Social Status

Finally, we also learn another function of the family from our previous discussion on Social Class and Social Stratification (Chapter 6) that our family confers our position in social hierarchies (social class) and influences our capacity to move up the ladder (social mobility). Being from an upper-class family, for example, instantly confers high status on an individual while those born from lower-class families receive little recognition in society. The parent's occupation and income affect a person's physical health, chances of getting into a university, enjoying a good quality of life, and many other experiences.

With the increasing economic prosperity in China, its rising middle-class families are spending more money not only on the education of their children but also on travel. Before the pandemic, Chinese families were spending between 10% to 30% more on travel, with an average expenditure of 6,000 yuan to 9,000 yuan (US$900–1,200) per person. According to a report, "traveling abroad has become a hallmark of Chinese self-identifying as middle class" (Cheng, 2019).

INEQUALITY AND VIOLENCE IN THE FAMILY

Although the family is generally considered a refuge where members are nurtured and protected, it can also be a place of inequality, exploitation, and violence. The physical and social mechanisms that ensure the privacy of the family allow for much of the marital and parental, and other problems to largely remain concealed and unreported. Among the most common serious family issues are domestic violence, child abuse, and elderly abuse. Sociological investigations of violence in the family traced the root cause to the unequal access to power, particularly in the powerlessness of women within a heterosexual relationship. Friedrich Engels (see Chapter 5) described how the

shift of economic production from the household and to employment in large-scale production sites has allowed men to accumulate more power and relegated women in unsalaried household work (Engels, 2010).

Later on, feminist scholars pointed out that despite changes in the political and economic spheres that allow women to obtain jobs and play a greater role in society, they are still expected to take on much of the responsibility in running the household. Sociologist Arlie Hochschild (Hochschild and Machung, 2012), use the term "**second shift**" to demonstrate how women in the workplace are in a disadvantaged position because they are saddled by the child-care roles, household chores, and the overall feminized expectations of family responsibilities.

The occurrence and responses to violence and inequality in the family vary between cultures, countries, communities, and even between families. India is an interesting case for its notable advances in addressing serious issues surrounding the family as well as for some persistent problems that caught global attention in the past years. In 2017, the Indian Supreme Court voted (in a narrow 3–2 decision) to declare the practice of instant divorce (known as triple *talaq*) among its Muslim constituents unconstitutional. The traditional practice allows a Muslim man to legally divorce his wife by simply uttering or writing the word *talaq* (divorce in Arabic) three times (Mehta, 2017). Other landmark legislation against violence and inequality in the family includes the 2005 Domestic Violence Prevention Act, 1987 Sati Prevention Act, which criminalizes a widow's immolation during the deceased husband's cremation, and the 1986 Dowry Prohibition Act. These legal reforms reflect the changing cultural views and practices on the family in India that resulted from economic advancement, democratization, and other cultural transformations.

Nonetheless, there is still a lot of ground to cover to provide long-term solutions to gender equality in India, particularly in the context of the family. One of the greatest challenges in effecting change in the family is how deeply entrenched its principles and practices are in tradition and culture. Although this is true in all societies, India's deeply rooted household and kinship norms have even withstood some of the legal reforms that were instituted to address the prevalence of inequality and violence in the family. The payment of dowry by a bride's family is still widely practised although it is illegal. More worrisome are the cases of "dowry deaths" that occur when brides are killed or tormented to commit suicide by the groom's family who is dissatisfied by the dowry given to them by the bride's family (Anukriti et al., 2021). Another serious issue in India (also in China) is the practice of sex-selective abortion, which involves the abortion of female fetuses due to the preference for a son.

In 1994, the passage of the Pre-Conception and Pre-Natal Diagnostic Techniques Act made it illegal to reveal the sex of an unborn child during an ultrasound scan, except for strictly medical purposes. However, the law is not strictly enforced so selective abortion remains a serious problem in India. Both dowry payment and selective abortion remain prevalent because of the country's extremely patriarchal culture that puts more value on men than women (Dhillon, 2020).

Moreover, these practices are rooted in traditional joint family customs and religious beliefs that are largely seen as normal and unchangeable.

THE END OF THE FAMILY?

Fundamentally, the resistance to the reforms instituted to stop the dowry system or to allay the cultural preference for a son in India is fueled by the fear that such reforms will eventually lead to the "end of the family." The preference for a son ensures that property and other resources stay within the family as well as continue its lineage through the society's patrilineal system. Without a male heir, the family is absorbed by another family through the marriage of its daughters or completely disappears if there are no children. The dowry system, on the other hand, underscores the collectivist structure of the Indian family wherein marriage is viewed as an alliance of families rather than of individuals.

Individualism and the End of the Family

Individualism, which is largely seen as a product of Western influence is, in fact, more of a home-grown strategy by individuals and families to adapt to the changing economic and political conditions in the country. Two of the notable marks of these transformations are the increasing popularity of "love marriage" (*vis-a-vis* arranged marriage) and single-child families (vis-a-vis large families). The growing shift towards "love marriage" is facilitated by the higher educational attainment (especially among women), the migration to cities for studies and employment, and the change in mindset among the educated and urbanized young people (Suri, 2020). The rise of single-child families, on the other hand, came about because of the declining fertility rate, the increasing age at first birth, and the greater emphasis on quality of life than the number of children (Dhami, 2020). Moreover, researchers found a strong link between a woman's education levels and employment status and preferred family size. "Women with less education and less wealth tend to choose to have more than two children. Women with longer years of education and more wealth often want to have fewer than two" (Lopez, 2020: n.p.). Overall, the trend towards "love marriage" and single-child families underscores the increasing influence of independence and individualism, making many people feel apprehensive about their impact on the family as a highly-esteemed and deeply-cherished institution.

In neighboring China, similar apprehension on the growing individualism has pushed the authorities to enact several interventions to ensure that the family continues to thrive despite the increasing urbanization and economic development. In a case study comparing the early objectives ("start-up goals") of *nongjiale* (farm tourism) operators in three areas in China, the link between business motivation and family cohesion was examined. The study found that family cohesion is a strong motivation in undeveloped provinces where operators (mostly local farmers) also tend to value tradition more. In contrast, family cohesion is a weak motivation in developed provinces

where operators (have other income sources besides farming) tend to put more emphasis on hobbies and personal interests (Wang X., 2014). These research findings demonstrate a global trend that equates economic development with increasing individualism.

The Decline of Parental Authority and the End of the Family

In exploring the various impacts of the rise of single-child families in India, an investigation has concluded that the biggest impact might not be at the economic level (fewer taxpayers) or the traditional role of the children (elderly caregiving) but on how the families function. Particularly, parents like to take the role of "friends" to deal with the absence of siblings as the child's everyday companion (Dhami, 2020). This parental style veers away from the traditional roles of parents as disciplinarians and figures of authority. In China, where this family structure has been prevalent after the one-child policy was introduced in 1979, a research on parents of middle-school students found that some parents "indicated that they were proud to be able to be 'friends with their children.'" These parents nurture good communication with their children, avoid overly controlling their children, put less emphasis on their authority (Wang Y. C., 2014: 778).

In fact, the decline of parental authority can be traced to the shift in economic production from agriculture to manufacturing when children are increasingly pursuing professions that are different from that of the parents or extended families. Apart from taking the opportunities for parents and children to work together, the transfer of work from home or village to factories and office towers also made parents realized that their skills are obsolete and their knowledge lacking to effectively provide guidance to their children (Ferrante, 2015). Working-class Chinese parents, for instance, felt that they were incapable of helping their children that much in realizing their dream due to their very limited education, long working hours, meager income, and limited knowledge of the modern world" (Wang Y. C., 2014: 776). This phenomenon is not limited to single-child families as the same emphasis on open communication and disconnection to the world of their children have pushed many parents, including those who have more children to surrender some of their traditional power to foster a more approachable parental style. In short, the democratization of society (Chapter 1, Sociological Orienteering) has also led to the democratization in the family where there is greater inclusivity and reciprocal relations between husband and wife as well as between parents and children.

Other Institutions and the End of the Family

Apart from the decline of parental authority, the "end of the family" is also caused by other institutions, which over time, have begun to take on some of the functions that are originally performed solely by the family. For example, with the proliferation of daycare centers and early childhood learning centers, children now attend school at a very young age. These centers are taking on the family's function of socialization and physical care. Among middle-school students in China, parents "felt that they did not have the 'expert' authority to monitor, evaluate, or plan

for their children's studies, so they faithfully trusted the school teachers and believed that the best they could do was asking their children to follow the teachers' directions and advice" (Wang Y.C., 2014: 779). This shows that children do not only spend more time in schools but parents also defer their authority over their children to the institutional ascendancy of schools and their professional staff. Schools are often where older children and teenagers forge close bonds with peers in formal (e.g., campus organizations, sports teams) or in informal (e.g., school "buddies," gangs) settings. These peer groups can take on the role of providing emotional care and support as well as socialization (e.g., sex norms) for many young people. These groups can play an important role in the emotional development of young people but again, they take on a role that is traditionally fulfilled by the family.

Moreover, the government's effort to establish childcare and health clinics has also taken on some of the functions of the family to provide care and security to its members. In addition, the enactment of family-focused legislation also subverts the role of families in settling a dispute and imposing penalties among its members since courts of justice now have jurisdiction over domestic conflicts, property disputes, and other issues. In India, the passage of the Domestic Violence Act in 2005 provided the state with more power in ensuring the protection of women against abuse, something that the joint family system has previously failed to sufficiently address.

Apart from education and the state, other social institutions, some of which have only emerged recently to take on a more influential role on the everyday lives of people, are also taking some of the functions that are traditionally fulfilled by the family. The family has traditionally been linked to religion and many religious rituals have been centered on its observance in the family. Both Hinduism and Confucianism, for instance, prescribed their values (e.g., filial piety) and norms (e.g., arranged marriage) on the family. At times, religious institutions also take over some of the functions of the family such as socialization (religious education) and the conferment of status (e.g., Brahmin caste, literati class).

Recently, new institutions have emerged to play important roles in the everyday lives of people. Mass and social media, popular culture, fashion, and travel play are among these institutions that are shaping the contemporary society's values, social norms, and lifestyles. Particularly, travel has taken on functions of socialization (travel as part of learning), care and wellness, and in conferring status. The increasing influence of these social institutions in society follows the functionalist view that if one socializing institution is not fulfilling its function, another will take over that role to retain social equilibrium.

The End of the Family? From Family to Families

A closer look at the issues surrounding the family in China and India shows that people are generally not apprehensive about the end of the family *per se* but about the end of a specific form of family – the extended family. The extended family is largely valued for its long historical presence, deep cultural roots, and widespread influence. As such, many Chinese and Indians con-

sider the extended family as an intrinsic part of their cultural distinctiveness whose decline marks not only the end of an era but a deeper loss of identity. As such, the problem concerning the "end of the family" is more about how the rise of alternative forms of families posed a challenge to the place of the extended family as the "ideal" family structure.

In China, the family has undergone a process of "**nuclearization**" (shift from extended to nuclear family) since the 1950s Communist Revolution that resulted in the appropriation of private properties that were controlled by the family patriarch. This was followed by the one-child policy in 1979 and the post-Mao economic reforms, which ushered in the rapid economic development that further contributed to the rise of nuclear families (Chen, 2009).

Contrasting Concepts: *Stem Family vs Joint Family*

The extended family is generally classified into two types: the stem family and the joint family. The **stem family** includes parents, their unmarried children, one married son, his wife and children. The married son is often the one who would inherit the family property. The other children are supposed to leave the household once they get married. This type of extended family is common in East Asia, including China where 19% of households live under an extended family arrangement (Chen, 2009).

The **joint family** includes parents, their sons, their unmarried daughters, and their sons' wives and children, which could even expand to four or more generations. This type of extended family is prevalent in South Asia, including India where the Hindu Undivided Family (HUF) is recognized as a "person" under the country's taxation law. It is headed by the oldest man (*Karta*) who controls the common resource pool and leads the various family undertakings. The joint family remains popular in India, comprising 37.1% of the total households (Krishnan, 2019).

Similarly, the nuclear family has become the most prevalent form of family structure in India. In a UN study of household compositions in India, it was found that 41.5% of households are made up of married couples and their children (nuclear family), slightly higher than the multiple-generation households (extended family), which comprise 37.1% of the total households. However, what the researchers found more interesting is the increase of couples with no children (8.0%) single-mother households (5.4%), single-person households (4.1%), non-relative households (3.0%), and single-father households (0.9%) (Krishnan, 2019). Thus, the Indian family is not just undergoing nuclearization, it is going through a process of diversification.

A study on the impact of the economic transition on the extended family in China also showed that its "participant families turned out to be *quite diverse* in terms of family structure. One of the families had a stepmother, another family had a stepfather, and there were two families where the adolescent participants were cared for by grandparents due to the job location of the parents" (Wang Y.C., 2014: 769–770, emphasis mine).

Overall, the impact of economic transitions on the extended family is best exemplified by the transformation of the residential buildings associated with the extended family. The farmhouses (*nongjiayuan*) that have been converted into *nongjiale* guesthouses (see Figure 10.1) were originally designed for extended families. Centered around a courtyard, the farmhouse provides two

to four wings of living spaces for the different sub-units of the family. The shared living arrangement is noticeable through the common vegetable garden, well, kitchen, and toilet (Park, 2014). The urban equivalent of the farmhouse (*nongjiayuan*) is the courtyard house (*siheyuan)*. In Beijing, many of these traditional houses are converted into boutique hotels, cafés, and restaurants. A similar trend is evident in India where traditional courtyard houses designed for extended families, such as the *pol* residences of Gujarat, the *wada* houses of Maharashtra, and the *nalukettu* buildings of Kerala are repurposed as travel accommodations (Mehta, 2018). These traditional houses are ideal for conversions due to their multiple functional spaces, indigenous architecture that blends with the local climatic conditions, and the various artifacts that provide visitors glimpses of the local history and culture. More importantly, these traditional accommodations symbolize hospitality and comfort which are typically associated with the family.

KEY CONCEPTS

Endogamy
Fictive kinship
Joint Family
Marriage
Monogamy
Nuclearization
Second shift
Stem Family
Extended family
Household
Kinship
Matrilocal
Nuclear family
Patriarchal
Social institution

DISCUSSION QUESTIONS

1. Imagine a society without families. How would the basic needs of the people in that society be addressed? How would life skills be passed to the next generation? How would values be instilled? Who would fulfill the person's needs for love and care? What type of adults would this society create?
2. What is the difference between the concepts of patriarchal and patrilineal? Contrast them with the concepts of matriarchal and matrilineal in describing an interesting family that you have known or read about.
3. What type of family should the government promote? Nuclear family or extended family? Explain your answer using state policies and/or economic transitions that shape the family structures in your country.

SUGGESTED READINGS

1. Gough, Kathleen. (1971). "The Origin of the Family." *Journal of Marriage and Family*, Vol. 33(4): pp. 760–771.
2. Park, Choong-Hwan. (2014). "Nongjiale Tourism and Contested Space in Rural China." *Modern China*, Vol. 40(5): pp. 519–548.
3. Meadow, Tey and Judith Stacey. (2006). "Families." *Contexts*, Vol. 5(4): pp. 55–57.
4. Yeung, Wei-Jun Jean, Sonalde Desai, and Gavin W. Jones. (2018). "Families in Southeast and South Asia." Annual Review of Sociology, Vol. 44: pp. 469–495.

CHAPTER 11

RELIGION

George Town, the capital of the state of Penang, is one of Malaysia's top travel destinations. Situated in its historic center is the "Street of Harmony," an iconic thoroughfare featuring four historic places of worship: St. George Church (built 1819, Anglican), Goddess of Mercy Temple (built 1728, Taoist), Sri Mahamariamman Temple (built 1883, Hindu), and Kapitan Keling Mosque (built 1801, Muslim). The attractions highlight Penang's appeal as a multi-ethnic and multi-cultural society, which developed through its long history as a colonial trading post and regional economic hub in the 19th and 20th centuries that attracted many settlers from various parts of Asia and beyond. Arguably, the Street of Harmony also reveals an important fact about Malaysia that is difficult to recognize in other parts of the country – its relative religious diversity.

St. George Church, one of the historic places of worship along the famous Street of Harmony in Penang, Malaysia.

Although Malaysia is a Muslim-majority country, a sizable part of its population is from a host of other religious groups. Based on recent data, 61.3% of its population follows Islam, 19.8% Buddhism, 9.2% Christianity, 6.3% Hinduism, 3.4% Taoism, and other Chinese religions. In Penang, around 44% of the population is Muslims, 36% Buddhists, 9% Hindus, while the rest is a mix of people from other religious groups (Department of Statistics, Malaysia, 2016). Tourism campaigns, such as its iconic "Malaysia, Truly Asia" slogan, amplify this relative religious diversity by using it to underscore its rich history and vibrant culture that serve as a microcosm of the entire region. Apart from tourism, emphasizing the country's religious diversity also appeals to

the cosmopolitan imaginaries of the emerging middle class and the generation of media-savvy young people.

Despite this emphasis on religious and cultural diversity, Malaysia is evidently a Muslim-dominated society. Islam is the country's designated official state religion. In addition, the Islamic architecture and symbols loom large over most of its urban and rural landscapes. Malaysians are also among the most religious people in the world with 96% of its population recognizing the importance of religion in their daily life (Crabtree, 2010). The sound of calls to prayer, the sight of people wearing their traditional religious garb, the sumptuous taste of ubiquitous *halal* food, and the gentle handshakes that are followed by a shift tap to one's chest are testaments to how deeply-rooted Islam is in Malaysia.

How can Malaysia help to give us a better understanding of the meaning of religion? How do religions change in accordance with the changing economic and political conditions? How do sociologists analyze the importance of religion in society? This chapter answers these questions by comparing Malaysia with Australia, a country that contrasts in terms of the religious composition of its population and the relationship of religion with the state and other institutions. Australia is one of the most secular states in the world with only 32% of its population recognizing the importance of religion in their daily life (Crabtree, 2010). In addition, Australia is more diverse with a population divided into the following religious categories: Protestants (23.1%), Roman Catholics (22.6%), other Christians (4.2%), Muslims (2.6%), Buddhists (2.4%), Orthodox (2.3%), Hindu (1.9%), and others (1.3%). Larger than the main religious groups are those who state "no religion" while a further 9.6% chose not to respond to the question (Australian Bureau of Statistics, 2016). Finally, despite the limited number of attractions that would entice religious tourists, Australia is looking into its Outback and other natural landscapes as catalysts to promote "spiritually-focused travel" experiences (Bond and Ruhanen, 2012). Overall, Malaysia and Australia provide an interesting contrast and a ton of information to help us understand the meaning of religion and its relevance to contemporary society.

"SIGHTSEEING" THROUGH CONCEPTS: RELIGION

Religion is a social institution that binds people together through a system of beliefs and practices that are based on some sacred or supernatural realm. As an institution, religion socializes people into the values and customs of their societies, guides their behaviors, gives meaning to life, and unites its followers into a community. Religion, however, is not a social structure that completely imposes its teachings and rules on people. Ideally, it is also a social space where individuals can express and cultivate their spirituality. **Spirituality** refers to a person's deeper self-awareness and a more profound sense of connection with the physical and social world. Because both are concerned with matters that are at the threshold or beyond the reach of human reasoning, religious and spiritual principles and practices are founded on faith. *Faith* refers to beliefs that cannot be empirically proven or disproven but are accepted as true. Religious faith can vary in intensity –

from a deep conviction of devout followers to a wavering commitment of a nominal member. Saints, gurus, and prophets are revered for their exemplary demonstration of faith.

Austrian-American sociologist and theologian Peter Berger (1967) presents four existential questions that define the uncertainties of human existence. By providing the answers to these questions, religion creates storylines that enable people to connect their personal life history with larger narratives of collective affliction, redemption, and glory. For instance, with religion, people are able to make sense of their marginalization as evidence of being the "chosen people," their achievements and recognition as God's blessings, and death as a passage to eternal life. These experiences are punctuated by rituals that mark the various stages of life (baptism, wedding, funeral, etc.) that bind people together. Overall, Berger suggests that religion provides a set of meanings that connects individuals to society and gives a sense of life purpose that transcends the physical and temporal world.

Berger's Four Existential Questions

(1) Who am I?
(2) Why I am here?
(3) How should I live?
(4) What happens when I die?

Religions are categorized based on the nature of their belief system. These religious beliefs are: (1) simple supernaturalism, (2) animism, (3) theism, and (4) transcendent idealism (Kendall, 2017: 490). *Simple supernaturalism* refers to the belief that people's lives are shaped by forces that are beyond natural and human understanding. The reverence given to *didgeridoos* (aboriginal wind instrument) or the aboriginal healers (shaman) in Australia are examples of simple supernaturalism. People believe that a supernatural power inhibits a person or an object that affects the conduct of their everyday lives. However, people do not worship or hold rituals to deify these supernatural entities. On the other hand, **animism** is the belief that inanimate objects are endowed with spirits and power that can affect events in society. Rituals are essential activities in animist societies since they are needed to appease the spirits and ask their interventions to bring in a good weather, bountiful harvest, fertility, and other concerns.

A small number of indigenous communities in Malaysia (0.8% of the total population), such as the Dayaks of Sarawak, practice animism and are known for their wars, harvests, and other rituals. Both simple supernaturalism and animism are associated with hunting and gathering societies. The third type of religious belief is **theism**, which refers to the belief in a god (deity) or gods. *Monotheism* is a belief in a single god, particularly within a large and organized religion. In contrast, *polytheism* is a belief in more than one God. Islam, with its one God (Allah) is an example of monotheistic religion while Hinduism, with its three principal Gods (Brahma, Vishnu, and Shiva) and other deities is a polytheistic religion. Lastly, the fourth type of religious belief is *transcendent idealism*, which is a non-theistic (does not worship god/s) but focuses on sacred principles such as inner peace, life purpose, and benevolence. Buddhism and Confucianism are examples of religions that fall under this classification.

THE KEY ELEMENTS OF RELIGION

Emile Durkheim (1964b) was not only one of the first sociologists to study religion but was one of the first to do it using a comparative approach. By looking into the various religious practices throughout the world, he identified three essential characteristics that are common to all religions across time periods and geographical boundaries, which I categorize here as G.O.D. (see Table 11.1 below).

TABLE 11.1
Key Elements of Religion

	Meaning	Examples
G (group)	community of worshippers	Muslims, Episcopalians
O (observance)	rituals and celebrations	Ramadan, Baptism
D (divine)	belief in the supernatural (sacred power)	Allah, Altjira

Group (Community of Worshippers)

Religious principles and practices are shared by a group of people who hold the same beliefs, abide by its rules and teachings, and regularly assemble to reaffirm their commitment to the divine and to each other (Durkheim, 1964b: 44). This community of worshippers ensure that the teachings are passed on to the new members or the next generation, enable members to form a moral community, and allow believers to form a shared identity. Muslims, for instance, cultivate a sense of community when members congregate in mosques and other communal spaces, wear identical religious clothing, share *halal* food, and practice other things together that would distinguish the group from others. In Malaysia, Muslims have the word "Islam" printed on their national identification card to underscore their membership to this community of worshippers. Finally, religious groups and organizations are identified through the symbols that they use to represent their faith and their community. The crescent sign for Islam, the cross for Christianity, and the Star of David for Judaism are just some of the symbols that are used to identify religious communities.

Observance (Rituals and Celebrations)

Religious observances establish the connection between the group of believers and the divine. **Rituals** are prescribed set of actions that are observed in the presence of the divine power (Durkheim, 1964b: 34-35). They range from prayers, the lighting of candles, the burning of incense, the washing of the feet, the giving of offerings, the performances of sacrifices, among many other practices. At times, rituals last for a long period or involve a succession of several sub-rituals that

they constitute a religious celebration. The Five Pillars of Islam is a set of religious observances that serves as the core principles of the religion. It includes: (1) the profession of faith (*shahada*), (2) to pray five times a day (*salah*), (3) giving alms (*zakat*), (4) fasting (*sawm*), and (5) pilgrimage to Mecca (*hajj*).

Divine (Belief in a Sacred Power)

In examining its social significance, Peter Berger (1967) sees religion as a *sacred canopy*, a protective cover hanging over individuals, that provides them with security and answers to the most difficult questions in life, such as why people exist and why they die. While sociology typically relies on birth rate, life expectancy, and other empirical data to analyze quality of life and mortality, religion answers these existential questions by referring to the sacred. The **sacred** refers to the mystical and transcendent entities that inspire deep sense of respect, awe, and even fear. They are the things that people revere as *holy* – things used for religious purposes or are dedicated to God. Places of worship, religious symbols, scriptures, and ritual paraphernalia are all considered sacred. As a sociological concept, the sacred is often juxtaposed with the **profane** (from the Latin for "outside the temple"), which encompasses the everyday and non-transcendental aspects of people's lives.

MAJOR WORLD RELIGIONS

We opened this chapter with a discussion on the diversity of religions in Malaysia and Australia. This pattern continues globally with 84% of the world population adhering to one of the over 4,300 religions in the world (Juan, 2006). Christianity and Islam are two of the largest religions in the world taking more than half of the total world population (see Table 11.2). Although, they are often conceived and presented as inherently antagonistic, Christianity and Islam have many common features. First, they are both Abrahamic religions, which, along with Judaism and a few other smaller religious groups, consider Abraham as their common patriarch. Islam traced its origin through Ishmael, Abraham's first son while Christianity and Judaism descended through his second son, Isaac. Both are *monotheistic* (belief in one God), believe in prophets, the afterlife, and judgment day. Jesus is recognized as a prophet in Islam, although not as God, the Son (Bremer, 2015).

Similarly, Hinduism and Buddhism are classified under a broader category called Indic religions (also called Dharmic religions) due to their roots in the Indian subcontinent. Apart from the two, Sikhism (30 million followers) and Jainism (6 million followers) are the other larger Indic religions. Hinduism, with over a billion followers, is the third largest religion after Christianity and Islam. While the three Abrahamic religions are monotheistic, Hinduism is notable for being *polytheistic* with its number of gods and minor gods. In addition, another unique feature

of Hinduism is its belief in reincarnation, which refer to the perpetual rebirth of the soul after death. On the other end, Buddhism is almost half the size of Hinduism in terms of its number of followers (see Table 11.2). Interestingly, the founder of Buddhism, Gautama Siddhartha practiced Hinduism and was a noble prince before he gave up his title and possessions to start his teachings. Buddhism is unique because it is a non-theistic religion, which means that it does not have a god. Buddha is a teacher, not a god or deity. The religion is also noted for its use of meditation, as a way of overcoming worldly desires and attaining enlightenment (Bremer, 2015).

TABLE 11.2
Major World Religions

	Number of Followers, Millions (Percentage of World Population)	Founder	Year of Founding	Belief System
Christianity	2,276 (31.2%)	Jesus	1st century C.E.	Monotheism
Islam	1,753 (24.1%)	Mohammad	ca. 600 C.E.	Monotheism
Hinduism	1,099 (15.1%)	No specific founder	ca. 1500 B.C.E.	Polytheism
Buddhism	499 (6.9%)	Gautama Siddhartha	500–600 B.C.E.	Non-theism
Judaism	14 (0.2%)	Abraham	2000 B.C.E.	Monotheism

Source: Pew Research Center (2017)

The five major religions are not homogenous but are fragmented, with multiple fragments that feature varying principles, practices, and traditions. Christianity first split into two branches, the Roman Catholic and Eastern Orthodox in 1054 (The Great Schism), which was followed by the Protestant Reformation in the 16th century. The latter resulted in the emergence of around 200 Protestant denominations (e.g., Baptists, Methodists, Adventists) and even larger number of non-denominational and evangelical churches. In Australia, the largest indigenous Protestant denomination is the Uniting Church, which has more than 870,000 people who identified with the church (Australian Bureau of Statistics, 2016). Similarly, Islam is known for its Sunni and Shia branches as well as more smaller groups. In Malaysia, most Muslims adhere to the Shafi'i version of the Sunni branch while a few (7%) follow the Ibadi, Quranist, and other smaller branches (Department of Statistics, Malaysia, 2016). Buddhism was gradually driven out of India but flourished in Tibet and Mongolia (Vajrayana Buddhism), East Asia (Mahayana Buddhism), and Mainland Southeast Asia (Theravada Buddhism). Buddhism is the second largest religion in Malaysia, and comprises mostly Chinese-Malaysians. Buddhism is also a minority religion in Australia (2.4% of the total population). However, it has become one of the fastest-growing religions in the past 20 years, mainly due to migration (Australian Bureau of Statistics, 2016).

TYPES OF RELIGIOUS ORGANIZATIONS

Sociologists do not only identify the different religions but also classify these religions based on their population size, type of leadership, and organizational structure. Religious organizations are classified into five types: (1) national religion, (2) autonomous religion, (3) denominations, (4) sects, and (5) cults.

A *national religion* is a religious organization that is closely associated with the dominant political and cultural power in society. This type of religion considers the entire population as its members and religious principles and practices play central roles in the everyday lives of people. At times, the religion does not only hold widespread influence in society but is sanctioned by the ruling power as the state religion. A **state religion** refers to a religion that is established by law as the sole official religion of a state. Islam is the state religion of Malaysia and all ethnic Malays are Muslims by law. It is illegal for Muslims to convert to other religions and other religions are forbidden from proselytizing among the Malay population (Henderson, 2003). Finally, the power relation between the state and religion can tip towards the latter, resulting in a theocracy. A *theocracy* ("rule of God") is a form of government in which a state is governed by immediate divine guidance or by officials who are regarded as divinely guided.

In contrast, **autonomous religion** refers to a large, bureaucratic, and independent religious organization that holds a sizable number of followers within a multi-religious society. Unlike the national religion, this type of religious organization is not officially connected to the state. This arrangement usually developed through the formulation of a legal mandate that enforces the principle of *the separation of church and state* (Kuznicki, 2008). The Roman Catholic Church in Australia is an example of an autonomous religion whose political separation from the government is based on the Section 116 of the country's Constitution (McLeish, 1992). Both national and autonomous religions are characterized by hierarchical and bureaucratic structures with professional clergy who go through formal education for many years to prepare them for their ministries. In addition, both religions are also notable for their elaborate rituals, the use of holy scriptures, and standardized rules.

The third type of religious organization is called a **denomination**, which is a subgroup within a religion that separates due to political, cultural, and theological reasons. However, denominations often retain some of the teachings, traditions, and identities of the principal religion. The term "traditional" is used to refer to the different Protestant churches such as the Baptist, Methodist, Presbyterian, and others. It is also used to describe the five major branches of Judaism (Karaite, Orthodox, Conservative, Reform, and Reconstructionist). Other scholars would also use it to refer to the branches of Islam (Sunni, Shia, and other smaller branches and sub-branches) (Gabriel and Hannan, 2013). The term also applies to the schools of Buddhism (Vajrayana, Mahayana, Theravada, and other smaller schools).

The fourth type is called a **sect**, which is a small religious organization that usually forms after a group separates from a larger religious group, such as an autonomous religion or a denomination. Unlike the first three types, a sect has no formal hierarchy and is often led by a lay person (not an ordained clergy). A sect often results from the effort for reform in the large and bureaucratic religions. All of the major religions saw the emergence of splinter groups that have sought to reform and challenge the integrity of their religion. The New Life Christian Centre and the Rock Worship Centre in Western Sydney are examples of sects.

Lastly, a cult is the fifth type of religious organization. A **cult** is a small, loosely-organized religious group, usually founded by a charismatic and self-appointed leader who attracts people by virtue of his or her personal qualities. Cults are largely considered as deviant groups whose beliefs and practices are often seen as heretic, blasphemous, and as threats to the mainstream religious values. In some cases, cults are implicated in serious issues such as fraud, violence, sexual exploitation, and child abuse. In July 2020, the Rolling Stone Australia magazine ran a four-part series on some of the notorious cults in the country's history. Among those featured are the cults called The Family, Divine Truth, Universal Medicine, and The Rajneesh Movement (Reid, 2020). However, not all cults are involved in bizarre or criminal activities, but due to prejudice, the term "cult" generally carries a negative connotation. To overcome the negative connotation, the term "new religious movements" is, at times, used in its place. Nonetheless, all religions technically started as cults. Jesus, Mohammad, the Buddha, and most religious founders suffered from persecution before their religions grew to attract large number of followers.

THE END OF RELIGION?

The advent of modernity in the 19th century resulted in crucial social transformations that undermined the central role of religion in society. The rise of science brings forth new knowledge and practices that contradicted with religious principles. Industrialization uprooted people from their religiously homogenous communities and brought them into work sites and urban centers where ethnic and cultural diversity forced religion to gradually withdraw from the center of public life. Democratization saw the decline of religion as a source of legitimacy of political power and authority. Lastly, development placed more value on material comfort and the accumulation of wealth reshaping people's outlook on the meaning of labor, success, and what it takes to be fully human.

Secularization and the End of Religion

For centuries, religion is regarded as the moral and social compass that guides people's everyday lives. However, the advent of modernity saw religion gradually lost its significance in society, particularly in developed societies where the basis of moral values and social behavior have become more diverse. **Secularization** is the process by which religious beliefs, practices, and in-

stitutions lose their significance and influence due to the modernization of society. The study of secularization has a long history in sociology. In their effort to establish a scientific approach to the study of society, early sociologists attempted to peel off the mystical and doctrinal layers that envelop religions to reveal their practical social significance.

An art installation depicting a dreamcatcher, Royal Botanical Gardens (Sydney, Australia).

In his influential work, Emile Durkheim (1964b), examined the belief system of Australian Aboriginals to uncover the meaning of religion among people who have some of the most basic (primitive) social structure. His study was based on the premise that as society evolves, religious beliefs also become more complex, adding several layers of teachings and practices that conceal their real essence. By examining a primitive society, Durkheim sought to uncover "the elementary forms of religious life" and the fundamental significance of religion in society. His analysis revolved around the Aboriginal practice of **totemism**, a religious practice that is centered on the worship of an animal, a plant, or an object (totem) as a sacred symbol or the material expression of the divine.

Aboriginal societies are divided into clans and tribes that are based on the totemic symbol that each group worships. By looking at religion as a sociological rather than a supernatural subject, Durkheim noted that totemism exists to serve a specific social function, particularly in ensuring social solidarity among the clan members. The shared beliefs and rituals establish a structure of rules and norms, enforce social cohesion, and create a common identity. Rituals are important occasions for what Durkheim called **collective effervescence**, the feeling of euphoria experienced by individuals when they come together to express their faith. In a religious context, this experience is a result of divine power. For Durkheim, however, it is a result of the people's collective energy. In short, totemism, like any other religion, emerges when people (the real forces of society) project themselves onto "sacred" objects and other supernatural entities.

Just like Durkheim, Karl Marx viewed religion as human creation. However, instead of putting emphasis on its role in promoting social solidarity, he considered religion as a mechanism of stratifying people into the elites and the masses (lords and serfs in feudal societies). Monarchs and other members of the elites often use religion as the source of the legitimacy of their power

and prestige. On the other hand, religion socializes the masses to the values of obedience, sacrifice, and suffering. As a criticism of this unequal arrangement, Marx (1972) notably labeled religion as **the opium of the masses**. At that time, opium was popularly used for pain relief and other medicinal purposes. As the "opium of the masses," people are made to interpret their real sufferings as religious sufferings. Thus, people find "relief" from their hardships in religion, particularly with its teachings about redemption and the reward of eternal life in heaven. Marx viewed religion as a "false consciousness," that prevents people from perceiving their marginalized and oppressed conditions.

