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ІНОЗЕМНА МОВА
ПРОФЕСІЙНОГО СПІЛКУВАННЯ
(соціологія)

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Практикум охоплює усі основні лексичні й граматичні теми, що передбачені навчальною програмою вищих навчальних закладів з дисципліни «Іноземна мова професійного спілкування (соціологія)».

Пропоноване видання адресовано студентам-магістрам, викладачам, науковим працівникам, перекладачам, а також усім тим, хто прагне удосконалити своє володіння англійською мовою.

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ПЕРЕДМОВА

Видання «Іноземна мова професійного спілкування: практикум для студентів-магістрів» вміщує оригінальні, неадаптовані тексти із соціології, завдання до них і додатковий матеріал.

Основні модулі (у Розділі I) призначені для виконання на заняттях під наглядом викладача як фінальний етап вивчення відповідних тематичних розділів з рекомендованого підручника з даної дисципліни.

Фокусування уваги спрямоване, здебільшого, на вивчення нової лексики і розширення словникового запасу. Кожен модуль складається з основного тексту, низки ретельно розроблених вправ на вивчення текстового змісту та його деталей, додаткового тексту для оглядового ознайомлення.

У зв'язку з акцентуванням уваги у модулях переважно на лексичних полях все різноманіття вправ на перевірку знань граматики сконцентровано у Розділі II «Граматичні тести». Розділ III із додатковими текстами, що завершує практикум, охоплює різноаспектну інформацію за фахом.

Презентоване видання «Іноземна мова професійного спілкування: практикум для студентів-магістрів» сприяє удосконаленню знань студентів-магістрів з англійської мови та поглибленню їхньої професійної філологічної підготовки.

Розділ I

Unit 1

1. Read the article and answer the questions:

Minority groups

Minority groups are groups of people whose physical appearance or cultural characteristics mark them as different from the dominant group and subject them to unequal treatment. Because the term minority implies social rather than numerical disadvantage, it is possible for a group to be a numerical minority but to dominate others by virtue of power, prestige, and status. Conversely, women constitute the majority of the American population but occupy relatively few positions of power. Hence minority and dominant groups reflect patterns of economic and political domination in the political structure of a society.

From a biological perspective, a race may seem to be a population that has bred through many generations to develop distinctive characteristics that are transmitted genetically. This definition is limited, however, because of difficulties in determining when a characteristic becomes distinctive and because of the great overlap across races. Sociologists emphasize race as a social construct: racial differences exist because people think that these differences are important and respond accordingly. Hence sociologists define a race as a group of people who perceive themselves and are perceived by others as possessing certain distinctive hereditary physical traits. These traits are assumed to be related to a variety of nonphysical attributes. Hence members of a race think of themselves as different from other groups of people, and other groups begin to treat them as if they are different.

Ethnicity is also a social construct. Whereas race is based on the perception of physical differences, ethnicity is based on the perception of cultural differences.

An ethnic group is a group of people who perceive themselves and are perceived by others as sharing cultural traits such as language, religion, family customs, and preferences in food.

Labels such as minority group, race, and ethnicity have several social consequences, some positive and some negative. They may result in a sense of identification. Conversely, they may cause alienation. A sense of racial and ethnic identity may satisfy an important psychological need – a sense of belonging. It also can serve important economic and political interests. Finally, racism may result: the doctrine (or a policy based on the doctrine) that some races are inherently inferior to others and some are inherently superior.

Sociologists also distinguish between prejudice and discrimination. Prejudice is a categorical predisposition to like or dislike people for their real or imagined social characteristics, such as race and religion. Discrimination, on the other hand, reflects actual behavior as opposed to the state of mind reflected in prejudice. Discrimination involves acts of disqualifying or mistreating people on the basis of their group membership. The two do not always go hand in hand: someone could be prejudiced but might not discriminate, and someone could discriminate without being prejudiced.

Discrimination also exists at the institutional level. Institutional discrimination refers to the policies and programs that systematically deny opportunities and equal rights to members of particular groups. Sociologists who follow the power perspective have shown how social arrangements in the United States enable those in power to make the critical decisions and to allocate resources. Institutional discrimination is frequently faceless and impersonal.

Finally, sociologists distinguish segregation from integration. Segregation occurs when people from different racial and ethnic groups are separated physically and socially by custom or by law. When they are not separated by race or ethnicity, they are said to be integrated. Segregation basically reflects institutional discrimination; segregated societies carefully regulate the types of

contact allowed between the dominant and the minority groups. For example, subordinate group members are not allowed to live where dominant group members live. Although various efforts toward integration have been made in America, many aspects of life continue to be segregated.

1. What are minority groups?
2. How does this concept compare with race and ethnicity?
3. What social consequences do minority groups, race and ethnicity have?
4. What is the difference between prejudice and discrimination?
5. What do the discrimination acts involve?
6. To what does discrimination refer?
7. What is segregation?

2. All these statements are false. Read the article again and say why.

1. To dominate others a social group must be a numerical majority.
2. Race is a political construct.
3. An ethnic group is based on economical differences.
4. Prejudice equals discrimination.
5. Discrimination is involved into the integration acts.

3. Match the words (1-11) to their meanings (a-k):

1) minority	a) the fact or state of belonging to a social group that has a common national or cultural tradition
2) domination	b) a traditional and widely accepted way of behaving or doing something that is specific to a particular society, place, or

	time
3) race	c) the characteristics determining who or what a person or thing is
4) ethnicity	d) preconceived opinion that is not based on reason or actual experience
5) religion	e) the unjust or prejudicial treatment of different categories of people, especially on the grounds of race, age, or sex
6) customs	f) the exercise of power or influence over someone or something, or the state of being so controlled
7) identity	g) a situation in which individuals or groups compete to be first to achieve a particular objective
8) prejudice	h) the enforced separation of different racial groups in a country, community, or establishment
9) discrimination	i) the intermixing of people who were previously segregated
10)segregation	j) the belief in and worship of a superhuman controlling power, especially a personal God or gods
11)integration	k) a small group of people within a community or country, differing from the main population in race, religion, language, or political persuasion

4. Complete the sentences with words from the box:

<i>variety</i>	<i>patterns</i>	<i>implies</i>	<i>population</i>	<i>distinctive</i>
<i>cultural</i>	<i>characteristics</i>	<i>contact</i>		

1. The term minority ... social rather than numerical disadvantage.
2. Dominant groups reflect ... of economic and political domination in the political structure of a society.
3. A race may seem to be a ... that has bred through many generations to develop ... characteristics.
4. These traits are assumed to be related to a ... of nonphysical attributes.
5. Ethnicity is based on the perception of ... differences.
6. Prejudice is a categorical predisposition to like or dislike people for their real or imagined social
7. Segregated societies carefully regulate the types of ... allowed between the dominant and the minority groups.

5. Complete the table with appropriate forms of words from the article.

verb	noun	adjective
1. imply		
2.	difference	
3.	sense	
4.	preference	
5.		distinctive
6. transmit		
7. base		
8.		existing
9. determine		
10.		critical

6. Choose the correct variant:

1. It is possible for a group ... a numerical minority.
a) must be b) to be c) will be
2. A race may seem to be a population that has bred ... many generations.
a) of b) in c) through
3. Members of a race think of ... as different from other groups of people.
a) themselves b) theirselves c) oneself
4. Race is ... on the perception of physical differences.
a) basing b) based c) being based
5. Discrimination reflects actual behavior as ... to the state of mind reflected in prejudice.
a) oppose b) having opposed c) opposed
6. Discrimination is ... faceless and impersonal.
a) frequent b) frequenter c) frequently
7. Ethnic groups are separated ... and socially by customs.
a) physically b) physical c) physician

7. Translate the following article from English into Ukrainian:

Patterns of accommodation as response to interracial and interethnic conflict

In one form of accommodation majority and minority group members intermarry and their various customs and values blend, a pattern that has come to be known as the melting-pot concept. Such cultural and ideological blending is most likely to occur when the groups have equal power and when relations are cooperative. Blending is also more likely to occur in situations of low ethnocentrism. Unfortunately, the melting-pot concept does not describe

accurately the actual situation of people immigrating to the United States. The continued existence of various subcultures also casts doubt on the utility of this explanation.

Assimilation is a second pattern of accommodation. It reflects the incorporation of a minority group into the culture and social life of the majority such that the minority group eventually disappears as a separate, identifiable group. Assimilation occurs in several stages. Initially immigrants obtain only what others do not want. As a result they develop separate ethnic enclaves. Over time they begin to acquire the culture of the dominant group, and their original struggle for survival is replaced with a struggle for respectability and better living conditions. As more and more members of the ethnic group attain upward mobility, the assimilation process is completed. This process is not experienced equally by all racial and ethnic groups. Some minority groups are assimilated more rapidly than others because they have lived in an area longer, their cultural background and physical appearance are more similar to those of the dominant group, the size of their group is substantial, and they have a greater desire to assimilate.

A third pattern of accommodation is reflected in pluralism, in which each group retains its own language, religion, and customs and its members tend to interact socially primarily among themselves. All participate jointly, however, in the economic and political systems of the society. Many minority groups in the United States strive to preserve at least some of their cultural identity; hence American society is very much a pluralistic society.

8. What is the key message of the article?

9. Write a short summary of the article.

Test 2

1. Read the article and answer the questions:

Patterns of conflict and domination

Ethnocentrism occurs when people of different racial and ethnic groups judge others by the standards of their own way of life. High levels of ethnocentrism lead to a distrust of outsiders. Intergroup competition for territory and scarce resources occurs when two groups strive for the same things and perceive their claims to be mutually exclusive and legitimate. Such competition sets the stage for conflict. Ethnocentrism and competition fuel each other.