Using an interpretive approach, Max Weber (1993) described the decline of religion in the modern period as "the **disenchantment** of the world," which refers to the increasing rejection of superstitious and mystical beliefs due to the greater emphasis on empirical knowledge and rational thinking. For instance, one of the key roles of religion in pre-modern societies is the healing of the sick. Most prominent religious figures are known for their supernatural power to cure illness. However, with the rise of science and medicine, people come to rely more on modern diagnostics, prescriptions, therapies, surgeries, and other advanced treatment methods. As a result, the fundamental orientation of society towards magic, superstitions, mystical rituals, and enchantment gradually lose their influence on people's everyday lives.

As industrialization and modernity spread to the different corners of the world, sociologists and other scholars examined how religious traditions outside the West reacted to the coming of a new economic, political, and cultural order. Some highlighted how a similar process of secularization occurred in Africa, Asia, and South America while others revealed the fundamental incompatibility between modernity and the local religions from these vast regions. More notably, a few scholars such as Robert Bellah's work on Tokugawa Religion (1957) and the "Asian Values" paradigm in Southeast Asia (Chua, 1999) underscored how religious traditions facilitated the economic development of Japan and the four "Tigers of Asia." These various discourses were summed up by work of the British-Pakistani anthropologist Talal Asad, who argued that the idea of religion itself was a construct of Western modernity that was imposed on the rest of the world as a universal concept (Asad, 1993). His ideas supported the post-colonialist argument that colonial powers used the Judeo-Christian notion of religion to categorize the Islamic, Hindu, and other non-Western belief systems. As such, Asad (2003) argued further that even the concept of secularization was invented to justify the liberal worldview of modernity that views "politicized religions" as threats to liberty and reason. Rather than viewing secularization as the absence of religiosity, he contended that it was a mechanism of control that enabled modern societies to regulate cultural minorities and impose conformity.

Other Institutions and the End of Religion

As the influence of religion gradually declined, other institutions emerged to take some of the roles in society. First, the economy grew in power and gradually curtailed some of the key roles

of religion in the production cycles and the allocation of resources. The resulting consumerist society saw the emergence of class which replaced religion as the focal feature of an individual's identity. Moreover, the entertainment industry provided the idols (celebrities), legends and epic stories (film, television shows) and mass celebrations (e.g., concerts, sports events). In particular, sports fandom has been compared to religion for providing the symbols, rituals, and the sense of community that reminds people of their interconnectedness and dependency (Serazio, 2013). More recently, tourism is not only seen as a leisure activity but also as a spiritual sojourn that promotes healthy physical and mental well-being.

Second, the retreat of religion to the private realm has allowed the nation-state to dominate the public domain in most societies. The state has also become the source of values and ideals, such as heroism, equality, and prosperity that people take to guide their everyday behaviors and interactions. Sociologists have pointed to the emergence of the nation as the focal point of civil religion. **Civil religion** refers to institutional sets of beliefs based on myths, historical events, teachings of the nation's founder as well as the corresponding symbols (flags, anthems, etc.) and rituals (Independence Day celebrations) that take on a sacred character and elicit a deep feeling of awe and reverence. Although religion is still tied to nationality for most Malaysians, nationality has replaced religion as one of the key components of a person's identity in Australia as well as in many societies around the world.

Contrasting Concepts:
Civic Religion vs Civil Religion

Civic religion is originally used in the context of medieval villages and towns, emphasizing the role of religion as a set of cultural relations (e.g., festivals, teaching, care for the sick, and other social interactions) through which people pursue not only spirituality but also economic, political, and social goals.

On the other hand, civil religion focuses on the role of the nation-state as the most dominant institution in modern society. Nationalism includes a set of beliefs (e.g., resilience) and rituals (e.g., National Day celebration) that take on a sacred quality and elicit feelings of patriotism (literally similar to worshipping the nation).

Thus, civic religion largely exists in a real community while civil religion is about "an imagined community."

The *Hari Merdeka* (Independence Day) is a huge national festivity to commemorate the independence of Malaysia from the British colonial regime. It is held on the 31st of August and is celebrated throughout the country with civic programs, military parades, and fireworks. Major thoroughfares, government and commercial buildings, and private residences display the national flag while the country's national anthems and other patriotic songs are played as part of remembering this watershed event in the nation's history (Harding and Chin, 2014).

In Australia, the ANZAC Day has been described as the country's "most sacred day." It is observed on 25th April as a National Day of Remembrance to commemorate the Australians and New Zealanders who died in wars and conflicts. It was originally organized to honor the members of the Australian and New Zealand Corps (ANZAC) who served in the Gallipoli Campaign during the First World War. The public holidays involve several traditions and rituals that in-

clude the solemn Dawn Service (a public ceremony), the recitation of The Ode (a poem honoring dead soldiers), and the Last Post (a bugle call) as well as more festive practices of Gunfire Breakfast (a feast after the Dawn Service), the ANZAC Day march (civic-military parade), and the consumption of ANZAC biscuits (Fathi, 2021; Watt, 2017).

The End of Religion? Fundamentalism, Pluralization, and Individualization

After almost 200 years since modernity emerged and the speculations regarding the end of religion, it continues to exist and remains influential in many societies. Malaysia is a good example of a society where religion retains a significant influence on politics and the everyday lives of people. Islam is central to the dominant Malay culture and identity. Malaysia's main language, values, and norms are shaped by Islam. All ethnic Malay are Muslims, as defined by the country's constitution. Islam also serves as the basis of the legitimacy of the power of its nine traditional rulers, from whose rank the King (Yang di-Pertuan Agong), the country's Head of State is elected to a five-year term (Harding and Chin, 2014). Overall, the strong linkage between religion and the state has allowed Islam to resist secularization and to continue to play a central role in the Malaysian society.

Elsewhere, three important social developments present strong arguments against those who conceive the end of religion. These major trends include the rise of religious fundamentalism, religious pluralism, and religious individualization. **Fundamentalism** broadly refers to a social movement that advocates for strict adherence to the core teachings and early traditions of a religious belief. Globally, greater attention has been given to its growing interest in Islamic societies, but fundamentalism is common to most, if not all religions. In sum, religious fundamentalism: (1) emphasizes the authority of "sacred texts" as the ultimate guide for life, (2) sees their struggle as a fight against the forces of evil, (3) provides no distinction between the sacred and the profane, and (4) emerges as a reaction to modernity's secularizing tendencies that threaten a society's traditions, culture, and identity (Turner, 2013; Caplan, 1987). Another trend that contradicts the predictions regarding the end of religion is the view that religions are not disappearing, they are merely breaking up from one dominant religion into smaller and multiple groups.

Religious pluralism refers to the social and political condition wherein every individual in a religiously diverse society has the freedom, safety, and rights to practice or even not to practice a religion. Australia is considered as one of the most plural societies in the world, which emerged due to a number of reasons. First, its constitution dictates a "principle of neutrality" and promotes the free exercise of any religion. Second, the migration of people from various geographic and ethnic religious backgrounds after World War Two introduced a huge variety of religious practices. Third, religious differences are not politicized, and conflicts are settled through legislation and the justice system. Lastly, the presence of organizations that promote positive intergroup relations also help to create a more religiously tolerant society (Bouma, 1995).

Finally, another trend that contends with the argument about the end of religion is the shift in the emphasis of religiosity from large religious organizations into individual pursuits of religious awareness and spiritual growth. **Religious individualization** refers to the greater agency accorded to each person in choosing a religious group and in crafting their own religious life. Today, individuals no longer subscribe to every teaching of their religion but display a variety of beliefs and practices that were considered as heresies in the past (Spickard, 2006). For instance, some Catholics now do Zen meditations (Buddhist) or practice yoga (Hindu) as part of their spiritual exercises. Religious individualization follows the shift in emphasis *from religiosity to spirituality*. Wade Clark Roof (1993) identified those who pursue spirituality on their own as "seekers." His findings suggest that Americans (and those from many other countries) "flows in and out of different religious groups and traditions in search of meaning" (Turner, 2013: 7). This idea of the "seeker" connects with this chapter's emphasis on travel. Thus, religion does not only serve a new purpose as a producer of tourist attractions, such as Penang's "Street of Harmony" but travel itself is now seen as an integral part, not only of religion (pilgrimages), but also of the individual's search for meaning (spirituality).

KEY CONCEPTS

Animism
Civil religion
Cult
Disenchantment
Profane
Religious individualization
Rituals
Sect
Spirituality
The opium of the masses
Totemism
Autonomous religion
Collective effervescence
Denomination
Fundamentalism
Religion
Religious pluralism
Sacred
Secularization
State religion
Theism

DISCUSSION QUESTIONS

1. What are the elements of religion? Do you think that these elements are also present in music, sports, and other aspects of contemporary popular culture? How does popular culture contribute to the secularization of society?
2. What is a civil religion? Elaborate on your answer by using at least three examples from your country's national culture and traditions.

3. What is totemism? How does this concept support the predictions about the end of religion? How does this concept contribute to the argument about the continued existence of religion as a crucial component of people's everyday lives?

SUGGESTED READINGS

1. Asad, Talal. (2007). "On Suicide Bombing." *The Arab Studies Journal*, Vol. 15/16(2/1): pp. 123–130.
2. Serazio, Michael. (2013). "Just How Much is Sports Fandom Like Religion." *The Atlantic*, (29 January). Retrieved August 08, 2021.(http://www.theatlantic.com/entertainment/archive/2013/01/just-how-much-is-sports-fandom-like-religion/272631)
3. Hashim, Noor Hazarina, Jamie Murphy, and Nazlida Muhamad Hashim. (2007). "Islam and Online Imagery on Malaysian Tourist Destination Websites." *Journal of Computer-Mediated Communication*, Vol. 12(3): pp. 1082–1102.
4. Turner, Bryan S. (2013). "Religion and Contemporary Sociological Theories." *Sociopedia. isa*. (DOI: 10.1177/205684601431).

CHAPTER 12

POLITICS, ECONOMICS, AND THE NATION-STATE

Pyin Oo Lwin is a scenic hill town situated at an elevation of 1,070 meters above sea level, 67 kilometers east of Mandalay, Myanmar's second largest city. The popular tourist destination attracts visitors due to its cool weather, colonial architecture, and abundance of fruits and flowers (Estoque and Murayama, 2016). The town's foggy and peaceful ambience, however, conceals its significance as the cradle of power in modern Myanmar. Established in 1896 during British rule, Pyin Oo Lwin (then called Maymyo) served as the colonial summer capital until the independence of Myanmar (Burma) in 1948. In addition, Prince Edward Taw Phaya, the grandson of the King Thibaw, the last king of Myanmar (deposed by the British in 1885) was born and lived in Pyin Oo Lwin until his death in 2019 (Kalaung, 2017). More importantly, the town is also the location of the Defense Services Academy (DSA), the premier military officer training academy of Myanmar. Owing to the long history of military dominance in Myanmar politics, the academy's list of notable graduates includes former President Thein Sein, current ruler Min Aung Hlaing (Chairman of the State Administrative Council), and several other top government officials.

The main entrance to the Defense Services Academy in Pyin Oo Lwin where a monument featuring the Three Great Warrior Kings of Myanmar is a popular attraction.

Despite its distinction as a cradle of power, Pyin Oo Lwin is more visible as a vibrant town that embodies the notable economic advancement of Myanmar in the past decade. It is known for its high-value agricultural production as well as for pharmaceutical manufacturing. The town is also located along the main transport corridor that connects Myanmar to China, where a number of development projects, including the 4,050-hectare Yatanarpon Cyber City, were constructed

in the past few years. Along with its established agricultural sector, its unique colonial history, favorable weather, and multi-cultural character of the town has turned it into one of the fastest growing tourist destinations in the country. Notably, Pyin Oo Lwin is considered as the playground of the country's emerging middle class. As such, the tourist town provides an interesting access point in examining the political and economic institutions of Myanmar – their cultural roots, ideological foundations, and key historical milestones.

This chapter presents a combined analysis of the two major social institutions of politics and economy. Although each one is already a broad social system and field of study, they are closely intertwined, especially in the context of the modern nation-state. In a society, those who wield power typically control its resources and acquire wealth. In return, those who are wealthy often directly control or indirectly influence the institutions of power. The discussions will focus on the cases from Myanmar and Thailand (see Table 12.1), two neighboring Southeast Asian countries that are notable for their intertwined history, comparable military-dominated politics, and contiguous resource and economic base.

TABLE 12.1
Myanmar and Thailand in Comparative Perspective

	Myanmar	Thailand
Land Area (km^2)	676,578	513,120
Population (2020)	53,708,320	69,428,453
GDP, Per Capita (2020)	US$7,220	US$21,361
Human Development Index (2019)	0.583	0.777
Tourist Arrival (2019)	4,364,000	39,916,000
Form of Government	Parliamentary Republic	Constitutional Monarchy

Sources: CIA (2021c), CIA (2021d), World Bank (2019)

Adorning the main gate of the Defense Services Academy (DSA) in Pyin Oo Lwin is an imposing monument that features Myanmar's three greatest kings: Anawrahta (1044–1077), Bayinnaung (1551–1581), and Alaungpaya (1752–1760). Anawrahta is known as the founder of the Bagan Kingdom that first united Myanmar's various territories under one rule. On the other hand, Bayinnaung and Alaungpaya are honored for expanding the territories and their influence on the neighboring areas, including their celebrated conquests of its rival Kingdom of Siam (Thailand) (Moe, 2011). The monument does not only represent the political importance of the DSA but also demonstrates how Myanmar, just like any other societies, is built on violence, conquest, and rivalries with other societies. Sociologically, the monument provides an excellent introduction to our comparative analysis of Myanmar's political and economic institutions with its neighboring Thailand.

Due to their historic rivalry, a long-standing political and cultural animosity exists between Myanmar and Thailand. For instance, political constructions about the ideals of "Thainess" are often juxtaposed against the negative conception of its arch-rival's values and culture (Chachavalpongpun, 2005). In addition, Thai history, literature, and popular culture also tend to portray Myanmar in a negative light (Silp, 2007). Recently, the family of Myanmar's last king expressed their protest about the unfavorable portrayal of the country's last royal family in a popular Thai soap opera (BBC News, 2017). Nonetheless, the expanding presence of Thai companies in Myanmar and the need by the latter for foreign investments resulted in a more friendly relationship between the neighboring countries in recent years (Chachavalpongpun, 2005).

After Singapore and China, Thailand is currently the biggest foreign investor in Myanmar (Thant, 2019). Moreover, the second largest number of tourists, by nationality, in Myanmar comes from Thailand (Ministry of Hotels and Tourism, 2019). Proximity, similar religious background, and shared history, which used to be sources of conflict, are now serving as bridges that foster a positive relationship between the old arch-rivals. Interestingly, when the new military regime in Myanmar seized power in early 2021, its leaders promptly contacted the military-backed Thailand Prime Minister Prayuth Chan-ocha (who came to power through a 2014 coup) for support in their plans to promote "democracy" (Reuters, 2021).

TYPES OF SOCIETIES

Human societies are broadly classified into five categories based on systems of power allocation and economic production. The five types of societies are: (1) hunting and gathering, (2) pastoral and horticultural, (3) agrarian, (4) industrial, and (5) information. As outlined in Table 12.2, each type is distinguished by their political arrangement, division of labor, technological development, and the amount of surplus that society generates.

Hunting-gathering societies are defined by their simple technologies and reliance on foraging to obtain food and other resources. *Foraging* involves gathering wild plants, hunting wild animals, and the collection of natural materials for clothing, tools, and other necessities. Hunting and gathering is seen as humanity's earliest and most successful method of organization and adaptation, occupying about 90% of human history. It is known for its fluid leadership structure in which the person most fit for the task at hand, be it a hunt or a war with another tribe, steps into the role of the leader. The division of labor is simple, people share resources, and they live in small groups of independent communities. Due to their basic social structure, hunting and gathering societies are associated with egalitarianism, particularly in the context of kinship, age, and gender (Lee and Daly, 1999). Moreover the simple technologies that they possess do not allow them to produce and store surplus. However, this limitation is addressed by their *nomadic* culture, they do not reside in one location but tend to periodically move to resource-rich areas or follow the seasonal cycles of plants and the movement of wild animals (Kelly, 2013; Nolan and Lenski, 2014).

Pastoral and horticultural societies are defined by the centrality of domestication in economic production and political relations. *Domestication* is the process of adapting plants and animals for food, work, clothing, medicine, and other uses. Instead of foraging for food and other needs, people cultivate the land, plant seeds, nurture their growth, and harvest crops. This change in strategy results in a more stable food source and allows societies to produce more food than what people need to survive. The stable food source provides the feeds necessary for people to tame, breed, and raise cattle, hogs, poultry, and other animals for food, clothing, and other purposes. In addition, the surplus food allows some people to focus on activities other than securing food. As a result, shaman, craft makers, and other specialized skills and occupations started to develop. This type of society is further divided into two categories (pastoral and horticultural), although some societies are both pastoral and horticultural.

Pastoral societies tend to be nomadic and subsist on herding animals through a vast territory. They move with their herds in search of suitable grazing land, water source, and safe areas (Nolan and Lenski, 2014). Horticultural societies also move around (semi-nomadic), following a swidden farming technique. **Swidden farming**, also called shifting cultivation or slash-and-burn agriculture, refers to the rotational farming practice of clearing land (often by fire) for cultivation, using it for several crop cycles until soil fertility declines, and then leaving the land for a few years to allow its regeneration (Conklin, 1961). Despite the ability to produce surplus, pastoral and horticultural societies are mainly involved in subsistence farming, which means that their produce is mainly for household consumption.

Moreover, members of pastoral and horticultural societies live as part of clans or tribes. A hierarchy exists, particularly between genders as men tend to control resources and power through their involvement in labor-intensive and dangerous activities such as herding, land-clearing, and going to wars. Finally, pastoral and horticultural societies are organized around the leadership of tribal chiefs or headmen. Leaders, who are often men, amass supporters through the recognition of their superior skills and characters. Tribal chiefs play an important role in the redistribution of resources through the practices of receiving tributes and giving gifts. They also lead warriors into wars against other tribes. The nomadic lifestyle often brings them into conflict with other tribes and the properties (e.g., land, livestock) they own also attract the interest of rival tribes (Nolan and Lenski, 2014).

Agrarian societies are defined by large-scale agricultural production, permanent settlements, and a hierarchical political structure centered around a monarch. The emergence of agrarian societies is mainly traced to the invention of the plow (ca. 2000 B.C.E.) and the use of draft animals. These technologies allowed people to maximize production and produce surplus wealth (Nolan and Lenski, 2014). Most glorious ancient civilizations, including Ancient Egypt, Angkor in Cambodia, and the Pagan Kingdom of Myanmar were agrarian societies. The development of irrigation systems was crucial for the Pagan Kingdom, as well as for other major Asian civilizations, because its economy was based on wetland rice cultivation. During the heights of its power in the

13th century, the Pagan Kingdom cultivated between 200,000 to 250,000 hectares of land (Aung-Twin, 1985).

A key feature of agrarian societies is the development of the *state*, which is concentrated in a hereditary monarch. The need to control a vast territory and the immense flow of products resulted in the emergence of bureaucrats. The Pagan Kingdom emerged in the 1050s after King Anawrahta (one of Myanmar's greatest kings discussed earlier) unified the different small chiefdoms along the Irrawaddy into a polity. Peculiar among Southeast Asian kingdoms, Pagan's political structure generally followed the **mandala system**, an arrangement in which the sovereign exercised direct political authority in the core region and administered the surrounding territories as tributary vassal states (Aung-Thwin, 1985). From its core in the Irrawaddy Valley, the Pagan Kingdom's political control reached further beyond Myanmar's current boundaries and into areas that are now controlled by India and Thailand. The similar desire to expand economic and political influence also led many European kingdoms to raise armies to conquer and colonize distant territories, especially societies that were deemed primitive or backward. After a series of wars, the British colonial power finally conquered Myanmar in 1886, deposed its king and ended its last ruling dynasty, and officially made the country a British colony.

Industrial societies are defined by the mechanization of production, the advancement of technologies, and the emergence of the nation-state as the dominant political system. As earlier defined in Chapter 1, *mechanization* refers to the process of replacing human and animal power with sources derived from burning fossil fuel, hydropower, and other means. Mechanization and the rise of factories allowed people to produce food, extract resources, and manufacture goods in unprecedented speed and scale. Industrialization also resulted in *urbanization*, which refers to the shift of the population from rural areas to urban areas. Urbanization changed the character of social life by creating a more impersonal and less traditional society (Nolan and Lenski, 2014). The dramatic rise of industrial societies from the late 1750s to the late 1800s in Europe is called the Industrial Revolution, a period of great transformation that eventually spread throughout the world.

Myanmar is one of the least industrialized countries in Southeast Asia due to its isolationist policies that restricted foreign investment, government control of major industries, and the trade embargo that was imposed by the United States and other countries (Hill, 1984). However, the country has instituted economic reforms since 2011, ushering in a period of unprecedented growth, before a military coup in 2021 which resulted in massive economic disruptions (Calderon, 2013). Nonetheless, agriculture remains as the largest economic activity in Myanmar, accounting for 60% of the GDP and 65% of the total labor force (Dapice et al., 2012).

The Industrial Revolution also fostered political reforms that saw the decline of monarchies that led to the foundation of the modern nation-states. Elected leaders who are chosen by the people replaced the absolute power of monarchs in most societies. With the decline of European powers, anti-colonial movements emerged in South America, Africa, and Asia. On January 4,

1948, Myanmar declared its independence from British colonial rule and became a sovereign nation-state called *The Union of Burma*. However, the path towards nation-building was tumultuous and Myanmar's history as an independent nation has been plagued by military coups, authoritarian regimes, insurgency issues, and isolationist policies.

Information societies, also referred to as *post-industrial society*, are defined by the key roles of computer and electronic technologies in economic production, political governance, and other aspects of society. American sociologist Daniel Bell (1976) highlighted four key factors that triggered the emergence of information societies: (1) the advancement in electronics and computer engineering which increased the speed of data processing and transmission, (2) the miniaturization of electronic devices which resulted in the emergence of mobile cultures, (3) the digitalization of data which allowed for efficient transfer and processing, and (4) software applications which enabled people to perform a variety of tasks and participate in virtual activities. These important innovations are parts of the *digital revolution* (also known as the Third Industrial Revolution) which refer to the social transformation brought about by the emergence of digital computing and communication technologies (Williams, 2017). Information societies are also distinguished by the emergence of the **knowledge economy**, a system of production and consumption that is based on intellectual capital and technological innovation. Although the knowledge economy has taken roots in highly-developed countries, its influence has spread throughout the world and each country has varying degree of adaptation to this economic structure.

One of the strategies recommended by development experts to fast-tracked Myanmar's lagging economy is to focus on *digital leapfrogging*, making use of digital technologies to transform its government, education, health care, banking, retail, and even its agriculture (Chhor et al., 2013). The establishment of the Yatanarpon Cyber City (touted as Myanmar's Silicon Valley) near Pyin Oo Lwin in 2006 embodies the vision to transform the country into an information society (Kyaw, 2018). In the political sphere, the emergence of globalization has influenced the dynamics of power at the institutional and individual levels. Information societies saw the in-

TABLE 12.2
Type of Societies and Major Institutions

Type of Society	Political System	Economic System
Hunting and Gathering	Simple, non-hierarchical	Foraging
Pastoral and Horticultural	Tribal chiefs	Subsistence agriculture
Agrarian	Kingdoms and empires	Surplus wealth
Industrial	The nation-state	Mechanization
Information	Globalized states	Digitalization

Source: Nolan and Lenski (2014)

creasing influence of multinational corporations (see Chapter 8) not only in the economic arena but also in the political arena. Increasing mobility has led to the increasing disconnection of individuals from their families, communities, and other traditional structures of power.

The type of society is often construed as an evolutionary process, wherein a society moves from one level to another until it advanced to become a highly-developed society, which is currently epitomized by the information society. However, all these types of societies, in one form or another, can simultaneously exist in one country. This is common among those with large territories such as Australia, Brazil, Russia, and the United States but can also be observed in some of the smaller countries.

In Myanmar, the Moken (a hunting and gathering society) are sea gypsies who forage the seas and forests of the country's southern archipelagos. Their nomadic lifestyle resulted in their statelessness status since their activities often bring them into the neighboring territories of Thailand, posing questions about their national belonging (Human Rights Watch, 2015). On the northwestern side of the country, the Nagas (a horticultural society), live by tending to their swidden farms, which they refer to as *jhum* or *dengyo*. Just like the Moken, they also live precariously as their slash and burn cultivation techniques are viewed as the cause of deforestation. Their lack of ownership tenure makes their land susceptible to expropriation by the government (Bociaga, 2020). Thus, despite their precarious situations, hunting-gathering and pastoral-horticultural societies continue to exist in the geographical and political margins of Myanmar society.

An agrarian society would be the type of society that would best characterize contemporary Myanmar. Its agriculture sector accounts for 37.8% of the country's GDP, generates 25 to 30% of total export earnings, and employs 70% of its labor force (Downing, 2018). Moreover, the effort to develop the industrial sector of Myanmar goes back to the British colonial period but it was only after its independence that the country saw rapid growth in the manufacturing of rubber, wood, and paper products (Hill, 1984). Since 2011, Myanmar has opened industrial economic zones in partnership with investors from China, Thailand, South Korea, and Singapore. Finally, the development of the Myanmar Info Tech (formerly Myanmar Information Technology Park) and the recent opening of the Yangon-Htantabin Technology Park demonstrate the important steps that Myanmar is taking to bring the country into the Information Age. Tourism, a service sector industry that features prominently in the diversified economies of most developed countries, is showing good progress since 2012 (Htwe, 2021). Overall, all the five types of societies appear in different areas and in various scales of significance around Myanmar.

THE POLITICAL SYSTEM

Politics is the social institution through which *power* is acquired, exercised, and contested by members of society, as an individual or as part of a group. In their study of politics and the different political systems, sociologists are concerned with the interactions among individuals and groups, especially between leaders and the people that they govern, and their impact on the larger

political and economic order. Since sociology is fundamentally a study of modern societies, much of the sociological work on politics revolves around the nation-state, the modern system of organizing territories, political relations, and economic activities.

Power and Authority

Power is the basic element of a political system. According to Max Weber (1968), *power* is the ability of individuals or groups to achieve their objectives despite the opposition from others. Power operates at various levels of society, from the intimate relationship between two individuals to the ideological clash of two global superpowers. The nature of power in each level, however, are largely intertwined. A more egalitarian society often features a more egalitarian relations in the family while societies under authoritarian rule are characterized by highly-hierarchical family structure. Power is obtained, exercised, and recognized through coercion, influence, and authority. *Coercion* refers to the use of force and violence to impose one's will on others. The nation-state, for instance, has the monopoly of force and violence, which it can employ through the legal (justice and penal systems), law enforcement (police), and national defense (military) institutions. On the other hand, *influence* refers to the process of obtaining and exercising power through persuasion. The use of political platforms, ideologies, or propagandas are methods of persuasion used to gain political supports. Lastly, power is also obtained, exercised, and recognized due to the authority of those who wield it. *Authority* refers to institutionalize power that people recognize as legitimate. Authority is the power that is obtained through a legal process of election, succession, or appointment.

Max Weber classified authority into three categories: charismatic authority, traditional authority, and rational-legal authority. *Charismatic authority* refers to the power that is legitimized by a leader's exemplary qualities and exceptional appeal to his or her followers. Weber defined charisma as a "certain quality of an individual personality, by virtue of which he is set apart from ordinary men and treated as endowed with supernatural, superhuman, or at least specifically exceptional powers or qualities" (1968: 48). In pre-colonial Southeast Asia, charismatic authority applies to the "*men of prowess*," kings who occupied the center of power in the mandala political system (Wolters, 1982) used earlier to describe the 12th century Pagan Kingdom of Myanmar.

Traditional authority refers to a legitimate power that is conferred according to cultural or religious customs. People recognize a traditional leader's authority out of economic and political dependency or because of personal loyalty. King Vajiralongkorn, the current king of Thailand, inherited his position after his father (King Bhumibol Adulyadej) died in 2016. King Vajiralongkorn is also called Rama X, which means that he is the tenth ruling descendant of King Rama I (Buddha Yodfa Chulaloke), the founder of the Chakri Dynasty. Lastly, **rational-legal authority** is power legitimized by law or written rules. It is based on a bureaucratic structure that includes clearly defined organizational divisions, hierarchy of authority, and formal rules. U Nu was installed as the first Prime Minister of Myanmar after its independence from the British in 1948.

After which he led his party to successive victories in three General Elections in 1951–1952, 1956, and 1960. He was ousted by a military coup in 1962, which led to a long military rule that lasted until 2011. While fighting against the military rule, U Nu asserted his position as "the legal Prime Minister of Burma" to criticize the illegitimate power of the military regime (Zan, 2017).

Government

The government is the heart of contemporary political systems. It works to maintain order, regulates the economy, and provides essential services to the people. The **government** refers to the formal organization that formulates and enforces laws to guide and coordinate the activities of the members of society. Governments are broadly categorized into five types: (1) monarchy, (2) oligarchy, (3) autocracy, (4) theocracy, and (5) democracy. **Monarchy** is a type of government in which power is vested on one person, usually a king, queen, or some other hereditary ruler. A monarch can exercise full control over a state (absolute monarchy) or is legally restricted and largely symbolic (constitutional monarchy). There are only a few remaining absolute monarchies (e.g., Brunei, Oman, Saudi Arabia). Most hold limited power and serve primarily in ceremonial functions. However, many constitutional monarchs, such as the King of Thailand, continue to wield strong political and economic influence.

Oligarchy is a type of government where power is controlled by a small number of individuals. The 11-member military regime that governs Myanmar (State Administrative Council) can be classified as an oligarchy. This classification can be broadly applied to a government system that is dominated by an exclusive ruling group.

On the other end, an **autocracy** is a type of government where absolute power resides in the hands of a single person. The autocrat, the person who wields power in an autocracy, is commonly described as a *dictator*. The dictator's decisions are not subject to legal restraints or regulated by popular controls, which allows him to hold absolute power. Autocracies are primarily ruled through the use of force and coercion. The long military

Contrasting Concepts: *Totalitarianism vs Authoritarianism*

These are types of government that are characterized by centralized power and the rule of a dictator. *Totalitarianism* is a government system wherein the state attempts to control every aspect of people's lives. It is often characterized by a single ruling party, censorship, secret police, mandatory military service, state propaganda, and prohibition of government criticism. On the other hand, *authoritarianism* is a government system in which the state is controlled by a central government but permits some degree of political freedom. It is often characterized by a strict control of political institutions, suppression of oppositions, legitimation as a "necessity" to address an insurgency, an economic crisis, or any other issues, and the vague and shifting power of the dictator (Linz, 2000).

Ultimately, the distinguishing factor between totalitarianism and authoritarianism is the use of ideology. Totalitarian regimes tend to put more emphasis on the imposition of an ideology (e.g., nationalism, socialism) while authoritarian regimes are mostly centered on the individual ruler. General Ne Win's rule (1962-1988), which used the "Burmese Way to Socialism" as an ideology is an example of totalitarianism while the dictatorial regimes after him (Than Shwe, Thein Sein, Min Aung Hlaing), which largely focused on maintaining the rule of the military are authoritarian in style.

dictatorship of General Ne Win in Myanmar from 1962 to 1988 is an example of an autocracy. Generally, autocracy is often distinguished between authoritarianism and totalitarianism (see Contrasting Concepts Box).

Theocracy is a type of government in which political authority rests in the hands of religious leaders. Theocratic governments impose religious laws as the main component of the state's legal structure. The strict enforcement of Sharia laws in Afghanistan under the Taliban is an example of theocracy. In pre-colonial Myanmar, Bagan kings saw themselves as Dharma kings who were protectors of the Buddhist religion. They also promoted themselves as manifestations of the Buddhist deity Sakka (Aung-Thwin, 1985).

Lastly, **democracy** is a system of government in which the people hold power either directly or through elected representatives. Democracy literally means "rule of the people," from the Greek word *demos*, meaning "the people" and *kratein* meaning "to rule." In 2011, Myanmar instituted democratic reforms by holding elections for its bicameral legislative body that ushered in the emergence of a civilian government under the former State Chancellor Aung San Suu Kyi. However, these reforms took an abrupt halt on February 1, 2021 when the military staged a coup to take control of the government (Gunia, 2021).

THE ECONOMIC SYSTEM

Economics is a social institution that coordinates human activities related to the production, distribution, and consumption of goods and services. *Goods* refer to the tangible materials that are needed (food, clothing, shelter) or desired (books, smartphones, cars) by members of society. On the other hand, *services* refer to intangible offerings (transport, medical care, tour packages) for which people are willing to pay. Goods and services are produced through the use of labor, capital, technology, and raw materials, all of which are used as key variables in understanding economic systems. Modern economic systems are broadly classified into capitalism and socialism. Sociologists based their classification on two criteria: (1) property ownership and (2) market control. These two classifications are not mutually exclusive or clashing models but are best described as the polar ends of a continuum. There is no purely capitalist country, nor does a purely socialist country exist. Every country falls somewhere in the continuum, some are closer to the capitalist end, others on the other socialist end, and even more are somewhere closer to the middle.

Capitalism

Capitalism is an economic system based on private ownership of property and competition in producing and selling of goods and services. *Private ownership* of property means that land, banks, transport systems, factories, and other aspects of the means of production belong to individuals and organizations rather than the state. A central principle of capitalism is the belief

that people are free to maximize their individual gain through the pursuit of *personal profit*, and in the process, the entire society will ultimately benefit from their work. Personal profit is maximized through *investment*, which leads to the accumulation of wealth and a source of even larger capital (Weber, 1958). Due to the emphasis on private ownership, it is thought that capitalism works best without government intervention. The policy of *laissez-faire* (pronounced les-ay-fare), which means "leave alone" was advocated by early economists, including Adam Smith. Smith is noted for his concept of "the invisible hand," which he argues, guides people who eventually promote the best interest of society while pursuing their own interest (Smith, 1776: 199). Without government intervention, private economic players enter an open *competition*. They compete in deciding what goods and services to produce and in setting prices that offer consumers the best value in price and quality.

What I discussed above are the ideal characteristics of capitalism. In reality, capitalism can be limited by abuses, greed, and other issues. Instead of promoting free competition, it often results in a *monopoly*, which is the domination of a particular industry or market by one individual or company. In other scenarios, several companies might dominate certain sectors, resulting in an *oligopoly*. With limited or no competition, a company or a small group of companies would be able to control prices and lower the quality of goods and services.

Socialism

Socialism is an economic system based on the public ownership of property and state control in producing and selling goods and services. *Public ownership* means that the state or the collective, rather than individuals and organizations, own the land, banks, transport systems, factories, and other aspects of the means of production. In return, the state produces and distributes goods, and provides services to meet the needs of the people. Access to housing, education, and other needs are often given free and is considered as a right of the citizens. Due to the emphasis on public ownership, socialism is based on *the pursuit of collective goals* rather than on personal profits. Personal profits that are gained through greed and exploitation of workers are not permitted. Socialism promotes equality in decision making and access to necessities such as food, clothing, and shelter is based on need rather than on the ability to pay. Lastly, centralized decision making is another key characteristic of socialism. Central government planners set wages and prices, ensure that the production process works, and address problems when they arise.

Often described as socialism in its purest form, communism is an economic system based on collective ownership of property and a classless society. Karl Marx viewed the development of societies as an evolutionary process from primitive societies to capitalists, to socialist, and eventually into communist societies. A key distinctive element of communism is its emphasis on *revolution*; hence it is at times referred to as revolutionary socialism. According to Marx, the

working class would become increasingly impoverished and alienated under capitalism. Eventually, this condition would result in a revolt to overthrow the capitalist system to establish a classless society (Marx, 1967). Nonetheless, socialism and communism are ideals, so they are not completely realized by any society. Despite the effort to prohibit the pursuit of personal profit and competition, inequality and conflict still exist as government officials, military officers, and other privileged positions are given larger housing, greater access to services, and other benefits that ordinary citizens do not receive.

Mixed Economies

Since capitalism and socialism are at the polar ends of a continuum and no society is truly capitalist or socialist, most economic systems are a mixture of both. Mixed economies combine elements of a market-driven economy (capitalism) and a state-driven economy (socialism). Although the long military rule in Myanmar has built a socialist structure, it has been gradually dismantled with the privatization of state-owned enterprises, the greater opening to domestic and foreign investors, and the introduction of reforms to develop its private sector (Rieffel, 2012). In contrast, the Thai economy has for the most part functioned along the open market lines and has had a capitalist orientation, largely operated by the private sector with supportive infrastructure furnished by the government. However, despite the economic boom that the country experienced from the 1980s to the early 1990s, growth was largely concentrated in Bangkok and has exacerbated the inequality between the urban elites and the peasants who live in the countryside. Buoyed by popular support from the rural poor, Thaksin Shinawatra rose to become the country's Prime Minister in 2001. He instituted populist reforms that included many state interventions in the economy, such as microcredit, universal health care, and fuel subsidies. If sustained and made available to the rest of the population, the programs would have turned Thailand into a **welfare state**, a largely capitalist state, which provides extensive government action to deliver support and services to its citizens. The larger strategy, which became popularly known as "Thaksinomics," also saw the state moved to control strategic industries (e.g., rice, aviation, cement) and some of Thailand's largest companies (Kurlantzick, 2016). Generally, the Myanmar example shows how a socialist state can have some capitalist elements while the Thailand example demonstrates how a capitalist state can initiate socialist reforms, highlighting how mixed economies can develop.

POLITICAL ECONOMY AND THE NATION-STATE

In theory, politics and economics exist as distinct institutions. Free-market capitalism, which advocates for the independence of the market from the state, became influential following the emergence of the United States as a global power at the turn of the 20th century. This period also saw the divergence of the political economy into the separate intellectual fields of politics and

economics (Wood, 1995). In reality, however, these two major institutions are impossible to disentangle, especially in how they take form within the context of the nation-state.

The *nation-state* is an independent political entity that rules over a community of people who live within a define territory. The nation-state fulfills important economic functions, such as serving as the country's largest employer or owning companies in strategic industries. In addition, governments regulate businesses and people's entry into many occupations through the issuance of licenses and other regulatory mechanisms. On the other hand, the economy supports the government by generating the revenue to support government projects and services. Government leaders also make decisions about how to use and allocate resources while economic development provides legitimacy to political regimes.

In 2013, Myanmar introduced its first tourism slogan, fittingly titled "Let the Journey Begin," to promote the country to international visitors and develop tourism as a key component of its economic development strategy. At the same time, the government also intended to use the tourism campaign to change people's negative perception of Myanmar due its long political isolation and history of conflict. After the steadily increasing inflow of foreign visitors drastically dropped when the Rohingya Crisis broke in 2015, Myanmar countered by launching a new tourism campaign with the same purpose of promoting economic growth and enhancing its image overseas. The slogan "Be Enchanted" made use of the country's ancient history, colorful traditions, and mystical charms to create a brand that could appeal to an international audience (Ministry of Hotels and Tourism, 2019; Thu, 2018). This branding strategy was successfully employed in Thailand where the iconic "Amazing Thailand" tourism slogan came to symbolize the country's recovery from the 1997 Financial Crisis.

Nation branding refers to the application of marketing strategies to individual countries to create and promote a distinct image and reputation to serve national goals and interest (Anholt, 2003). Nation branding is most evident in tourism campaigns, although it is also employed in promoting a wide range of government projects to domestic and foreign audience. Thus, when the military seized control of the government in 2014, a "Happiness" campaign was launched to temper the local and international oppositions to the coup (Desatova, 2019). Overall, tourism campaigns and nation branding demonstrate not only the entanglements of politics and economics but also show the precarity of the nation-state as a political and economic structure.

REVISITING THE NATION-STATE

Since the end of the 18th century, the nation-state emerged as the modern way of governing over a territory, replacing the empires, kingdoms, and other political-economic structures. The American Revolution (1765–1783) and the French Revolution (1789–1799) sowed the seeds that eventually led to the nationalist movements around the world (Wimmer and Feinstein, 2010). A defining feature of a nation-state is the *constitution*, a written document that provides the legal

framework to determine how the nation is to be governed (Markoff, 1999). Sociologists are interested in understanding the origins and characteristics of the nation-states because the object of sociological inquiry – society – is often equated with it. This section covers three key theorists of the nation-state: (1) Ernest Gellner, (2) Benedict Anderson, and (3) Thongchai Winichakul.

The *Monument National de Solidarite* (Luxembourg City). It commemorates the fighters who perished and the unity of the nation during the Second World War. The veneration of heroes and the remembrance of important events are important aspects in the social construction of the nation-states.

Nation and Nationalism

Ernest Gellner is a British-Czech philosopher and anthropologist whose book, *Nation and Nationalism* (1983) is considered as one of the foundational works on the nation-state. Following a functionalist approach, Gellner's analysis focused on the emergence of nationalism that came to fill ideological void caused by the decline of religion and the feudal system as society shifted from agricultural to industrial mode of production. Gellner defined **nationalism** as "primarily a political principle which holds that the political and the national unit should be congruent" (1983:1). He described how the accessibility of education, the rise of industrial labor and mass production, and the growth of cities resulted in the emergence of common ideals and sentiments that unite people (homogenization). In addition, the class inequality between peasants and urban elites in industrial societies and the racial conflict in colonial societies create resentments that result in anti-elite and anti-colonial nationalism.

Imagined Communities

Like Gellner, Benedict Anderson viewed the nation-state as a product of modernization and shared his ideas on the crucial role that mass education played in its political and cultural development. He emphasized the importance of mass literacy (reading public) and the rise of print capitalism (the technological mass production of newspapers, novels, and other reading materials) in enabling people from various backgrounds to see themselves as part of an "**imagined community**." According to Anderson, a nation-state "is imagined because the members of even the smallest nation will never know most of their fellow-members, meet them, or even hear of them, yet in the minds of each lives the image of their communion" (1991: 6–7). In addition,

Anderson also disputed the common conception that the nation-state originated in Europe, arguing that the earliest nations and nationalist movements emerged in "creole communities" (descendants of white colonial settlers), such as the United States and in other former Spanish and British colonies in the Americas. In the revised edition of *Imagined Communities* (1991), Anderson highlighted the importance of colonization, census, museums, and maps in providing a "grammar" for nationalism and in imagining the nation, particularly in the context of Southeast Asia.

Mapping the Nation

While Gellner and Anderson focused on education, literacy, and print capitalism, Thongchai Winichakul emphasized the role of maps and map-making in the social construction of the nation-state. In his influential book, *Siam Mapped* (1994), Thongchai argued that modern geography and cartography produced the territory, practices, and values ("geo-body") that served as the framework of the Thai nation. He described how Siam (Thailand's former name) sketched "we-self" territory in relation to European expansion and the presence of neighboring polities. This act of self-definition created "the other" and the enemy, which are necessary to demarcate and enforce the existence of the nation-state against its domestic and foreign rivals (1994: 167). Overall, Thongchai demonstrated how the map serves as a political tool and a scientific proof to the nation-states claim over a physical and social domain.

THE END OF THE NATION-STATE?

The world welcomed the birth of five new nation-states since the turn of the 21st century, including South Sudan, which gained independence from Sudan in 2011 after going through two Civil Wars. The 1990s also saw the emergence of several new nation-states in Eastern Europe, Central Asia, and the Balkan region after the collapse of the Soviet Union and the former Yugoslavia. Despite its continuing prominence as the universal template for political administration, several writers have sounded the alarm on the impending end of the nation-state. Historically, just as the nation-state rose with the emergence of Modern Age societies more than 200 years ago, the passing of this era into the post-industrial society warns that the political-economic structure that dominated this period has been increasingly viewed as outdated, even obsolete.

Digital Revolution and the End of the Nation-State

Technology has been the primary driver of social change. The invention of the plow is largely credited for ushering in the Agrarian Age while the steam engine is equated with the rise of the Industrial Age. Both technologies transformed not only economic production but also changed how societies are organized and governed. In the same way, the widespread application of digital technologies in the current Information Age unsettled the geographical foundations of

political and economic systems that became widely influential during the Industrial period. Mobile communication, logistic networks, and knowledge-based production meant that power no longer operates through a bureaucratic top-down process (Guehenno, 1995). The hierarchical bureaucracy is the hallmark of the nation-state and the various public and private organizations under its purview. Moreover, with Amazon taking over the role of postal service and YouTube replacing state television, private companies are increasingly superseding the nation-state in delivering public services. Maps, which used to be produced by government and military agencies, are now the commodity of entirely private actors, such as Apple or Google Maps (Babinet, 2018). Overall, the decline of the bureaucracy, the privatization of public services, and the government's adoption of digital technologies contribute to declining influence of the nation-state as the purveyor of technological, economic, and social advancement.

Globalization and the End of the Nation-State

Since the 1990s, several political observers argued that the growing influence of globalization would lead to the erosion of the sovereignty of the nation-state. Sovereignty, which is founded on territorial integrity and political independence, is the key defining feature of the nation-state. However, national sovereignty is being challenged by the increasing economic interdependence among nation-states and the universal recognition of human rights. International trade agreements, foreign investment packages, migrant labor, and the growing influence of multinational companies compel the nation-state to divest control over certain resources and economic processes. On the other hand, governments are now less able to invoke the ideals of sovereignty to justify actions that violate the human rights of its citizens. Moreover, human rights issues that were under domestic jurisdiction are now scrutinized by international bodies (Khan, 1992).

Globalization also comes simultaneously with localization (see Chapter 1, glocalization), which points to the increasing decentralization of power that results in the empowerment of provincial and local governments. **Decentralization** refers to the delegation and distribution of state planning and decision-making responsibilities from national level down to provincial, municipal, and even down to the "grassroots" level. In many countries, provinces and cities have taken a more active part in tourism promotion, infrastructure development, and other initiatives that were previously monopolized by the central government (Jessop, 2013). Furthermore, globalization enabled the emergence of cross-border development corridors (e.g., Mekong Subregion, Singapore-Johor-Riau Growth Triangle), political and economic treaties (e.g., EU, Asean), and other regional associations and agreements that similarly contribute to the declining influence of the nation-state over political and economic matters (Ohmae, 1995).

Finally, globalization facilitated the migration of people around the world. Job recruiters cross national boundaries to hire the best talents for multinational corporations and other organizations while individuals can browse for global job openings using online job search plat-

forms. Apart from employment, people also move and settle in another country for various reasons, eventually resulting in the rising number of people who hold dual or even multiple citizenships. Aiwah Ong, a Malaysian anthropologist, introduced the concept of **flexible citizenship** to describe "an ideology on citizenship that asserts that economic reasons are the primary reason people choose their citizenship as opposed to identifying with a community based on shared political rights" (Ong, 1998: 137). This phenomenon poses a challenge to the traditional conceptions of loyalty, belonging, and identity that is built around the nation-state.

The End of the Nation-State? Resilience and Resurgence

It has been more than 20 years since the first publications on the impending demise of the nation-state emerged. Yet, new nation-states continue to appear during this period. Recently, Bougainville voted in a referendum to be independent from Papua New Guinea (PNG). The ratification from the Papuan parliament is the last remaining hurdle that would enable Bougainville to become the newest nation-state in the world. The opposition against giving the endorsement from the PNG side rests on its perceived threat to the integrity of the Papuan nation-state. Many feared that a Bougainville independence would set precedence for its other regions to seek independence and lead to the dissolution of the country (McDonald, 2021). Thus, while one side seeks to become a nation-state, the other side struggles to maintain the existence of their nation-state.

The emergence of conservative parties, strong populist leaders, and military regimes, such as those in Myanmar and Thailand, demonstrates the re-assertion of the nation-state of its power to strengthen its influence on the economy, assert its territorial integrity against domestic and external threats, and restore its central role in shaping the lives of its people. Recently, the emergence of the Covid-19 pandemic also shows the indispensable role that the nation-state played in ensuring public safety and in mobilizing resources to address a serious global problem. The pandemic exposed some inherent issues and limitations that influenced the efficiency and effectiveness of each nation-state's response to the crisis. Nonetheless, nation-states lead in determining the cause of the pandemic, work to contain its spread, rally government and corporate players to come up with vaccines, and take central roles in planning future strategies to move the society forward.

KEY CONCEPTS

Agrarian societies
Capitalism
Democracy
Government
Imagined community
Autocracy
Decentralization
Flexible citizenship
Hunting-gathering societies
Industrial societies

Information societies
Mandala system
Nationalism
Oligarchy
Rational-legal authority
Swidden farming
Knowledge economy
Monarchy
Nation branding
Pastoral and horticultural societies
Socialism
Welfare state

DISCUSSION QUESTIONS

1. Download a copy or draw a rough sketch of your country. Mark the areas where you can find a group of people whose food or livelihood sources correspond to each one of the types of societies (i.e., hunting-gathering, pastoral and horticultural societies, agrarian societies, industrial, and information).
2. Think of the current political leader of your home country. Which one of Max Weber's three forms of authority would best describe the basis of his or her power? (1) Traditional authority, (2) rational-legal authority, and (3) charismatic authority.
3. Identify the different types of economic systems. Rank them according to their capacity to withstand the challenges posed by the Covid-19 pandemic. Explain your answer by comparing your country's strategies with another country that you are familiar with.

SUGGESTED READINGS

1. Anderson, Benedict. (1991). *The Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism, Revised and Expanded Edition*. London: Verso.
2. Chi, Janice. (2014). "Consuming Rice, Branding the Nation." *Contexts*, Vol. 13(3): pp. 50–55.
3. Ong, Aiwah. (1998). *Flexible Citizenship: The Cultural Logics of Transnationality*. Durham: Duke University Press.
4. Wimmer, Andreas and Yuval Feinstein. (2010). "The Rise of the Nation-State Across the World, 1816–2001." *American Sociological Review*, Vol. 75(5): pp. 764–790.

PART FIVE
ISSUES

CHAPTER 13
Pandemics and Social Change 205

CHAPTER 14
The Environment and Social Change 218

CHAPTER 15
Armed Conflicts and Social Change 231

This page intentionally left blank

CHAPTER 13

PANDEMICS AND SOCIAL CHANGE

The Covid-19 (coronavirus disease 2019) pandemic is an ongoing global pandemic caused by the *severe acute respiratory syndrome coronavirus 2* (SARS-CoV-2). First detected in Wuhan, China in December 2019, the coronavirus disease spread around the other parts of China and to the rest of the world. As of August 2021, more than 215 million cases and 4.49 million deaths have been confirmed, making Covid-19 one of the deadliest pandemics in history (WHO, 2021).

A mask-wearing campaign during the Covid-19 pandemic inside Singapore's iconic Fullerton Hotel.

A **pandemic** is a rapid spread of an infectious disease across continents or worldwide. The term is often contrasted with **epidemic**, which refers to the rapid spread of a disease within a given population (Porta, 2016). The Covid-19 pandemic has reached all the countries in the world, except for a few isolated archipelagic nations in the Pacific Ocean. Their Covid-free status, however, remains precarious as most economic activities in the region rely on tourism, marine services, and the export of marine products (Hubbard, 2021). This situation shows that the global impact of the Covid-19 pandemic is not only on health and security but also on livelihood and other aspects of people's everyday lives.

Although the public discourses on the Covid-19 pandemic are dominated by the fields of biomedical science and crisis management, the issues surrounding its origins, transmission, treatment, prevention, and overall impact are closely related to sociology. Medical sociology is a sub-

field of sociology that deals with the socio-cultural impact of health and illness as well as medical research, practice, and organizations. Medical sociologists examine the socioeconomics of health care, and how culture influences attitudes toward disease and health. In the context of the Covid-19 pandemic, medical sociologists investigate people's response to government safety measures, how they cope with social isolation, or adapt to online learning and work. A critical field where biomedicine and sociology converge is **social epidemiology**, a branch of medicine that studies the causes and distribution of disease and other health concerns throughout a population. Typically, social epidemiologists examine epidemics by looking into three key factors: (1) disease agents, (2) the environment, and (3) the human host (Weiss and Lonnquist, 2014).

Contrasting Concepts:
Understanding Illness and Health: Medical Model vs Social Model

The distinction between the medical model and social model emerged in the context of understanding impairment and disability. However, these theories are also relevant in understanding other issues, including disease and illness (Hughes and Paterson, 1997).

The medical model of health focuses on the physical pain and sickness, which is addressed through diagnosis, medicine, and other medical interventions. It is characterized by a strong emphasis on the absence of disease as an indicator of good health, and the overdependence on the influence of medical science in health, and ignores the power of other important influences.

The social model of health examines all the factors which contribute to health such as social, cultural, political and the environment. Work demand, housing arrangement, exposure to pollution, and socio-economic status are some of the factors considered in the diagnosis and treatment of illness. It views illness as a result of marginalization and oppression.

In the context of the Covid-19 pandemic, the *disease agent* is the SARS-CoV-2, the coronavirus that causes the illness. The *environment* includes the physical (geography, climate) and social (occupation, place of residence) factors. For instance, coronavirus transmission is less prevalent in areas with higher temperature and humidity as well as in less densely populated areas (Chen et al., 2021). Lastly, the *human host* accounts for physical conditions, family situations, lifestyle, and the different demographic factors (gender, ethnicity, socio-economic status, etc.). Generally, all these personal factors influence a person's vulnerability, understanding, and response to the Covid-19 crisis.

This chapter is the first of the three-part concluding segment (issues) that connects some of the key concepts and issues covered in the previous chapters to the Covid-19 pandemic. Most of the cases presented occurred during the early period of the pandemic (January-April, 2020) to capture how the crisis destabilized the existing social order that paved the way for people to adjust and change their way of life ("the new normal") under the pandemic. In the later chapters, the discussions shift to environmental degradation (Chapter 14) and armed conflict (Chapter 15) to cover some of the most critical global problems that our world is currently facing. These global problems result in the suffering of millions of people and influence the future of human society. The objectives of these last three chapters (issues) are to serve as summaries of the pre-

vious discussions, to demonstrate the applicability of some key concepts to contemporary social problems, and to examine how these critical issues influence social change.

A SOCIOLOGY OF THE COVID-19 PANDEMIC

Generally, people's *identities* (race, gender, class, etc.) influence their vulnerability to the coronavirus. The lockdowns and other safety measures also altered their everyday routines and *interactions* with others (culture, organizations, deviance, etc.). Lastly, the health, security, and economic crisis tested the strength and capacity of their *institutions* (family, religion, nation-state, etc.) to address the challenges posed by the pandemic. Overall, sociology views the Covid-19 pandemic not only as an objective medical and public health problem but as a *social reality* that shapes our everyday lives and as a *social construct* that people create through their daily temperature checking, community lockdowns, and other individual and collective actions.

Race And the Pandemic

It is said that the emergence of the Covid-19 pandemic was followed by another outbreak: those of racism and xenophobia. Shortly after the outbreak was first reported in Wuhan, racist attacks against Chinese and other Asian communities surfaced in several parts of the world, including the United States where the largest number of violent cases were reported. Some restaurants in Hongkong refused to serve Mandarin speaking customers, worried that these people were from China who might be carrying the virus with them. In Thailand, a government official responded by pointing out that people should fear white foreigners who were "dirty" and were spreading the virus in the country (Serhan and McLaughlin, 2020). In addition, there were reports of racial discrimination against Africans in China while the call to stop Syrian and other immigrants from coming to Europe received more supporters.

The concepts of stereotypes, prejudice, and discrimination discussed in Chapter 4 (Race and Ethnicity) provide us with some of the basic conceptual tools in understanding these cases. Racial and ethnic stereotypes (trivial generalizations), prejudice (disapproving thoughts), and discrimination (prejudicial actions) are common in most societies as they evolved through a long history of trade, conquest, and migration. Fundamentally, differentiation and distinction are essential for the development of identity, belonging, and community.

The advent of the modern period saw *the invention of race*, not only to categorize people based on physical features and geographic origins but also to arrange them in a hierarchical order based on the principles of *evolution*. Caucasians are supposed to be the most advanced racial group who built the foundation of modern society while the other racial groups lagged behind, some are even closer to the primordial primate stage. *Racism* refers to the beliefs that genetic and physical differences explain, and even justify inequalities between racial and ethnic groups. These biological differences (e.g., skin color, height, good "genes") are seen to represent physical

strength, intelligence, beauty, among many other qualities. As the ideals of racial supremacy and civilization were transposed to project the economic, political, and cultural influences of nation-states, nationality became a basis of distinction, discord, and even xenophobia. **Xenophobia** refers to the fear and hatred concerning something, or someone perceived as "foreign" or "other" (Rydgren, 2004). Just like racism, xenophobia seeks to exclude certain groups and constructs a hierarchical order of people and cultures.

The term is derived from the Greek words *xeno*, meaning "foreigner," "stranger," or "guest," and *phobia*, meaning "fear." Fittingly, this definition can also be applied to the overall health and social impact of the coronavirus. Not only do people believe that the coronavirus comes from a foreign country (even the Chinese argue for the virus's "foreignness"), it is also foreign because of its unfamiliarity. Scientists took some time to determine but never really reached a conclusive understanding of its origins and characteristics as well as how to contain it and cure those who are infected. All diseases foster fear but the "foreignness" of the Covid-19 and its ability to travel across continents has made it even more fearsome. Moreover, while the technical language used in biomedical research and crisis management successfully conveyed the seriousness of the situation, they also maintained the inaccessibility and unfamiliarity of the coronavirus disease.

The effort to "map" its origins and routes helped establish a link between the coronavirus and the ethnic Chinese as well as with other groups of people who become targets of racial discrimination, stigma, and violent assaults. To curb the spread of xenophobia, the WHO veered from its practice to name a new virus after its geographic origins as it did with the Ebola (a river in Congo) or the Middle East Respiratory Syndrome (MERS) (Serhan and McLaughlin, 2020). However, the impact of this initiative appears to be limited due to the politicization of the pandemic, which has entwined the effort to trace its origins, containment, and long-term solution with geopolitical conflicts and the demonstration of racial, ethnic, and national ascendency.

Gender And the Pandemic

Early Covid-19 reports showed that the coronavirus discriminates by sex, with men more likely to test positive, and more likely to die from the disease. In China, the fatality rate was 2.8% in men, which was significantly higher than the 1.7% in women. In Europe, 71% of the fatalities in Italy were men while in Spain, men accounted for 67% of fatality distribution. This discrepancy was initially attributed to behavioral factors in men, such as smoking, less likely to wash hands, or to seek medical care, and also less likely to follow health advice. However, some studies attributed the trend to biological factors such as low immunity and hormonal characteristics (Devlin, 2020).

This trend is evident globally, with most countries where data is available showing a male to female case fatality ratio higher than 1.0. However, there are a few countries (e.g., India) which show a higher case fatality rate in women (3.3%) than men (2.9%). Other countries where the case fatality rate is higher among women than men include Nepal, Vietnam, and Slovenia. In India,

the difference is influenced by unequal access to health services, where women are less likely to be admitted to a hospital than men (Dehingia and Raj, 2020). In addition to the global life expectancy gender gap, the higher Covid-19 fatality among men is one of the few settings where men are at a disadvantage. This data certainly contributes to sex/gender polarization but making the Covid-19 pandemic gendered also adds to the social legibility of the disease, helping people make sense of a new, complex, and evolving phenomenon.

Although more men have died from the Covid-19 pandemic, a UN study revealed that "women's mental health is taking a bigger toll, their workload at home has multiplied, and their economic resources are dwindling." In a survey involving 11 countries in the Asia-Pacific region, it was noted that 66% of women (compared to 58% of men) suffered from mental and emotional health issues. Increased household responsibilities, loss of job, and the lockdown-induced family violence contributed to higher rates of stress and anxiety among women (UN Women, 2020: 6). The added responsibility of teaching their children after schools shifted to home-based learning has been a burden to many women in Indonesia. Many have to juggle their work-from-home jobs, household chores, and homeschooling tasks (Syakriah, 2020). Based on the UN Women (2020) survey, 27% of women saw a time increase in at least three domestic unpaid work activities, compared to just 14% of men. Lastly, Covid-19 home quarantines, while helping to decrease the number of Covid-19 cases, have also contributed to the increase in cases of domestic violence. During the Circuit Breaker (lockdown) period in Singapore, a study revealed a 22% increase in the number of police reports concerning domestic violence when compared to the pre-lockdown period (Iau, 2020).

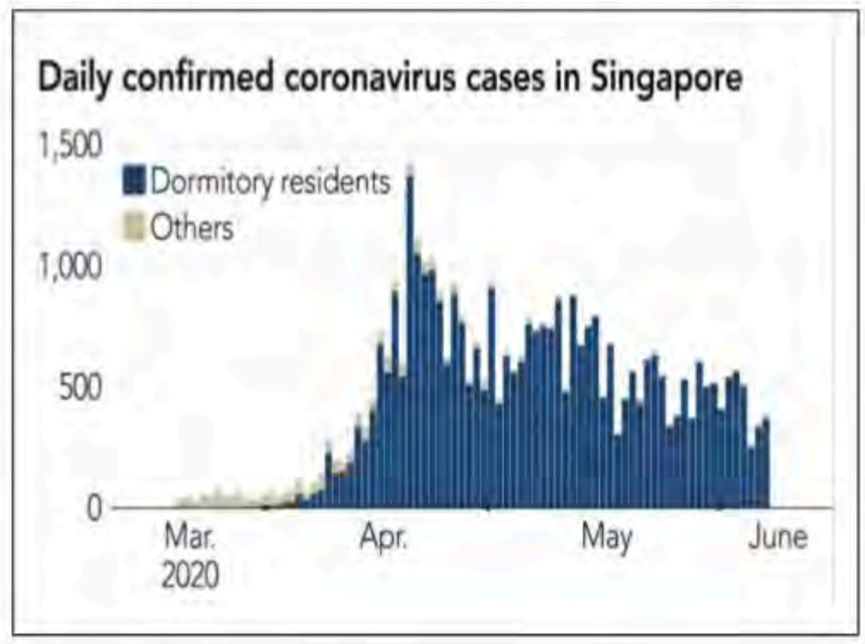
Lastly, more women than men lost their jobs during the pandemic and most are not able to find new employment. In particular, travel restrictions and lockdown measures affect sectors such as retail, travel, and hospitality where a large proportion of women are employed (UN Women, 2020). As retailers around the world shut their stores, the apparel and garment industries in Cambodia, Bangladesh, and other countries in the Asia Pacific region also suffered from mass layoffs and factory closures, putting the lives of many women and their families in peril (Hutt, 2020).

Social Class and the Pandemic

The death of Mariagrazia Casanova, a supermarket clerk from northern Italy due to Covid-19 in March 2020, has shed light on the plight of low-paid workers whose jobs expose them to potential coronavirus infection. It was in the early period of the pandemic and the initial concern was on the elderly and the medical frontliners as the vulnerable groups. The death of Ms. Casanova, however, has raised awareness on the importance of those "unsung jobs" and the dangers that grocery clerks, delivery people, fishmongers, construction workers, and many other low-paid workers take "to continue to provide not just for themselves and their families but also for their neighbors" (Bubola, 2020).

About a month after Ms. Casanova's death in Italy, a massive Covid-19 outbreak in foreign worker dormitories in Singapore also shed light on the plight of the more than 300,000 low-wage foreign workers who are mostly from Bangladesh, India, and China. These workers mainly find employment in industries such as construction, manufacturing, and shipping, jobs that do not draw interest among the locals. They live in crowded dormitories that are located in the fringes of the city-state and commute to their workplaces in packed lorries – conditions that make them susceptible to coronavirus outbreaks. Before the foreign worker dormitories outbreak started in April 2020, Singapore's efficient contact tracing and overall disease containment measures were dubbed as "the gold standard" that other countries should emulate. This distinction crumbled when the daily cases in the dormitories went up to over a thousand while the cases outside the dormitories were less than a dozen (see Figure 13.1). The figures exposed what has been called "**the pandemic of inequality**" (Tan, 2020). In the discussion about the measurement of class (Table 6.1, Chapter 6), it was pointed out that Singaporeans generally view themselves as middle class although the income data showed that a large proportion falls under the lower class. One of the key reasons behind this widespread middle-class perception is the appropriation of the lower-class jobs and status to these marginalized low-paid foreign workers.

FIGURE 13.1
Foreign Workers and Local Covid-19 Cases



Source: Iwamoto (2020)

Culture and the Pandemic

In a radio podcast on March 18, 2020, a group of international correspondents at National Public Radio (NPR) compared the crisis management strategies of a few countries during the early period of the Covid-19 pandemic (Warner et al., 2020). China's and Germany's responses, particularly, provide an interesting contrast that underscores the roles of culture and history in shaping their strategies. In China, the government's handling of the outbreak in Wuhan was met with anger by the people who felt vulnerable as the cases and deaths rose in a matter of days. The ensuing lockdown measures resulted in even more outrage as millions were confined to their homes with limited access to basic supplies and medical services. However, after a month when the number of cases started to fall, people's sentiments about the government crisis management measure started to change. Many felt proud seeing how the government's success in putting the coronavirus under control affirmed that "the Chinese way of doing things is right all along." On the other end, the government used its success in dealing with the Covid-19 crisis to demonstrate how China's centralized and authoritarian government was the ideal political system to

rapidly mobilize resources to effectively contain the virus. Internally, the crisis also provided the justification for the government to tighten its grip on the people even more by using advanced technology in surveillance and social control (ibid.).

While cities were in lockdown in China, things looked normal in Berlin and the rest of Germany as people welcomed spring by heading outdoors. Despite the 20 to 30% daily increase in coronavirus cases, the government did not order countrywide lockdowns. What seems to be an overly-lenient strategy has a reason that is linked to the country's past. Because of its history as a totalitarian state during the Nazi period and the post-WWII Soviet-occupied German Democratic Republic, there was a conscious effort by the authorities to skirt away from a return to centralized power. The government would "give out warnings and recommendations but stop short of giving mandates, seizing of power is looked at extremely skeptically" (ibid.). Overall, there is a strong belief that German federalism works, that problems can be solved through its decentralized and targeted strategy. Although a shutdown was imposed after a few days, it was reluctantly carried out and the decision was made only after the situation became alarming.

Overall, this "one pandemic, different response" discussion is related to the distinction between *cultural universals* and *cultural particulars* (Chapter 7). The former refers to the beliefs and practices that all societies have in common while the latter includes specific responses people have formulated to address challenges that they encounter within their environment. The cultural universals pertain to medicines, crisis management procedures, and other practices that are widely applied globally. In turn, cultural particulars are specific historically bound and culturally rooted distinctive strategies that China and Germany employed to address the crisis. Moreover, the comparison between China and Germany is also a reminder of the principles that guide our assessment of specific societies, including making a judgment on a country's Covid-19 containment strategies. *Ethnocentrism* refers to the tendency to assume that one's own culture represents the norm or the ideal while cultural relativism refers to the belief that other cultures should be viewed and judged using their standards. Some countries are seen as models for their success in controlling the spread of the coronavirus within their territories while others are criticized for their chaotic and ineffective handling of the crisis. Should countries be measured based on the "gold standard" practices of others? Or should failed strategies be assessed according to their own historical, cultural, and economic contexts?

Organizations and the Pandemic

Established in 1948, the World Health Organization (WHO) is an autonomous United Nations agency responsible for international public health. The Covid-19 pandemic has thrust the organization into the global stage and has become the center of biomedical, public health, and political debates on how to address the infectious disease and the resulting global crisis. The authority of WHO rests on the International Health Regulations (IHR), an agreement on the management

of infectious disease, signed and adopted by its member states. The IHR authorized WHO to: (1) collect, verify, and share information on diseases, (2) determine whether or not a particular event constitutes a public health emergency of international concern (PHEIC), (3) reinforce travel or trade control measures, and (4) monitor human rights outcomes of disease control measures (WHO, 2005).

In the aftermath of the 2003 SARS pandemic, the IHR vested unprecedented authority on WHO (vis-à-vis state sovereignty) to enhance its scientific research, information dissemination, and safety enforcement capabilities. The criticisms of WHO during the Covid-19 pandemic have emerged in the context of these regulations, particularly in the delayed declaration of the PHEIC that barred individual states from formulating a quick response to the outbreak. More disparagingly, the organization was also accused of becoming a tool of Chinese power and propaganda, instead of exercising global health leadership (Fidler, 2020). Nonetheless, WHO is also praised, especially in less developed countries where its COVAX program, a global vaccine distribution initiative, has benefited millions of people.

WHO is more complex than how we conceptualized organizations in Chapter 8 primarily because of the nature of its membership – it involves states, not individuals. However, this international organization still embodies the "characteristics of bureaucracy" that define organizations: (1) division of labor, (2) hierarchy of authority, (3) rules and regulations, (4) meritocracy, and (5) efficiency. Focusing on rules and regulations, the involvement and the controversies surrounding the role of WHO in addressing the Covid-19 pandemic shows how policies are essential not only in maintaining the internal functioning of organizations (division of labor) but also in achieving its external goals, specifically those stipulated in the IHR.

Deviance and the Pandemic

As the Covid-19 pandemic spreads, so are the crimes related to it. Across the globe, various offences that capitalize on the general feeling of fear and panic have added to the crisis management and law enforcement problems. Thieves steal surgical masks. A clinic sells fake COVID-19 tests. Hate groups encourage sick members to infect law enforcement officers. Imposters pose as public health officials. Con artists peddle fake cures and financial scams (Long et al., 2020). These are some of the headlines highlighting the crimes perpetrated during the coronavirus pandemic.

The emergence of these crimes can be explained using the Structural Strain theory of deviance. *Structural strain* views deviance as a response to an imbalance between culturally valued goals and the socially acceptable ways of achieving those goals. More than a serious public health concern, the pandemic is also an economic crisis that resulted in the loss of employment, closure of businesses, and disruptions in the global economy. It also challenged the capacity of law enforcement and other government institutions to effectively control the ensuing

social upheavals in various sectors of society. These economic and political disruptions provided an opportunity for some people to pursue alternative ways to achieve their goals, including illegal and criminal means.