Perhaps the most common pattern is economic and political subjugation, which often begins when one group of people needs more labor, raw materials, or markets to support a growing economy. European colonialism is the best example of this pattern. Economic and political subjugation is commonly accompanied by racial stratification and social segregation. The former reflects a rigid ranking of groups; the latter reflects attempts by the dominant group to maintain the physical and social separation in races through custom or law. For example, contact between majority and minority groups is regulated.

Internal colonialism occurs within a single state. Typically it begins when different segments of a country industrialize at different rates. The result is two distinct groups, one more advanced than the other and each segregated spatially and economically from the other. Gradually the dominant (core) group takes shape apart from the subordinate (peripheral) group. The core exploits the periphery economically; this pattern is enforced by political domination. Afro-Americans in the United States have many characteristics of an internally colonized group.

Displacement of a native population is a second pattern of domination. When a

weaker group occupies a territory desired by a stronger group, the stronger group is likely to displace the weaker group. Also, native populations typically are displaced from areas that are rich in natural resources and whose geography and climate are similar to those of the homeland of the invading group. Displacement can occur through attrition, when members of the weaker group die of starvation or disease. It also may occur through population transfers, when native peoples are expelled forcibly or leave voluntarily because life becomes too difficult. In the most extreme case, displacement may occur through extermination. Examples of all three forms of displacement can be seen in the experiences of the Native American.

Genocide and mass expulsions are not limited to instances of territorial expansion. Generally they occur when the dominant group perceives the threat posed by a minority as too great to be endured, when assimilation of the minority into the dominant group is viewed as impossible or undesirable, or when minority group members are not considered essential sources of labor, knowledge, or skills.

Minority group members react in a variety of ways to prejudice and discrimination. Some try to become accepted by the majority. Some become resigned to their status. Some engage in covert aggression by appearing to accept the role assigned to them by the dominant group but privately showing their contempt for the majority. Political and economic protest is another response; this is most likely to occur when members of a minority group believe that they have some chance of improving their status by working within the existing system. Finally, violent protest or outright rebellion occurs when minority group members believe that there is little hope of improving their lot by working within the system.

1. When does ethnocentrism occur?
2. Where do high levels of ethnocentrism lead?

3. When does economic and political subjugation begin?
4. By what is this form of subjugation accompanied?
5. When does internal colonialism typically begin?
6. What is the result of internal colonialism?
7. What are the patterns of domination?

2. All these statements are false. Read the article again and say why.

1. Competition sets the stage for peaceful coexistence.
2. The rarest pattern is economic and political subjugation.
3. The core group usually joins the peripheral group.
4. A first pattern of domination is displacement of a native population.
5. Members of majority group try to become accepted by the minority.

3. Match the words (1-11) to their meanings (a-k):

1) competition	a) the action of making someone a slave
2) pattern	b) the division of something, especially society, into different classes or layers
3) subjugation	c) the activity or condition of striving to gain or win something by defeating or establishing superiority over others
4) colonialism	d) a particular group or type of people living in a place
5) stratification	e) an arrangement or design regularly found in comparable objects

6) assimilation	f) an autonomous or semi-autonomous state occupied by a particular people
7) population	g) the policy or practice of acquiring full or partial political control over another country, occupying it with settlers, and exploiting it economically
8) homeland	h) the deliberate killing of a large group of people, especially those of a particular nation or ethnic group
9) displacement	i) the process by which food substances are taken into the cells of the body after they have been digested and absorbed
10) genocide	j) the greater number or part of something
11) majority	k) the enforced departure of people from their homes, typically because of war, persecution, or natural disaster

4. Complete the sentences with words from the box: 7

<i>each other periphery strive commonly territorial sources are</i>
--

1. Intergroup competition for territory occurs when two groups ... for the

same things.

2. Ethnocentrism and competition fuel
3. Subjugation is ... accompanied by social segregation.
4. The core exploits the ... economically; this pattern is enforced by political domination.
5. Mass expulsions are not limited to instances of ... expansion.
6. Minority group members are not considered essential sources of labor/
7. Native populations typically ... displaced from areas that are rich in natural resources.

5. Complete the table with appropriate forms of words from the article.

verb	noun	adjective
1. occur		
2.	attempt	
3.	starvation	
4.	expulsion	
5.		exclusive
6. judge		
7. lead		
8.		legitimate
9. occupy		
10.		dominant

6. Choose the correct variant:

1. Subjugation often begins when one group of people needs more labor or ... to support a growing economy.
a) wet materials b) raw materials c) dry materials
2. Political subjugation is commonly accompanied ... racial stratification.

- a) by b) with c) at
3. Contact between majority and minority ... is regulated.
- a) gangs b) parts c) groups
4. Displacement may occur ... extermination.
- a) through b) over c) into
5. Genocide is not ... to instances of territorial expansion.
- a) restricted b) limited c) finished
6. Some members become resigned to their
- a) stature b) status c) statue
7. Protest occurs when there is little hope of improving one's lot by working within the
- a) device b) machine c) system

7. Translate the following article from English into Ukrainian:

Prejudice and discrimination

The psychological view of prejudice is based on the frustration-aggression hypothesis: people are goal-directed beings who become angry and hostile when their desires are frustrated. They displace their frustration onto a scapegoat who is readily available and is too weak to retaliate. Often this scapegoat is a member of a minority group; the result is reciprocal frustration and hostility. The psychological view also highlights how prejudice and discrimination can be internalized by individual minority group members, so they may believe that in some way they deserve to be victims.

Racial and ethnic myths also help to explain prejudice and discrimination and are based on inadequate information about minority groups; such myths and belief systems often help people to justify their own cruel and unfair behavior. Sometimes racist views take on more sophisticated forms, as when Arthur Jensen published an article in 1969 stating that Afro-Americans' lower IQ scores are due

to genetic factors. Even if genetic factors are involved, it is extremely difficult to determine how much these factors matter in view of the role of socialization, cultural factors, and the entire social context. These social structural factors substantially affect education, test taking, and grading.

Another explanation is that the intensity of discrimination and the strength of beliefs depend heavily on the level of tension between the groups. This tension depends in turn on competing interests between the dominant and the minority groups. When the dominant group perceives a minority group as particularly threatening to its position and to its desire for more income, power, and prestige, a great deal of prejudice and discrimination is likely to result. This power perspective also helps us to see how social and economic conflict leads to prejudice and discrimination, and how both phenomena are effective means of maintaining conflict.

Culture also may help to explain prejudice and discrimination. In stratified societies, prejudice becomes part of the culture; children learn prejudice and discrimination much as they learn other social values. Because many people seldom come into contact with members of minority groups, it is easy to maintain these beliefs. When contact does occur, prejudice distorts perceptions of reality so that they conform to negative preconceptions. People even use the consequences of prejudice and discrimination to support their negative evaluations.

8. What is the key message of the article?

9. Write a short summary of the article.

Test 3

1. Read the article and answer the questions:

The major racial and ethnic groups in America

Afro-Americans constitute the largest racial minority, representing nearly 12 percent of the United States population. Many of the first Africans to come to America were imported as slaves so that the economy in the South might prosper. Although slavery was abolished in 1865, discrimination continued under Jim Crow laws, which barred Africans from public facilities. More recently, segregation was fought with boycotts and nonviolent demonstrations. Africans also began to win civil-rights victories in the courts and in Congress.

Urbanization, political awareness, and social and economic mobility have contributed to the role of Afro-Americans. Although they have made gains in education and income, they still rank below whites in these areas. Substandard housing for Afro-Americans is supported by *de facto* segregation, racial separation that results from unofficial social practices such as residential patterns. *De jure* segregation, by contrast, is segregation imposed by law. In Addition, the unemployment rate among Afro-Americans is double that among whites. Furthermore, Afro-Americans themselves have become stratified; there is a small middle class that is gaining ground in civil rights and in political and economic status, but there also is a much larger group of poor and underprivileged Afro-Americans-the underclass. Over time, urbanization, political awareness, and some social and economic mobility have contributed to the status of Afro-Americans.

Hispanic-Americans are the second largest and the fastest-growing minority group in the United States. They have several things in common: the Spanish language, the Catholic religion, and the Hispanic culture, with its emphasis on the

family. The two largest subgroups are Mexican-Americans and Puerto Ricans. Mexican-Americans live primarily in the southwest, while Puerto Ricans live mostly in the New York City area. Like Afro-Americans, Hispanic-Americans hold more lower-status jobs and have lower incomes than do whites.

Native Americans are the poorest minority group in America; their history is filled with lies, corruption, and abuse. The life chances of Native Americans also are poorer than those of whites. During recent years a growing militancy has developed among Native Americans, particularly in regard to land reclamation.

The Chinese and the Japanese are the two major Asian groups in the United States. Many of the children of Chinese immigrants perform very well on science and mathematics tests, partly because Chinese immigrants tend to come from an affluent, educated stratum of society. An emphasis on educational values, family cohesiveness, and emotional support also contribute. The Chinese, however, have encountered substantial prejudice and discrimination as well. In fact, at one time Chinese immigration was halted and Chinese people were denied the right to become naturalized citizens or to own land. In many places they also were denied schooling, jobs, and housing. Japanese-Americans also have experienced discrimination and prejudice. They, too, were denied entry to the United States; during World War II thousands were rounded up and placed in “relocation centers.”

1. When was slavery abolished in the USA?
2. What has contributed to the role of Afro-Americans?
3. From what does racial separation result?
4. What is the second largest minority group in the USA?
5. What history do Native Americans have?
6. What are the major Asian groups in the country?
7. Have Japanese-Americans experienced discrimination?

2. All these statements are false. Read the article again and say why.

1. Discrimination of Afro-Americans had stopped after abolition in 1865.
2. Abolition contributed to the role of Afro-Americans.
3. Racial separation of Afro-Americans resulted from the economic conflict in the country.
4. Hispanic-Americans are the largest ethnic group in the USA.
5. A growing militancy has observed among Japanese-Americans.