The Family and the Pandemic

As a haven of intimacy and sharing, the family is a natural hot spot of infectious disease transmission. A study on the household transmission of Covid-19 in Wuhan, the Chinese city where the outbreak first occurred, shows that the household secondary attack rate was between 15 and 22%, higher than SARS (5 and 10%) and MERS (1 and 5%) coronavirus outbreaks. **Household secondary attack rate** refers to the probability that an infected person will transmit the pathogen to a susceptible household member during their infectious period (Li et al., 2021). In the United States, a similar study confirmed that most coronavirus transmission occurs in the household. The study followed up on 7,262 Covid-19 cases in the Boston metropolitan area which were linked to an additional 1,809 cases, resulting in an overall incidence of 10.1% (Metlay, 2021). Although those who live alone are in less danger from coronavirus transmission, they are likely to suffer from mental health issues due to the difficulties of being cut off from their families and friends (Fitzgerald, 2020). The pandemic has turned the family into an ambiguous institution that primarily functions to provide care and emotional support but simultaneously endangers its members to coronavirus infection. In addition, the earlier discussion on the impact of the pandemic on gender inequality also highlighted the greater exposure of women and children to violence during the prolonged lockdown periods.

Religion and the Pandemic

From Singapore to Iran, many of the early Covid-19 clusters broke out among members of religious groups who regularly congregate for mass worships and other rituals. In South Korea, nearly 5,000 Covid-19 cases in the first week of March 2020 were traced back to one person (Patient 31) who worshipped at Shincheonji Church of Jesus in the city of Daegu. Despite the government warnings, the church had insisted on in-person meetings, held hands during prayers, and refused to use face masks (Park, 2020). After the family, religion provides the sense of identity and belonging that has become more valuable in a world that emphasizes achievement and independence.

Emile Durkheim's analysis of the secular functions of religion could give light to the high rate of transmission among members of religious groups (Chapter 11). Fundamentally, Durkheim sees the importance of religion to society through the concept of *totemism*, a religious practice that is centered on the worship of an animal, a plant, or an object (totem) as a sacred symbol or the material expression of the divine. This practice is common among indigenous societies, the worship of a particular totem distinguishes each clan or tribe from other groups. Durkheim noted

that totemism exists to serve a specific social function, particularly in ensuring social solidarity among the clan members. The shared beliefs and rituals establish a structure of rules and norms, enforce social cohesion, and create a common identity. The Shincheonji Church is widely considered a secretive cult, known for its tight-knit community who are even encouraged to withdraw from family and friends and conceal their affiliation with the group. The group considers illness, including Covid-19, as evil and encourages sick members to continue to attend services to get healed (ibid.). Although the case of the Shincheonji Church is an extreme example, religious groups are built on the same principles of communion and community.

The Nation-State and the Pandemic

True leaders emerge in times of crisis. The rapid spread of the Covid-19 infection has tested the capacity of leaders across the world in containing the health emergency and the ensuing economic crisis. Leaders face the challenge of communicating the country's vulnerability, reassuring the people of the government's plan of action, and persuading them to follow government containment measures, even if they come at great personal costs (Robson, 2020). In an earlier section (Culture and the Pandemic), studies have revealed that a leader's decision to impose strict lockdown measures or not is largely influenced by history and culture. The ability to convince people to follow measures that not only restrict their decision-making capacities but also go against shared principles gives an insight into the fundamentals of power. *Power* is the ability of individuals or groups to achieve their objectives despite opposition from others (see Chapter 12). "They may even think, *Well, I don't quite understand why [the government] did that, but I know she's got our back,*" was how the high level of trust and confidence that New Zealanders have in their current Prime Minister, Jacinta Ardern (Friedman, 2020).

Without the use of coercive force, political leadership mainly relies on good communication and on having a sense of purpose. A well-delivered plan could ensure social order and inspire confidence among the people while a wrong move could erode trust and cause unrest that exacerbates the existing dangers (Robson, 2020). Jacinta Ardern came to prominence during the Covid-19 pandemic not only for implementing an effective strategy that prevented widespread infection but also due to her leadership style that resonates well with people on an emotional level (Friedman, 2020).

In the previous chapter, the discussion focused on the three forms of authority: (1) rational-legal authority, (2) traditional authority, and (3) charismatic authority. These bases of political power are presented as distinct categories although they are often entangled and represent the complex backgrounds of contemporary political leaders. For instance, Jacinda Ardern is a rational-legal leader based on her election as a Member of Parliament and as the leader of the ruling Labour Party in New Zealand. She is also a traditional leader based on her long-term association with the Labour Party that she established through personal ties and grassroots-level

political activities as a youth leader. Lastly, her widespread influence and global prominence largely rest on her exceptional capabilities as a charismatic leader. After getting a boost from her globally acclaimed pandemic leadership, "Jacindamania" propelled Ardern to a second term as New Zealand's Prime Minister and further raised her reputation as an inspirational global leader.

PANDEMICS AND SOCIAL CHANGE

Full-vaccination drives are implemented in many countries to prevent infection, minimize the risk of transmission, and to help people adjust to living with the coronavirus.

The major pandemics that occurred throughout history often bring about immediate and lasting social change that dramatically altered the lives of people across the world. Social *change* refers to the radical transformation in the way social relationships, activities, and institutions are organized. In particular, sociologists are particularly interested in **tipping points**, situations in which rare events or temporary measures snowball into a common feature of society (Ferrante, 2015). Do you think that the Covid-19 is a tipping point that will lead to drastic changes in society?

In 1346, sailors brought the bubonic plague to Europe triggering a seven-year-long pandemic known as the **Black Death** that killed around one-third of the region's population at that time. The huge population loss resulted in the shortage of labor, which reduced agricultural production and pushed for the invention of new tools and the mechanization of production. Johannes Gutenberg, for instance, invented the printing press as a less expensive way of reproducing manuscripts. Moreover, the influence of religion declined after the communal Christian monasteries and churches, which also tended to the sick, were ravaged by the pandemic. Its inability to provide an effective cure paved the way for the advancement of medicine and science (Herlihy, 1997).

Since the Covid-19 spread around the world in early 2020, some changes might become a permanent feature of people's everyday lives. The wider use of digital technology, flexible working and learning arrangements, and the normalization of surveillance are some of the strategies that have been adopted to cope with the pandemic that will remain an intrinsic part of society.

Even before the pandemic, scholars have already pointed out the increasing "medicalization" of everyday life. **Medicalization** refers to the process by which some aspects of human life come to be considered as medical problems. Some examples include the medicalization of sleep, emotions, and deviant behaviors. However, medicalization results in the transfer of control over the human body and behavior to medical experts and away from ordinary people who previously managed their own emotional, mental, or moral well-being. In addition, medicalization provides not only treatments but can also be a form of control over the individual (Conrad and Schneider, 1992). Following this development, it is likely that the Covid-19 pandemic will result in the "**epidemiologization of society**." This concept refers to the process in which aspects of society such as security, environment, and technology come to be treated as global risks that necessitate meticulous surveillance and drastic social control measures.

KEY CONCEPTS

Black Death
Epidemiologization of Society
Medicalization
Social epidemiology
Tipping point
Epidemic
Household Secondary Rate Attack
Pandemic
The pandemic of inequality
Xenophobia

DISCUSSION QUESTIONS

1. What is sociological orienteering, its different components, and how would the concept help you make sense of the impact of the Covid-19 pandemic?
2. Assess the overall impact of the lockdown measures used to curb the spread of the coronavirus. Do you think that it had a positive impact on the family? Do you think that putting families together in a limited space is detrimental to the well-being of its members?
3. How would you assess the leadership of government officials in your country during the Covid-19 pandemic? Who do you think was the most effective leader? Who was the least effective? Why?

SUGGESTED READINGS

1. Babbie, Earl. (1990). "The Essential Wisdom of Sociology." *Teaching Sociology*, Vol. 18(4): pp. 526–530.

2. Robson, David. (2020). "Covid-19: What Makes a Good Leader During a Crisis?" *BBC Worklife* (March 28). Retrieved September 3, 2021. (https://www.bbc.com/worklife/article/20200326-covid-19-what-makes-a-good-leader-during-a-crisis)
3. United Nations Women. (2020). *Unlocking the Lockdown: The Gendered Effect of Covid-19 on Achieving the SDGs in Asia and the Pacific*. Bangkok: UN Women Regional Office for Asia and the Pacific.
4. Warner, Timothy, Emily Feng, Rob Schmitz, Joanna Kakissis, Aviva Dekornfeld. (2020). "How Covid-19 is Challenging Countries." *Rough Translation*. National Public Radio. (https://www.npr.org/2020/03/18/817960068/how-covid-19-is-challenging-cultures)

CHAPTER 14

THE ENVIRONMENT AND SOCIAL CHANGE

Stories about nature's remarkable recovery were some of the few positive news to appear during the early period of the Covid-19 pandemic. In April 2020, cleaner air was reported in Shanghai, Delhi, and many other urban centers where shuttered businesses and empty streets resulted in a 17% decline in global carbon emissions (Le Quere et al., 2020). Without the crowd of tourists, it was reported that the water in Venice's famous canals did not only turn clean and clear, but also allowed crabs, fish, and plant life to return (Brunton, 2020). These developments offered rays of hope, that amidst the suffering and anxiety, something positive will emerge out of the global health crisis.

A tourist enjoys the view on the Athabasca Glacier in Canada's Banff and Jasper National Parks. It is the most-visited glacier in North America. However, global warming has adversely affected the glacier. It is currently losing around five meters per year and has receded more than 1.5 kilometers in the past 125 years.

However, recent studies have shown that the environmental impact of the lockdown measures is temporary and pollution, deforestation, and other environmental problems could get even worse as the world's economies try to rebound from the crisis. An update on the carbon emissions data revealed that by June 2020 the numbers were only 5% lower than the same period in 2019, even before the economic activities have fully resumed. In China, the resumption of industrial and transportation activities showed that the dramatic improvement of air quality in the early period of the pandemic has now vanished (Gardiner, 2020b). Many wondered what will happen once other countries start to ramp up production to compensate for the losses during the height of the pandemic.

The Covid-19 pandemic (just like the other pandemics in history) is closely intertwined with human relationship with nature. The early evidence about the Covid-19 pandemic's origin in wildlife trade and the study linking air pollution with a person's susceptibility to infection (Gardiner, 2020a) underscores human society's fundamental relationship with the ecosystem. The **ecosystem** refers to the community of living and non-living matters that share a physical environment. Plants, animals, and human beings as well as oceans, land, and air depend on one another to sustain life and maintain the planet. Although discourses on the ecosystems and the environment fundamentally center on biology and ecology, sociologists are interested in them because they shape and, in turn, are shaped by human society.

Environmental sociology is a subfield of sociology that deals with the relationship between societies and their natural environment. This area of study emphasizes the social factors that influence resource use and environmental problems. It emerged in the 1970s as part of *environmental movements* (see later section) that advocated for just and sustainable use of resources and for human stewardship of the environment through changes in public policy and individual behavior (Lockie, 2015; Catton and Dunlap, 1978). Today, environmental sociology has developed into an important field that deals with climate change, renewable energy, wildlife protection, environmental governance, food security, and other environmental issues.

A SOCIOLOGY OF THE ENVIRONMENT

Generally, sociology locates the causes of environmental issues in the context of economic production, political relations, and prevailing cultural practices. Sociologists analyze environmental problems in relation to race, gender, class, nationality, and other socio-cultural factors since they affect people differently based on their position in society. In addition, sociologists explore the ways in which social institutions shape environmental policy and the larger attitude of people towards the environment. Finally, they account for the role of social movements in influencing decision making and in mobilizing people to work towards change.

Race and the Environment

In the United States, **environmental racism** emerged as an environmental justice movement in the 1980s to highlight the presence of a disproportionate number of hazardous facilities, such as chemical plants and waste disposal landfills in areas primarily populated by racial minorities (Bullard and Wright, 1992). The term was coined by Benjamin Chavis, Jr. an African-American civil rights leader who led a protest for the closure of a hazardous landfill in North Carolina in 1982. His role revealed the influence of the Civil Rights movement on the principles and practices of environmental racism, particularly in the mobilization of the African-American communities who increasingly view problems on public health and urban decay as part of their marginalization in the American society (Matinez-Alier, 2005). The most prominent cases where the issue

of environmental racism was raised include the 2005 Hurricane Katrina which affected a large number of African-American communities in Louisiana, the 2014 protest against the drinking water contamination in Flint, Michigan where the majority of the population are also African-Americans, and the construction of the Dakota Access Pipeline in 2017 that threatens several Native-American communities along its 1,800-kilometer stretch.

Elsewhere, the 1984 Union Carbide pesticide plant explosion in Bhopal, India is viewed as an example of environmental racism due to the American company's lack of action to aid or compensate the families of the thousands of people who lost their lives or were permanent incapacitated (Das Gupta et al., 2008). In addition, the shipment of e-waste to China and several countries in Southeast Asia from developed countries is largely viewed as a case of environmental racism (Grossman, 2006). With the de-industrialization in developed countries and the outsourcing of manufacturing to developing countries, environmental racism has become more prominent in the global context as people from developing countries are exposed to environmental hazards from mining, heavy manufacturing, and other industrial operations.

Gender and the Environment

Around the same time as the rise of environmental racism, ecofeminism emerged out of the women's rights movement in the 1970s. **Ecofeminism** is based on the centrality of gender in the relationship between society and the natural world. Following the basic tenets espoused by second-wave feminism, it argues that patriarchy is the root cause of environmental problems. Ecofeminists believe that patriarchy not only results in the subjugation of women by men but also "contributes to the belief that nature is to be possessed and dominated, rather than treated as a partner" (Kendall, 2017: 602). Indian ecofeminist Vandana Shiva argues about women's special connection with the environment through traditional domestic roles that are oriented towards providing sustenance and other socially-beneficial activities. However, due to the influence of patriarchy on Western perceptions of progress, society fails to perceive the interconnectedness of nature, or the connection of women's lives, work and knowledge with the creation of wealth" (Vandana, 1988: 23). Currently, ecofeminism has developed into a diverse theoretical and practical interests including materialist ecofeminism, vegetarian ecofeminism, and spiritual ecofeminism.

Practically, women are more vulnerable to environmental problems due to some issues that are connected to their prescribed social roles and expectations. According to a UN Report, "women are disproportionately affected by climate change as they depend heavily on natural resources due to their limited access to assets, financing, and technologies. This increases their vulnerability to economic shocks, particularly if involved in climate-sensitive sectors such as tourism and agriculture" (UN Women, 2020: 19). The previous chapter's discussion on the socio-impact of the pandemic has revealed that more women lost their jobs than men during the pandemic due

to their larger representation in the retail and service sectors which were severely affected by the Covid-19 pandemic.

Class and the Environment

Our discussion on social class and social stratification (Chapter 6) mainly focuses on inequality within society or at the national level. However, social hierarchy and inequality between people also exist on a global scale. *Global stratification* refers to the hierarchical arrangement of individuals and groups in societies around the world. Routinely, information on average income, educational attainment, and other demographic data are compared internationally not only to trace patterns of change but also to determine a country's development. However, these comparisons are not done simply to highlight variations but also to reveal the inequality of opportunities among individuals, groups, or even among countries across the globe. **Global inequality** refers to the unequal distribution of resources among individuals and groups based on their position in the social hierarchy. Generally. a nation-state's position in the global hierarchy influences the vulnerability and capacity of its people to deal with environmental problems.

In the Asia-Pacific region, a UN report highlighted how the dramatic rise in income inequality and inequality of opportunities coincided with the increasing environmental degradation. Income inequality grew to more than 40% while access to basic opportunities is unevenly shared. About 300 million people still do not have access to clean water, around 425 million do not have access to electricity, and about 1.52 billion lack basic sanitation (ESCAP, 2018). In addition, East Asia and South Asia recorded the world's sharpest rise in premature deaths due to air pollution between 1995 and 2015. This problem was brought about by the region's rapid industrialization, urbanization, and increasing vehicle ownership. Studies showed that the poor are more exposed to air pollution, have limited means to protect themselves, and health impact of pollution reduces their earning potential (ibid., pp. 50-52). Moreover, environmental degradation disproportionately affects the livelihood of the poor since they are more reliant on natural resources. Resource exploitation, such as mining, forestry, and fishery, often has skewed distributional effects – benefiting big businesses while leaving rural poor and members of indigenous communities worse off. Unequal land distribution and insecure land rights further contribute to the vulnerability of many poor households and communities across the region (ibid., pp. 53–55).

The United Nations and other international agencies employ different measures (see Table 14.1) to determine a country's wealth (or level of development) and categorize them into several normative rankings. For instance, the dual categories of "developing countries" and "developed countries" have been used to classify nation-states according to their level of development. These categories are comparable to those used to classify class and socio-economic status on the individual level. **Development**, which refers to the improvement in a country's economic and social conditions, is the equivalent to social mobility. Indeed, all countries have the opportunity to

TABLE 14.1
Major Country Classification Systems

	UNDP	IMF	World Bank
Main Categories	1. Developed Countries 2. Developing Countries	1. Advanced Countries 2. Emerging and Developing Countries	1. High Income Countries 2. Upper Middle (UM) 3. Lower Middle (LM) 4. Low Income Countries
Development Threshold	75 percentile in the HDI (Human Development Index) distribution	Not explicit	Gross National Income (GNI) per capita 1. High (> US$12,535) 2. UM (US$4,046–12,535) 3. LM (US$1,036–4,045) 4. Low (<US$1,036)
Subcategories of Developing Countries	1. Low Human Development Countries 2. Medium Human Development Countries 3. High Human Development Countries	1. Low-Income Developing Countries 2. Emerging and Other Developing Countries	None

Sources: Nielsen (2011), Serajuddin and Hamadeh (2020)

climb the ladder but some face more obstacles than others. Recently, climate change has become one of the key factors in determining the short-term and long-term capacity of nation-states to attain economic development and improve the quality of life of its people.

Studies have shown that Asia-Pacific is the most vulnerable to climate change among the different regions around the world. From 1996 to 2015, six of the 10 countries most affected by climate-related natural disasters are in the Asia-Pacific region. The cases showed that "the impact of disasters on human lives is very unevenly distributed among countries in different income groups. Countries with low- and middle-income status have mortality rates from disasters that are 4 to 5 times higher than in high-income countries" (ESCAP, 2018: 56). This disproportional climate change impact not only impedes the development efforts of poor countries but also hampers their capacity to implement sustainable practices and contribute to the global effort to address the problem of climate change.

Culture and the Environment

Culture refers to the people's way of life, including strategies that humans create to adjust to the environment. Thus, drastic changes in the environment will dramatically affect people's livelihood and everyday life. Indigenous people (or cultural minorities) who mostly live in the arctic, uplands, and forest regions are the most vulnerable to climate change. In Southeast Asia, there has been a long debate on the impact of their resource use practices on forest conservation. Par-

ticularly, the impact of *slash-and-burn agriculture* or swidden farming (see Chapter 12) has been at the center of a long-running debate on the indigenous people's rights, forest conservation, and sustainable development. Slash-and-burn agriculture is characterized by the clearing of a plot of forest area, often by using fire, for subsistence farming. The use of the land lasts until the soil fertility declines, after which the cultivator moves to another area to clear (Conklin, 1961).

Mountain-side cultivation in the Kathmandu Valley, Nepal.

Slash-and-burn agriculture was largely condemned as destructive and a major cause of deforestation as well as an epitome of the backwardness and lack of productivity typically used to describe indigenous people. Some anthropologists, however, criticize this depiction of slash-and-burn, noting that the long fallow period allowed the forest to re-grow. They also highlighted the diversity of crops that are grown, which anthropologists describe as a strategy that "mimics the forest" and therefore has low impact when compared to single cropping that is typical in agrarian societies (Henley, 2011). With the rise of social forestry and community-based forest management approaches since the 1970s, slash-and-burn agriculture was given a boost as part of the strategy to promote sustainable resource use while recognizing the rights of indigenous people to their ancestral land. Nonetheless, as the indigenous people are increasingly integrated into the mainstream economy, many communities are shifting towards permanent cultivation, and in larger areas, putting a strain on their fragile environment. With less forest cover and the increasing incidence of drought and monsoon rains, indigenous communities and their cultures are under serious risk of disappearing as many of them are forced to move elsewhere and leave their way of life in order to survive.

Organizations and the Environment

If one were to browse the shelves of their neighborhood grocery store, it is likely that they will find Rainforest Alliance-certified products that are distinguished by a green frog seal. The Rainforest Alliance is an international non-government organization that provides *environmental standards and certification (ESC)* in agriculture. ESCs are voluntary guidelines used by producers, manufacturers, traders, retailers, and service providers to demonstrate their commitment to good social, ethical, safety, and environmental practices. As a certifying body, the Rainforest Alliance promotes and recognizes achievements of small farmers and large agricultural producers in using

sound environmental practices. The certification is awarded after farmers address issues such water pollution, soil erosion, wildlife protection, sustainable resource use, and food safety. In addition, the Rainforest Alliance also works to improve the working conditions of farm workers, enhance profitability and competitiveness, and promote more collaboration between farmers and conservationists (Ochieng et al., 2013). Overall, it seeks to achieve the three goals of sustainability – social, economic, and environment.

The goals of the Rainforest Alliance reflect the values of *social responsibility* (Chapter 8, Groups and Organizations), which refer to an ethical framework that instills accountability to organizations to promote sustainability and a more humane world. The *drive for profit* that is central to the growth of multinational corporations involves labor saving practices that often result in the exploitation of workers from developing countries. The overemphasis on this objective also leads to greater demands for raw materials (minerals, land, fuel, etc.), which necessitates extraction and processing that are harmful to the environment. In response, social responsibility seeks to promote sustainable practices among corporations to minimize their environmental impact and to tap into their enormous influence in shaping a more productive, equitable, and ecologically balanced future.

Deviance and the Environment

In December 2014, the Peruvian government called for the arrest of a group of Greenpeace activists who damaged part of the Nazca Lines archeological site while laying a protest sign in conjunction with a UN Climate Change Conference in Lima, Peru's capital. However, the protesters managed to leave the country after a local judge refused to order their detention (Rozak, 2014). Greenpeace activists have been involved in similar incidents in numerous occasions around the world since the non-government environmental organization was founded in 1971. Greenpeace is known for its advocacy and protest actions against nuclear testing, commercial whaling, mining operations, coal plants, arctic oil explorations, GMO (Genetically Modified Organisms) agriculture, and other environmental issues. Following a non-violent direct-action principle, Greenpeace has engaged in picketing, peaceful demonstration, silent protest, sit-down, stand-in, delivery of symbolic objects, trespassing, non-violent occupation, non-violent obstruction, and blockade to protest. The organization is also known for hanging banners and signposts such as the ones done on the Nazca Lines.

Despite its long history of brushes with the law and numerous threats of legal actions, Greenpeace is rarely prosecuted or punished for its deviant activities mainly because its activism is perceived differently from the other forms of social movements. Environmental protesters are distinguished from political activists who are largely viewed as violent or potentially dangerous, especially by law enforcers. In her study of Greenpeace activities in the Philippines, Maria Khristine Alvarez (2010) argued that Greenpeace activists are often let off by the authorities from their criminal and deviant activities because of the *labeling* that "loving nature" (environmental

activism) entails deviance because environmentalists are compelled to act beyond the existing rules to challenge an entrenched institution. *Labeling theory* (Chapter 9) states that an appearance or an act only becomes deviant when people take action to label it as a violation of social norms and enforce sanctions. The reputation of Greenpeace as an environmental icon that engages in selfless and heroic actions creates a romanticized image that even those on the side of the status quo can sympathize. Although habitual trespassing and illegal assemblies are deviant acts, the refusal of the authorities to impose sanctions perpetuates the romantic ideal that "loving nature entails deviance."

The Family and the Environment

Despite the attention given to the impact of industries on climate change, households remain as the largest producer of greenhouse gas emissions making up around 60% of the total share (Liu et. al., 2020). As such, families and households should be on the front line in tackling environmental problems and promoting sustainability. The key areas of interventions are in: (1) food consumption, (2) transportation, (3) household energy use, (4) household waste, and (5) promotion of sustainable practices.

First, food production accounts for 20% of human gas emissions so people are advised to change their diet to include less meat and consume more locally sourced food. Meat production is blamed for deforestation as more land are cleared for livestock farms and for crops that are needed to feed the livestock. Livestock also produce greenhouse gases that can exacerbate global warming. Eating locally sourced food, on the other hand, reduces energy use and pollution due to food transport. Second, transport use also accounts for 23% of human gas emissions so families are encouraged to walk, cycle, or use public transport. Since air transportation is a major contributor of carbon emissions, families are encouraged to have vacation locally (McDermid et. al., 2020) or make long-distance holidays less frequent.

Third, households use energy to control temperature, lighting, and to power appliances. Although this is linked to energy production, it indirectly still counts to gas emissions as power plants are needed to supply households with energy. To address this issue, households are encouraged to use energy efficient fixtures and appliances. Fourth, household waste ends up in landfills or adds up to gas emissions if incinerated. The "reduce, reuse, recycle" drives begin in the household and buying less stuff reduces emission from production, packaging, and transportation (ibid.). Sustainable waste management calls on people to change their consumption practices, especially those who live in what is termed as a "**throw-away society**," a society characterized by excessive consumerist ideals whereby the society tends to use items once only and consumer products are not designed for reuse or lifetime use (Cooper, 2010).

Fifth, families and households are not only encouraged to adopt sustainable practices but are also expected to teach them to the younger generations (McDermid et. al., 2020). This expectation is linked to the function of the family as an agent of socialization (Chapter 10). *Socialization*

refers to the process by which individuals develop a sense of self and learn the ways of society. The family is expected to mold the children to be aware of the importance of sustainable practices so that they can take on the responsibility of tackling environmental issues and of promoting a sustainable way of life. However, socialization is a life-long process, and it can also apply to adults who most likely are also adjusting to new expectations and new ways of doing things.

Religion and the Environment

On June 18, 2015, *Laudato Si* (Praise Be to You), subtitled "On Care for Our Common Home" is an encyclical (pastoral letter) issued by Pope Francis, the leader of the Roman Catholic Church calling for "a swift and unified global action" to address issues concerning environmental degradation and global warming. Around this period, leaders from different religious groups also issued joint declarations to support the global effort to tackle climate change and endorse the United Nations Sustainable Development Goals (UNEP, 2016). The *Laudato Si* received criticisms from conservative Catholics who believe that religion should steer clear of "liberal" causes, not try to influence economic policy, and respect the autonomy of science (VOA, 2015; Scammell, 2015). On the other hand, the involvement of religious leaders in sustainable development advocacies reflect the larger sentiment that environmental problems are no longer just scientific or development issues, they are moral issues that are at the core of what it means to be human (UNEP, 2016; Martin, 2017).

The **moralization** of environmental problems transforms what was previously seen as secular concerns into existential issues that are entwined with the basic tenets of religion. The Islamic Leaders Climate Change Declaration emphasizes that human beings are chosen to be God's caretaker (Khalifa) of the Earth (UNEP, 2016: 55). Similarly, the Hindu Declaration on Climate Change quotes the Mahabharata, which states that "Dharma exists for the welfare of all being" (ibid., p. 57). Meanwhile, the Indigenous Elders and Medicine Peoples Council Statement underscores the people's "covenant to follow and uphold a sacred responsibility to extend Life for all future generations" (ibid., p. 58). In Chapter 11, we discussed Peter Berger's four existential questions (1. Who am I? 2. Why am I here? 3. How should I live? 4. What happens when I die?) that highlight the social significance of religion in providing a set of meanings that connects individuals to society. Being the Earth's caretaker answers the first two questions, to live sustainably in harmony with all being answers the third question, and the respond to the fourth question focuses not on what a person brings with him or her after death but what one leaves behind.

The Nation-State and the Environment

On February 10, 2021, the Singapore government unveiled the Singapore Green Plan 2030, a "whole-of-nation movement" that outlines the city-state's sustainable development strategy in

the next 10 years. Spearheaded by five government ministries (National Development, Sustainability and the Environment, Trade and Industry, Transport, and Education), the comprehensive plan also strengthens Singapore's commitment to the United Nations 2030 Sustainable Development Agenda and the Paris Agreement. Some initiatives include a 50% increase in nature park land, more cycling paths, longer rail network, the reduction of waste sent to the landfill by 30%, all clean-energy cars by 2030, and 20% of schools to be carbon neutral by 2030. To ensure its long-term impact, the Eco Stewardship Programme will be implemented in schools to "strengthen the inculcation of informed, responsible, and sustainability-conscious" young people. Overall, the Green Plan will strengthen Singapore's economic, climate and resource resilience, improve the living environment of Singaporeans, and bring new business and job opportunities" (Ang and Mohan, 2021; Tan, 2021).

The Singapore Green Plan 2030 presents a well-crafted strategy to addressing a serious issue that highlights the continuing centrality of the nation-state in people's everyday lives. The plan can be viewed using the concept of *nation branding* (Chapter 12). This concept refers to the application of marketing strategies to individual countries to create and promote a distinct image and reputation to serve national goals and interest (Anholt, 2003). Internationally, it allows Singapore to strengthen its relations with other countries, even serving as an inspiring "bright green spark for the world" (Tan, 2021). In the domestic sphere, the Green Plan will enhance the government's reputation for bringing a better quality of life for its citizens and in ensuring the availability of job and business opportunities. The strategies for these economic goals include strengthening Singapore as a location for both global and local sustainability solutions companies and "developing research and development in areas such as sustainable packaging, decarbonisation, waste upcycling, urban farming and water treatment" (Kurohi, 2021). The Green Plan is a "green branding" that will allow the nation to take on a self-image that serves its global and local goals.

ENVIRONMENTAL MOVEMENTS AND SOCIAL CHANGE

The various initiatives to tackle environmental problems are largely referred to as social movements. A **social movement** is a large and organized undertaking to promote or resist change through collective action (Opp, 2009). Some of the most well-known social movements include suffrages, the civil rights, labor rights, anti-nuclear testings, animal rights, and environmental movements. Particularly, an **environmental movement** is an informal network of people who work together to address issues concerning biodiversity conservation and nature protection. The loosely organized actors may include individuals, groups, and organizations from the grassroots to the global level.

David Aberle (1966), an American sociologist, classified social movements into four categories (see Table 14.2) based on their goals and the degree of change they seek to achieve. Some social movements seek to change individuals and specific groups while others strive to transform the

entire society. The four types of social movements are: (1) alternative social movements, (2) redemptive social movements, (3) reformative social movements, and (4) revolutionary social movements. *Alternative social movements* strive to change aspects of people's attitude or behavior. They typically emphasize self-improvement, physical well-being, and spiritual growth. In the contexts of environmentalism, organizations that promote vegetarianism or tiny-house living as sustainable practices are examples of alternative social movements. Such movements are often less radical and rarely perceived as a threat to the existing social order. On the other hand, *redemptive social movements* strive to achieve dramatic change in people's lives. This category is often used to classify religious movements that promise to renew people and guarantee some form of redemption or social revival. The Earthship movement, as well as its several communities in the United States and across the globe, is an example of a redemptive social movement. The movement is based on living in an Earthship, a shelter made from recycled materials that incorporate solar-based energy production, waste management, water harvesting, and organic food production (Sachs, 2016).

Furthermore, *reformative social movements* strive to make society better by changing some specific aspects of the social structure. This type of movement often works within the existing

Contrasting Concepts

Understanding Social Movements: Mass Society Theory vs New Social Movements Theory

Sociologists have developed several theories to explain why social movements emerge. Among these are the mass society theory and the new social movements theory. They provide an interesting contrast on how specific social conditions result in a collective action.

Mass society theory argues that the impersonal and highly bureaucratized modern society has led to the alienation and isolation of many people (Kornhauser, 1959). Thus, social movements provide individuals a space to express their grievances, interact with like-minded people, and feel a sense of belonging.

On the other hand, *new social movement theory* argues that collective actions to achieve social change reflect the cultural context through which people pose questions of identity, purpose, and meaning (Buechler, 2000). While classical theories focus on how social movements promote the rights and welfare for *all people*, new social movements theory highlight how many recent advocacies and activism involved *specific groups* and in specific locations.

TABLE 14.2
Types of Social Movement

Social Movements	Goals	Examples
Alternative	Change some people in a specific way	Vegetarianism, Tiny-house movement
Redemptive	Change some people, but not completely	Greater World Earthship Community
Reformative	Change everyone, but in specific ways	Environmental racism, Ecofeminism
Revolutionary	Change everyone completely	Greenpeace

Source: Aberle (1966)

system to influence policy making so that it adequately reflects its own values and ideals. Typically emanating from the grassroots level, some reformative movements emerge to challenge the marginalization of specific social groups. The collective actions against *environmental racism* and those supporting *ecofeminism* are examples of reformative social movements. Finally, **revolutionary social movements** (or transformative social movement) strive to bring about total change in society. Members of revolutionary movements usually do not work within the system; instead, they seek to replace existing institutions with new ones that completely reflect their ideals. Technically, no environmental movement falls under this category due to the limited scope of their social activism. Nonetheless, the Greenpeace is often characterized as a revolutionary social movement because of its dramatic direct actions that include naval blockade, occupation of sites, and disruptions of operations that are sometimes dubbed as "ecoterrorism." Greenpeace also seeks to transform "governments, intergovernmental organizations, international financial institutions, corporations, and individuals (Alvarez, 2010: 103). These radical and wide-ranging approaches to achieve social change arguably makes Greenpeace a revolutionary social movement.

KEY CONCEPTS

Development
Ecosystem
Environmental racism
Global inequality
Revolutionary social movements
Throw-away society
Ecofeminism
Environmental movement
Environmental sociology
Moralization
Social movement
Mass society theory

DISCUSSION QUESTIONS

1. Use at least two of the four main sociological approaches in analyzing a controversial environmental issue in your country.
2. Think about how climate change is affecting your community. With your classmates, discuss how it might affect various social groups (race, gender, class, etc.) differently. What should be done to protect these vulnerable groups?
3. Do you think that the description of the Singapore Green Plan as a "whole-of-nation movement" makes the plan a social movement? Why? What type of social movement could it possibly be?

SUGGESTED READINGS

1. Alvarez, Maria Khristine. (2010). "On Deviance and Loving Nature: A Case Study of the Ecological Activism of Greenpeace Philippines." *Philippine Sociological Review*, Vol. 58: pp. 97–122.
2. Catton, William R., Jr. and Riley E. Dunlap. (1978). "Environmental Sociology: A New Paradigm." *The American Sociologist*, Vol. 13(1): pp. 41–49.
3. Cole, Nicki Lisa and Keith Brown. (2014). "The Problem with Fair Trade Coffee." *Contexts*, 13 (1): pp. 50–55.
4. Nielsen, Lynge. (2011). "Classifications of Countries Based on Their Level of Development: How it is Done and How it Could be Done." *International Monetary Fund Working Paper* 11/31. (https://www.imf.org/external/pubs/ft/wp/2011/wp1131.pdf)

CHAPTER 15

ARMED CONFLICTS AND SOCIAL CHANGE

The Covid-19 pandemic did not deter some major armed conflicts from erupting in various parts of the world. The Nagorno-Karabakh War in the Caucasus, the Tigray War in East Africa, and the Taliban Takeover of Afghanistan are some of the largest armed conflicts to emerge or escalate since the beginning of 2020. There were 34 armed conflicts around the world in 2020; with the highest number in Africa (15), followed by Asia (9), the Middle East (6), Europe (3), and the America (1). Most of the armed conflicts were domestic clashes that gained widespread international attention (82%), while the remaining were either purely internal (9%) or international (9%) involving two or more countries (Milian et al., 2021). Available data from 2020 showed that the highest fatalities because of armed conflicts within the year were recorded in Afghanistan where more than 20,000 perished. This was followed by Nagorno-Karabakh (7,600), Syria (3,500), Yemen (2,300) and the Tigray (1,300) conflicts (Strand and Hegre, 2021).

Soliel Levant (June 20-October 1, 2017), an art installation by the Chinese artist Ai Weiwei. It barricaded the windows of Kunsthal Charlottenborg in Copenhagen with discarded life jackets worn by refugees arriving at the Greek island of Lesbos. Most of the refugees were fleeing the armed conflict in Syria.

An **armed conflict** is a sustained military confrontation between two or more organized groups making purposive use of weapons. On the other hand, a **war** is an intensified armed conflict involving two or more nation-states, which officially declared war against each other (Chelimo, 2011). However, both terms are loosely used, often interchangeably, to refer to mass violence between different groups and organizations. The discourses on armed conflict are domi-

nated by international law, international relations, and political science. However, the topic is also popular among sociologists and those who are often drawn towards the study of armed conflict since they feature prominently in the history of most societies. In fact, there are several subfields of sociology – sociology of war, sociology of violence, and military sociology – that overlap to use sociological theories and research methods in understanding what apparently is an intrinsic part of human society.

A SOCIOLOGY OF ARMED CONFLICTS

Recent literature focuses on the roles of organization and ideology in investigating how armed conflicts emerge and why they seemed to have dramatically increased in the modern period. These two factors create the conditions for a large number of people to participate in violence and warfare by providing the structure to facilitate collective action and the ideals that legitimize such action (Malesevic, 2010). Apart from their interest in tracing the *social* origins of armed conflicts, sociologists are also interested in its social impact. Armed conflicts result in massive loss of life, the displacement of people, food shortages, constant fear, and other serious impacts. Beyond their immediate outcome, armed conflicts are transformative forces that have long-term consequences on people's lives that could last for generations.

Ethnicity and Armed Conflict

In November 2020, the postponement of a general election in Ethiopia due to the Covid-19 pandemic resulted in a political discord among its leaders that eventually escalated into an ethnic armed conflict between the Tigrayan and the Ethiopian national government forces. The Tigrayans are an ethnic group that occupies the country's northern region. Despite comprising only 6.1% of the population, the Tigrayans through the Tigrayan People's Liberation Party (TPLP), played a key role in the Ethiopian government since 1991 when the country's military regime was deposed. Meles Zenawi (1955–2012), an ethnic Tigrayan, emerged as the country's President (1991–1995) and as Prime Minister from 1995 until his death in 2012. He is considered the originator of **ethnic federalism**, an ethnic-based federal system of national government in which the federated regional or state units are defined by ethnicity (Habtu, 2005). Tigrayan politicians continued to play prominent roles in the Ethiopian government after Meles Zenawi's untimely death in 2012.

However, the election of Abiy Ahmed (an Oromo, the country's largest ethnic group) saw that implementation of a new governance approach that sought to replace ethnic federalism with a nationalist general policy. When the TPLF (Tigray People's Liberation Front)-led Ethiopian People's Revolutionary Democratic Front was dissolved in favor of a new pan-Ethiopian Prosperity Party in December 2019, the TPLF refused to join its alliance and its leaders moved to their controlled territory in the Tigray region. The animosity between the two groups escalated into the on-going Tigray War, which has become an **ethnic armed conflict** (Harding, 2021). On one side

is the Tigray regional forces while on the other are the federal and other regional forces associated with the Oromo, Amhara, Afar, and Sidama ethnic groups (Yusuf, 2021).

In Chapter 4, the discussion hinges on the juxtaposition between the concepts of *race* and *ethnicity* as one of the core elements of human identity. Generally, race is based on biological factors (skin color, hair, etc.) while ethnicity is based on cultural factors (language, religion, etc.). Writing to criticize the Italian invasion of Ethiopia in 1935, W.E.B. Du Bois, the African-American sociologist who pioneered the study of racial inequality and race relations, used the etymological meaning of Ethiopia, "the land of the burnt-face" to refer to its people as "negros" (Du Bois, 1935). However, Du Bois also pointed out the Semitic origins of the Ethiopians and his description of them as negros was more political since he was framing the European resistance to Italian aggression as part of the larger struggle of "colored people" in the United States and in other parts of the world. However, the concept of race is less relevant in current Ethiopian society as ethnicity, particularly the one that is based on language, serves as the main form of identity that is officially used by the state and by the people in distinguishing their groups and in fostering a sense of belonging. The emergence of the Tigray War demonstrates the strong influence of ethnicity in how people define who they are, what belongs to them, and why some things are worth fighting for.

Gender and Armed Conflict

Although the resistance to the 2021 military coup in Myanmar has come from its old ethnic-based separatist groups, the role of women in protests and even in the armed rebellion has attracted more attention. In recent protests, women started to hang their *htamein* (traditional skirts) on clothesline across streets to show their defiance. There is a traditional belief in Myanmar that men will lose their special power (called *hpone*) if they walk underneath a women's lower garments. A soldier, for instance, would fear touching women's clothing for fear that doing so will put his life at risk in the front line (Khan, 2021). Protesters are hoping that the strategy would deter the military from violently dispersing public demonstrations. Far from the street protests in the cities, the image of Htar Htet Htet (a former Myanmar beauty queen) graced the pages of newspapers and social media when she exchanged her gowns and bouquets for a military outfit and an assault rifle to join the armed rebellion against the military regime (Bangkok Post, 2021). It is estimated that 60% of protesters and about 75% of its leaders are women. Many are nurses, teachers, and factory workers whose lives are worsened by the Covid-19 pandemic (Villadiego, 2021).

"Men think that they have special powers just for being men," according to one female activist (ibid.). This statement echoes the prevalence of *sexism*, which is a belief that one sex is superior to another, it is often directed towards girls and women (Chapter 5). Sexism creates myths to maintain the domination of women by men. However, women tapped on these myths to use a symbol of their subjugation (the skirt) as a tool of what is now popularly called the Sarong Revolution.

Class and Armed Conflicts

After 10 years of bloodshed, displacement, and destruction, the Syrian Civil War has left most of the country in ruin. Recent available data shows that more than 80% of the people live below the poverty line. Syria also has an unemployment rate of at least 55%, and the reintegration of former soldiers into civilians has made jobs even harder to find (Makki, 2018). However, not everyone was left worse off by the long armed conflict. There is a new class of wealthy businessmen who saw a dramatic rise of fortune by trading oil and other commodities, controlling key industries, and by providing supplies to the warring factions. Most of these new rich are connected to President Bashar Assad and his family who managed to keep their hold on power by appointing relatives to key government positions and business interests. These practices have turned Syria into one of the most corrupt nations in the world (Cornish, 2019). Since most of the middle class has left during the war, the current social divide shows a glaring gap between the elites and the millions who are sliding deeper into poverty.

In the discussion on social inequality (Chapter 6), it was revealed that some people obtained *privileges* (unearned advantages) while others suffered from the *penalties* (unearned disadvantages) due to their class position. The impact of the Syrian Civil War shows how the armed conflict has resulted in a social upheaval that marginalized many people while benefiting a few. The news reported how the two children of Rami Maklouf, Syria's richest person who is also the President's cousin, flew across the Mediterranean to enjoy their luxurious holiday in southern France and a yacht excursion around a famous Greek island. Their travel provided a stark contrast to the millions of refugees who crossed the sea in flimsy rafts to escape the war in Syria. Many expressed outraged by their conspicuous display of wealth while millions of Syrians do not have enough food to eat (ibid.).

Culture and Armed Conflict

In March 2001, the destruction of the Bamiyan Buddha Statues in Afghanistan prompted an international outcry. UNESCO described the demolition as a "crime against culture." The two huge figures which measured 55 meters (Western Buddha) and 38 meters (Eastern Buddha) were carved into sandstone cliffs between 570–620 AD. The statues were two of the largest Buddha statues in the world and was Afghanistan's greatest archeological site. (Morgan, 2012). In 2003, the statues along with the cultural landscape and other archeological remains of the Bamiyan Valley were declared as a UNESCO World Heritage Site. The area was also the country's most popular tourist site and was frequented by pilgrims, archeologists, and travelers, especially as part of the "Hippie Trail" in the 1960s and 1970s (Day, 2016).

However, when the Talibans, a militant Islamist organization came to power in 1996, the imposing Buddha statues became a target of religious and political contempt. For the Talibans, they are considered as "false idols" that must be destroyed in line with Islamic laws. Before the demolition was carried out, a frantic effort by the global leaders and organizations was mobi-

lized to save the archeological treasures. Those who called out for it preservation included Saudi Arabia, Iran, and other Islamic countries, some even called out the Taliban's plan as barbaric and un-Islamic (Centlivres, 2012). Unfortunately, the concerted effort was proven futile as the Taliban's hardline leadership and extremely conservative interpretation of Islamic teachings remained unbent and the ancient statues were bombed and dynamited until they were reduced into a pile of rubbles.

The Bamiyan Buddha statues are *symbols*, one of the elements of culture referring to objects, signs, gestures, and words which convey meanings that are recognized and shared by members of society. For those who called for its preservation, the figures symbolize history, heritage, and beauty. The international outcry stemmed from the idea that the huge figures were cultural properties which were not only the heritage of the Afghan people, but also of the whole of humanity. For the Talibans, however, the ancient statues symbolize idolatry and intrusion.

Organizations and Armed Conflict

Even more notorious than the Taliban, the Boko Haram, a militant Islamist organization that was founded in northeastern Nigeria, is known for carrying out targeted assassinations, suicide bombings, and even abduction of schoolgirls. The group formerly aligned itself with the Islamic State of Iraq and the Levant and is classified as a terrorist group by many states. Boko Haram also operates in Chad, Niger, and Cameroon. Due to a leadership dispute, the group split into two factions in 2016, resulting in the emergence of the Islamic State's West Africa Province. The group was founded by Mohammed Yusuf in 2002 to advocate for the implementation of the Shariah Law and for larger religious and social reforms in the Muslim region of northeastern Nigeria (Matfess, 2021). After several conflicts with other religious sects and its suppression by the state authorities, the group resorted to an increasingly brutal attacks on state forces and civilians. The brutal response of the Nigerian armed forces also exacerbated the situation. In 2014 alone, the organization was responsible for the death of 6,644 people (Buchanan, 2015). Around 2.3 million people were displaced, including 250,000 Nigerians who fled to the neighboring countries of Cameroon, Chad, or Niger to escape the brutal armed conflict (Nichols, 2015).

Boko Haram provides an interesting case to understand the nature and purpose of organizations. In Chapter 8, organizations are classified into three categories based on membership structure and goals: normative, coercive, and utilitarian. Arguably, Boko Haram displays some characteristics that embody all these three categories. First, the militant group is a *normative organization (or voluntary organization)* because it attracts members who pursue common interests and goals that they consider personally or socially meaningful. Boko Haram draws the interest of largely young and educated people who are frustrated by the lack of economic opportunities as well as with their religious and political marginalization (Matfess, 2021). They become active and loyal members of the organization, unified not only through their religious activities but also through community mobilization and mutual assistance.

Second, Boko Haram obviously is a *coercive organization* because it is largely characterized by involuntary inclusion and the strict control of its members. Its members adhere to strict Shariah Law in their daily life while combatants, especially abducted children, are forced to take arms and even subjected to internal purges to eliminate those who are not loyal to the organization. The adherence to a doctrine that labels non-members as "infidels" does not only express their quest for religious "purity" but also cultivates an intense *in-group* loyalty (ibid., p. 6).

Lastly, Boko Haram is a *utilitarian organization* that attracts members by offering material benefits and other opportunities. Apart from providing an appealing religious direction, Boko Haram also offers services that the government has failed or neglected to provide to the people. It organizes its own religious police to enforce Shariah Law, arranges affordable marriages for its members, supports many unemployed members in starting a more stable source of income by operating motorcycle taxis (ibid., p. 5). The ability of Boko Haram to continue after the brutal death of its founder in 2009 demonstrates the relative stability, longevity, and marked cultural impact that characterized organizations.

Deviance and Armed Conflict

The persistence of armed conflicts amidst the Covid-19 pandemic brings us back to the fundamental question in the sociology of deviance regarding the nature of people and the role of society in their lives. Basically, there are two sharply contrasting perspectives about the roots of deviance and social control. One assumes that people are inherently selfish and insecure, and prone to violence and conflict with one another. The other perspective views people as inherently social beings and oriented towards living a harmonious communal life characterized by intense solidarity, altruism, and peace. From the first perspective, society is the external guarantor of order that pacifies the violent tendencies within people; from the second, modern society is seen as responsible for corrupting the essential goodness of human beings (Malesevic, 2010). Based to our Chapter 9 discussion, it is evident that the concept of "the disciplinary society" reflects the first assumption on society as the external guarantor of social order and stability while the theories of deviance (structural strain, labeling, constructionist, differential association, and everyday

A replica of warning sign inside the Land Mine Museum in Siem Reap, Cambodia.

resistance) follow the second assumption on the accountability of society in corrupting the inherent goodness of the people.

The disciplinary society refers to the social condition wherein censorship and surveillance are so normalized that they become an integral part of the everyday functioning of society. The presence of armed conflicts saw the increasing monitoring and intervention of state and other organizations in the everyday lives of people. The *censorship* of online communication and social media content, as well as other media, has intensified as the movements and operation of national intelligence, organized crime syndicates, and terror groups have become more globalized. Moreover, the implementation of a national ID system, the routinization of security checks, and the proliferation of CCTV cameras are just some of the examples of normalization of *surveillance*.

On the other hand, the presence of armed conflicts has also pushed more people into committing deviant and criminal acts. The failure of institutions hampers the people's ability to achieve their goals, forcing them to find alternatives, including illegal means of obtaining their daily needs or in accumulating wealth (structural strain). Calling out others as "infidels" or "radicals" often force these people to actualize the label that is impose on them since the other ways of living out their culture are often closed off by society (labeling). Claims about which ideology, political system, or cultural group is good, or which one is not, create antagonism, which can escalate into violent conflicts (constructionism). Lastly, alliances (e.g., NATO) and allegiances (e.g., Islamic State supporters) often force states or organizations to be hostile against other groups or adopt new deviant strategies such as the use of carpet bombing or abduction (differential association). Overall, theories of deviance emphasize the role of *social audience* in defining what is deviant, in calling out its violators, and in imposing sanctions.

The Family and Armed Conflict

With a history that dates back to 1964, the Colombia Conflict is one of the longest-running armed conflicts in the world. From its beginning until the fighting started to de-escalate in 2013, around 220,000 people had died, the majority of whom (177,307) were civilians. More than 5 million people were forced from their homes comprising the world's second-largest number of internally displaced persons. Children suffered heavily from the conflict with 45,000 killed and 2.3 million displaced from their homes (Dixon, 2016).

To assess the wider social impact of large-scale conflicts in Colombia, sociologist Lina Maria Sanchez-Cespedes examined the household composition of displaced families between 2006 and 2009. She found out that among migrants from violent municipalities, there are greater probabilities of finding mothers without partners, children without one or both parents, and non-nuclear biparental families than among migrants from peaceful municipalities (Sanchez-Cespedes, 2017: 290). Sanchez-Cespedes's study enriches our understanding of the changes in household composition (Chapter 10) since the discussion mainly accounts for economic restructuring as the main factor in the prevalent shift from extended family to nuclear family structure in China and India.

Although most literature on the social impact of armed conflicts focuses on the displacement of people from their homes, Sanchez-Cespedes's study points out that people are also displaced from their families. Thus, armed conflicts contribute to the emergence of the different familial types – single parenthood, step-family, transnational family, etc.

Religion and Armed Conflict

Most of the existing armed conflicts around the world involve a religious dimension. This fact shows the importance of religion in defining who we are, what threatens us, and what provokes us to go into conflict with others. Although the Yemeni Civil War (2014–present) started as a domestic power struggle, the situation escalated into a sectarian armed conflict feeding on the old rivalry between Sunni and Shia branches of Islam (see Table 15.1). The civil war is mainly between the Yemeni government and the Houthi armed movement. The Houthis belong to the Zaydi sub-branch of Shiite Islam. The "sectarianization" of the armed conflict happened due to the support that Saudi Arabia (predominantly Sunni) provided to the Yemeni government and Iran's (predominantly Shiite) backing of the Houthi rebels. **Sectarianization** refers to the redefinition of new conflicts to reflect old grudges, which is evident in how the Yemeni conflict has evolved into an internationalized domestic conflict (Renaud, 2018; Perteghella, 2018).

Chapter 11 provided a distinction between civil religion and civic religion. *Civil religion* focuses on the *secularization* of society and on the way the nation-state has taken over some of the traditional roles of religion, such as promoting moral beliefs and in organizing public celebrations. On the other hand, *civic religion* emphasizes the role of religion as a set of cultural relations through which people pursue not only spirituality but also economic, political, and social goals. Although our western-centric society focuses more on the rise of civil religion, the armed conflict in Yemen underscores the presence of civic religion, which is often used to portray medieval societies in the West. The process that saw how a political struggle turned into a sectarian conflict

TABLE 15.1
The Sunni and Shiite Branches of Islam

	Sunni	Shiite
Origin	Sunnis recognize four "rightly guided" caliphs as the first leaders of Islam after Muhammad's death. Ali, the fourth of these caliphs, is the only one of the four recognized by Shiites as a legitimate leader.	Shiites recognize only Ali, Muhammad's closest male blood relative, as the first legitimate leader of Islam after Muhammad's death.
Sub-branches and groups	Salafi, Wahhabi, al-Qaida, Muslim Brotherhood, Shafii, Hanbali, Maliki, among others	Zaydi, Twelver, Ismaili, Alawite, Hezbollah, among others

Source: Renaud (2018)

demonstrates how religion in Yemen is not only a space where people pursue spirituality but also to gain equitable access to resources and power.

The Nation-State and Armed Conflict

Although religion plays a role in the conflict between predominantly Christian Armenians and Muslim Azerbaijanis, their involvement in the Nagorno-Karabakh War stemmed from the unresolved issues in the formation of the Armenian and Azerbaijan nation-states. The 2020 Nagorno-Karabakh War emerged between the Armenian-backed Republic of Artsakh and Azerbaijan. It was the latest episode of a long-running conflict over the territory that has been contested by the two countries since their independence after the collapse of the Soviet Union in 1991 (Nogueira, 2019). However, instead of focusing on the larger Armenian-Azerbaijan conflict, looking into the internal state-making that occurred with the Nagorno-Karabakh enclave provides a unique insight into the political and cultural development of nation-states.

The Republic of Artsakh (also known as the Nagorno-Karabakh Republic) is a breakaway state that emerged after the collapse of the Soviet Union in 1991. It controls part of the former Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast, which was under the Azerbaijan Soviet Socialist Republic, one of the component republics of the former Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR). This territory is internationally recognized as part of Azerbaijan but is populated by ethnic Armenians who assert their rights over the territory through the self-proclaimed Republic of Artsakh.

"A mismatch between a nation and a state" appears to be the best description when the Republic of Artsakh is examined through the typical conception of the nation-state (ibid., p.1). In Chapter 12, the *nation-state* is defined as an independent political entity that rules over a community of people who live within a defined territory. The concept presumes the congruence between the cultural community and the geopolitical system (Gellner, 1983). The "mismatch" lies in how the largely ethnic-Armenian population (nation) attempts to consolidate control over a territory (state-making) that is internationally recognized as part of Azerbaijan. This issue brings us back to the earlier discussion on the different theories of the nation-state, which emphasizes on establishing cultural unity (Gellner's nationalism, Anderson's "imagined community") rather than on consolidating territorial dominion. Thongchai Winichakul's concept of the "geo-body" appears to be more relevant in analyzing the situation in the Nagorno-Karabakh enclave. Although the concept also has a "culturalist" view of the nation-state as a set of values and practices, this cultural definition of nationhood is founded on the physical formation of an independent territory (Winichakul, 1994). Thus, the Nagorno-Karabakh conflict can be viewed as a continuous "mapping" by its different claimants – Armenia, Azerbaijan, and the self-proclaimed Republic of Artsakh. The making of maps, however, is carried out through violence and bloodshed, with each boundary line representing ceasefires and treaties agreed to stop the devastating impact of armed conflicts.

ARMED CONFLICT AND SOCIAL CHANGE

The continued existence of various armed conflicts around the world has resulted in the militarism of society. **Militarism** refers to the strong influence of military ideals in society, the large-scale mobilization of citizens for war-preparedness, and the penetration of military practices into the everyday lives of people. In 2016, the Defense Minister of Armenia promoted the concept of "nation-army" as the core principle of the country's defense strategy and modernization plan. The goal was for "all the governmental bodies, civilians and anybody else must precisely realize their role in the defence of the country" (Pambukhchyan, 2018). One of the specific goals of the "nation-army" ideology was to promote the importance of military service among the young people, "to make the Armenian army a school for the society, shaping a more patriotic generation" (ibid.). The strategy was also aimed to forge stronger ties between the military and the people. The "nation-army" concept even received the support of the Armenian Apostolic Church which incorporated its own value system by stressing on how the new military ideology would serve as the basis in preparing soldiers to "service in the domain of morality and principles." However, the strategy was criticized by many civil society groups because they viewed it as anti-democratic and would only strengthen the autocratic tendencies of the country's leaders. When the administration that proposed the idea was eventually booted out of power by the 2018 Velvet Revolution, the "nation-army" concept also disappeared with them (ibid.). However, after seeing Armenia's defeat in the 2020 Nagorno-Karabakh War, it is likely that a militaristic power will emerge to take a central role in the Armenian society.

Moreover, the emergence of the Covid-19 pandemic has revealed how deeply entrenched the ideals of the military are in our contemporary society. Mass and social media were abuzz with the

Contrasting Concepts:
Classical Theories of Just War: Western vs Islamic

The Western war theory emphasizes on state sovereignty. Overall, a just war is one that is authorized by legitimate authority (state) and comes from a just cause (defense of self and of the other) and mandated by the pursuit of right intentions (restore peace). It is preceded by the exhaustive use of alternative methods, and proceeds only after careful consideration of proportionality and the possibility of success, and commencing hostilities after a public declaration.

The Islamic war theory emphasizes on the establishment of justice. Overall, only in pursuit of justice may a state engage in armed conflict in order to protect itself, its allies, or those who are oppressed. Hostilities can only proceed after all other diplomatic measures have been exhausted and after a formal declaration of war. Except in self-defense, the probability of success plays a factor in the decision to engage in hostilities. If there is any chance of success, the costs of war should play no part in the decision.

Apart from their ultimate goal (sovereignty vs justice), there are several similarities between the two theories, indicating a sense of universality in the conception of armed conflicts (Rahmanovic, 2012).

use of **war rhetoric** in describing the "battle" against the spread of the coronavirus. Terms such as "frontline," "front-liners," and "war" as well as a militaristic conception of sacrifice and heroism were used to discuss the work of medical staff, biomedical researchers, delivery personnel, and other people from various sectors who are more exposed to the coronavirus (Lohmeyer and Taylor, 2021). The emergence of national crises, even those that are non-military, also compels the nation-state to resort to military strategies and actions. This tendency is primarily due to the perception about the military's organizational efficiency as well as its association with the ethos of sacrifice and heroism that is fundamental to the survival of societies.

KEY CONCEPTS

Armed conflict
Ethnic federalism
Sectarianization
War rhetoric
Ethnic armed conflict
Militarism
War

DISCUSSION QUESTIONS

1. You are tasked to study the impact of international aid organizations on a group of refugees displaced by an armed conflict. What methods of data collection will you use? Is participant observation a better method than a sample survey? Explain your answer.
2. How would you reconcile the near universal condemnation of violence while social media and other aspects of our popular culture are saturated with images and other expressions of crime, weapons, and war? What are the reasons behind this contradiction?
3. Explore the relevance of the concept of militarism in your country. Cite examples on how it influences the everyday lives of people. Do you agree that it is an effective defense and development strategy? Why?

SUGGESTED READINGS

1. Du Bois, W.E.B. (1935). "Inter-Racial Implications of the Ethiopian Crisis: A Negro View." *Foreign Affairs*, Vol. 14(1): pp. 82–92.
2. Lohmeyer, Ben A. and Nik Taylor. (2021). "War, Heroes, and Sacrifice: Masking Neoliberal Violence During the Covid-19 Pandemic." *Critical Sociology*, Vol. 47 (4–5): pp. 625–639.

3. Malesevic, Sinisa. (2010). *The Sociology of War and Violence*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
4. Pambukhchyan, Anna. (2018). "The 'Nation-Army' Concept: The Story of Failed National-Militaristic Propaganda in Armenia." *The Foreign Policy Center* (July 18). Retrieved September 17, 2021. (https://fpc.org.uk/the-nation-army-concept-the-story-of-failed-national-militaristic-propaganda-in-armenia/)

BIBLIOGRAPHY

ABS-CBN Corporation. (2019). Annual Report, 2018. Quezon City: ABS-CBN Corporation. Retrieved June 26, 2021. (https://www.pds.com.ph/wp-content/uploads/2019/04/Disclosure-No.-857-2019-Annual-Report-for-Fiscal-Year-Ended-December-31-2018-SEC-Form-17-A.pdf)

Aberle, David. (1966). *The Peyote Religion among the Navaho*. Chicago: Aldine Publishing Company.

Abumere, Princess Irede. (2018). "Eyeing Big Money in Nigerian Music." BBC News, (August 7). Retrieved June 14, 2021. (https://www.bbc.com/news/world-africa-45033642)

Adair, Daryl and Megan Stronach. (2011). "Natural-Born Athletes? Australian Aboriginal People and the Double-Edged Lure of Professional Sport," in Jonathan Long and Karl Spracklen (Eds.), *Sport and Challenges to Racism*. London: Palgrave Macmillan, pp. 117–134.

Adams, Julia, Elisabeth S. Clemens, and Ann S. Orloff. (2005). *Remaking Modernity: Politics, History, and Sociology*. Durham: Duke University Press.

Adkins, Lenore T. (2019). "In 'School Girls,' African and Western Beauty Standards Collide in Dramatic Fashion." *DCist* (September 25). Retrieved June 16, 2021. (https://dcist.com/story/19/09/25/in-school-girls-african-and-western-beauty-standards-collide-in-dramatic-fashion/)

Alatas, Syed Farid. (2006). *Alternative Discourses in Asian Social Science: Responses to Eurocentrism*. New Delhi: Sage Publications.

_____ and Vineeta Sinha. (2017). *Sociological Theory Beyond the Canon*. London: Palgrave Macmillan.

Alatas, Syed Hussein. (1977). *The Myth of the Lazy Native*. London: Frank Cass.

Alavi, Hamza. (1989). "Formation of the Social Structure of South Asia under the Impact of Colonialism," in Hamza Alavi and John Harriss (Eds.), *Sociology of Developing Societies: South Asia*. Macmillan: Basingstoke, 5–19.

Aljazeera. (2020). "Turkey: Erdogan Vows Social Media Controls Over Insults to Family." (July 1). Retrieved July 4, 2021. (https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2020/7/1/turkey-erdogan-vows-social-media-controls-over-insults-to-family)

Allport, Gordon. (1954). *The Nature of Prejudice*. Reading, MA: Addison-Wesley.

Alvarez, Maria Khristine. (2010). "On Deviance and Loving Nature: A Case Study of the Ecological Activism of Greenpeace Philippines." *Philippine Sociological Review*, Vol. 58: pp. 97–122.

Anderson, Benedict. (1991). *The Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism, Revised and Expanded Edition*. London: Verso.

Anholt, Simon. (2003). *Brand New Justice: The Upside of Global Branding*. Oxford: Butterworth Heinemann.

Ang Hwee Min and Matthew Mohan. (2021). "Singapore Unveils Green Plan 2030, Outlines Green Targets for Next 10 Years." *CNA* (February 10). Retrieved September 10, 2021. (https://www.channelnewsasia.com/singapore/singapore-green-plan-2030-targets-10-years-1883021)

Antolihao, Lou. (2021). "Proximity, Progress, and the YMCA in Early Twentieth-Century Asia, 1902–1912," in Harald Fischer-Tine, Stefan Huebner, and Ian Tyrell (Eds.), *Spreading Protestant Modernity: Global Perspectives on the Social Work of the YMCA and YWCA, 1889–1970*. Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, pp. 61–79.

_____. (2015). *Playing with the Big Boys: Basketball, American Imperialism, and Subaltern Discourse in the Philippines*. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press.

Anukriti, S., Nishith Prakash, and Sungoh Kwon. (2021). "The Evolution of Dowry in Rural India: 1960–2008." *World Bank Blogs* (June 30). Retrieved July 21, 2021. (https://blogs.worldbank.org/developmenttalk/evolution-dowry-rural-india-1960 2008?cid=SHR_BlogSiteShare_EN_EXT.)

Arce, Wilfredo. (2001). *Systematic Qualitative Data Research: An Introduction for Filipino Practitioners*. Manila: Office of Research and Publications, Ateneo de Manila University.

_____ and Niceto Poblador. (1977). "Formal Organizations in the Philippines: Motivation, Behavior, Structure, and Change." *Philippine Studies*, Vol. 25(1): pp. 5–29.

Arthur, Charles. (2011). "Samsung Overtakes Apple to Become World Smartphone Leader." *The Guardian* (October 28). Retrieved June 14, 2021. (https://www.theguardian.com/technology/2011/oct/28/samsung-overtakes-apple-smartphone)

Arudou, Debito. (2017). "Media Outside Japan Must Stop Normalizing Sumo as an Ethno-sport." *Japan Times* (February 1). (https://www.japantimes.co.jp/community/2017/02/19/issues/media-outside-japan-must-stop-normalizing-sumo-ethno-sport/)

Asad, Talal. (2003). *Formations of the Secular*. Stanford: Stanford University Press.

_____. (1993). *Genealogies of Religion*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press.

Asahi Shimbun. (2021). "Foreigners Wrestler with Having to Become Japanese Citizens." Retrieved 16 May 2021. (http://www.asahi.com/ajw/articles/14216692)

Asato, Wako. (2014). "Incorporating Foreign Domestic Workers as Providers of Family Care Case Studies of Hong Kong, Taiwan and Singapore," in Emiko Ochiai and Leo Aoi Hosoya (Eds.), *Transformation of the Intimate and the Public in Asian Modernity*. Leiden: Brill.

Aung-Thwin, Maitrii. (2012). "Towards a National Culture: Chinlone and the Construction of Sports in Post-Colonial Myanmar." *Sport in Society*, Vol. 15(10): pp. 1341–1352.

Aung-Thwin, Michael. (1985). *Pagan: The Origins of Modern Burma.* Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press.

Australian Bureau of Statistics. (2016). "Religion in Australia, 2016." Census of Population and Housing: Reflecting Australia - Stories from the Census, 2016. Retrieved August 3, 2021. (https://www.abs.gov.au/ausstats/abs@.nsf/Lookup/by%20Subject/2071.0~2016~*Main%20 Features~Religion%20Article~80)*

Babinet, Gilles. (2018). "The End of the Nation-States? Technology-Induced Sovereignty Transfer." *Institut Montaigne* (November 27). Retrieved August 27, 2018. (https://www.institutmontaigne.org/en/blog/end-nation-states-part-1-technology-induced-sovereignty-transfers)

Barrell, Ryan. (2015). "Indonesian Women Fight Back at Felix Siauw's Islamic Selfie Ban with #Selfie4Siauw." *The Huffington Post* (January 29). Retrieved July 5, 2021. (https://www.huffingtonpost.co.uk/2015/01/29/selfie4siauw-muslim-selfie-fatwa_n_6569916.html)

BBC News. (2017). "Insulting Thai Palace Soap Opera Angers Myanmar." (March 13). Retrieved August 15, 2021. (https://www.bbc.com/news/world-asia-39252132)

Bangkok Post. (2021). "Myanmar Beauty Queen Takes Up Arms Against Junta." (May 12). Retrieved September 15, 2021. (https://www.bangkokpost.com/world/2114559/myanmar-beauty-queen-takes-up-arms-against-junta)

Beech, Hannah. (2011). "Sumo Wrestles with Globalization." *McKinsey and Company* (June 1). Retrieved May 19, 2021. (https://www.mckinsey.com/featured-insights/asia-pacific/sumo-wrestles-with-globalization)

Bell, Daniel. (1976). "Welcome to the Post-Industrial Society." *Physics Today* (February): pp. 46–48.

Bellah, Robert N. (1957). Tokugawa Religion: *The Cultural Roots of Modern Japan*. New York: The Free Press.

Bem, Sandra L. (1993). *The Lenses of Gender: Transforming the Debate on Sexual Inequality*. Binghampton, NY: Vail-Ballou Press.

Berger, Peter and Thomas Luckmann. (1966). *The Social Construction of Reality: A Treatise in the Sociology of knowledge*. London: Penguin Press.

Berger, Peter. (1967). *The Sacred Canopy: Elements of a Sociological Theory of Religion*. New York: Doubleday.

_____. (1963). *An Invitation to Sociology: A Humanistic Perspective*. New York: Doubleday.

Bergmann, Manfred Max and Dominique Joye. (2005). "Comparing Social Stratification Schemata." *Cambridge Studies in Social Research*, No. 10. Retrieved June 5, 2021. (https://www.sociology.cam.ac.uk/system/files/documents/cs10.pdf)

Bergstrom, Ida Irene. (2013). "The History of Norwegian Gender Equality." *Kilden Gender Research* (September 27). Retrieved May 30, 2021. (https://kjonnsforskning.no/en/2015/09/history-norwegian-equality)

Bhabha, Homi. (1994). *The Location of Culture*. London: Routledge.

Blumer, Herbert. (1958). "Race Prejudice as a Sense of Group Position." *Pacific Sociological Review*, Vol. 1(1): pp. 3–7.

Bociaga, Robert. (2020). "Naga Tribes of Myanmar Face Loss of Land and Forest Under the New Law." *Mongabay* (May 14). Retrieved August 20, 2021. (https://news.mongabay.com/2020/05/naga-tribes-of-myanmar-face-loss-of-land-and-forest-under-new-law/)

Bonacich, Edna (1972). "A Theory of Ethnic Antagonism: The Split Labor Market." *American Sociological Review*, Vol. 37(5): pp. 547–559.

Booth, Wayne C., Gregory G. Colomb, Joseph M. Williams, Joseph Bizup, and William T. Fitzgerald. (2016). *The Craft of Research, 4th Edition*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Bouissou, Julien. (2011). "Where Women of India Rule the Roost and Men Demand Gender Equality." *The Guardian* (January 18). Retrieved July 19, 2021. (https://www.theguardian.com/world/2011/jan/18/india-khasi-women-politics-bouissou)

Bouma, Gary D. (1995). "The Emergence of Religious Pluralism in Australia: A Multicultural Society." *Sociology of Religion*, Vol. 56(3): pp. 285–302.

Bourdieu, Pierre. (1977). "Cultural Reproduction and Social Reproduction," in J. Karabel and A. H. Halsey (Eds.), *Power and Ideology in Education*. New York: Oxford University Press, pp. 487–511.

Bond, Nigel and Ruhanen, Lisa. (2012). "Religion, Remembrance and the 'Rock': Current Trends in Australian Religious Tourism," in Kevin Griffin and Razaq Raj (Eds.), *Reflecting on Religious Tourism and Pilgrimage*. Arnhem, The Netherlands: Association for Tourism and Leisure Education, pp. 29–47.