3. Match the words (1-11) to their meanings (a-k):

1) slave	a) a place, amenity, or piece of equipment provided for a particular purpose
2) prosper	b) the action of abolishing a system, practice, or institution
3) facility	c) withdraw from commercial or social relations with (a country, organization, or person) as a punishment or protest
4) abolition	d) a body of people presided over by a judge, judges, or magistrate, and acting as a tribunal in civil and criminal cases
5) boycott	e) succeed in material terms; be financially successful
6) court	f) a person who is the legal property of another and is forced to obey them
7) congress	g) the process of creating towns in country areas.
8) urbanization	h) the ability to move between different levels in society or employment
9) mobility	i) knowledge or perception of a situation or

	fact
10)law	j) a national legislative body, especially that of the US
11)awareness	k) the system of rules which a particular country or community recognizes as regulating the actions of its members and which it may enforce by the imposition of penalties

4. Complete the sentences with words from the box:

<i>residential minority group perform boycotts Catholic unemployment naturalized</i>
--

1. Segregation was fought with ... and nonviolent demonstrations.
2. Racial separation results from unofficial social practices such as ... patterns.
3. The ... rate among Afro-Americans is double that among Americans.
4. Native Americans are the poorest ... in America.
5. Many of the children of Chinese immigrants ... very well on science and mathematics tests.
6. At one time Chinese people were denied the right to become ... citizens.
7. Hispanic-Americans have several things in common: the Spanish language and the ... religion.

5. Complete the table with appropriate forms of words from the article.

verb	noun	adjective
1. constitute		
2.	income	

3.	support	
4.	emphasis	
5. import		
6.		growing
7.		underprivileged
8.		violent
9.		civil
10. develop		

6. Choose the correct variant:

1. Immigrants tend to come ... an affluent, educated stratum of society.

a) from b) upon c) into

2. In many places they ... denied schooling, jobs, and housing.

a) have to b) have been to c) were

3. During World War II they were rounded ... and placed in “relocation centers.”

a) towards b) down c) up

4. The Chinese, however, have encountered substantial ... and discrimination.

a) prejudice b) prejudiced c) prejudicial

5. The life chances of Native Americans are poorer ... those of whites.

a) than b) then c) that

6. They have several things ... common.

a) on b) in c) out

7. There is a small middle class that is gaining ground ... civil rights.

a) at b) from c) in

7. Translate the following article from English into Ukrainian:

Politics and power

Sociologists define politics as the social process by which people gain, use, or lose power. According to Max Weber, power is "the probability that one actor within a social relationship will be in a position to carry out his own will despite resistance." In other words, power is getting people to act in accordance with one's wishes even when they prefer not to do so. Power is exercised in all domains of social life, but this chapter focuses on specialized institutions of political power, which constitute the state.

Weber's definition refers to *distributive* power: one's own power in relation to that of others and distributed unequally among people. Sociologists contrast distributive power with *collective* (or enabling) power: the power to get things done (for example, to build a boat) that is enhanced by cooperation and division of labor.

When power is legitimate, it is recognized as valid and is justified by those whom it controls. Sociologists use the term "authority" to describe power that is viewed as legitimate and is exercised with the social approval of most individuals in a group or society. Legitimate authority stands in contrast with coercive power, which is power aimed at controlling other people's behavior and which can be exercised forcefully. When we pay our taxes every April 15, we recognize the legitimate authority of the Internal Revenue Service to take some of our money. When we turn over our wallets to a man with a stocking over his head and a gun in his hand, we are forced by his coercive power to give over our money and credit cards. Coercive power is the ability to control others' behavior; authority is the right to do so.

The incidence of terrorism in the modern era illustrates the differences between authority and coercive power. Terrorism is defined as the use of violence by small

groups of people to accomplish political aims that they believe they are unable to bring about by peaceful, legitimate means. Terrorism sometimes is practiced by those who have no access to political authority – that is, to legitimate control over their lives. They resort to terrorism – an extreme form of coercive power – as an alternative means to bring about their desired ends.

8. What is the key message of the article?

9. Write a short summary of the article.

Test 4

1. Read the article and answer the questions:

The state

The state is an abstract entity composed of the public organizations in which autonomous power over a specified geographical region is concentrated. States have a monopoly on the use of force in a defined territory, although this monopoly rests ultimately on the willingness of the governed to grant legitimacy to the state. The contrast between state and government points up the abstract nature of the former: government refers to the body of elected and non-elected officials who lead the state at any time, whereas the state itself transcends the terms in office of those who direct it.

In early human societies, personal power and official power often were combined in the role (for example) of chief; states as we know them did not exist. Gradually the separation of personal power from official power (that is, authority

which resides in an *office* rather than in a certain *officeholder*) created the conditions for the emergence of the abstract state. Two major and interrelated factors led to the rise of the modern state: 1) expansion and consolidation of territories, and 2) growth of international commerce. Both developments created the need for new governmental institutions; those which proved effective were organized into bureaucracies: formal, rule-governed, hierarchical organizations of public servants. The growing dominance of bureaucracy over modern political affairs attests to the declining importance of personal power in government and to the corresponding rise of public or official power rooted in formal laws, clear rules, and impersonal criteria for evaluating performance.

The ideas of nation and nationalism were important for the formation of states and the rise of political bureaucracies. "Nation" refers to the cultural bonds among a group of people that give them a shared identity. In the typical pattern today, people within a recognized nation share a common state (hence the frequently used term "nation-state"), but this has not always been the case. Before improvements in transportation, communication, and printing linked together the people who lived throughout a large territory, individuals were more likely to identify with those who lived in the immediate vicinity than with those who lived elsewhere in the "nation." Residents of Burgundy and Alsace gradually came to see themselves as French (sharing an identity with the nation of France), not only as Burgundians and Alsatians. When this growing national identity is translated into the call for a distinctive nation-state, the result is defined as nationalism: the belief that a people with a distinct culture (i.e., a nation) should have its own state. Today the nationstate is the central political unit of the world.

The role of the state in social life has expanded greatly through the history of the United States and other Western nations. The welfare state (which began in the United States with Roosevelt's New Deal) provides for the welfare of ordinary citizens by taking over certain responsibilities once assigned to local communities and to families. The welfare state, for example, provides unemploy-

ment compensation, health care, and (in our country) Social Security for the elderly and other forms of assistance for those who cannot help themselves. Welfare states also provide collective goods-defense technologies, education, public transportation, clean air and water-that cannot easily be bought and sold by individuals. Finally, welfare states manage the private economy through a variety of regulatory agencies (for example, the Environmental Protection Agency controls the amount of air pollutants that factories are allowed to spew into the atmosphere). Both sociologists and politicians have debated the question: has the role of the state in managing society and the economy grown too large?

The democratic state is based on political participation by the people. Powers of the government are specified by law and rest ultimately on the people's willingness to grant it legitimacy. Some sociologists argue that a capitalist economy and the presence of a strong middle class are important for the emergence and perpetuation of democratic states. The alternative to a democratic state is totalitarianism: a political system in which no opposing opinion or party is tolerated, and in which the government exerts great control over many aspects of citizens' lives.

Democracy in the United States depends on several values: majority rule, respect for minorities, government based on the free consent of the governed, and equality before the law. These rights fall into two categories. Civil rights are those to which people are entitled by virtue of their citizenship (such as those in the Bill of Rights, including freedom of speech or freedom of the press). Human rights are those to which we are all entitled by virtue of belonging to the human race; in the United States these rights are often defined as life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness. Many international conflicts, as well as struggles within the United States, emerge from disputes over the definition of human rights and civil rights and over how these rights are distributed among people.

1. What is the definition of state?

2. What kind of monopoly does state have?
3. What is the contrast between state and government?
4. What is the difference between personal power and official power?
5. What factors led to the rise of the modern state?
6. What is the role of the growing bureaucracy in the modern state?
7. What ideas were important for the formation of states?

2. All these statements are false. Read the article again and say why.

1. States transfer a monopoly on the use of force to private companies.
2. States refers to the body of elected officials.
3. Combination of personal and official power creates the condition for the emergence of the state.
4. Growth of international commerce contributed to the development of the modern state.
5. “Nation” is restricted to a defined territory.

3. Match the words (1-11) to their meanings (a-k):

1) state	a) the quality or state of being prepared to do something; readiness
2) willingness	b) the exclusive possession or control of the supply of or trade in a commodity or service
3) monopoly	c) a large body of people united by common descent, history, culture, or language, inhabiting a particular state or territory
4) bureaucracy	d) an area of land under the jurisdiction of a ruler or state
5) government	e) financial support given to those who are

	unemployed or otherwise in need
6) nation	f) an administrative system operated by a large number of officials.
7) territory	g) a nation or territory considered as an organized political community under one government
8) welfare	h) the group of people with the authority to govern a country or state; a particular ministry in office
9) alternative	i) a room or a part of a building where people work sitting at desks.
10) office	j) conformity to the law or to rules
11) legitimacy	k) one of two or more available possibilities

4. Complete the sentences with words from the box:

*recognized group expanded unit participation human
totalitarianism*

1. "Nation" refers to the cultural bonds among a ... of people.
2. People within a ... nation share a common state.
3. Today the nation-state is the central political ... of the world.
4. The role of the state in social life has ... greatly through the history.
5. The democratic state is based on political ... by the people.
6. The alternative to a democratic state is
7. ... rights are those to which we are all entitled by virtue of belonging to the human race.

5. Complete the table with appropriate forms of words from the article.

verb	noun	adjective
1. share		
2.		opposing
3.		democratic
4.		human
5. provide		
6.	dispute	
7.	definition	
8.	emergence	
9.		distributed
10. belong		

6. Choose the correct variant:

1. Powers of the government are specified ... law.

a) from b) by c) on

2. The presence of a strong middle class is important for the emergence and perpetuation of democratic

a) states b) meetings c) communities

3. Totalitarianism is a political system in which the government exerts great control ... many aspects of citizens' lives.

a) across b) above c) over

4. Democracy depends ... several values.

a) on b) to c) by

5. The rights fall ... two categories.

a) upon b) onto c) into

6. Civil rights are those to which people are ... by virtue of their citizenship.

a) entitling b) entitled c) entitle

7. Many international conflicts emerge from disputes over the definition of human rights and ... rights.

a) civilized b) civil c) civilian

7. Translate the following article from English into Ukrainian:

The three bases of legitimacy

The perceived legitimacy of power-that is, the recognized authority of those exercising power- can change, and it depends on identifiable circumstances. The legitimacy of a government depends on the consent of the governed. When a government begins to lose its perceived legitimacy, it may rely more on force (coercive power).

Weber identified three different reasons why people might accept the legitimate authority of those who govern them. First, legal / rational authority derives from an explicit set of rules or laws. For example, American presidents have the power to make military decisions in times of war; this authority is given by the Constitution to the *office* of president (not to its temporary incumbents). Second, charismatic authority derives from extraordinary or supernatural personal qualities that people believe certain leaders to possess. Martin Luther King, Jr. had the power to lead blacks in the struggle for equal rights because his followers thought he was endowed with a unique "gift of grace." Third, traditional authority is power given to an individual or an institution because "that is the way things have always been." That is, history confers loyalty and authority on those people born to be monarchs, chiefs, and priests. In practice, the three bases of authority may overlap.

8. What is the key message of the article?

9. Write a short summary of the article.

Test 5

1. Read the article and answer the questions:

The three channels for participation in American representative democracy

A representative democracy is one in which citizens elect officials to make up the government. It stands in contrast with direct democracy, in which all citizens assemble to discuss and decide political issues. In view of the representative form of American democracy, it is important to understand how Americans participate publicly in government. There are three channels for this political participation: voting, political parties and campaigns, and interest groups and social protest movements.

Citizens participate through voting and through political parties and campaigns; or at least they are supposed to vote and to become politically aware. Voter turnout has been declining steadily in the United States since 1960; only 59.9 percent of eligible persons actually voted in the 1984 presidential election. Those least likely to vote are poorly educated, have low incomes, and are unemployed; Afro-Americans and Hispanics are less likely to vote than whites. People choose not to vote for several reasons: they believe that their vote does not matter and that life will be the same no matter how they vote; they find politics confusing; they feel powerless to shape political agendas; or they believe that

they have no interests at stake.

A political party is a collective group designed to gain and hold legitimate government power. Ideally, parties serve to link people to their government: the party should respond to and represent the will of the people. Parties also link together political decisions made at various governmental levels; for example, Republicans and Democrats try to coordinate policies on national, state, and local levels. The two-party system has long been a part of American politics because of the simple plurality election process: if the winner takes all and the losers get nothing, a vote for a minority (third) party is, in effect, wasted. Multiple-party systems (like that in Italy) emerge from elections based on proportional voting: if the percentage of elected representatives is equal to the percentage of votes a party receives, votes for smaller parties remain significant. Even a party that draws 10 percent of the vote will win 10 percent of the seats in a legislature.

In the United States, because each party must appeal to a wide range of diverse interests and values, Republicans and Democrats tend to become increasingly similar (and increasingly vague) in their ideologies and programs. Perhaps for this reason, political parties seem to be declining in importance, as indicated by the following trends: elections are more candidate-centered than party-centered, less party cohesiveness exists in Congress, the president exerts less control over members of his party in Congress, and increasing numbers of people describe themselves as political independents. Many people blame the media for the decline of political parties: the nightly TV news now provides political information to citizens, a function once performed by the parties themselves. Even so, several forecasters have predicted an imminent resurgence of political parties; some people argue that the reported death of our two parties is greatly exaggerated.

Background social factors influence how people vote. Those with higher incomes tend to be more conservative, although the connection between social class and party preference seems to be weakening. Afro-Americans are

overwhelmingly Democratic. In recent elections, middle-aged people tended to vote Democratic, while younger and older voters were more likely to vote Republican. A majority of women are Democratic; the percentage of women who are Democratic is higher than the percentage of men who are Democratic. Voters with less education tend to vote Democratic, but those with higher levels of education are not aligned systematically with one party or the other.

Interest groups are organizations created to influence political decisions that concern their members directly. Many occupational, religious, environmental, and professional groups maintain lobbyists or Political Action Committees (PACs) in Washington, who work for the passage of legislation favorable to their members' interests. The increasing cost of getting candidates elected, as well as changes in campaign finance laws, have enlarged the role played by PACs. PACs are the most rapidly growing source of campaign finances, with the following consequences: PACs have replaced party fund-raisers as a means to generate financial support for a candidate; they have made some candidates less dependent on political parties for campaign assistance; they have increased the importance of single-issue politics because politicians concentrate on those issues in which their supporting PACs have a strong economic interest. Of the 50 senators whose campaigns received funds from the American Medical Association (a PAC for physicians), 48 voted against a bill to limit hospital costs. Not all people are represented by PACs, lobbyists, or other forms of interest groups, so their voices are heard less often as policies and programs are debated and decided.

1. What is a function of representative democracy?
2. In what way does representative democracy differ from direct democracy?
3. How do Americans participate publicly in government?
4. What are the reasons why people choose not to vote?
5. What is a political party?

6. What fields do the political parties try to coordinate their policies?
7. Why has the two-party system been a part of American politics for a long of time?

2. All these statements are false. Read the article again and say why.

1. Voter turnout has been increasing steadily in the United States.
2. Hispanics are more likely to vote than whites.
3. Multiple-party systems accidentally emerge from common elections.
4. Each party appeals to a narrow range of its own interests.
5. Political parties seem to be evaluating in importance.

3. Match the words (1-11) to their meanings (a-k):

1) system	a) an inhabitant of a particular town or city
2) vote	b) an activity or subject which one enjoys doing or studying
3) citizen	c) a set of things working together as parts of a mechanism or an interconnecting network; a complex whole
4) interest	d) the choice expressed collectively by a body of electors or by a specified group
5) forecaster	e) any proportion or share in relation to a whole
6) percentage	f) monetary support for an enterprise
7) decision	g) someone who uses detailed knowledge about a particular activity in order to work out what they think will happen in that activity in the future

8) finance	h) the action of helping someone by sharing work
9) assistance	i) a conclusion or resolution reached after consideration
10) senator	j) a draft of a proposed law presented to parliament for discussion
11) bill	k) a member of a senate, in particular a member of the US Senate

4. Complete the sentences with words from the box:

<i>less programs people media social to vote maintain</i>

1. Republicans and Democrats tend to become increasingly similar in their ideologies and
2. The president exerts ... control over members of his party in Congress.
3. Increasing numbers of ... describe themselves as political independents.
4. Many people blame the ... for the decline of political parties.
5. Background ... factors influence how people vote.
6. Middle-aged people tended ... Democratic.
7. Many professional groups ... lobbyists.

5. Complete the table with appropriate forms of words from the article.

verb	noun	adjective
1. elect		
2.		educated
3.		confusing

4. assemble		
5.	program	
6.	prediction	
7.	decision	
8. understand		
9.		various
10. decline		

6. Choose the correct variant:

1. The winner takes all and the losers ... nothing.
a) has got b) gets c) get
2. The party ... represent the will of the people.
a) should b) have to c) must
3. They feel powerless to ... political agendas.
a) shaping b) shape c) shaped
4. Life will be the same ... matter how they vote.
a) not b) nor c) no
5. Parties link together ... decisions made at various governmental levels.
a) politician b) polite c) political
6. The reported death of our two parties is ... exaggerated.
a) greatly b) lovely c) neatly
7. Their voices are heard less often as policies and programs are ... and decided.
a) being debated b) having debated c) debated

7. Translate the following article from English into Ukrainian:

Political power and society

Political power is not divided evenly among all members of society. How extreme is this inequality? Three theoretical perspectives answer this question in three different ways. First, Marxist theories suggest that power is concentrated in the hands of the few who own the means of production. Powerful capitalists manipulate social and cultural arrangements to increase further their wealth and power, often at the expense of the powerless.

Second, power elite theories agree that power is concentrated in the hands of a few people; the elite includes military leaders, government officials, and business executives. This group consists of those who occupy the top positions in our organizational hierarchies; they have similar backgrounds and share the same interests and goals. According to this view, any organization (even a nation-state) has a built-in tendency to become an oligarchy (rule by the few).

Third, pluralist theories suggest that various groups and interests compete for political power. In contrast to Marxist and power elite theorists, pluralists see power as dispersed among many people and groups who do not necessarily agree on what should be done. Lobbyists for environmental groups, for example, will battle with lobbyists for the coal industry over antipollution legislation. In this way the will of the people is translated into political action. Thurow, however, suggests that too many divergent views have made it nearly impossible to arrive at a public policy that is both effective in solving social problems and satisfactory to different interest groups.

8. What is the key message of the article?

10. Write a short summary of the article.

Test 6

1. Read the article and answer the questions:

War

With the emergence of nation-states, war has become a major element in the exercise of political power. The waging of war is connected closely to the rise and fall of legitimacy: civil wars and revolutions often are based on the belief that the *ancien regime* (the former government) no longer has legitimate claim to political power. Moreover, a state's ability to wage war depends on the perceived legitimacy of its conscription of soldiers and of its use of tax revenues to buy arms.

War in early human societies was marked by the following characteristics: it was often organized along lines of kinship; few stable boundaries or durable goods were at stake; conflicts were short-lived and few people were killed (except in feuds, which could last a long time and could erupt sporadically into violence); winning was of little consequence; the civilian population was rarely involved directly.

Three conditions were necessary for the emergence of modern war: governments to organize fighting forces, territorial boundaries, and sufficient wealth to tempt those outside one's political boundaries. Increasingly, people waged war to conquer other people's land and riches. Yet despite changes in the technology of warfare, war remained the same kind of man-to-man confrontation between large numbers of soldiers through the end of the Middle Ages. Then the emergence of nation-states altered profoundly the conduct of war: conflicts between states became large-scale wars involving a state's territorial boundaries, economic interests, and nationalistic goals.