Bremer, Thomas. (2015). *Formed from This Soil: An Introduction to the Diverse History of Religion in America*. Chichester: Wiley-Blackwell.

Brunton, John. (2020). "Nature is Taking Back Venice: Wildlife Returns to Tourist-Free City." *The Guardian* (March 20). Retrieved September 5, 2020. (https://www.theguardian.com/environment/2020/mar/20/nature-is-taking-back-venice-wildlife-returns-to-tourist-free-city)

Bubola, Emma. (2020). "Death of Store Clerk in Italy Highlights Contagion's New Front Line." *The New York Times* (March 25). Retrieved September 1, 2021. (https://www.nytimes.com/2020/03/25/world/europe/coronavirus-italy-supermarkets.html)

Buchanan, Rose Troup. (2015). "ISIS Overtaken by Boko Haram as World's Deadliest Terror Organization." *The Independent* (November 17). Retrieved September 16, 2021. (https://www.independent.co.uk/news/world/africa/boko-haram-overtakes-isis-world-s-deadliest-terror-organisation-a6737761.html)

Buechler, Steven. (2000). *Social Movements in Advanced Capitalism: The Political Economy and Cultural Construction of Social Activism*. New York: Oxford University Press.

Bullard, Robert B. and Beverly H. Wright. (1992). "The Quest for Environmental Equity: Mobilizing the African-American Community for Social Change," in Riley E. Dunlap and

Angela Mertig (Eds.), *American Environmentalism: The U.S. Environmental Movement, 1970–1990*. New York: Taylor and Francis, pp. 39–49.

Bundervoet, Tom. (2013). "Poor But Happy?" World Bank Blogs (March 28). Retrieved June 11, 2021. (https://blogs.worldbank.org/africacan/poor-but-happy)

Burns, Mary. (2017). "From Bird Cage to Cattle Barons: Television as Teacher." *Global Partnership for Education* (March 02). Retrieved June 29, 2021. (https://www.globalpartnership.org/blog/big-bird-cattle-barons-television-teacher)

Cai, Rachel. (2021). "How to Say "Family" in Chinese: An Ultimate Guide to Family in Chinese Culture." *Fluent in 3 Months*. Retrieved July 15, 2021. (https://www.fluentin3months.com/family-in-chinese/)

Calderon, Justin. (2013). "Myanmar's Economy to Quadruple By 2030." *Investvine* (May 30). Retrieved August 19, 2021. (http://investvine.com/myanmars-economy-to-quadruple-by-2030/)

Caldwell, Mark. (2014), "The Rise of the Gourmet Hamburger." *Contexts,* Vol. 13(3): pp. 72–74.

Campbell, Donald and Julian Stanley. (1963). *Experimental and Quasi-Experimental Designs for Research*. Chicago: Rand McNally & Company.

Caplan, Lionel. (1987). "Introduction: Popular Conceptions of Fundamentalism," in Lionel Caplan (Ed.), *Studies in Religious Fundamentalism*. Albany: State University of New York, pp. 1–24.

Catton, William R., Jr. and Riley E. Dunlap. (1978). "Environmental Sociology: A New Paradigm." *The American Sociologist*, Vol. 13(1): pp. 41–49.

Cecik, Ugur. (2021). "Indonesian, Turkish Couple Gets Engaged Online." *Anadolu Agency* (February 09). Retrieved July 1, 2021. (https://www.aa.com.tr/en/asia-pacific/indonesian-turkish-couple-gets-engaged-online/2138197)

Centlivres, Pierre. (2012). "The Death of the Buddhas of Bamiyan." *Middle East Institute* (April 18). Retrieved September 15, 2021. (https://www.mei.edu/publications/death-buddhas-bamiyan)

Central Intelligence Agency (CIA). (2021a). "Explore All Countries – Ghana." Retrieved June 19, 2021. (https://www.cia.gov/the-world-factbook/countries/ghana/)

_____. (2021b). "Explore All Countries –Korea, South." Retrieved June 19, 2021. (https://www.cia.gov/the-world-factbook/countries/korea-south/)

_____. (2021c). "Explore All Countries – Burma." Retrieved August 15, 2021. (https://www.cia.gov/the-world-factbook/countries/burma/)

_____. (2021d). "Explore All Countries – Thailand." Retrieved August 15, 2021. (https://www.cia.gov/the-world-factbook/countries/thailand/)

_____. (2017). *The World Factbook*. Retrieved May 29, 2021. (https://www.cia.gov/the-world-factbook/about/archives/)

Chachavalpongpun, Pavin. (2005). *A Plastic Nation: The Curse of Thainess in Thai-Burmese Relations*. Lanham, MD: University Press of America.

Chambliss, William. (1973). "The Saints and the Roughnecks." *Society,* Vol. 11(1): pp. 23–31.

Chapman, Laura. (1979). "Research Means Searching Again." *Art Education,* Vol. 32(4): pp. 6–10.

Chelimo, Gertrude. (2011). "Defining Armed Conflict in International Humanitarian Law." *Inquiries Journal*, Vol. 3(4): p. 1/1. (http://www.inquiriesjournal.com/a?id=1697)

Chen Chun-Hua and Matthew Mazzetta. (2021). "Taiwan Ranks No. 6 in the World for Gender Equality." *Focus Taiwan*, (May 1). Retrieved May 22, 2021. (https://focustaiwan.tw/society/202101050012)

Chen, Hwei-Syin. (2005), "Changes in Marriage and Family-Related Laws in Taiwan: From Male Dominance to Gender Equality," in Lin, Wei-hung & Hsieh, Hsiao-chin (Eds.), *Gender, Culture & Society: Women's Studies in Taiwan*, Seoul: Ewha Womans University Press, pp. 389–416.

Chen Feinian. (2009). "Family Division in China's Transition Economy." *Population Studies*, Vol. 63(1): pp. 53–69.

Chen Kuan-Hsing. (2012). "Takeuchi Yoshimi's 1960 'Asia as Method' Lecture." *Inter-Asia Cultural Studies,* Vol. 13(2): pp. 317–324.

Chen Simiao, Klaus Prettner, Michael Kuhn, Pascal Geldsetzer, Chen Wang, Till Barnighausen, and David E. Bloom. (2021). "Climate and the Spread of Covid-19." *Scientific Reports* 11: 9042. (https://doi.org/10.1038/s41598-021-87692-z)

Cheney, George, Juliet Roper, and Steve May. (2007). "Overview," in Steve May, George Cheney, and Juliet Roper (Eds.), *The Debate Over Corporate Social Responsibility*. New York: Oxford University Press, pp. 3–14.

Cheng, Evelyn. (2019). "Chinese Parents Spend Big on Education and Travel." *CNBC* (September 27). Retrieved July 21, 2021. (https://www.cnbc.com/2019/09/27/chinese-parents-spend-big-on-education-and-travel.html)

Chhor, Heang, Richard Dobbs, Doan Nguyen Hansen, Fraser Thompson, Nancy Shah, and Lukas Streiff. (2013). "Myanmar Moment: Unique Opportunities, Major Challenges." Yangon: McKinsey and Co. Retrieved August 17, 2021. (https://www.mckinsey.com/~/media/McKinsey/Featured%20Insights/Asia%20Pacific/Myanmars%20moment/MGI_Myanmar_moment_Executive_Summary.pdf)

Cho, Keng. (2021). "Korean Beauty Standards: What Is It and Why Is So Strict." *WTVOX* (May 26). Retrieved June 16, 2021. (https://wtvox.com/beauty/korean-beauty-standards/)

Cho, Wu-Suk. (2012). "Riding the Korean Wave From 'Gangnam Style' to Global Recognition." *Global Asia,* Vol. 7(3): pp. 35–39.

Chua Beng Huat. (1999). "'Asian Values' Discourse and the Resurrection of the Social." *Positions,* Vol. 7(2): pp. 573–592.

Chung Li-Hua and Sherry Hsiao. (2018). "Control Yuan Shines Light on Intersex Rights." *Taipei Times* (June 15). Retrieved May 25, 2021. (https://www.taipeitimes.com/News/front/archives/2018/06/15/2003694899)

Cooley, Charles H. (1963) [1909]. Social Organization: A Study of the Larger Mind. New York: Schocken.

_____. (1902). *Human Nature and the Social Order*. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons.

Coontz, Stephanie and Peta Henderson (Eds.). (1986). *Women's Work, Men's Property: The Origins of Gender and Class*. London: Verso.

Cooper, Tim (Ed.). (2010). *Longer Lasting Products: Alternatives to the Throwaway Society*. New York, New York: Routledge.

Collins, John. (1986). *E. T. Mensah: King of Highlife*. London: Off The Record Press.

Comte, Auguste. (2009). *The Positive Philosophy of Auguste Comte, Volume 1*. Translated by Harriet Martineau. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Conklin, Harold C. (1961). "The Study of Shifting Cultivation." *Current Anthropology*, Vol. 2(1): pp. 27–61.

Conrad, Peter and Joseph W. Schneider. (1992). *Deviance and Medicalization: From Badness to Sickness*. Philadelphia: Temple University Press.

Cornish, Chloe. (2019). "The Men Making a Fortune from Syria's War." *Financial Times* (October 3). Retrieved September 15, 2021. (https://www.ft.com/content/525ec4e4-e4a3-11e9-9743-db5a370481bc)

Crabtree, Steve. (2010). "Religiosity Highest in World's Poorest Nation." *Gallup* (August 31, 2010). Retrieved August 5, 2021. (https://news.gallup.com/poll/142727/religiosity-highest-world-poorest-nations.aspx)

Cruz, Booma. (2021). "The Philippines' ABS-CBN Network: 'Shutdown Fast-tracked Our Digital Transformation.'" Reporting ASEAN (March 8). Retrieved June 24, 2021. (https://www.reportingasean.net/abs-cbn-shutdown-fast-tracked-digital-transformation/)

Dapice, David O., Anthony Saich, Thomas Vallely, and Michael Montesano. (2012). *Appraising the Post-Sanction Prospect for Myanmar's Economy: Choosing the Right Path.*" Cambridge: Ash Center for Democratic Governance and Innovation. Retrieved August 18, 2021. (https://ash.harvard.edu/publications/appraising-post-sanctions-prospects-myanmars-economy-choosing-right-path)

Das Gupta, Aruna and Ananda Das Gupta. (2008). "Corporate Social Responsibility in India: Towards a Sane Society?" *Social Responsibility Journal*, Vol. 4(1/2): pp. 209–216. (https://doi.org/10.1108/17471110810856965)

Davis, John P. (2001) [1904]. *Corporations: A Study of the Origin and Development of Great Business Combinations and of their Relation to the Authority of the State*. Kitchener: Batoche Books.

Davis, Kingsley and Wilbert E. Moore. (1945). "Some Principles of Stratification." *American Sociological Review*, Vol. 10: pp. 242–249.

Day, Meagan. (2016). "The 1970s Hippie Trail: Drugs, Danger, and a Magical Pudding Shop in Asia." *Timeline* (October 20). Retrieved September 15, 2021. (https://timeline.com/hippie-trail-asia-drugs-55abce249d1)

Dehingia, Nabamallika and Anita Raj. (2020). "Sex Differences in Covid-19 Case Fatality: Do We Know Enough?" *The Lancet Global Health*, Vol. 9(1): pp. E14–E15. (DOI: https://doi.org/10.1016/S2214-109X(20)30464-2)

Dela Cruz, Jonathan. (2020). "ABS-CBN Global Hungary Kft." *Manila Standard* (May 11). Retrieved June 30, 2021. (https://manilastandard.net/opinion/columns/crossroads-by-jonathan-dela-cruz/323412/abs-cbn-global-hungary-kft-.html)

De La Fuente, Anna Marie. (2017). "Televisa CEO Emilio Azcarraga Jean to Resign, Remains as Chairman. *Variety* (October 27). Retrieved June 26, 2021. (https://variety.com/2017/tv/festivals/televisa-ceo-emilio-azcarraga-jean-resign-1202600992/)

Department of Statistics Malaysia. (2016). *Current Population Estimates, Malaysia, 2014–2016*. Retrieved August 3, 2021. (https://www.statistics.gov.my/index.php?r=column/CthemeByCat&cat=155&bul_id=OWlxdEVoYlJCS0hUZzJyRUcvZEYxZz09&menu_id=L0pheU43NWJwRWVSZklWdzQ4TlhUUT09)

Department of Statistics Singapore. (2019). *Statistics Singapore – Population*. Retrieved 15 May 2021. (https://www.singstat.gov.sg/modules/infographics/population)

Derks, Annuska. (2010). "Bonded Labour in Southeast Asia: An Introduction." *Asian Journal of Social Sciences*, Vol. 38(6): pp. 839–852.

Desatova, Petra. (2019). "Nation Branding in Post-Coup Thailand: A Strategy for Political Legitimation?" *Kyoto Review of Southeast Asia*, Issue 29. (https://kyotoreview.org/trendsetters/nation-branding-in-post-coup-thailand-a-strategy-for-political-legitimation/)

Devlin, Hannah. (2020). "Men are Much More Likely to Die from Coronavirus." *The Guardian* (April 16). Retrieved August 30, 2021. (https://www.theguardian.com/world/2020/mar/26/men-are-much-more-likely-to-die-from-coronavirus-but-why)

Dhami, Manisha. (2020). "Changing Family Structure in India." *The Times of India* (June 24). Retrieved July 23, 2021. (https://timesofindia.indiatimes.com/readersblog/manisha-dhami/changing-family-structure-in-india-22129/)

Dhillon, Amrit. (2020). "Selective Abortion in India Could Lead to 6.8m Fewer Girls By 2030." *The Guardian* (August 21). Retrieved July 22, 2021. (https://www.theguardian.com/global-development/2020/aug/21/selective-abortion-in-india-could-lead-to-68m-fewer-girls-being-born-by-2030)

Dichter, Alex, Guang Chen, Steve Saxon, Jackey Yu, and Peimin Suo. (2018). *Chinese Tourists, Dispelling the Myths: An In-Depth Look at China's Outbound Tourist Market*. Hongkong: McKinsey and Company.

Dixon, Laura. (2016). "Colombian Children's Mental Health in the Wake of the War." *The Atlantic* (December 1). Retrieved September 16, 2021. (https://www.theatlantic.com/education/archive/2016/12/the-psychological-trauma-of-a-multi-generation-war/509207/)

Downing, Jared. (2018). "Myanmar Agriculture 101." *Frontier Myanmar* (March 26). Retrieved December 25, 2021. (https://www.frontiermyanmar.net/en/myanmar-agriculture-101/)

Dreger, Alice D. (1998). *Hermaphrodites and the Medical Invention of Sex*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.

Du Bois, W.E.B. (1935). "Inter-Racial Implications of the Ethiopian Crisis: A Negro View." *Foreign Affairs*, Vol. 14(1): pp. 82–92.

Durkheim, Emile. (1964a) [1895]. *The Rules of Sociological Method*. Translated by Sarah A. Solovay and John H. Mueller. Reprint. New York: The Free Press.

_____. (1964b) [1915]. *The Elementary Forms of Religious Life, 5th Edition*. Translated by J.W. Swain. New York: The Macmillan Company.

_____. (1951) [1897]. *Suicide: A Study in Sociology*. G. Simpson (Ed.), J. Spaulding and G. Simpson, (Trans.). New York: The Free Press.

_____. (1933). *The Division of Labor in Society*, New York: The Free Press.

Eagleton, Terry. (2016). *Culture*. New Haven: Yale University Press.

Economic Times, The. (2019). "Move Over, Expensive Hotels: Homestays are Offering Home-Away-From-Home Experience." (September 26). Retrieved July 12, 2021. (https://economictimes.indiatimes.com/magazines/panache/move-over-expensive-hotels-homestays-are-offering-a-home-away-from-home-experience/articleshow/71308155.cms)

Ehrenreich, Barbara and John Ehrenreich. (1979). "The Professional-Managerial Class," in Pat Walker (Ed.), *Between Labor and Capital*. Boston: South End Press, pp. 5–48.

Ellis, Rowan. (2011). The Politics of the Middle: Re-Centering Class in the Postcolonial." *ACME: An International E-Journal for Critical Geographies,* Vol. 10(1): pp. 68–81.

Eltis, David and Stanley L. Engerman. (2011). "Dependence, Servility, and Coerced Labor in Time and Space," in David Eltis and Stanley L. Engerman (Eds.), *The Cambridge World History of Slavery, Volume 3, AD 1420-AD 1804*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Enengedi, Victor. (2013). "Ghanaian Actresses Take Over Nollywood." *Net* (September 23). Retrieved June 14, 2021. (http://thenet.ng/2013/09/net-special-feature-ghanaian-actresses-take-over-nollywood/)

Engels, Friedrich. (2010). *The Origin of the Family, Private Property, and the State*. Translated by Tristram Hunt. London: Penguin Classics.

Entine, Jon. (2000). *Why Black Athletes Dominate Sports and Why We Are Afraid to Talk About It*. New York: Public Affairs.

Erikson, Kai. (1964). "Notes on the Sociology of Deviance," in Howard S. Becker (Ed.), *The Other Side: Perspectives on Deviance*. New York: The Free Press, pp. 9–21.

ESCAP (United Nations Economic and Social Commission for Asia and the Pacific). (2018). *Inequality in Asia and the Pacific in the Era of the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development.* Bangkok: United Nations Publications.

Estoque, Ronald C. and Yuji Murayama. (2016). "Quantifying Landscape Pattern and Ecosystem Service Value Changes in Four Rapidly Urbanizing Hill Stations of Southeast Asia." *Landscape Ecology*, Vol. 31: pp. 1481–1507.

Etzioni, Amitai. (1975). *A Comparative Analysis of Complex Organization: On Power, Involvement, and Their Correlates, Revised Edition*. New York: The Free Press.

Fanon, Frantz. (1952) [1967]. *Black Skin, White Mask*. Translated by Charles Markmann. New York: Grove Press.

Fathi, Romain. (2021). "Crowds at Dawn Services Have Plummeted in Recent Years. It's Time to Reinvent ANZAC Day." *The Conversation* (April 20). Retrieved August 9, 2021. (https://theconversation.com/crowds-at-dawn-services-have-plummeted-in-recent-years-its-time-to-reinvent-anzac-day-157313)

Featherstone, Mike, Scott Lash, and Roland Robertson. (1995). *Global Modernities.* Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Fechter, Anne-Meike and Katie Walsh. (2010). "Examining 'Expatriate' Continuities: Postcolonial Approaches to Mobile Professionals." *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies,* Vol. 36(8): pp. 1197–1210.

Ferrante, Joan. (2015). *Sociology: A Global Perspective, 9th Edition.* Stamford, CT: Cengage Learning.

Fidler, David P. (2020). "The World Health Organization and Pandemic Politics." *Think Global Health* (April 10). Retrieved September 1, 2020. (https://www.thinkglobalhealth.org/article/world-health-organization-and-pandemic-politics)

Fitzgerald, Helena. (2020). "What Does Social Distancing Mean Within a Family?" *The Atlantic* (March 15). Retrieved September 3, 2021. (https://www.theatlantic.com/family/archive/2020/03/what-does-social-distance-mean-within-a-family/608044/)

Forsyth, Donelson R. (2010). *Group Dynamics, 5th Edition*. Wadsworth: Cengage Learning.

Foucault, Michel. (1990). *The History of Sexuality: An Introduction, Volume 1*. New York: Vintage Books.

_____. (1977). *Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison*. Translated by Alan Sheridan. New York: Pantheon Books.

Francis, E. K. (1947). "The Nature of the Ethnic Group." *American Journal of Sociology,* Vol. 52(5): pp. 393–400.

Francis-Devine, Brigid. (2021). "Poverty in the UK: Statistics." *House of Commons Library* (October 26). Retrieved December 15, 2021. (https://commonslibrary.parliament.uk/research-briefings/sn07096/)

Friedman, Uri. (2020). "Jacinda Ardern's Leadership Against the Coronavirus." *The Atlantic* (April 19). Retrieved September 3, 2021. (https://www.theatlantic.com/politics/archive/2020/04/jacinda-ardern-new-zealand-leadership-coronavirus/610237/)

Funabashi, Yoichi and Barak Kushner (Eds.). (2015). *Examining Japan's Lost Decades*. New York, NY: Routledge.

Gabel, Medard and Henry Bruner. (2003). *Global Inc: An Atlas of the Multinational Corporation*. New York: The New Press.

Gabriel, Theodore and Rabiha Hannan (Eds.). (2013). *Islam and the Veil: Theoretical and Regional Contexts*. New York: Bloomsbury Academic.

Gardiner, Beth. (2020a). "Pollution Made the Pandemic Worse, But Lockdowns Clean the Sky." National Geographic (April 9). Retrieved September 5, 2021. (https://www.nationalgeographic.com/science/article/pollution-made-the-pandemic-worse-but-lockdowns-clean-the-sky)

_____. (2020b). "Why Covid-19 Will End Up Harming the Environment." National Geographic (June 19). Retrieved September 5, 2021. (https://www.nationalgeographic.com/science/article/why-covid-19-will-end-up-harming-the-environment)

Gei, Lydia and Chloe Choo. (2020). "As PMETs Face Challenges in the Job Market, Support Measures and Adaptability is Crucial: Experts." *Channel News Asia* (September 29). Retrieved June 10, 2021. (https://www.channelnewsasia.com/news/business/pmets-face-challenges-job-market-government-support-adaptability-13156158)

Gelin, Martin. (2020). "Japan Radically Increased Immigration – and No One Protested." *Foreign Policy*, (June 23). Retrieved May 18, 2021. (https://foreignpolicy.com/2020/06/23/japan-immigration-policy-xenophobia-migration/)

Gellner, Ernest. (1983). *Nations and Nationalism*. New York: Cornell University Press.

Glare, P.G.W. (2012). *Oxford Latin Dictionary*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

GSMP [Global Sport Mentoring Program] (2018). "A Taiwanese Baseball Icon Advocates for Women on the Diamond." GSMP. Retrieved December 14, 2021. (https://globalsportsmentoring.org/global-sports-mentor-program/emerging-leaders/po-chun-liu/)

Goffman, Erving. (1963). *Stigma: Notes on the Management of Spoiled Identity*. Englewood Cliffs: Prentice-Hall.

_____. (1959). *The Presentation of Self in Everyday Life*. New York: Doubleday.

Goh, Melissa. (2019). "No Condos and Country Clubs, here are the New 5Cs Defined by Singaporeans." *AsiaOne* (August 7). Retrieved December 15, 2021. (https://www.asiaone.com/lifestyle/no-condos-and-country-clubs-here-are-new-5cs-defined-singaporeans)

Gordon, Milton M. (1978). *Human Nature, Class, and Ethnicity*. New York: Oxford University Press.

Gough, Kathleen. (1971). "The Origin of the Family." *Journal of Marriage and Family*, Vol. 33(4): pp. 760–771.

Grossman, Elizabeth. (2006). *High Tech Trash: Digital Devices, Hidden Toxics, and Human Health*. Washington, D.C.: Island Press.

Guehenno, Jean-Marie. (1995). *The End of the Nation-State*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.

Gunia, Amy. (2021). "How Myanmar's Fragile Push for Democracy Collapsed in a Coup." *Time* (February 1). Retrieved August 21, 2021. (https://time.com/5934896/myanmar-aung-san-suu-kyi-detained-coup/)

Gunning, John. (2018). "Future Without Sumo Unthinkable for Hakuho." *The Japan Times*. Retrieved May 20, 2021. (https://www.japantimes.co.jp/sports/2018/05/09/sumo/future-without-sumo-unthinkable-hakuho/#.WvM-NeSWymQ)

Ha, Shang E. and Jang Seung-Jin. (2015). "National Identity, National Pride, and Happiness: The Case of South Korea." *Social Indicators Research*, Vol. 121(2): pp. 471–482.

Habermas, Jurgen. (1981). *The Theory of Communicative Action*. Translated by Thomas McCarthy. Boston: Beacon Press.

Habtu, Alem. (2005). "Multiethnic Federalism in Ethiopia: A Study of the Secession Clause in the Constitution." *Publius: The Journal of Federalism*, Vol. 35(2): pp. 313–335. (https://doi.org/10.1093/publius/pji016)

Hagan, John. (1994). *Crime and Disrepute*. Thousand Oaks: Pine Forge Press.

Hall, Wayne. (1986). "Social Class and Survival in the SS Titanic." *Social Science and Medicine*, Vol. 22(6): pp. 687–690.

Harding, Andrew. (2021). "Ethiopia's Tigray Crisis: Fleeing for Fear of New Ethnic Conflict." *BBC News* (July 16). Retrieved September 14, 2021. (https://www.bbc.com/news/world-africa-57818673)

Harding, Andrew J. and James Chin (Eds.). (2014). *50 Years of Malaysia: Federalism Revisited*. Singapore: Marshall Cavendish.

Hare, Sarah and Andrea Baker. (2017). "Keepin It Real: Authenticity, Commercialization, and the Media in Korean Hip Hop." *Sage Open* (April-June): pp. 1–12. (https://doi.org/10.1177%2F2158244017710294)

Harney, Stefano. (2020). "Meritocracy in Singapore." *Educational Philosophy and Theory*, Vol. 52(11): pp. 1139–1148.

Hartijasti, Yanki. (2016). "Is Serious Internet Deviance a Problem in Indonesian Workplace? *Asian Journal of Information and Communications*, Vol. 8(2): pp. 96–107.

Hartmann, Douglas. (2003). "The Sanctity of Sunday Football: Why Men Love Sports." *Contexts*, Vol. 2(4): pp. 13–19.

Harvey, Lee. (1990). *Critical Social Research*. London: Unwin Hyman.

Hatton, Celia. (2013). "New China Law Says Children 'Must Visit Parents.'" BBC News (July 1). Retrieved July 21, 2021. (https://www.bbc.com/news/world-asia-china-23124345)

Heggie, Vanessa. (2016). "Bodies, Sport, and Science in the Nineteenth Century." *Past and Present*, Vol. 231(1): pp. 169–200.

Heisig, Jan Paul. (2011). "Who Does More Housework: Rich or Poor? A Comparison of 33 Countries." *American Sociological Review*, Vol. 76(1): pp. 74–99.

Henderson, Joan C. (2003). "Managing Tourism and Islam in Peninsular Malaysia." *Tourism Management*, Vol. 24(4): pp. 447–456.

Henley, David. (2011). "Swidden Farming as an Agent of Environmental Change: Ecological Myth and Historical Reality in Indonesia." *Environment and History*, Vol. 17(4): pp. 525–554.

Heriyanto, Devina. (2019). "No, Indonesian Students are Not Taking to the Streets Only to Fight Sex Ban." *The Jakarta Post* (September 27). Retrieved July 6, 2021. (https://www.thejakartapost.com/community/2019/09/27/no-indonesian-students-not-taking-to-streets-only-to-fight-sex-ban.html)

Herlihy, David. (1997). *The Black Death and the Transformation of the West*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.

Hewitt, Giles. (2012). "Psy, Samsung Push 'Brand Korea' in 2012." *Yahoo! News* (December 10). Retrieved June 14, 2021. (https://sg.news.yahoo.com/psy-samsung-push-brand-korea-2012-143615153.html)

Hill, Hal. (1984). "Industrialization in Burma in Historical Perspective." *Journal of Southeast Asian Studies*, Vol. 15(1): pp. 134–149.

Hill, Michael R. (1991). "Harriet Martineau (1802–1876)," in Mary Jo Deegan (Ed.), *Women in Sociology: A Bio-Bibliographical Sourcebook*. New York: Greenwood Press, pp. 289–297.

Hinchliffe, Emma. (2020). "A New Low for Global 500: No Women of Color Run Businesses on This Year's List." *Fortune* (August 10). Retrieved May 28, 2020. (https://fortune.com/2020/08/10/a-new-low-for-the-global-500-no-women-of-color-run-businesses-on-this-years-list/)

Hirschman, Charles. (1986). "The Making of Race in Colonial Malaya: Political Economy and Racial Ideology." *Sociological Forum*, Vol. 1(2): pp. 330–361.

Ho Yi. (2013). "Neither Here, Nor There," *Taipei Times* (November 27). Retrieved 25 May, 2021. (http://www.taipeitimes.com/News/feat/archives/2013/11/27/2003577754/)

Hobsbawm, Eric and Terence Ranger (Eds.). (1983). *The Invention of Tradition*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Hochschild, Arlie Russell and Anne Machung. (2012). *The Second Shift: Working Parents and the Revolution at Home*. Revised and with a New Afterword. New York: Penguin Books.

Horton, Chris. (2020). "Taiwan Narrowing Gender Gap But Patriarchy Lives On." *Nikkei Asia* (March 6). Retrieved May 30, 2021. (https://asia.nikkei.com/Life-Arts/Life/Taiwan-narrowing-gender-gap-but-patriarchy-lives-on)

Htun, Tin Tin. (2012). "Social Identities of Minority Others in Japan: Listening to the Narratives of Ainu, Buraku and Zainichi Koreans." *Japan Forum*, Vol. 24(1): pp. 1–22.

Htwe, Chan Mya. (2021). "Myanmar Bets on Industrial Zones to Draw Investments, Create Jobs." *The Myanmar Times* (Jan 26). Retrieved August 20, 2021. (https://www.mmtimes.com/news/myanmar-bets-industrial-zones-draw-investments-create-jobs.html)

Hu, Chiung-Yin and Yoshinori Kamo. (2007). "The Division of Household Labor in Taiwan." *Journal of Comparative Family Studies,* Vol. 38(1): pp. 105–124.

Hubbard, Kaia. (2021). "Countries Without Reported Covid-19 Cases." *US News* (July 21). Retrieved August 29, 2021. (https://www.usnews.com/news/best-countries/slideshows/countries-without-reported-covid-19-cases?slide=10)

Huber, Joan. (2007). *On the Origins of Gender Inequality*. Boulder: Paradigm Publishers.

Hughes, Bill and Kevin Paterson. (1997). "The Social Model of Disability and the Disappearing Body: Towards a Sociology of Impairment." *Disability and Society*, Vol. 12(3): pp. 325-340.

Hughes, Sallie and Chappell H. Lawson. (2004). "Propaganda and Crony Capitalism: Partisan Bias in Mexican Television News." *Latin American Research Review,* Vol. 39(3): pp. 81–105.

Human Rights Watch. (2015). "Stateless at Sea: The Moken of Burma and Thailand." (June 25). Retrieved August 20, 2021. (https://www.hrw.org/report/2015/06/25/stateless-sea/moken-burma-and-thailand)

Hunter, Louis C. and Lynwood Bryant. (1991). *A History of Industrial Power in the United States, 1730–1930, Vol. 3: The Transmission of Power.* Cambridge: Massachusetts, London: MIT Press.

Huntington, Samuel. (1996). *The Clash of Civilizations and the Remaking of World Order.* New York: Simon and Schuster.

Hurtado, Aida. (2010). "Multiple Lenses: Multicultural Feminist Theory," in Hope Landrine and Nancy Felipe Russo (Eds.), *Handbook of Diversity in Feminist Psychology*. New York: Springer, pp. 29–54.

Hutt, David. (2020). "Asia's Garment Makers Hang by a Covid-19 Thread." *Asia Times* (March 25). Retrieved September 1, 2021. (https://asiatimes.com/2020/03/asias-garment-makers-hang-by-a-covid-19-thread/)

Iau, Jean. (2020). "Coronavirus: More Cases of Family Violence During Circuit Breaker; Police to Proactively Help Victims." *The Straits Times* (May 15). Retrieved August 31, 2021. (https://www.straitstimes.com/singapore/courts-crime/coronavirus-more-cases-of-family-violence-during-circuit-breaker-police-to)

Ibsen, Charles A. and Patricia Klobus. (1972). "Fictive Kin Term Use and Social Relationships: Alternative Perspectives." *Journal of Marriage and Family,* Vol. 34(4): pp. 615–620.

Im Eun-Byel. (2018). "Ghanaian TV Personality Opens Up About Racism Incident." *KPOP Herald* (January 2). Retrieved June 20, 2021. (http://kpopherald.koreaherald.com/view.php?ud=20180102182658987073 5_2)

International Labour Organization (ILO). (2020a). *World Employment and Social Outlook: Trends 2020.* (January 20). Retrieved May 28, 2021. (https://www.ilo.org/wcmsp5/groups/public/---dgreports/---dcomm/---publ/documents/publication/wcms_734455.pdf)

_____. (2020b). "*Global wage report 2020–21: Wages and minimum wages in the time of COVID-19.*" (December 12). Retrieved May 28, 2021. (https://www.ilo.org/wcmsp5/groups/public/---dgreports/---dcomm/---publ/documents/publication/wcms_762534.pdf)

International Sociological Association. (2001). *Code of Conduct*. Retrieved April 27, 2021. (https://www.isa-sociology.org/en/about-isa/code-of-ethics)

Iwamoto, Kentaro. (2020). "Singapore Coronavirus Clusters Awaken Asia to Migrants' Plight." *Nikkei Asia* (June 9). Retrieved December 25, 2021. (https://asia.nikkei.com/Spotlight/Asia-Insight/Singapore-coronavirus-clusters-awaken-Asia-to-migrants-plight)

Janis, Irving. (1972). *Victims of Groupthink*. Boston: Houghton Mifflin.

Jessop, Bob. (2013). "Hollowing Out of the Nation State and Multi-level Governance," in Patricia Kennett (Ed.), *A Handbook of Comparative Social Policy, Second Edition*. Cheltenham: Edward Elgar Publishing.

Jodhka, Surinder S. (2017). *Caste in Contemporary India*. London: Routledge.

Jones, Owen. (2020). "The British Middle Class is in Freefall, Its Young People Pushed into Precarity." *The Guardian*. (December 12). Retrieved June 10, 2021. (https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2020/dec/12/british-middle-class-young-people-class-home-ownership-job-security)

Juan, Stephen. (2006). "What are the Most Widely Practiced Religions of the World?" *The Register* (October 6). Retrieved August 5, 2021. (https://www.theregister.com/2006/10/06/the_odd_body_religion/)

Kahlenberg, Susan and Michelle Hein. (2010). "Progression on Nickelodeon? Gender-Role Stereotypes in Toy Commercials." *Sex Roles*, Vol. 62(11): pp. 830–847.

Kalaung, Zuzakar. (2017). "We Were Kings: Burma's Lost Royal Family." *The Myanmar Times* (November 2). Retrieved August 15, 2021. (https://www.mmtimes.com/news/we-were-kings-burmas-lost-royal-family.html)

Katz, Elihu. (2009). "Introduction: The End of Television?" *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, Vol. 625: pp. 6–18.

Kelly, Robert L. (2013). *The Lifeways of Hunter-Gatherers: The Foraging Spectrum, 2nd Edition*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Kemp, Simon. (2021). "Digital 2021: Global Overview Report." *DataReportal* (January 27). Retrieved December 20, 2021. (https://datareportal.com/reports/digital-2021-global-overview-report)

Kendall, Diana. (2017). *Sociology in Our Times, 11th Edition*. Boston: Cengage Learning.

Khan, Ali. (1992). "The Extinction of the Nation-States." *American University International Law Review*, Vol. 7(2): pp. 197–234.