As nationalism fueled both war and revolution, mass citizen armies replaced

mercenaries as the principal fighting force. Developments in military technology also changed the conduct of war: as armies moved from bayonets to bombs, the arsenal became more deadly, and the physical distance between killer and killed continues to grow. Increasingly efficient military technologies are achieved at high cost; success at war often hinges on a nation's ability to retool its domestic production capabilities for the manufacture of armaments. The close coupling of military prowess with industrial or manufacturing productivity has given rise to a growing military-industrial complex. War is obviously a matter of social organization: the military needs the civilian society as a source of manufactured weapons and of personnel.

No technology has altered the nature of war more profoundly than the invention of nuclear weapons. Nuclear war cannot be fought like conventional war: gains and losses have no meaning when each side has the capacity to annihilate the other. The United States and Russia have pursued policies of deterrence: each country with nuclear power restrains (or deters) the other from nuclear attack because of its ability to retaliate and destroy the attacker (this policy also has been called, more ominously, "mutually assured destruction"). While policies of deterrence fuel the Russian-American arms race, other negotiations aim at disarmament: the reduction and eventual elimination of nuclear weapons. Perhaps no other sociological issue has such profound consequences for the very survival of humanity.

1. To what is the waging of war connected?
2. On what does a state's ability to wage war depend?
3. By what was war in early human societies marked?
4. What conditions were necessary for the emergence of modern war?
5. What altered the conduct of war?
6. What changed the conduct of war?
7. On what does success at war hinge?

2. All these statements are false. Read the article again and say why.

1. With the emergence of nation-states, war has become a minor element in the exercise of political power.
2. Platform of civil wars are based on legitimacy of political power.
3. People waged war to return other peoples their land and riches.
4. The emergence of nation-states stopped the conduct of war.
5. The modern arsenal for war conducting became more peaceful.

2. Match the words (1-11) to their meanings (a-k):

1) war	a) compulsory enlistment for state service, typically into the armed forces
2) legitimacy	b) a forcible overthrow of a government or social order, in favour of a new system
3) revolution	c) blood relationship
4) conscription	d) a state of armed conflict between different countries or different groups within a country
5) soldier	e) an imaginary line that separates an area from other areas
6) kinship	f) a result or effect, typically one that is unwelcome or unpleasant
7) boundary	g) strength or energy as an attribute of physical action or movement
8) consequence	h) a hostile or argumentative situation or meeting between opposing parties
9) force	i) the manner in which an organization or activity is managed or directed
10)confrontation	j) a person who serves in an army

11)conduct	k) conformity to the law or to rules
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4. Complete the sentences with words from the box:

<i>legitimacy</i>	<i>conflicts</i>	<i>man-to-man</i>	<i>organize</i>	<i>territorial</i>
<i>nature</i>	<i>fought</i>			

1. War is connected to the rise and fall of
2. ... were short-lived.
3. Governments are necessary to ... fighting forces.
4. War remained the same kind of ... confrontation.
5. Conflicts between states became large-scale wars involving a state's ... boundaries.
6. Invention of nuclear weapons has altered the ... of war.
7. Nuclear war cannot be ... like conventional war.

5. Complete the table with appropriate forms of words from the article.

verb	noun	adjective
1.	survival	
2.	elimination	
3.	negotiation	
4. assure		
5. aim		
6. pursue		
7. fight		
8.		eventual
9.		mutual
10.		manufactured

6. Choose the correct variant:

1. The sociological issue has profound consequences for the survival of ...
a) humanize b) humanity c) humanitarianism
2. The negotiations were aimed ... disarmament.
a) at b) below c) up
3. Each country with nuclear power restrains (or deters) the other from ... attack.
a) nuclein b) nuclear c) nucleic
4. Each side has the ... to annihilate the other.
a) capacitate b) capacious c) capacity
5. The military needs the civilian society as a source of ... weapons and of personnel.
a) manufacturer b) manufactured c) manufacturing
6. War is obviously a matter of ... organization.
a) sociable b) sociability c) social
7. Efficient military technologies are achieved ... high cost.
a) at b) for c) per

7. Translate the following article from English into Ukrainian:

Innovation and diffusion

Innovation is the creation and institutionalization of new social practices or structures. Innovation comes from two sources: discoveries, which are new natural phenomena that are brought to people's attention, and inventions, which are new ways of doing things. Not all innovations are institutionalized into routine practice.

Two types of innovations can alter the direction and the rate of social change. Technological innovations are changes in the way in which knowledge is applied practically to the material aspects of life. The invention and widespread adoption

of the automobile is an example of technological innovation. By contrast, cultural innovations are social changes brought about by new ideas or values. The ideals of hard work, frugality, and self-denial that made up the Protestant ethic are examples of cultural innovations. Not all innovative ideas and values are accepted immediately: the idea of women's suffrage was resisted and debated for 70 years after it was first proposed seriously, though eventually, in 1920, it became law.

Diffusion is the spread of innovative patterns (whether technological or cultural) from one social setting to another. Material objects or technologies tend to diffuse more rapidly than ideas or beliefs. Sometimes beliefs or artifacts are transformed in their meaning or use as they diffuse from one setting to another.

8. What is the key message of the article?

10. Write a short summary of the article.

Test 7

1. Read the article and answer the questions:

The patterns of social change in the Third World

Social change in the First World of capitalist countries and in the Second World of the Communist bloc is vastly different from social change in the generally poor, less industrialized, and less urbanized Third World. Although all three worlds are increasingly interdependent, the gap in wealth between rich nations and poor seems to be growing. Sociologists have developed three theories to describe and explain social change in the Third World.

First, modernization theories assume that poor countries are simply "underdeveloped" and that each has the potential to follow the same sequence of developmental stages traversed by wealthier nations. It is assumed that underdeveloped countries simply lack the cultural, technological, and demographic characteristics which are needed to set in motion the process of modernization. Progress, according to this theory, occurs when underdeveloped countries become more like the developed countries of the West. Toward that end, many First World nations offer economic and social assistance to poor countries, but the results have been less than dramatic.

Second, dependency theories offer an explanation for the failure of these foreign aid programs to bring about modernization. In these theories it is assumed that development in the Third World did not "take off" because Third World countries were dependent on the developed countries of the capitalist West. Economic development in Third World countries is directed more toward the profitability of corporations housed in First World countries than toward improvement of indigenous living conditions. Loans from wealthy countries have created Third World debts that threaten the security of the international banking system. In addition, dependent Third World countries sometimes are manipulated politically by the wealthier countries who give them aid: in its desire to support dependent countries with anti-Communist governments, for example, the United States has knowingly supported more than a few military dictatorships.

Third, world systems theory extends dependency theory by suggesting that poorer nations will never be able to follow the road to modernization taken earlier by developed nations. Wallerstein suggests that a nation's development is determined by its place in a world system, which is defined by capitalist trade. "Core" nations are the United States, most Western European countries, and Japan, which have powerful industrial economies. Most industrial production occurs in the core, and most profits end up there. Nations in the "periphery" practice subsistence agriculture, are dependent on foreign aid, and are dominated

by conditions established in the core nations. Most raw materials come from the periphery, but few profits are returned there. Nations in the "semi-periphery" are situated somewhere between core and periphery. The recent manufacturing achievements of South Korea have moved it out of the periphery, though its citizens' demands for democratic liberties threaten its stability. From the world systems perspective, development can no longer be explained in terms of conditions *within* a nation; its relationship to other nations in the world system is more important.

The increasing gap between wealthy and poor nations has several causes. The modernized nations were able to develop without becoming dependent on existing powers. Many Third World countries still are trying to overcome the burden of being colonies to powerful countries, who often destroyed local markets and local production capabilities if these were not profitable. Also, diffusion of values and lifestyles from wealthier nations has raised expectations among citizens of Third World nations, but these expectations are made increasingly difficult to satisfy because of overpopulation, depletion of the environment, and corrupt governments. International terrorism or revolution and internal war are often the result.

1. What are social changes between the First World and the Third World of countries?
2. In what field is the gap growing?
3. How many theories have sociologists developed?
4. What do modernization theories assume?
5. What do dependency theories offer?
6. What does world systems theory extend?
7. What are the causes of the increasing gap between wealthy and poor nations?

2. All these statements are false. Read the article again and say why.

1. The Third World of countries is more industrialized than the countries of the First World.
2. Sociologists do not know how to explain social change in the Third World.
3. Underdeveloped countries do not want to follow the path of well-developed countries.
4. The modernized nations are not allowed to develop without existing powers.
5. Development can be explained only in terms of conditions *within* a nation.

3. Match the words (1-11) to their meanings (a-k):

1) bloc	a) someone who replaces old equipment or methods with new ones.
2) wealth	b) a group of countries or political parties with common interests who have formed an alliance
3) theory	c) having or showing the capacity to develop into something in the future
4) modernizer	d) a supposition or a system of ideas intended to explain something, especially one based on general principles independent of the thing to be explained
5) potential	e) an individual country considered together with its social and political structures.
6) sequence	f) an abundance of valuable possessions or

	money
7) nation	g) the capacity or potential of a project or an organization to make a profit .
8) motion	h) a large company or group of companies authorized to act as a single entity and recognized as such in law
9) failure	i) a particular order in which related things follow each other
10)profitability	g) the action or process of moving or being moved
11)corporation	k) lack of success

4. Complete the sentences with words from the box:

<i>modernization assistance potential countries occurs created threaten</i>

1. Poor countries have the ... to follow the same sequence of developmental stages traversed by wealthier nations.
2. Underdeveloped countries simply lack the technological characteristics which are needed to set in motion the process of
3. Progress ... when underdeveloped countries become more like the developed countries of the West.
4. First World nations offer economic and social ... to poor countries.
5. Third World countries are dependent on the developed ... of the capitalist West.
6. Loans from wealthy countries have ... Third World debts.
7. Debts ... the security of the international banking system.