Khan, Umayma. (2021). "The Women of Myanmar: 'Our Place is in the Revolution.'" *Aljazeera* (April 25). Retrieved September 15, 2021. (https://www.aljazeera.com/features/2021/4/25/women-of-myanmar-stand-resilient-against-the-military-coup)

Kim Kyong-Dong. (2017). *Korean Modernization and Uneven Development: Alternative Sociological Accounts*. Singapore: Palgrave Macmillan.

Kim, Youna. (2017). *The Routledge Handbook of Korean Culture and Society*. London: Routledge.

Kimmel, Michael S. and Rebecca F. Plante. (2007). "Sexualities." *Contexts,* Vol. 6 (2): pp. 63–65.

Kornhauser, William. (1959). *The Politics of Mass Society*. New York: The Free Press.

Kozak, Robert. (2014). "Peru Says Greenpeace Permanently Damaged Nazca Lines." *Wall Street Journal* (December 14). Retrieved September 9, 2021. (https://www.wsj.com/articles/peru-says-greenpeace-permanently-damaged-nazca-lines-1418681478)

Krishnan, Varun B. (2019). "How The Nature of Indian Families is Changing." *The Hindu* (July 4). Retrieved July 23, 2021. (https://www.thehindu.com/news/national/how-the-nature-of-indian-families-is-changing/article28281107.ece)

Kurlantzick, Joshua. (2016). "The Rise of State Capitalism in Thailand." *The Diplomat* (March 20). Retrieved August 21, 2021. (https://thediplomat.com/2016/03/the-rise-of-state-capitalism-in-thailand/)

Kurohi, Rei. (2021). "Singapore's Green Plan Offers New Job and Economic Growth." *The Straits Times* (February 10). Retrieved September 10, 2021. (https://www.straitstimes.com/singapore/singapore-governments-green-plan-offers-new-jobs-and-economic-growth)

Kuznicki, Jason. (2008). "Separation of Church and State," in Ronald Hamowy (Ed.), *The Encyclopedia of Libertarianism*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage, pp. 458–460.

Kyaw Ko Ko. (2018). "39 Companies Eye Yadanarpon Cyber City Project." *The Myanmar Times* (March 27). Retrieved August 22, 2021. (https://www.mmtimes.com/news/39-companies-eye-yadanarpon-cyber-city-project.html)

Ladner, Mimsie. (2011). "Ethnic Enclaves of Seoul." *Mims on the Move* (June 07). Retrieve June 20, 2021. (https://www.mimsonthemove.com/2011/06/ethnic-enclaves-of-seoul.html)

Lam, Chi-Ming and Jae Park. (2016). *Sociological and Philosophical Perspective on Education in the Asia-Pacific Region*. Singapore: Springer.

Le Quéré, Corrine, Robert B. Jackson, Matthew W. Jones, Adam J.P. Smith, Sam Abernethy, Robbie M. Andrew, Anthony J. De-Gol, David R. Willis, Yuli Shan, Josep G. Canadell, Pierre Friedlingstein, Felix Creutzig, and Glen P. Peters. (2020). "Temporary Reduction in Daily Global CO_2 Emissions During the COVID-19 Forced Confinement. *Nature Climate Change*, Vol. 10(2): pp. 647–653. (https://doi.org/10.1038/s41558-020-0797-x)

Lee, Richard B. and Richard Daly. (1999). "Introduction: Foragers and Others." In Richard B. Lee and Richard Daly's *The Cambridge Encyclopedia of Hunters and Gatherers*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, pp. 1–20.

Leopold, Thomas. (2019). "Diverging Trends in Satisfaction with Housework: Declines in Women, Increases in Men." *Journal of Marriage and Family,* Vol. 81(1): pp. 133–144.

Lerner, Gerda. (1986). *The Creation of Patriarchy*. New York: Oxford University Press.

Letsch. Constanze. (2013). "Turkey Protests Spread After Violence in Istanbul Over Park Demolition." *The Guardian* (June 1). Retrieved July 6, 2021. (https://www.theguardian.com/world/2013/may/31/istanbul-protesters-violent-clashes-police)

Li, Fang, Yuan-Yuan Li, Ming-Jin Liu, Li Qun-Fang, Natalie E. Dean, and Gary W. K. Wong. (2021). "Household Transmission of SARS-Cov-2 and Risk Factors for Susceptibility and Infectivity in Wuhan: A Retrospective Observational Study." *The Lancet*, Vol. 21(5): pp. 617–628. (https://doi.org/10.1016/S1473-3099(20)30981-6)

Li, Yan. (2001). "China's Supreme Court Explains Marriage Laws." *People's Daily Online* (December 27). Retrieved July 19, 2021. (http://en.people.cn/200112/27/eng20011227_87554.shtml)

Light, Richard and Louise Kinnaird. (2002). "Appeasing the Gods: Shinto, Sumo, and the 'True' Japanese Spirit," in Tara Mandalinsky and Timothy Chandler's (Eds.), *With God on Their Side: Sports in the Service of Religion*, London: Routledge, pp. 139–159.

Lindahl, Bjorn. (2019). "Norway: Gender Pay Gap Remains but Influences is Slightly Up." *Nordic Labour Journal,* (April 12). Retrieved May 28, 2021. (http://www.nordiclabourjournal.org/nyheter/news-2019/article.2019-04-11.3066164563)

Linz, Juan J. (2000). *Totalitarian and Authoritarian Regimes.* Boulder: Lynne Rienner Publishers.

Liu, Lina, Jiansheng Qu, Tek Narayan Maraseni, Yibo Niu, Jingjing Zeng, Lihua Zhang, and Li Xu. (2020). "Household CO_2 Emissions: Current Status and Future Perspective." *International Journal of Environmental Research and Public Health*, 17(19): 7077. (https://doi.org/10.3390/ijerph17197077)

Livingstone, Sonia. (2009). "Half a Century of Television in the Lives of our Children." *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, Vol. 625: pp. 151–163.

Logarta, Margie. (2013). "In a Pickle." *Business Traveler* (September 1). Retrieve June 19, 2021. (https://www.pressreader.com/australia/business-traveller-asia-pacific/20130901/281505043889849)

Lockie, Stewart. (2015). "Editorial: What is Environmental Sociology." *Environmental Sociology*, Vol. 1(3): pp. 139–142.

Loh, Chin Ee. (2017). *The Space and Practice of Reading: A Case Study of Reading and Social Class in Singapore*. London: Routledge.

Lohmeyer, Ben A. and Nik Taylor. (2021). "War, Heroes, and Sacrifice: Masking Neoliberal Violence During the Covid-19 Pandemic." *Critical Sociology*, Vol. 47(4–5): pp. 625–639.

Long, Colleen, Michael Balsamo, and Rodney Muhumuza. (2020). "Coronavirus-related Crimes Capitalize on Global Fear, Panic. Yahoo! News (March 25). Retrieved September 3, 2021. (https://sg.news.yahoo.com/coronavirus-related-crimes-capitalizes-global-203530640.html)

Loo Lee Sim, Shi Ming Yu, and Sun Sheng Han. (2003). "Public Housing and Ethnic Integration in Singapore." *Habitat International*, Vol. 27(2): pp. 293–307.

Lopez Holdings Corporation. (2020). *Annual Report, 2020*. Mandaluyong City: Lopez Holdings Corporation. Retrieved June 26, 2021. (file:///CR04159_LPZ LHCS_CFS1220 17-A.pdf)

Lopez, Rachel. (2020). How One-Child Families are Transforming India." *Hindustan Times* (February 29). Retrieved July 23, 2021. (https://www.hindustantimes.com/more-lifestyle/how-one-child-families-are-transforming-india/story-ATc9DORXLK1RS3fBXCub4K.html)

Lopreato, Joseph and Lawrence E. Hazelrigg. (1970). "Intragenerational versus Intergenerational Mobility in Relation to Sociopolitical Attitude." *Social Forces*, Vol. 49(2): pp. 200–210.

Lubin, Matthew. (2019). "Chinese Travel Agencies Try to Be More 'Family-Friendly.'" *Jing Culture and Commerce* (April 16). Retrieved July 21, 2021. (https://jingculturecommerce.com/chinese-family-friendly-travel/)

Lugones, Maria. (2016). "The Coloniality of Gender," in Wendy Harcourt (Ed.), *The Palgrave Handbook of Gender and Development*. London: Palgrave Macmillan, pp. 13–33.

Lui, Kevin. (2017). "Japan Finally Has a Homegrown Sumo Champion after Nearly Two Decades." *Time* (January 25). Retrieved 08 May 2021. (https://time.com/4646441/japan-sumo-kisenosato-yokozuna/)

Lyotard, Jean-Francois. (1984). *The Postmodern Condition: A Report on Knowledge (Vol. 10)*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.

Mahr, Krista. (2012). "Selling 'Gangnam Style': Why K-Pop and Commercials are a Perfect Match." *Time* (September 9). Retrieve June 14, 2021. (https://world.time.com/2012/09/09/selling-gangnam-style-why-k-pop-and-commercials-are-a-perfect-match/)

Makki, Danny. (2018). "Syria's War Economy Exacerbates Divide Between Rich and Poor." *Middle East Institute* (November 6). (https://www.mei.edu/publications/syrias-war-economy-exacerbates-divide-between-rich-and-poor)

Malesevic, Sinisa. (2010). *The Sociology of War and Violence*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Mark, Monica. (2012). "Ghana's Azonto Craze Takes Over Dancefloors Across the World." *The Guardian* (September 3). Retrieved June 14, 2021. (https://www.theguardian.com/world/2012/sep/03/ghana-azonto-dance-craze-world)

Markoff, John (1999). "Where and When Democracy was Invented?" *Comparative Studies in History and Society*, Vol. 41(4): pp. 660–690.

Martin, James, S.J. (2017). "Why is Climate Change a Moral Issue." *America* (March 29). Retrieved September 10, 2021. (https://www.americamagazine.org/faith/2017/03/29/father-james-martin-why-climate-change-moral-issue)

Martinez-Alier, Joan. (2005). *The Environmentalism of the Poor: A Study of Ecological Conflicts and Valuation*. New Delhi: Oxford University Press.

Marx, Karl and Friedrich Engels. (1972) [1845]. "The German Ideology," in Robert C. Tucker (Ed.), The Marx-Engels Reader. New York: W.W. Norton, pp. 110–164.

_____. (1967) [1848]. *The Communist Manifesto*. New York: Pantheon.

_____. (1967) [1867]. *Capital: A Critique of Political Economy*. Friedrich Engels (Ed.). New York: International Publishers.

_____. (1964) [1844]. *Economic and Philosophic Manuscripts*. New York: International Publishers.

Marz, Moses. (2017). "A Brief History of Fufu Pounding." *Chimurenga* (June 20). Retrieved December 15, 2021. (https://chimurengachronic.co.za/a-brief-history-of-fufu-pounding/)

Mather, Mark, Linda A. Jacobsen, and Paola Scommegna. (2021). "Population: An Introduction to Demography." *Population Bulletin*, Vol. 75(1).

Matfess, Hilary. (2021). "Boko Haram: History and Context." *Oxford Research Encyclopedia of African History*. Retrieved September 16, 2021. (https://oxfordre.com/africanhistory/view/10.1093/acrefore/9780190277734.001.0001/acrefore-9780190277734-e-119)

Maynard, Mary. (1995). "Beyond the Big Three: The Development of Feminist Theory into the 1990s." *Women's History Review*, Vol. 4(3): pp. 259–281.

McDermid, Greg, Joule Bergerson, and Sheri Madigan. (2020). "5 Ways Family can Help Tackle Climate Change." *The Conversation* (January 16). Retrieved September 9, 2021. (https://theconversation.com/5-ways-families-can-help-tackle-climate-change-126512)

McDonald, Joshua. (2021). "Bougainville Inches Closer to Independence." *The Diplomat* (July 19). Retrieved August 28, 2021. (https://thediplomat.com/2021/07/bougainville-inches-closer-to-independence/)

McLeish, Stephen. (1992). "Making Sense of Religion and the Constitution: A Fresh Start for Section 116." *University of Melbourne Law Review*, Vol. 16(2): p. 407.

McLellan, David. (1973). *Karl Marx: His Life and Thought*. London: Macmillan.

McNulty, Yvonne. (2016). "'Don't Hate Me Because I'm a Foreigner': Historical and Narrative Analyses of Western expatriates' Experiences in Singapore." *International Journal of Multinational Corporation Strategy*, Vol. 1(3/4): pp. 217–246.

Mead, George Herbert. (1967) [1934]. *Mind, Self, and Society*, edited by C. W. Morris. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Meadow, Tey and Judith Stacey. (2006). "Families." *Contexts*, Vol. 5(4): pp. 55–57.

Mehta, Meghna. (2018). "8 Traditional Indian Home Elements We Love." *Houzz* (September 1). Retrieved July 24, 2021. (https://www.houzz.com/magazine/8-traditional-indian-home-elements-we-love-stsetivw-vs~113335129)

Mehta, Pratap Bhanu. (2017). "Small Step, No Giant Leap." *The Indian Express* (August 23). Retrieved July 22, 2021. (https://indianexpress.com/article/opinion/columns/supreme-court-verdict-on-triple-talaq-small-step-no-giant-leap-4808945/)

Meland, Aud Torill and Elsa Helen Kaltvedt. (2019). "Tracking Gender in Kindergarten." *Early Child Development and Care*, Vol. 189(1): pp. 94–103.

Mensah-Bediako, Vera. (2019). "Ghana Traditions: Culture, Customs, and Society." *Compassion* (July 17). Retrieved June 17, 2021. (https://blog.compassion.com/traditions-of-ghana-warrior-king/)

Mercado, Neil Arwin. (2020). "House Panel Tackle ABS-CBN's Alleged 'Political Bias.'" *Inquirer.Net* (July 6). Retrieved June 30, 2020. (https://newsinfo.inquirer.net/1302432/house-panels-tackle-abs-cbns-alleged-political-bias)

Mercer. (2020). "Let's Get Real About Equality: When Women Thrive 2020 Global Report." Retrieve May 28, 2021. (https://www.mercer.com/content/dam/mercer/attachments/global/gl-2020-global-research-report-2020-highlights-flyer.pdf)

Merton, Robert K. (1968). *Social Theory and Social Structure*. New York: The Free Press.

_____. (1938). "Social Structure and Anomie." *American Sociological Review*, Vol. 3(5): pp. 672–682.

Metlay, Joshua P., Jennifer S. Haas, and Alexander E. Soltoff. (2021). "Household Transmission of SARS-CoV-2." *JAMA Network Open,* 4(2): e210304. (DOI:10.1001/jamanetworkopen.2021.0304)

Meyer, Birgit. (2015). *Sensational Movies: Video, Vision, and Christianity in Ghana*. Oakland: University of California Press.

Michels, Robert. (1962). *Political Parties*. Translated by E. Paul and C. Paul. New York: Dover Publications.

Mikhaylov, Dan. (2020). "Who Will Lead the Muslim World: Turkey or Indonesia?" *The London Globalist* (December 10). Retrieved July 3, 2021. (https://thelondonglobalist.org/who-will-lead-the-muslim-world-turkey-or-indonesia/)

Milgram, Stanley. (1974). *Obedience to Authority: An Experimental View*. New York: Harper and Row.

Milian, Ivan Navarro, Josep Maria Royo Aspa, Jordi Urgell Garcia, Pamela Urrutia Arestizabal, Ana Villellas Ariño, Maria Villellas Ariño. (2021). *Alert 2021: Report on Conflicts, Human Rights and Peacebuilding*. Barcelona: Escola de Cultura de Pau.

Mills, C. Wright. (2000) [1959]. "The Promise" (Chapter 1), *The Sociological Imagination, 40th Anniversary Edition*. New York: Oxford University Press, pp. 3–24.

Ministry of Food and Agriculture, Ghana, n.d. "Cassava Development in Ghana." *Food and Agriculture Organization*. Retrieved June 19, 2021. (http://www.fao.org/3/a0154e/A0154E07.HTM)

Ministry of Hotels and Tourism. (2019). *Myanmar Tourism Statistics, 2019*. Retrieved August 15, 2021. (https://tourism.gov.mm/wp-content/uploads/2020/05/Myanmar-Tourism-Statistics-2019-1.pdf)

Moe, Wai. (2011). "The Ethnic Issue: Following in The Footsteps of Kings." *The Irrawaddy* (November 10). Retrieved August 15, 2021. (https://www2.irrawaddy.com/article.php?art_id=22430&page=1)

Mohanty, Chandra Talpade. (1984). "Under Western Eyes: Feminist Scholarship and Colonial Discourses." *Boundary 2*, Vol. 12(3): pp. 333–358.

Moore, Bertha, (n.d.) "Introduction to Sociology Chapter 1. The Benefits of Sociology "Using the sociological perspective makes us wiser, more active, and more powerful citizens." Retrieved April 26, 2022. (https://slideplayer.com/slide/4545106/)

Morawski, Jill. (1991). "Femininity," in H. Tierney (Ed.), *Women's Studies Encyclopedia, Vol. 1: Views from the Sciences*, New York: Bedrick, pp. 136–139.

Morgan, Liam. (2020). "Taiwan Becomes the First Country to Open Professional Softball Season." *Inside the Games* (April 27). Retrieved May 24, 2021. (https://www.insidethegames.biz/articles/1093654/taiwan-opens-womens-softball-season)

Morgan, Llewelyn. (2012). *The Buddhas of Bamiyan,* Cambridge: Harvard University Press.

Morris, Andrew. (2011). *Colonial Project, National Game: A History of Baseball in Taiwan.* Berkeley: University of California Press.

Morris, Lanita. (1998). "The Function of English in Contemporary Ghanaian Society." African Diaspora *ISPs Paper* 52. Retrieved June 19, 2021. (http://digitalcollections.sit.edu/african_diaspora_isp/52)

Mullen, Andrew. (2021). "China's Three-Child Policy: Why Was it Introduced and What Does it Mean?" *South China Morning Post* (June 5). Retrieved July 19, 2021. (https://www.scmp.com/economy/china-economy/article/3136092/chinas-three-child-policy-why-was-it-introduced-and-what-does)

Munsey, C. (2011). "National Pride Can Boost Personal Pride." *Monitor on Psychology.* (April 11). Retrieved June 6, 2021. (https://www.apa.org/monitor/2011/04/pride#)

Murdock, George P. (1945). "The Common Denominator of Cultures," in Ralph Linton (Ed.), *The Science of Man in the World Crisis*. New York: Columbia University Press, pp. 123–142.

Murphy, Patrick D. (1995). "Television and Cultural Politics in Mexico: Some Notes on Televisa, the State, and Transnational Culture." *The Howard Journal of Communications,* Vol. 6(4): pp. 250–261.

Nederveen-Pieterse, Jan. (2003) *Globalization and Culture: Global Melange*. Lanham: Rowman and Littlefield, pp. 43–64.

Nichols, Michelle. (2015). "U.N. Appeals for Help for Boko Haram Displaced; Nigeria a No-Show." *Reuters* (September 25). Retrieved December 30, 2021. (http://www.reuters.com/article/2015/09/25/us-un-assembly-boko-haram-aid-idUSKCN0RP2IF20150925)

Nielsen, Lynge. (2011). "Classifications of Countries Based on Their Level of Development: How it is Done and How it Could be Done." *International Monetary Fund Working Paper* 11/31. (https://www.imf.org/external/pubs/ft/wp/2011/wp1131.pdf)

Ng, Irene. (2015). "Education and Social Mobility," in Faizal Yahya (Ed.), *Social Inequality in Singapore*. Singapore: World Scientific, pp. 25–49.

Ning, Jizhe. (2021). "Main Data of the Seventh National Population Census." National Bureau of Statistics of China (May 11). Retrieved December 21, 2021. (http://www.stats.gov.cn/english/PressRelease/202105/t20210510_1817185.html)

Nogueira, Larissa De Castro. (2019). Building Boundaries: The Source of Nagorno Karabakh's De Facto Statehood." *E-International Relations* (March 11). Retrieved September 17, 2021. (https://www.e-ir.info/2019/03/11/building-boundaries-the-sources-of-nagorno-karabakhs-de-facto-statehood/)

Nolan, Patrick and Gerhard Lenski. (2014). *Human Societies: An Introduction to Macrosociology, 12th Edition.* Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Ochieng, Omondi Benard, Kenneth F.D. Hughey, and Hugh Bigsby. (2013). "Rainforest Alliance Certification of Kenyan Tea Farms: A Contribution to Sustainability or Tokenism?" *Journal of Cleaner Production*, Vol. 39: pp. 285–293. (https://doi-org./10.1016/j.jclepro.2012.07.048)

Oduro-Frimpong, Joseph. (2009). "Glocalization Trends: The Case of Highlife Music in Contemporary Ghana." *International Journal of Communication*, Vol. 3: pp. 1085–1106.

Ohmae, Kenichi. (1995). *The End of the Nation-State: the Rise of Regional Economies*. New York: Simon and Schuster Inc.

Olele, Paul Jnr. (2019). "The Unsung Praises of Gollywood." *Nairametrics* (October 26). Retrieved June 14, 2021. (https://nairametrics.com/2019/10/26/the-unsung-praises-of-gollywood/)

Omi, Michael and Howard Winant. (2015). *Racial Formation in the United States, 3rd Edition*. New York: Routledge.

Ong, Aihwa. (1998). *Flexible Citizenship: The Cultural Logics of Transnationality*. Durham: Duke University Press.

Ong, Jonathan Corpus. (2015). *The Poverty of Television: The Mediation of Suffering in Class-Divided Philippines*. London: Anthem Press.

Opp, Karl-Dieter. (2009). *Theories of Protests and Social Movements: A Multidisciplinary Introduction, Critique, and Synthesis*. London: Routledge.

Oyewumi, Oyeronke. (1997). *The Invention of Women: Making an African Sense of Western Gender Discourses.* Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.

Ozler, Derya Ergun and Gulcin Polat. (2012). "Cyberloafing Phenomenon in Organizations: Determinants and Impact." *International Journal of eBusiness and eGovernment Studies,* Vol. 4(2): pp. 1–15.

Pambukhchyan, Anna. (2018). "The 'Nation-Army' Concept: The Story of Failed National-Militaristic Propaganda in Armenia." *The Foreign Policy Center* (July 18). Retrieved September 17, 2021. (https://fpc.org.uk/the-nation-army-concept-the-story-of-failed-national-militaristic-propaganda-in-armenia/)

Pande, Amrita. (2015). "Blood, Sweat, and Dummy Tummies: Kin Labour and Transnational Surrogacy in India." *Anthropologica*, Vol. 57(1): pp. 53–62.

Pandey, Janak. (2006). "India," in J. Georgas, J. Berry, F. Van de Vijver, Ç Kagitçibasi, and Y. Poortinga (Eds.), *Families Across Cultures: A 30-Nation Psychological Study*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, pp. 362–369.

Park, Choong-Hwan. (2014). "Nongjiale Tourism and Contested Space in Rural China." *Modern China*, Vol. 40(5): pp. 519–548.

Park Si-Soo. (2014). "What About The Choreographer of Gangnam Style?" *The Korea Times* (February 6). Retrieved June 16, 2021. (http://www.koreatimesus.com/what-about-the-choreographer-of-gangnam-style/)

Park, S. Nathan. (2020). "South Korea's Cults and Conservative Sabotaged Virus Response." *Foreign Policy* (February 27). Retrieved September 3, 2021. (https://foreignpolicy.com/2020/02/27/coronavirus-south-korea-cults-conservatives-china/)

Park Ji-Won. (2020). "Ghanaian Celeb Okyere Quits 'South Korean Foreigners' After Attacks from Internet Users." *The Korea Times* (September 9). Retrieved June 17, 2021. (https://www.koreatimes.co.kr/www/art/2020/09/688_295673.html)

Parkin, Robert. (1997). *Kinship: An Introduction to the Basic Concepts*. Oxford: Blackwell Publishers.

Parmar, Jay. (2021). "'I Want My Wikipedia Page to Show Goals Wherever I Went': Inside Ikhsan Fandi's Mission to Conquer Europe." *Goal*. (March 24). Retrieved June 9, 2021. (https://www.goal.com/en-sg/news/i-want-my-wikipedia-page-to-show-goals-wherever-i-went/gu9l8vi14frf150ctnieicbnl)

Parsons, Talcott and Robert Bales (Eds.). (1955). *Family, Socialization and Interaction Process*. Glencoe, IL: The Free Press.

_____. (1955). "The American Family: It's Relations to Personality and to Social Structure," in Talcott Parsons and Robert Bales (Eds.), *Family, Socialization and Interaction Process*. Glencoe, IL: The Free Press, pp. 163–173.

_____. (1951). *The Social System*. Glencoe, IL: The Free Press.

_____. (1943). The kinship system of the contemporary United States. *American Anthropologist*, Vol. 45(1): pp. 22–38.

Pearson, H. F. (1969). "Lt Jackson's Plan of Singapore." *Journal of the Malaysian Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*, Vol. 42(1): pp. 161–165.

Perteghella, Annalisa. (2018). "Yemen: The Sectarianization of Political Conflict." *Italian Institute for International Political Studies* (March 20). Retrieved September 16, 2021. (https://www.ispionline.it/en/pubblicazione/yemen-sectarianization-political-conflict-19933)

Pertierra, Anna Cristina. (2020). "The Television Families of Mexico and the Philippines: Dynasties and Caciques in Transpacific Media Cultures." *Media, Culture, and Society*, Vol. 42(1): pp. 136–141.

Pew Research Center. (2017). "The Changing Global Religious Landscape." Retrieved August 5, 2021. (https://www.pewforum.org/2017/04/05/the-changing-global-religious-landscape/)

Pirbhai-Illich, Fatima, Shauneen Pete, and Fran Martin (Eds.). (2017). *Culturally Responsive Pedagogy: Working Towards Decolonization, Indigeneity, and Interculturalism*. Cham, Switzerland: Palgrave Macmillan.

Popper, Karl. (1963). *Conjectures and Refutations: The Growth of Scientific Knowledge*. London: Routledge.

Porta, Miguel (Ed.). (2016). *A Dictionary of Epidemiology, 6th Edition*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Preston, Julia. (2000). "Mexican TV, Unshackled by Reforms, Fights for Viewers." *The New York Times* (June 7). Retrieved December 20, 2021. (https://archive.nytimes.com/www.nytimes.com/library/world/americas/060700mexico-tv.html)

Prewitt, Kenneth. (2005). "Racial Classification in America: Where Do We Go From Here?" *Daedalus*, Vol. 134(1): pp. 5–17.

Puri, Anuj. (2018). "Why Homestays are the Next Big Thing in the Indian Hospitality Market." *CNBC* (September 27). Retrieved July 14, 2021. (https://www.cnbctv18.com/real-estate/why-homestays-are-the-next-big-thing-in-the-indian-hospitality-market-935831.htm)

PuruShotam, Nirmala. (1998). "Disciplining Difference: Race in Singapore," in Joel S. Kahn (Ed.), *Southeast Asian Identities: Culture and the Politics of Representation in Indonesia, Malaysia, Singapore, and Thailand*. Singapore: Institute of Southeast Asian Studies, pp. 51–93.

Qi, Liyan. (2021). China's Census Highlights Its Looming Population Problem.: *Wall Street Journal* (May 11). Retrieved July 21, 2021. (https://www.wsj.com/articles/china-says-its-population-rose-slightly-in-2020-11620698964)

Quah, Stella (Ed.). (2015). *Routledge Handbook of Families in Asia*. London: Routledge.

_____, Chiew Seen Kong, Ko Yiu Chung and Sharon Mengchee Lee. (1991). *Social Class in Singapore*. Singapore: Times Academic Press.

Rahmanovic, Faruk. (2012). *Three Theories of Just War: Understanding Warfare as a Social Tool Through Comparative Analysis of Western, Chinese, and Islamic Classical Theories of War*. MA Thesis. University of Hawaii, Honolulu.

Reason, Peter and Hilary Bradbury (Eds.). (2008). *The Sage Handbook of Action Research: Participative Inquiry and Practice*. London: Sage Publications.

Reid, Poppy. (2020). "Australian Cults: The Grim, The Bad, and the Ugly." *The Rolling Stone Australia* (July 10, 16, 24, 28). Retrieved August 6, 2021. (https://au.rollingstone.com/culture/culture-features/australian-cults-part-one-the-family-14076/)

Renaud, Myriam. (2018). "Who are Yemen's Houthis?" *The Conversation* (December 14). Retrieved September 16, 2021. (https://theconversation.com/who-are-yemens-houthis-106423)

Reuters. (2021). "Myanmar Junta Leader Asks Thai Counterpart for Help on Democracy." (February 10). Retrieved August 15, 2021. (https://www.reuters.com/article/us-myanmar-politics-thailand-idUSKBN2AA0V7)

Richards, Julia and R. Scott Hawley. (2010). *The Human Genome, Third Edition*. London: Academic Press.

Rieffel, Lex. (2012). "The Myanmar Economy: Tough Choices." *Global Economy and Development*. Working Paper 51.

Ritzer, George. (1993). *The McDonaldization of Society*. Newbury Park, CA: Pine Forge Press.

Rivas, Ralf. (2020). "Gabby Lopez Resigns from ABS-CBN, Other Family Companies." *Rappler* (September 24). Retrieved June 26, 2021. (https://www.rappler.com/business/eugenio-lopez-iii-resigns-from-abs-cbn-family-companies)

Rivers, Nicola. (2017). *Postfeminism(s) and the Arrival of the Fourth Wave*. London: Palgrave Macmillan.

Robertson, Roland. (1992). *Globalization*. London: Sage Publications.

Robson, David. (2020). "Covid-19: What Makes a Good Leader During a Crisis?" *BBC Worklife* (March 28). Retrieved September 3, 2021. (https://www.bbc.com/worklife/article/20200326-covid-19-what-makes-a-good-leader-during-a-crisis)

Rocha, Zarine. (2011). "Multiplicity Within Singularity: Racial Categorization and Recognizing 'Mixed-Race' in Singapore." *Journal of Current Southeast Asian Affairs*, Vol. 30(3): pp. 95–131.

Roof, Wade Clark. (1993). *A Generation of Seekers: The Spiritual Journey of the Baby Boom Generation*. San Francisco: Harper.

Rothman, Joshua. (2014). "The Meaning of Culture." *The New Yorker* (December 26). Retrieved June 15, 2021. (http://www.newyorker.com/books/joshua-rothman/meaning-culture)

Rukmini. S. (2017). "What Drives the Indian Tourist? Family." *The Hindu* (September 23). Retrieved July 15, 2021. (https://www.thehindu.com/opinion/blogs/what-drives-the-indian-tourist-family/article10550000.ece#comments_10550000)

Rydgren, Jens. (2004). "The Logic of Xenophobia." *Rationality and Society*, Vol. 16(2): pp. 123–148.

Sachs, Andrea. (2016). "At this Earthship Community in New Mexico, Renters Can Give Sustainable Living a Try." *The Washington Post* (September 27). Retrieved September 11, 2021. (https://www.washingtonpost.com/lifestyle/travel/at-this-earthship-community-in-new-mexico-renters-can-give-sustainable-living-a-try/2016/09/27/3f41b3ac-6e23-11e6-9705-23e51a2f424d_story.html)

Sahgal, Smita. (2005). "Polyandry in Patriarchy: Reiteration of Male Hegemony in the Socio-Sexual Contexts of Early India." *Proceedings of the Indian History Congress*, Vol. 66: pp. 199–214.

Said, Edward. (1999). *Out of Place: A Memoir*. London: Granta Books.

Sanchez-Cespedes, Lina Maria. (2017). "The Consequences of Armed Conflict on Household Composition." *Oxford Development Studies*, Vol. 45(3): pp. 276-302. (DOI: 10.1080/13600818.2016.1213798)

Savage, Mike, Fiona Divine, Niall Cunningham, Mark Taylor, Yaojun Li, Johs. Hjellbrekke, Brigitte Le Roux, Sam Friedman, and Andrew Miles. (2013). "A New Model of Social Class? Findings from the BBC's Great British Class Survey." *Sociology*, Vol. 47(2): pp. 219–250.

Sazali, Abdul Aziz. (2018). "Fandi Ahmad's Sons Irfan and Ikhsan Set for Holland Stint Next Month." *The Straits Times* (February 3). Retrieved June 9, 2021. (https://www.straitstimes.com/sport/football/football-fandi-ahmads-sons-irfan-and-ikhsan-set-for-holland-stint-next-month)

Scammell, Rosie. (2015). "Cardinal Pell on Environmental Encyclical: Church has 'No Particular Expertise in Science.'" *America* (July 17). Retrieved September 10, 2021. (https://www.americamagazine.org/issue/cardinal-pell-church-has-no-particular-expertise-science)

Schoch, Martha, Christoph Lakner, and Melina Fleury. (2020). "Progress Toward Ending Poverty has Slowed." *World Bank Blogs* (October 16). Retrieved December 15, 2021. (https://blogs.worldbank.org/opendata/progress-toward-ending-poverty-has-slowed)

Scott, James C. (1985). *Weapons of the Weak: Everyday Forms of Resistance*. New Haven: Yale University Press.

Sechiyama, Kaku. (2013). *Patriarchy in East Asia: A Comparative Sociology of Gender*. Leiden: Brill.

Sen, Amartya. (1999). *Development as Freedom*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Septiari, Dian. (2020). "Turkey's Erdogan to Visit Indonesia in 2021." *The Jakarta Post* (December 24). Retrieved July 5, 2021. (https://www.thejakartapost.com/news/2020/12/24/turkeys-erdogan-to-visit-indonesia-in-2021.html)

Serazio, Michael. (2013). "Just How Much is Sports Fandom Like Religion?" *The Atlantic* (29 January). Retrieved August 08, 2021. (http://www.theatlantic.com/entertainment/archive/2013/01/just-how-much-is-sports-fandom-like-religion/272631)

Serajuddin, Umar and Nada Hamadeh. (2020). "New World Bank Country Classifications by Income Level: 2020-2021." *World Bank Blogs* (July 1). Retrieved September 5, 2021. (https://blogs.worldbank.org/opendata/new-world-bank-country-classifications-income-level-2020-2021)

Serhan, Yasmeen and Timothy McLaughlin. (2020). "The Other Problematic Outbreak." *The Atlantic* (March 13). Retrieved August 29, 2021. (https://www.theatlantic.com/international/archive/2020/03/coronavirus-covid19-xenophobia-racism/607816/)

Sevin, Efe. (2018). "Digital Diplomacy as Crisis Communication: Turkish Digital Outreach After July 15." *Revista Mexicana de Política Exterior* (Mexican Review of International Politics), Vol. 113: pp. 1–21.

Shah, A. M. (1964). "Basic Terms and Concepts in the Study of the Family in India." *The Indian Economic and Social History Review,* Vol. 1(3): pp. 1–36.

Shipley, Jesse Weaver. (2013). *Living the Hiplife: Celebrity and Entrepreneurship in Ghanaian Popular Music.* Durham: Duke University Press.

Siddle, Richard. (1996). '"Race', Ethnicity and the Ainu," in *Race, Resistance, and the Ainu of Japan*. London: Routledge, pp. 6–25.

Silp, Sai. (2007). "Thai Tourist in Burma." *The Irrawaddy*, Vol. 15(2), February. Retrieved August 15, 2021. (https://www2.irrawaddy.com/article.php?art_id=6865&page=1)

Sim, Shuzhen. (2017). "Shine a Light on Singapore's Invisible Poor." *Research@SMU*, Issue 44. Retrieved June 7, 2021. (https://research.smu.edu.sg/news/smuresearch/2017/apr/25/shining-light-singapore%E2%80%99s-invisible-poor)

Simmel, Georg. (1950). *The Sociology of Georg Simmel*. Translated by Kurt Wolff. Glencoe, IL: The Free Press.