5. Complete the table with appropriate forms of words from the article.

verb	noun	adjective
1.		general
2. traverse		
3.	practice	
4.		industrialized
5. suggest		
6.	production	
7.		dependent
8. improve		
9.	burden	
10.		foreign

6. Choose the correct variant:

- International terrorism or revolution and ... war are often the result.
a) intern b) internalizing c) internal
- These expectations are ... increasingly difficult to satisfy because of overpopulation.
a) make b) made c) making
- Diffusion of values and lifestyles from wealthier nations has ... expectations among citizens of Third World nations.
a) raised b) raising c) raise
- Third World countries still are ... to overcome the burden of being colonies to powerful countries.
a) tried b) trying c) being tried
- Relationship to other nations in the world system is very
a) importantly b) important c) importance

6. Nations in the "semi-periphery" are situated somewhere ... core and periphery.

a) in b) among c) between

7. Powerful countries often destroy local markets and local production ... if these are not profitable.

a) capable b) capacitate c) capabilities

7. Translate the following article from English into Ukrainian:

Social changes

Social change refers to basic alterations, over time, in the behavior patterns, culture, and structure of society. Sociologists are interested in the large-scale and enduring changes that affect patterns of daily life or the structure of social institutions. Not all instances of change will be examined in this chapter: although socialization changes a maturing child profoundly, in itself it does not represent a historical alteration of child-rearing patterns or of the structure of the family. Thus it is not included here as social change. Sociologists ask two questions about social change: 1) Is there an overall explanation of social change, and does it follow a discernible course? 2) Can social change be seen as an evolutionary process?

The establishment of the United States as a new nation illustrates the scope of processes included in sociological studies of social change. Consider the several innovations introduced by those who established this country. They wrote the Constitution from scratch rather than by modifying similar documents from other countries. Their distaste for monarchy and aristocracy, and a commitment to independent individual initiative, permeated the new Constitution. The United States was a country of settlers: ties with the mother country were severed as immigrants oriented their lives to a new community on this side of the Atlantic. It was also a country of capitalism, whose values of entrepreneurship and

competition were free from the restraints of nobility. Most Americans today live in huge cities and work for large corporations-not at all the society of farmers and craftspeople living in small towns that was envisioned by the framers of the Constitution. Even so, the writing of that document, and the values and beliefs of the first American citizens, brought about social changes that continue to affect our lives today in profound ways.

8. What is the key message of the article?

9. Write a short summary of the article.

Test 8

1. Read the article and answer the questions:

Social change: process or evolution

Whether social change is evolutionary requires answers to two questions: 1) Is there a cumulative course of historical change? 2) Is there a general mechanism of social change? Many sociologists would agree that the cumulative course of historical change has moved societies from "simple" to "complex," but the key to genuinely evolutionary theories is the identification of the mechanism of change. Darwin believed that this mechanism was natural selection: the natural environment selects adaptive traits for reproduction in successive generations.

Sociologists have developed three different views on the question of whether social change is an evolutionary process. Some sociologists argue that there is no single direction in historical change and that there is no underlying mechanism

that ties together all instances of social change. According to these thinkers, the theory of evolution is not appropriate for understanding social change.

Sociologists in a second group believe that history does have a direction or course, but they do not recognize any particular mechanism that would explain these changes. Like the first group, they do not regard evolution as an accurate description of social change. This camp includes cyclical theorists, who believe that history moves through a natural life cycle of birth, adolescence, maturation, decay, and eventual death, followed by the birth of a new order. History is the endless rise and fall of successive civilizations. Spengler argued that a society in its youth is creative, idealistic, and flexible; as it matures, it becomes rigid, materialistic, and prone to social disintegration. This perspective is limited, however, because it fails to explain *why* a society suddenly reaches a peak and then begins to fall. That is, it lacks a theoretically identified mechanism of social change.

A third group of sociologists adopts evolution as a useful description of social change; they offer accounts of the direction and course of social change, as well as of the mechanisms that drive it. Spencer viewed structural change as the transition from simple, homogeneous forms (for example, tribes) to complex, differentiated forms (for example, nation-states). The mechanism of change is the adaptability of certain social forms to ever-changing environments. Behavioral traits that facilitate survival in a certain environment are passed on to the next generation; those that do not facilitate survival disappear.

Lenski's contemporary evolutionary theory suggests that this adaptation and selection process occurs not only for biological traits but also for cultural and social organizational characteristics. Adaptive traits are encoded in a society's information system, just as biological traits are encoded in genes. The key to societal growth and complexity, according to Lenski, is subsistence technology, defined as the information available to create the energy needed by members of a society. More information leads to more energy, which in turn leads to growth

and differentiation.

1. What two main questions should be answered about the evolutionary social changes?
2. What is the key to genuinely evolutionary theories?
3. What is the mechanism of change?
4. What is natural selection?
5. What are three views on social changes?
6. Is there a single direction in historical change?
7. Is the theory of evolution appropriate for understanding social change?

2. All these statements are false. Read the article again and say why.

1. Darwin did not believe in natural selection.
2. Sociologists disagree that the cumulative course of historical change has moved societies from "simple" to "complex."
3. Scientists think that there is a single direction in historical change.
4. Sociologists recognize that history does not have a direction or course.
5. Scientists regard evolution as a description of social change.

3. Match the words (1-11) to their meanings (a-k):

1) mechanism	a) a small piece of shaped metal with incisions cut to fit the wards of a particular lock, which is inserted into a lock and turned to open or close it
2) key	b) the process by which different kinds of living organism are believed to have developed from earlier forms during the

	history of the earth
3) thinker	c) a system of parts working together in a machine; a piece of machinery
4) evolution	d) the study of the development, structure, and functioning of human society
5) sociology	e) a person concerned with the theoretical aspects of a subject; a theoretician
6) history	f) the period following the onset of puberty during which a young person develops from a child into an adult
7) theorist	g) the action or process of maturing
8) cycle	h) decline in quality, power, or vigour
9) adolescence	i) a series of events that are regularly repeated in the same order
10) maturation	g) the past considered as a whole
11) decay	k) a person who thinks deeply and seriously

4. Complete the sentences with words from the box:

*explain endless argued theorists becomes fails
adaptability*

1. They do not recognize any particular mechanism that would ... these changes.
2. Cyclical ... believe that history moves through a natural life cycle.
3. History is the ... rise and fall of successive civilizations.
4. It is ... that a society in its youth is creative, idealistic, and flexible
5. As a society matures, it ... rigid, materialistic, and prone to social disintegration.

6. The perspective ... to explain *why* a society suddenly reaches a peak.
7. The mechanism of change is the ... of certain social forms to ever-changing environments.

5. Complete the table with appropriate forms of words from the article.

verb	noun	adjective
1. grow		
2. inform		
3.	adaptation	
4.	creation	
5. define		
6.	form	
7.		adaptable
8.		simplistic
9.		behavioral
10. encode		

6. Choose the correct variant:

1. Information leads ... more energy, growth and differentiation.
a) into b) from c) to
2. The key to societal ... and complexity is subsistence technology.
a) grown b) growth c) grow
3. Adaptive traits are ... in a society's information system.
a) having encoded b) encoding c) encoded
4. The adaptation and selection process occurs ... biological, cultural and social organizational characteristics.
a) for b) at c) on

5. The adaptability of certain social forms ... ever-changing environments is the mechanism of change.

a) to b) over c) in

6. Behavioral traits facilitate survival in a ... environment.

a) certain b) certainty c) certainly

7. Historical approach lacks a theoretically ... mechanism of social change.

a) identifying b) identified c) being identified

7. Translate the following article from English into Ukrainian:

Description of social changes

Karl Marx viewed social change as a process of struggle. All people must struggle to overcome the limits of nature and existing technology: members of a hunting and gathering society can "invent" agriculture in order to increase food supply. These advances in production paused changes in social organization: as human societies became more productive, control over productive processes became concentrated in the hands of the few. A second struggle was the result: the struggle between social classes for control of the production process and of social life itself. This struggle pits one social group against another. For example, Marx anticipated that capitalism would yield to a classless socialism when workers revolted against the owners of productive property (factories).

According to Max Weber, both the material means of production and cultural values and beliefs were important for social change. Weber identified rationalization-the tendency to base action on a logical assessment of effects-as one important cumulative pattern in historical change. Only in modern Western societies did Weber see a decline in the importance of tradition for individual decisions. The ethos or values of Protestantism encouraged a rational outlook on life, and many changes were based on rational assessments of the efficiency of

various means for reaching desired ends: governments were bureaucratized, jobs were specialized, rules and regulations proliferated. Even private decisions, such as whether to get married or have a child, are evaluated rationally in terms of their relative costs and benefits.

Emile Durkheim's theory of social change centers on the shift from the mechanical solidarity of simple societies (in which people are held together by the similarity of their values and activities) to the organic solidarity of modern, complex societies. In modern societies, increases in size, dynamic intensity (defined as the frequency and the effect of interactions among members of a society), and differentiation (especially in work roles) essentially destroyed the possibility of integrating society through common values and activities shared by all people. Instead the division of labor – and our inevitable reliance on other people to do vital tasks that we cannot do ourselves – is the key to solidarity in modern societies.

8. What is the key message of the article?

9. Write a short summary of the article.

Test 9

1. Read the article and answer the questions:

The social consequences of the computer revolution

The computer was invented by British mathematician Charles Babbage in the early nineteenth century. His “analytical machines” worked liked player pianos,

but they rarely offered an improvement over hand calculations. By 1951, progress in vacuum tube technology and electronic counters enabled the construction of the first fully electronic digital computer, a huge machine that filled an entire room at the Census Bureau. Computers simultaneously became smaller, more powerful, and cheaper as semiconductor transistors replaced vacuum tubes and as integrated circuits became available. Computers have altered almost every aspect of modern social life.

In industry, computers guide robots in the manufacturing process, and gather quality control data, and take orders from sales personnel. In offices, computers have led to the fully automated, fully electronic workplace in which paper and pencils are less important than video displays of files stored on floppy disks. Not every business has committed itself to the complete computerization of its offices: some cannot afford the capital investment, and others are overwhelmed with the complexity of available systems. Offices that provide desktop personal computers now must invest in a system that allows these computers to "talk" to each other.

In education, the computer revolution has been stalled by lack of funds and by an appreciation that teaching machines lack the warmth and flexibility of human teachers. Most computers in schools are used for drill and practice routines, good for learning arithmetic or foreign languages. In the belief that computer literacy is an essential element of a complete education, many schools have computers simply to teach students how to use them. In research, computers have proved vital for collecting and analyzing data. Computers in the sciences help researchers to count, write, draw, and construct models. In military technology, computers are an important part of strategic weapons because they are better able than most people to juggle all the contingencies affecting battle. Computers are used to guide missiles and to keep records on personnel. In communications, computers have revolutionized the telephone industry: the directory assistance operator no longer looks up numbers in a book; the numbers are stored in a computer file. Computer-assisted communication of text and speech have allowed some people

to telecommute: they work at home with a computerized hookup to the main office.

Despite these changes, some sociologists believe that the short-term consequences of computers have not been as sharp and as dramatic as some people had assumed they would be; others suggest that computers have been made to fit into existing patterns of social life. Sociologists disagree on whether computers increase or decrease interaction among people. Some say that computers are antisocial in that the user interacts with a machine and not with other people; others believe that computer use connects the user to a network of programmers, systems analysts, and other users. Sociologists also disagree on whether computers increase or decrease the centralization of power and information in organizational hierarchies. Some see computers as allowing for democratic access to information, but others see the same machine as a means for excluding employees from decision-making processes (by restricting access to certain files, for example).

1. Who invented computer?
2. What enabled the construction of the first electronic computer?
3. What contributed to an arrival of semiconductor transistors?
4. What have computers altered in industry?
5. To what have computers led in offices?
6. In what way has business committed itself to the computerization?
7. What are the results of computer revolution in education?

2. All these statements are false. Read the article again and say why.

1. In education, the computer revolution has become exclusively efficient.
2. Every business can easily afford the computerization.
3. Computers have stopped every aspect of modern social life.

4. In education, computer literacy is only a kind of hobby.
5. In military technology, computers are not as essential as in education.

3. Match the words (1-11) to their meanings (a-k):

1) access	a) a store of a large amount of information, especially in a form that can be handled by a computer
2) file	b) the process of obtaining or retrieving information stored in a computer's memory
3) computer	c) a number of related items of information which are handled as a unit
4) data bank	d) a collection of data, programs, etc. stored in a computer's memory or on a storage device under a single identifying name
5) contingency	e) an interconnection of broadcasting equipment for special transmissions
6) record	f) an electronic device for storing and processing data, typically in binary form, according to instructions given to it in a variable program
7) hookup	g) a flexible removable magnetic disk, typically encased in hard plastic, used for storing data.
8) floppy disk	h) recognition and enjoyment of the good qualities of someone or something
9) desktop	i) the imparting or exchanging of information by speaking, writing, or

	using some other medium
10) appreciation	g) a computer suitable for use at an ordinary desk
11) communication	k) a provision for a possible event or circumstance

4. Complete the sentences with words from the box:

<i>sharp decrease fit into machine programmers organizational access</i>
--

1. The short-term consequences of computers have not been as ... and as dramatic as some people had assumed they would be.
2. Computers have been made to ... existing patterns of social life.
3. It is argued that computers ... interaction among people.
4. Computers are antisocial in that the user interacts with a
5. Computer use connects the user to a network of ... and systems analysts.
6. Computers increase the centralization of power and information in ... hierarchies.
7. Computers allow democratic ... to information.

5. Complete the table with appropriate forms of words from the article.

verb	noun	adjective
1. assemble		
2. contain		
3.	structure	
4.	success	
5. manipulate		

6.	vision	
7.	diffusion	
8.		neglected
9.		false
10.		intimate

6. Choose the correct variant:

1. The computer ... invented by British mathematician Charles Babbage in the nineteenth century.

a) was being b) was been c) was

2. The first fully electronic digital computer filled an entire room ... the Census Bureau.

a) upon b) below c) at

3. Computers became ... , more powerful, and cheaper.

a) smallest b) smaller c) more small

4. Semiconductor transistors appeared ... integrated circuits became available.

a) unless b) as c) while

5. Computers gather quality control data in the ... process.

a) manufacturing b) manufactured c) having manufactured

6. In offices, computers have led ... the fully automated, fully electronic workplace.

a) to b) across c) for

7. Offices with the desktop personal computers must ... in a system that allows these computers to be connected with each other.

a) being invested b) have invested c) invest

7. Translate the following article from English into Ukrainian:

New public concerns and the growing use of computers

First, the computerized collection and storage of personal information raises questions about the invasion of privacy. When several data banks containing biographical information about individuals are merged, the potential is created for a Big Brother-type knowledge of a wide range of details, even intimate details, about one's life. This problem is made worse by the possibility that such data banks will be invaded by those without the authority to enter. Such data banks can be manipulated falsely and they certainly contain errors; these two situations can cause headaches, or worse.

Second, computers raise questions about the structure of jobs in modern societies. The job market has been transformed by "high technology"-the application of electronics to industry, communications, medicine, and other spheres of life. Manufacturing jobs have decreased in number; service sector jobs have increased. Many more assembly lines will be staffed by robots in the near future, and perhaps even more clerical jobs will be eliminated by computer efficiency. The remaining jobs are often "deskilled," so that they become mind-dulling, menial, and poorly paid.

Third, computers raise questions about technological leadership in the worldwide economy. With the computer more or less available to all nations, what are the implications for the competitiveness of American business and industry? Bell's concept of the postindustrial society suggests that theoretical knowledge has replaced the machine as the central force behind production. The competitive success of nations and the class structure within each nation are determined by access to information and control of decision making rather than by ownership of property. Bell believes that the postindustrial society will meet people's material needs more efficiently than in the past, though other thinkers

(for example, those who see American jobs moving overseas) question this optimism. Other critics suggest that Bell has paid too little attention to the way in which capitalism structures the creation and diffusion of information, and that he has neglected the role of politics in his vision of "technical" planning.

8. What is the key message of the article?

9. Write a short summary of the article.

Розділ II

GRAMMAR TESTS

1. When she got to the airport, she realised she _____ her passport at home.

- a) left b) 'd forgotten
- c) forgot d) taken

2. He _____ her name now.

- a) isn't remembering b) didn't remember
- c) doesn't remember d) hasn't remembered

3. We _____ to stay with our friends when we get to Sydney.

- a) will b) won't
- c) likely d) 're going

4. We met them _____ we were living in Tanzania.

- a) during b) while
- c) until d) as soon as

5. Have you seen his latest play _____?

- a) yet b) ever
- c) just d) last night

6. When we were children, we _____ in the garden all day.

- a) would played b) used to playing
- c) used to play d) had played

7. You _____ to go now. You can go later.

- a) don't have b) must
- c) mustn't d) ought

8. The house was _____ more beautiful than he remembered.

- a) very b) little bit
- c) far d) not as

9. I haven't _____ friends with many people at work.
a) make b) done
c) do d) made
10. I couldn't leave at six because I _____ the report.
a) had finished b) hadn't finished
c) wasn't finished d) wouldn't finished
11. We talked for hours about _____ we used to live.
a) where b) which
c) that d) what
12. She _____ to get promoted before me.
a) should b) might not
c) won't d) isn't likely
13. Your order _____ sent by first class post and will arrive tomorrow.
a) is being b) will
c) has being d) had been
14. He asked me what time _____ arrive.
a) we'll b) we'd
c) would we d) will we
15. If I'd seen you, I _____ hello.
a) 'd say b) 'll say
c) would have said d) had said
16. We _____ them since we were children.
a) know b) knew
c) 've been knowing d) 've known
17. While we _____ to check in, they announced that our plane was delayed.
a) waited b) had been waiting
c) are waiting d) were waiting

18. He's been working there since _____.

- a) five months b) March
- c) two years d) a long time

19. _____ we arrive, the concert had started.

- a) While b) Until
- c) As soon as d) By the time

20. - I'm afraid the party has been cancelled.

- _____.

- a) Well done b) Of course
- c) That's a shame d) That's right

21. Please be quick. We are _____ hurry.

- a) in b) at
- c) on d) by

22. If you do something wrong, you should _____ sorry.

- a) ask b) say
- c) tell d) speak

23. Who _____ you with your work?

- a) help b) helps
- a) did help b) have helped

24. The interview was _____. I'll never get the job.

- a) brilliant b) badly
- c) exhausted d) awful

25. The latest news of our children _____.

- a) was exciting b) exciting
- c) are exciting d) were exciting

26. The doctor said I _____ take these pills.

- a) has to b) have to
- c) must d) haven't to

27. It's a wonderful _____. I enjoy it a lot.

37. The guide recommended _____ the museum.

- a) visiting
- b) to visit
- c) visit
- d) us visit

38. He asked me when _____ in the country.

- a) I arrive
- b) I'll arrive
- c) I'm arriving
- d) I'd arrive

39. Could you tell me _____?

- a) what is the problem
- b) what the problem is
- c) what the problem
- d) what has the problem

40. Harriet remembers _____ the door earlier that morning, but she couldn't find her key.

- a) to have locked
- b) locking
- c) lock
- d) locked

41. - We had a lovely day.

- _____.