Smith, Adam. (1776). *An Inquiry into the Nature and Causes of the Wealth of Nations, Fifth Edition*. Edinburgh: Adam and Charles Black, London.

Smith, Matthew. (2021). "Scientists and Doctors are the Most Respected Professions Worldwide." YouGov (January 28). Retrieved June 7, 2021. (https://yougov.co.uk/topics/international/articles-reports/2021/01/28/scientists-and-doctors-are-most-respected-professions)

Spector, Malcolm and J.I. Kitsuse. (1977). *Constructing Social Problem*. Menlo Park, CA: Cummings Publishing Company.

Spencer, Herbert. (1898). *The Principles of Sociology, Vol. 1*. New York: D. Appleton and Company.

Spickard, James V. (2017). *Alternative Sociologies of Religion: Through Non-Western Eyes*. New York: New York University Press.

_____ (2006). *What is happening to religion? Six Sociological Narratives. Nordic Journal of Religion and Society*, Vol. 19(1): pp. 13–29.

Star, The. (2021). "Indonesian Digital Firms Given Six Extra Months to Comply with New Internet Policy." (May 25). Retrieved July 2, 2021. (https://www.thestar.com.my/aseanplus/aseanplus-news/2021/05/25/indonesian-digital-firms-given-six-extra-months-to-comply-with-new-internet-policy)

Statista. (2020a). "Twitter: Heads of State with the Most Followers, 2020." Retrieved July 5, 2021. (https://www.statista.com/statistics/281375/heads-of-state-with-the-most-twitter-followers/)

_____. (2020b). "World Leaders with the Most Instagram Followers, 2020." Retrieved July 5, 2021. (https://www.statista.com/statistics/954322/world-leaders-with-the-most-instagram-followers/)

Steinmetz, George. (2013). *Sociology and Empire: The Imperial Entanglements of a Discipline*. Durham: Duke University Press.

Strand, Havard and Havard Hegre. (2021). "Trends in Armed Conflict, 1946–2020." *Conflict Trends*, 3: 1–4. (www.prio.org/ConflictTrends)

Sumner, William G. (1959). *Folkways*. New York: Dover Publications (orig. pub. 1906).

Sun, Daniel Yu-Kuei. (2019). "Reading Yani Tseng: Articulating Golf, Taiwanese Nationalism, and Gender Politics in Twenty-First-Century Taiwan." *The International Journal of the History of Sport*, Vol. 36(7–8): pp. 731–747.

Suri, Manveena. (2020). "India Loves an Arranged Marriage, But Some Say Certain Aspects are Outdated." *CNN* (November 19). Retrieved July 23, 2021. (https://edition.cnn.com/2020/11/18/asia/indian-arranged-marriage-dst-intl-hnk/index.html)

Sutherland, Edwin. (1937). *The Professional Thief*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Syaifani, Sasha and Naaimatur Rofiani Qubba. (2017). "Joko Widodo's Digital Diplomacy: A Prospect and Challenge for Indonesia's Digital Diplomacy towards Middle Power." *Jurnal Hubungan Internasional* (Journal of International Relations), Vol. 10(2): pp. 1–12.

Syakriah, Ardila. (2020). Covid-19 Pandemic Forces Indonesian Mothers to Do it All." *The Jakarta Post* (April 21). Retrieved August 31, 2021. (https://www.thejakartapost.com/news/2020/04/21/covid-19-pandemic-forces-indonesian-mothers-to-do-it-all.html)

Taiwan Today. (2019). "Top Prize at IOC Women and Sport Awards Goes to Taiwan Umpire Liu Po-chun." (March 31). Retrieved May 24, 2021. (https://taiwantoday.tw/news.php?unit=2,6,10,15,18&post=151609)

Tan, Audrey. (2021). "Singapore Green Plan 2030 to Change the Way People Live, Work, Study, and Play." *The Straits Times* (February 10). Retrieved September 10, 2021. (https://www.straitstimes.com/singapore/environment/singapore-green-plan-2030-to-change-the-way-people-live-work-study-and-play)

Tan, Ern Ser. (2015). "Class and Social Orientations: Key Findings From the Social Stratification Survey, 2011." *IPS Exchange Series*, No. 4 (July). Retrieved June 4, 2021. (https://lkyspp. nus.edu.sg/docs/default-source/ips/exchange-4_class-and-social-orientations-key-findings-from-the-social-stratification-survey-2011.pdf)

_____. (2004). *Does Class Matter? Social Stratification and Orientation in Singapore*. Singapore: World Scientific.

Tan, Yvette. (2020). "Covid-19 Singapore: A 'Pandemic of Inequality' Exposed." *BBC News* (September 18). Retrieved August 31, 2021. (https://www.bbc.com/news/world-asia-54082861)

Televisa. (2020). *Connecting: 2020 Annual Report*. Mexico City: Televisa. Retrieved June 25, 2021. (https://www.televisair.com/~/media/Files/T/TelevisaIR/documents/annual/2020/ televisa-2020-eng.pdf)

Televisa Foundation (*Fundacion Televisa*). (2019). "*Voluntariado Verde* (Green Volunteering)." *Fundacion Televisa*. Retrieved June 26, 2021. (https://informe.fundaciontelevisa.org/en/voluntariado.html)

Teo, You Yenn. (2017). "Poor People Don't Eat Oats Either." *New Naratif* (September 9). Retrieved June 8, 2021. (https://newnaratif.com/research/poor-people-dont-like-oats-either/)

Thant, Htoo. (2019). "Singapore Surpasses China as Myanmar's Biggest Investor." *The Myanmar Times*. (May 13). Retrieved August 15, 2021. (https://www.mmtimes.com/news/singapore-surpasses-china-myanmars-biggest-investor.html)

Thu, Ei Ei. (2018). "Ministry Seeks to Put a Little Magic in Tourism." *The Myanmar Times* (September 17). Retrieved August 25, 2021. (https://www.mmtimes.com/news/ministry-seeks-put-little-magic-tourism.html)

Tisnadibrata, Ismira Lutfia. (2018). "Indonesia Introduces New Internet Censorship System." *Arab News* (January 5). Retrieved July 5, 2021. (https://www.arabnews.com/node/1218011/world)

Toh, Elgin. (2018). "Cut Pay For Ministers? Singapore Will Pay Price: ESM Goh." *The Straits Times* (October 9). Retrieved June 10, 2021. (https://www.straitstimes.com/singapore/cut-pay-for-ministers-spore-will-pay-price-esm-goh)

Topak, Ozgun E. (2019). "The Authoritarian Surveillance Assemblage: Authoritarian State Surveillance in Turkey." *Security Dialogue*, Vol. 50(5): pp. 454–472.

Tsai, Chiung-Tzu Lucetta. (2017). "You Can Make the Difference: Women in Sport in Taiwan." *International Journal of the History of Sport*, Vol. 34(5-6): pp. 451–455.

Tumin, Melvin. (1953). "Some Principles of Stratification: A Critical Analysis." *American Sociological Review*, Vol. 18(4): pp. 387–394.

Turner, Bryan S. (2013). "Religion and Contemporary Sociological Theories." *Sociopedia.isa*. (DOI: 10.1177/205684601431)

Turner, Jonathan H., Leonard Beeghley, and Charles H. Powers. (2012). "The Sociology of Herbert Spencer." The Emergence of Sociological Theory, Seventh Edition. Los Angeles: Sage, pp. 67–110.

UNEP (United Nations Environment Program). (2016). *Environment, Religion, and Culture in the Context of the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development*. Nairobi: UNEP.

United Nation Women. (2020). *Unlocking the Lockdown: The Gendered Effects of Covid-19 on Achieving the SDGs in Asia and the Pacific*. Bangkok: UN Women Regional Office for Asia and the Pacific.

United States Census Bureau. (2020). "2020 Resident Population." Retrieved May 19, 2021. (https://www.census.gov/)

Uysal, Selcuk. (2019). "Jury Out on Whether Turks Like Offline vs Online Dating." *Anadolu Agency* (August 17). Retrieved July 6, 2021. (https://www.aa.com.tr/en/life/jury-out-on-whether-turks-like-offline-vs-online-dating/1558330)

Van Heteren, Renee. (2018). "Meet Sam Okyere: The Most Famous Black Man in South Korea." *DW* (October 24). Retrieved June 17, 2021. (https://www.dw.com/en/meet-sam-okyere-the-most-famous-black-man-in-south-korea/a-45928008)

Vandana, Shiva. (1988). *Staying Alive: Women, Ecology and Development*. London: Zed Books.

Varagur, Krithika. (2017). "Indonesian Movement Encourages Young People to Skip Dating." *Voice of America* (July 08). Retrieved July 8, 2021. (https://www.voanews.com/east-asia-pacific/indonesian-movement-encourages-young-people-skip-dating)

Varol, Filiz and Esat Yildirim. (2019). "Cyberloafing in Higher Education: Reasons and Suggestions from Students' Perspectives." *Tech, Know, Learn,* Vol. 24(1): pp. 129–142.

Vasandani, Chandni and Amanda Hodge. (2020). "Culture Dictates Dating a No-go Yet Indonesians Going Online for Love." *The Australian* (November 30). Retrieved July 6, 2021. (https://www.theaustralian.com.au/world/culture-dictates-dating-a-nogo-yet-indonesians-looking-online-for-love/news-story/93873f126f940f9178f11b1c84857079)

Vasu, Norman. (2012). "Governance Through Difference in Singapore." *Asian Survey,* Vol. 52(4): pp. 734–753.

Verkuyten, Maykel. (2005). "Ethnic Group Identification and Group Evaluation among Minority and Majority Groups." *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology,* Vol. 88(1): pp. 121–138.

Villadiego, Laura. (2021). "The Women's Revolution: What the Coup Means for Gender Equality in Myanmar." *Equal Times* (May 7). Retrieved September 15, 2021. (https://www.equaltimes.org/the-women-s-revolution-what-the#.YUF4T6ARXBC)

Villafañe, Veronica. (2021). "Televisa and Univision to Merge in 4.8 billion Transaction." *Forbes* (April 13). Retrieved June 24, 2021. (https://www.forbes.com/sites/veronicavillafane/2021/04/13/televisa-and-univision-to-merge-in-48-billion-transaction/?sh=4c87b34874d6)

VOA (Voice of America). (2015). "Pope's Climate Stand Gets Uneasy Reception in Catholic Heartland." VOA (June 18). Retrieved September 10, 2021. (https://www.voanews.com/europe/popes-climate-stand-gets-uneasy-reception-catholic-heartland)

Wacquant, Loic. (2004). *Body* and *Soul*: *Notebooks of an Apprentice Boxer*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004.

Wang, Xiuhong. (2014). "Start-Up Goals of Nongjiale Operators in China." *Proceedings of the 2nd International Conference on Education, Management, and Social Science.* Retrieved July 21, 2021. (https://doi.org/10.2991/icemss-14.2014.9)

Wang, Yudan Chen. (2014). "In Search of the Confucian Family: Interviews With Parents and Their Middle School Children in Guangzhou, China. *Journal of Adolescent Research*, Vol. 29(6): pp. 765–782.

Wang, Jinying and Huijing Wei. (2019). "The Family Structure and Family Development Ability in China: Based on the China Panel Studies." *Modern China Studies*, Vol. 26(1): pp. 121–142.

Warner, Gregory, Emily Feng, Rob Schmitz, Joanna Kakissis, Aviva Dekornfeld. (2020). "How Covid-19 is Challenging Countries." *Rough Translation*. National Public Radio. (https://www.npr.org/2020/03/18/817960068/how-covid-19-is-challenging-cultures)

Watt, David. (2017). "ANZAC Day Traditions and Rituals: A Quick Guide." *Parliament Library Research Paper Series, 2016-2017*. Retrieved August 11, 2021. (https://parlinfo.aph.gov.au/parlInfo/download/library/prspub/5187995/upload_binary/5187995.pdf)

Weber, Max. (1993) [1920]. *The Sociology of Religion*. Boston: Beacon Press.

_____. (1968) [1922]. *Economy and Society: An Outline of Interpretive Sociology*. Translated by G. Roth and G. Wittich. New York: Bedminster Press.

_____. (1958) [1904]. *The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism*. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons.

_____. (1949). *The Methodology of the Social Sciences*. Translated by Edward A. Shils and Henry A. Finch. Glencoe, IL: The Free Press.

Webber, Jude. (2017). "Mexico's Top Media Mogul Steps Down at Televisa." *Financial Times* (October 27). Retrieved June 28, 2021. (https://www.ft.com/content/c3964400-ba8b-11e7-8c12-5661783e5589)

Weiner, Michael (Ed.). (2009). *Japan's Minorities: The Illusion of Homogeneity, 2nd Edition*. London: Routledge.

Weiss, Gregory I. and Lynne E. Lonnquist. (2014). *Sociology of Health, Healing, and Illness, 8th Edition*. New York: Routledge.

West, Candace and Don H. Zimmerman. (2002). "Doing Gender," in Stevi Jackson and Sue Scott (Eds.), *Gender: A Sociological Reader*. London: Routledge, pp. 42–47.

_____ and Sarah Fenstermaker. (1995). "Doing Difference." *Gender and Society*, Vol. 9(1): pp. 8–37.

Williams, J.B. (2017). *The Electronics Revolution: Inventing the Future*. Chichester: Springer.

Wilson, Thomas. (2002). "The Paradox of Social Class and Sports Involvement: The Roles of Cultural and Economic Capital." *International Review for the Sociology of Sport*, Vol. 37(1): pp. 5–16.

Wimmer, Andreas and Yuval Feinstein. (2010). "The Rise of the Nation-State Across the World, 1816-2001." *American Sociological Review*, Vol. 75(5): pp. 764–790.

Winichakul, Thongchai. (1994). *Siam Mapped: A History of a Geo-Body of a Nation*. Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press.

Wolters, O.W. (1982). *History, Culture and Region in Southeast Asian Perspectives*. Singapore: Institute of Southeast Asian Studies.

Wood, Ellen Meiksins. (1995). *Democracy Against Capitalism: Renewing Historical Materialism*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

World Bank, The. (2021). "International Tourism, Number of Arrivals - East Asia and Pacific." Retrieved August 15, 2021. (https://data.worldbank.org/indicator/ST.INT.ARVL?locations=Z4)

WBSC [World Baseball Softball Confederation]. (2020). "International Women's Day: Po Chun Liu and How She Pushed Boundaries." *WBSC* (March 03). Retrieved December 14, 2021. (https://www.wbsc.org/en/news/stories-from-the-dugout-how-po-chun-liu-pushed-boundaries)

World Economic Forum (WEF). (2020). *The Global Social Mobility Report 2020: Equality, Opportunity, and a New Economic Imperative*. Geneva: World Economic Forum. Retrieved June 3, 2021. (http://www3.weforum.org/docs/Global_Social_Mobility_Report.pdf).

World Health Organization. (2021). "Weekly Epidemiological Update on Covid-19 – 24 August 2021." Retrieved August 29, 2021. (https://www.who.int/publications/m/item/weekly-epidemiological-update-on-covid-19---24-august-2021)

_____ (2005). *International Health Regulations, Third Edition*. Geneva: World Health Organization.

Yackley, Ayla Jean. (2021). "Turkey's Social Media Law: A Cautionary Tale." *Politico* (March 29). Retrieved July 4, 2021. (https://www.politico.eu/article/turkeys-social-media-law-a-cautionary-tale/)

Yamashiro, Jane H. (2013). The Social Construction of Race and Minority in Japan. *Sociology Compass,* Vol. 7(2): pp. 147–161.

Yang, Feiyue. (2018). "The Birthplace of Nongjiale." *China Daily* (May 28). Retrieved July 12, 2021. (https://www.chinadaily.com.cn/a/201805/28/WS5b0b505ca31001b82571c92d_1.html).

Ying Chiang, Alan Bairner, Dong-jhy Hwang and Tzu-Hsuan Chen. (2015). "Multiple margins: sport, gender and nationalism in Taiwan." *Asia Pacific Journal of Sport and Social Science,* Vol. 4(1): pp. 19–33.

Yoshino, Kosaku. (1992). *Cultural Nationalism in Contemporary Japan: A Sociological Enquiry*. London: Routledge.

Yuen Sin. (2021). "IPS Conference: Racial and Social Identities Will Continue to Pose a Challenge, Observers Say." *The Straits Times*, (Jan. 14). Retrieved 16 May 2021. (https://www.straitstimes.com/singapore/politics/ips-conference-racial-social-identities-will-continue-to-pose-a-challenge)

Yui, Kiyomitsu. (1994). "Theories on Modernization of Japan Today." *International Journal of Japanese Sociology,* Vol. 3(1): pp. 45–57.

Yusuf, Mohammed. (2021). "Observers Worry Tigray Fighting is Shifting to Ethnic Conflict." *Voice of America* (July 16). Retrieved September 14, 2021. (https://www.voanews.com/africa/observers-worry-tigray-fighting-shifting-ethnic-conflict)

Zan, Myint. (2017). "Narration of Events and Thoughts on Democratization on the 48th Anniversary of Burma's Internal Unity Advisory Board's Submission of Report." *The Global* (June 27). Retrieved August 21, 2021. (https://www.gnlm.com.mm/narration-of-events-and-thoughts-on-democratization-on-the-48th-anniversary-of-burmas-internal-unity-advisory-boards-submission-of-report-2/?)

INDEX

A

abnormal division of labor, 129–130
absolute poverty, 92
action research, 37
activist, 37
affirmative action, 62
age, 35
aggregate, 120
agrarian societies, 188–189
alertness, 12
alienation, 20, 130
    of labor, 130
alternative social movements, 228
alternative sociology, 27
amalgamation, 57
American Revolution, 9
animism, 173
anomic division of labor, 129
anomie, 129
Arce, Wilfredo, 131
archival research, 39
armed conflict, 231
    class and, 234
    culture and, 234–235
    deviance and, 236–237
    ethnicity and, 232–233
    family and, 237–238
    gender and, 233
    nation-state and, 239
    organizations and, 235–236
    religion and, 238–239
    and social change, 240–241
arranged marriage, 159
assertion. *See* hypothesis
assimilation, 57
assumption. *See* hypothesis
authoritarianism, 193
authority, 192
autocracy, 193
autonomous religion, 177

B

belief in sacred power, 175
beliefs, 108
bias factor, 147
bigamy, 160
big data, 42
biological bases of identity, sex and, 68–69
birth rate, 160
Black Death, 215
bourgeoisie, 95
Buddhism, 175–176
bureaucracy, 125–126
    characteristics of, 126–127
bureaucratic ritualism, 132

C
cancel culture, 110
capabilities, 92
capability deprivation, 92
capitalism, 194–195
carceral culture, 143
care and emotional support, family, 162
caste system, 84
category, 119
celebrations, 174
censorship, 142, 143, 237
census, 36
charismatic authority, 192
choreography, 105
Christianity, 175
civic religion, 181, 238
civil religion, 181
class
  and armed conflict, 234
  and environment, 221–222
class conflict, 25
class consciousness, 20
class system, 85
coercion, 192
coercive organizations, 124, 236
collective effervescence, 179
collective households, 155
colonialism, 61
common sense, 17
commonsensical knowledge, 17
community of worshippers, 174
comparative historical methodology, sociological research, 39–42
Comte, Auguste, 19
conflict approaches, 78
  class and social stratification, 95–96
  race and ethnicity, 62
  sex and gender, 78
  sociological theory, 25–26, 31
conflict crimes, 138
conflict theory, 19
conformity, 138, 141, 145
consensus crimes, 138
constitution, 197
constructionist approach, deviance and, 147
coronavirus disease, 205
counterculture, 113
counterwork discrimination, 80
Covid-19 pandemic, 119, 205, 206, 218, 219, 231
  fatality, 209
  home quarantines, 209
  racism and xenophobia, 207–208
  sociology of, 207–210
crime, 138
critic, 37
critical methodology, sociological research, 37–38
cult, 178
cultural bases of identity, gender and, 70–71
cultural detachment, 80
cultural map, 5, 154
cultural "omnivorousness," 96
cultural particulars, 106–107
cultural relativism, 115
cultural universals, 106
culture, 104–106, 222
  between, 114–116
  and armed conflict, 234–235
  dynamic, 106
  elements of, 107–110
  and environment, 222–223
  inside, 112–114
  invention, 106
  learning, 105
  locating, 110–112

and pandemic, 210–211
rhythm of, 104–107
sharing, 105
taken for granted, 106
culture shock, 115
cybercrime, 139
cyberloafing, 144

D
decentralization, 200
de facto segregation, 58
de jure segregation, 58
demeanor factor, 147
democracy, 194
Democratic Revolution, 9
denomination, 177
development, 221
Development Revolution, 9–10
deviance, 137
and armed conflict, 236–237
characteristics of, 139–140
and environment, 224–225
and pandemic, 212–213
promotes social change, 145
social construction of, 140–141
types of, 138–139
understanding, 142–147
unites group, 145
diasporas, 114
dictator, 193
differential association theory, 147–148
digital leapfrogging, 190
digital revolution, 190
and end of nation-state, 199–200
disciplinary society, 143, 237
discrimination, 60
discriminatory practices, 60
disenchantment, 22, 180
disparity, 62
divine, 175
division of labor, 126
doing gender, 78
domestication, 188
downward mobility, 94
drive for profit, 224
Durkheim, Emile, 20–21, 129–130
dyads, 121
dysfunctions, 24

E
ecofeminism, 220, 229
economic cooperation, family and, 161–162
economics, 194
economic system, 194
capitalism, 194–195
mixed economies, 196
socialism, 195–196
ecosystem, 219
efficiency, 127
emphatic understanding, 38
end of family, 165
decline of parental authority and, 166
individualism and, 165–166
institutions and, 166–167
end of nation-state, 199
digital revolution and, 199–200
globalization and, 200–201
resilience and resurgence, 201
end of religion, 178
fundamentalism, pluralization, and individualization, 182–183
institutions and, 180–182
secularization and, 178–180
endogamy, 159

enlightenment, 8
environment, 206
class and, 221–222
culture and, 222–223
deviance and, 224–225
family and, 225–226
gender and, 220–221
nation-state and, 226–227
organizations and, 223–224
race and, 219–220
religion and, 226
sociology of, 219
environmental movement, 219, 227
and social change, 227–229
environmental racism, 219, 229
environmental sociology, 219
environmental standards and certification (ESC), 223
epidemic, 205
epidemiologization of society, 216
estate system, 85
ethnic armed conflict, 232
ethnic federalism, 232
ethnic group, 51
ethnicity, 50, 51, 233
and armed conflict, 232–233
ethnic renewal, 52
ethnocentrism, 60, 115, 211
ethnography, 38
etiquettes, 109
eugenics, 61
everyday forms of resistance, 148
exogamy, 159
expatriate, 97
experiment, 36
expressive roles, 161
expressive tasks, 77
extended family, 156

F
faith, 172
falsifiability, 36
family, 154–155
and armed conflict, 237–238
care and emotional support, 162
confer social status, 163
economic cooperation, 161–162
end of, 165–169
and environment, 225–226
functions of, 160–163
human reproduction, 160–161
inequality and violence in, 163–165
and pandemic, 213
primary agent of socialization, 163
regulate sexual activity, 160
types of, 157
family household, 155
femininity, 71
feminism, 79
feminist approaches, 79–80
sex and gender, 79–80
feminist theory, 25
fertility rate, 161
fictive kinship, 157
flexible citizenship, 201
folkways, 109
food production, 225
foraging, 187
forced division of labor, 130
formal deviance, 138
formal norms, 109
formal sanctions, 110, 142
formal sociology, 21
freedom, 92
French Revolution, 9
functionalism, 23, 24
functionalist approaches

class and social stratification, 94–95
deviance, 145
race and ethnicity, 62
sex and gender, 77–78
sociological theory, 23–24, 30–31
functionalist theory, 21
fundamentalism, 182

G
gender, 68, 70
and armed conflict, 233
classification and social inequality, 73–77
constructing, 72–73
and cultural bases of identity, 70–71
and environment, 220–221
functionalist approaches, 77–78
learning, 71–72
and pandemic, 208–209
social construction of, 71–73
gender discrimination, 74, 75–77, 80
gendered institution, 72
gender identity, 70
gender polarization, 70
gender roles, 70
gender socialization, 71
geography, 110–111
gig economy, 96
glass ceiling, 76
global inequality, 221
globalization, 10
and end of nation-state, 200–201
global stratification, 221
glocalization, 11
goods, 194
government, 193
group conformity, 122
groups
definition, 120
religion and, 174
types of, 120–122
viewing, 119
groupthink, 122

H
hate crime, 139
Hawthorn effect, 41
headway, 12
hidden curriculum, 32
hierarchical bureaucracy, 200
hierarchy of authority, 126
high culture, 113
Hinduism, 175–176
history, 110–111
homestays, 153–154
horticultural societies, 188
household, 155–157
household energy use, 225
household secondary attack rate, 213
household waste, 225
human development, 92
human reproduction, family and, 160–161
human societies, 187
hunting-gathering societies, 187
hybridity, 30
hypothesis, 35

I
imagined community, 198
imperialism, 9
impression management, 26
income, 89
independence movements, 9
indigenous rationality, 30

individual discrimination, 60
individualism, 21
    end of family and, 165–166
Industrial Revolution, 8, 189
industrial societies, 189
inequality, in family, 163–165
influence, 192
informal deviance, 138
informal norms, 109
informal sanctions, 110, 141
information societies, 190
ingroup, 121
innovation, 146
insight, 14
institution, 154
institutional discrimination, 60
institutional households, 155
institutionalization of race, 52
institutions
    and end of religion, 180–182
    end of family and, 166–167
instrumental roles, 161
instrumental tasks, 77
Intellectual Revolution, 8
Interactionism, 96
interactionist approaches, 78–79
    class and social stratification, 96–97
    race and ethnicity, 62
    sex and gender, 78–79
    sociological theory, 26–27, 31–32
interactionist theories, 97
intergenerational mobility, 93
interpretive methodology, sociological research, 38–39
intersectionality, 80
intersexed, 68
intragenerational mobility, 93
investment, 195
involuntary ethnicity, 52
Islam, 175
Islamic war theory, 240

J
joint family, 168
juridification, 140
    of deviance, 140

K
kinship, 157–160
    structures of, 158
knowledge economy, 190

L
labeling theory, 146–147, 225
laissez-faire policy, 195
language, 108
latent functions, 24
laws, 109
liberal feminism, 80
life chances, 85
life expectancy, 161
livestock, 225
looking-glass self, 26

M
majority group, 56
mandala system, 189
manifest functions, 24
mapping the nation, 199
marriage, 158, 159
Martineau, Harriet, 19
Marx, Karl, 19–20, 130

masculinity, 71
mass society theory, 228
material culture, 107
matriarchal society, 159
matriarchy, 74
matrilocal arrangement, 159
meat production, 225
mechanical solidarity, 21
mechanization, 8, 189
medicalization, 216
of deviance, 140
medical model of health, 206
mentorship, 79
meritocracy, 93, 127
migration rate, 160
militarism, 240
minority group, 56
mixed economies, 196
modern economic systems, 194
modernity, 7, 10
modernization, 17–18, 114
monarchy, 193
monogamy, 159
monopoly, 195
monotheism, 173
moralization, 226
mores, 109
mortality rate, 160
multicultural feminism, 80
multiculturalism, 55
multinational corporations (MNCs), 10, 127–129

N

narrative, 14
nation, 198
mapping, 199
nationalism, 198
national religion, 177
nation-army, 240
nation branding, 197, 227
nation-state, 197, 239
and armed conflict, 239
end of, 199
and environment, 226–227
and pandemic, 214–215
political economy and, 196–197
revisiting, 197–199
negative sanctions, 141
networks, 122
neutrality, 37
new social movement theory, 228
nongjiale, 153, 156, 163
non-material culture, 107
normative organizations, 124, 235
norms, 109
nuclear family, 155
nuclearization, 168

O

obedience, 138
objectivity, 37
observance, religion and, 174–175
occupational prestige, 91
oligarchy, 132, 193
oligopoly, 195
omnivorousness, 96–97
operationalization, 35
opinion, 14
organic solidarity, 21
organizations, 123
and armed conflict, 235–236
characteristics of, 124
dramas and dilemmas of, 129–132

and environment, 223–224
issues, 132–133
and pandemic, 211–212
types of, 124
organized crime, 139
outgroup, 121

P

pandemic, 205. *See also* Covid-19 pandemic
culture and, 210–211
deviance and, 212–213
family and, 213
gender and, 208–209
nation-state and, 214–215
organizations and, 211–212
race and, 207–208
religion and, 213–214
and social change, 215–216
social class and, 209–210
panopticon, 143
parental authority, end of family and, 166
participant observation, 38
participatory research, 37
pastoral societies, 188
patriarchal, 159
patriarchy, 74
patrilineal, 159
patrilocal, 159
penalties, 234
personal compass, 5
personal profit, 195
Poblador, Niceto, 131
political economy, and nation-state, 196–197
political system, 191–192
government, 193–194
power and authority, 192–193
politics, 191
polyandry, 159
polygamy, 159
polytheism, 173
popular culture, 113
position, 12
positive sanctions, 141
positivism, 19
positivist methodology, sociological research, 36–37
postcolonialism, 28
post-industrial society, 190
postmodernism, 28
power, 56, 90, 191, 192
prejudice, 59–60
prestige, 90
primary group, 122
primitive communism, 78
private ownership, 194
probing, 13
profane, 175
professional crime, 139
professional-managerial class, 95
proletariat, 95
public ownership, 195

Q

qualitative research, 38
quantitative research, 38

R

race, 50, 233
and environment, 219–220
and pandemic, 207–208
racial and ethnic classification
and social boundaries, 55–58
and social inequality, 58–62

systems of, 53–55
racial homogeneity, 53
racialization, 52, 55
racism, 61, 62
radical feminism, 80
rationality, 131
rationalization, 21
rational-legal authority, 192
recreation, 161
redemptive social movements, 228
red tape, 132
re-entry shock, 115
reference group, 121
reflexivity, 12
reformative social movements, 228
reification, 52
relative poverty, 92
reliability, 35
religion, 172–173
and armed conflict, 238–239
end of, 178–183
and environment, 226
key elements of, 174–175
major world, 175–176
and pandemic, 213–214
types of religious organizations, 177–178
religious individualization, 183
religious organizations, 177–178
religious pluralism, 182
reorientationism, 27, 97
reorientationist approaches, 79
class and social stratification, 97–98
race and ethnicity, 62
sex and gender, 79
sociological theory, 27–30, 32
reorientationist theories, 98
research ethics, sociology, 44–45
research problem, 43
research process, sociology, 43–44
resilience, and end of nation-state, 201
resurgence, and end of nation-state, 201
retreatism, 146
revolution, 195
revolutionary social movements, 229
ritualism, 146
rituals, 173, 174
romantic marriage, 159
rules and regulations, 126

S

sacred, 175
sacred canopy, 175
sanctions, 110, 141
SARS pandemic, 212
scientific racism, 61
Scientific Revolution, 10
secondary analysis, 39
secondary group, 122
secondary sex characteristics, 69
second shift, 76, 78, 164
sect, 178
sectarianization, 238
secularization, 178–180, 238
segregation, 57
selective forgetting, 52
sense of disorientation, 115
services, 194
servitude system, 84
sets of knowledge, 119
severe acute respiratory syndrome coronavirus 2 (SARS-CoV-2), 205, 206
sex, 68
and biological bases of identity, 68–69
classification and social inequality, 73–77

conflict approaches, 78
feminist approaches, 79–80
functionalist approaches, 77–78
interactionist approaches, 78–79
reorientationist approaches, 79
social construction of, 71–73
sex education, 72
sexism, 74–75, 233
sexual activity, family and, 160
sexual identity, 70
sexual orientation. *See* sexual identity
Simmel, Georg, 21
simple supernaturalism, 173
slash-and-burn agriculture, 223
social audience, 140, 237
social boundaries, racial and ethnic, 55–58
social change, 215
armed conflict and, 240–241
environmental movements and, 227–229
pandemic and, 215–216
social class, 20, 85–87, 92–94
and pandemic, 209–210
social collectivities, types of, 119–120
social constructionism, 26
social construction
of deviance, 140–141
of sex and gender, 71–73
social constructs, 50
social context, 139
social control, 141–143
Social Darwinism, 20, 51, 55
social deviations, 138
social diversions, 138
social epidemiology, 206
social equilibrium, 24
social expectations, 70, 71
social facts, 20
social forms, 121
social inequality, 73–77, 88
racial and ethnic, 58–62
social institutions, 154
socialism, 195
socialization, 72, 105, 225
family and, 163
social mobility, 92–94
social model of health, 206
social movements, 141, 227
alternative, 228
redemptive, 228
reformative, 228
types of, 228
social order, 24
social reproduction, 30
social responsibility, 133, 224
social science, 5
social solidarity, 24
social status, family and, 163
social stratification, 83–85
social terrain, 5
societies, types of, 187–191
socio-economic status (SES), 86, 87
sociological imagination, 6–7
sociological orienteering, 5–7
cultural map, 5
key component in, 7
key element in, 5
personal compass, 5
social terrain, 5
for sociologists, 6
sociological research methodologies
comparative historical methodology, 39–42
critical methodology, 37–38
interpretive methodology, 38–39
positivist methodology, 36–37
research ethics, 44–45

research process, 43–44
sociological theory, 17–18
major theoretical approaches, 23–30
understanding education, 30–32
sociologists, 18–23
sociology, 17
of armed conflicts, 232–239
of Covid-19 pandemic, 207–210
definition of, 4–5
development, 7–11
of environment, 219
scope of, 5
study of, 11–14
uses, 12
solidarity, 21
Spencer, Herbert, 20
spirituality, 172
split-labor market, 62
state religion, 177
stem family, 168
stereotype, 59
stigma, 63
stigmatization, 142
structural strain, 212
structural strain theory, 145
structures, 119
subculture, 112
surveillance, 142, 143
survey, 36
sustainable practices, 225
sustainable waste management, 225
swidden farming, 188
symbols, 107, 235
systems of class categorization, 85–88

T

taboos, 109
technology, 199
texts, 14
The CNN Effect, 128
the iron cage of rationality, 131
theism, 173
The McDonaldization of Society, 129
theocracy, 194
the opium of the masses, 180
the pandemic of inequality, 210
throw-away society, 225
tipping points, 215
tolerance, 12
totalitarianism, 193
totemism, 179, 213
traditional authority, 192
transcendent idealism, 173
transcultural contradictions, 131–132
transcultural diffusion, 114–115
transnational crime, 139
transportation, 225
triadic segregation, 121
triads, 121
triangulation, 41

U

upward mobility, 94
urbanization, 8, 189
utilitarian organizations, 124, 236

V

validity, 36
values, 108
variables, 35
victimless crime, 139
violence, in family, 163–165
visibility factor, 146

W
wage gap, 75, 76
war, 231
war rhetoric, 241
wealth, 89, 90
Weber, Max, 21–22, 131
welfare state, 196
western war theory, 240
white-collar crime, 139
whole-of-nation movement, 226
workplace discrimination, 80

X
xenophobia, 208

Y
yamato, 56
yingyangren, 69