- a) So did we
- b) So we had
- c) Neither had we
- d) So we did

42. Oh sorry. I didn't know you _____ asleep.

- a) are
- b) were being
- c) have been
- d) were

43. This film will be very popular among _____ who enjoy science fiction.

- a) these
- b) someone
- c) those
- d) some

44. The more you exercise _____ you get.

- a) the fitter
- c) the most fittest
- c) the most fittest
- d) fitter

45. _____ the weather forecast, it will be cold and foggy at the weekend.

c) Though

d) In addition

54. The day before the holiday, the men worked _____ than usual.

a) hard

b) hardest

c) harder

d) hardly

55. I don't know what this sentence _____.

a) is meaning

b) means

c) do mean

d) does means

56. Bill was driving into town when he ran _____ petrol.

a) out of

b) off

c) over

d) up

57. The film started _____ so you have missed quite a lot.

a) for half an hour

b) half an hour ago

c) since half an hour

d) half an hour

58. I'll write to you as soon as I _____ my exam results.

a) will know

b) am going to know

c) am knowing

d) know

59. This dictionary is _____ useful than that one.

a) as

b) least

c) fewer

d) less

60. Until last week, he _____ a motor bike before.

a) never had ridden

b) had never ridden

c) had ever ridden

d) had ridden never

61. Let's take a break soon, ?

a) are we

b) do we

c) shall we

d) will we

62. My father normally reads a paper while eating _____.

- a) a breakfast
- b) the breakfast
- c) some breakfast
- d) breakfast

63. The first thing they did when they met after twenty years was to hug_____.

- a) themselves
- b) someone else
- c) each other
- d) each others

64. I asked Ruth where _____her coat.

- a) did she buy
- b) she had bought
- c) she has bought
- d) had she bought

65. I always avoid _____ on the bus because it makes me feel ill.

- a) to read
- b) read
- c) reading
- d) to reading

66. While my car _____ , I was wandering round the city centre.

- a) was being repaired
- b) was repaired
- c) would be repaired
- d) is being repaired

67. _____ Martin could easily afford to go on holiday, he never does.

- a) Despite
- b) Although
- c) However
- d) In spite of

68. He gave us _____ useful information!

- a) too
- b) so
- c) such a
- d) such

69. It was so cold, I had to spend the _____ day indoors.

- a) whole
- b) every
- c) all
- d) each

70. Everyone has to comply with the law, _____?

a) don't you

b) don't we

c) don't they

d) doesn't one

Розділ III

SUPPLEMENTARY TEXTS

2015 Nobel Laureates

The 2015 Nobel Prize in Physiology or Medicine was awarded for the successful fight against parasites: Irishman William Campbell and Japanese Satoshi Omura. They became laureates for the development of a new method of treating diseases caused by parasitic roundworms, and the Chinese woman Yuyu Tu – for her contribution to the creation of therapy against malaria, a disease carried by mosquitoes of the *Anopheles* genus.

This year's Nobel laureates have developed methods, who revolutionized the treatment of the most dangerous parasitic diseases for humans. William Campbell and Satoshi Omura created a drug called Avermectin, which has proven to be effective against onchocerciasis, elephantiasis, and other parasitic diseases. Yuyu Tu has developed Artemisinin, a drug that has significantly reduced mortality among people who have fallen victim to malaria.

These two discoveries have given humanity new tools to fight diseases that affect hundreds of millions of people every year, and their contribution to global quality improvement the lives of people around the world are truly invaluable.

Parasitic worms – or helminths – are estimated to affect about a third of the world's population. They are most often found in Africa, South Asia, Central and South America. In the eyeball, they cause inflammation, bleeding and other complications that ultimately lead to loss of vision.

Elephantiasis is caused by a parasite called *Brugia malayi*. The affected skin areas become covered with warts and ulcers, then edema occurs. Connective tissues grow, which ultimately leads to an increase in the size of an organ or limb of a person, as well as to a change in its shape.

Researchers managed to find a strain of bacteria, the antibiotic produced was especially effective against parasites that infect both domestic animals and humans.

The bioactive agent was named Avermectin, and a little later a more effective agent was isolated from it – Ivermectin.

Chinese researcher Yuyu Tu began her work to find a cure for malaria back in the 1960s. At that time, Yuyu Tu was practicing traditional Chinese medicine based on herbal medicine. She found that an extract from the plant *Artemisia annua* (wormwood annual) could be a good candidate for a malaria fighter. Yu Tu was able to isolate a component from wormwood called Artemisinin, which was able to destroy malaria pathogens in the case of both animals and humans.

Yu Tu became the first Chinese woman to receive the Nobel Prize in medicine, as well as 12- th woman who received this award.

TV Is Turning Off the American Voter

During the last two decades, voter turnout in the United States has declined by 20 percent. More than 20 million former voters no longer cast their ballots. According to a recent Congressional Research Service study, the United States now has the lowest rate of voter participation of any democracy in the world. There is no reason to believe that the already low American turnout rate has reached its nadir.

Significantly, during the last decade and a half, spending in Congressional campaigns has increased by 482 percent, and if early Federal Election Commission reports are to be believed, campaign spending will increase substantially again in 1988.

In light of these trends, former Maryland Senator Charles McC. Mathias, the former chairman of the Senate Rules Committee and a leading authority on campaign finance issues, was moved to ask earlier this year: "Why is it that campaign spending keeps going up, while voter turnout keeps going down?"

The answer, in part, may lie with the single institution: television.

Both of these phenomena—spiraling campaign costs and declining voter turnout—have occurred during precisely the period in which television has grown to occupy a central place in both the conduct of American politics and in the lives of most Americans. The correlation may well not be coincidental.

Indeed, there is considerable evidence that the engine driving the train of runaway campaign spending is the demand of political campaigns to compete dollar for dollar, commercial for commercial, attack for attack in the arena of television advertising.

While overall campaign spending has increased nearly fivefold since 1972, the amount spent on television advertising in campaigns has increased tenfold. Whereas in 1974 the average competitive campaign that used television advertising spent 30 percent of its budget on TV commercials, the same type of campaign today spends 55 percent of its budget on television. In 1974, the overall average cost of the five most expensive U.S. Senatorial campaigns was 67 cents a vote; in 1984, the overall average cost was \$7.74. In 1974, the average amount spent on television advertising in these campaigns was 12 cents a vote; in 1984, it was \$3.54.

There is no comparable body of evidence to demonstrate a direct cause-and-effect relationship between television and declining voter turnout, but there are a number of factors relating to television and its contemporary usage that cannot help but affect turnout negatively. Among them:

1. *Television as an Institution.* While the mythology of television (and perhaps one of its unalloyed benefits) is that it has created a global community, its practical effect on American life is to atomize the citizenry, sending each family to passively watch its particular rectangular tube in the privacy of its own home. Politically, this development, in turn, makes citizens into spectators and consumers of politics and public affairs rather than participants and stockholders.

2. *American Viewing Habits:* If industry studies are to be believed, the average American spends more than six hours a day watching television. If the average person also spends eight hours a day working, two hours commuting to and from

work, and an hour and a half eating and eight hours sleeping, there is precious little time left for such things as reading and discussion, much less civic involvement.

3. *Television's Menu.* Raymond Carroll, a professor in the department of radio, television and motion pictures at the university of Alabama at Tusculoosa who tracks such things, estimates there has been a more than 30 percent reduction in primetime public affairs programming on network television during the last decade. What public-affairs programming that is presented tends to be in the "magazine" format of ABC's "20/20" and CBS's "West 57th Street," aimed at least as much at entertaining the public as informing it. While there are prime-time entertainment programs that tackle serious issues, albeit simplistically-"Cagney & Lacey" and "The Cosby Show" are two that come to mind among recent offerings-there is presently little of the sustained dramatic and comedic commitment to serious subjects that used to grace the medium in the era of such series as "The Defenders," "M*A*S*H" and "All in the Family."

Faced with an early-morning diet of a seemingly never-ending smorgasbord of anointed media-personalities trumpeting their latest triumphs, a midday menu of game shows, cartoons and soap operas, plus evening escapism, it is not surprising that serious political thought is not uppermost on the minds of most Americans.

4. *Television and Politics:* In the 1988 primaries, there were perhaps 100 debates between the major aspirants for the Presidency. Only one commercial network, NBC, saw fit to stage or show even one of those debates. That debate, to be sure, had a low viewer rating (9.1), but that rating was 10 times higher than the ratings for any of the other debates, which could only be viewed on public or cable television.

While debates, by their nature, provide only superficial glances at the character and qualifications of candidates, they still represent the single best way television can present candidates for public scrutiny free from reportorial judgment, which all too often makes the medium a player rather than an observer of the process.

Nowadays, what the public gets are one-and-a-half minute snippets on the nightly news, too often overlaid with reportorial cynicism, questionable judgments

about political expectations and the dulling cumulative effects of hurried journalism. What the public also gets are two messages sent by the networks: the first concerns the importance the networks place on politics-through their reduction of prime-time coverage of elections, elimination of gavel-to-gavel coverage of conventions and curtailment of on site coverage of all viable candidates; and second, about the importance of the individual vote-through the networks' projection of election winners while citizens are still voting to determine those winners.

It is neither the public nor the candidates who have created an election contest between a "dwarf" and a "wimp," and it may well be that the reportorial cynicism, magnified by television, which produced these appellations, is helping to turn off voters.

Other aspects of television's political coverage may also have the effect of diminishing citizen commitment to participation and should be mentioned in passing:

- The tendency to present more than 50 percent of an election season's coverage before the Iowa caucuses and the New Hampshire primary, when most of the national public is not yet focused on Presidential politics.

- The natural bias of the medium toward the visually interesting at the expense of the substantively serious.

- The magnification by the medium of both the good and the bad qualities of candidates and events, which tends to raise unreal expectation and create undue cynicism.

- The presentation of politics in undifferentiated short segments that lack content or historicity about the incremental nature of the political enterprise and when juxtaposed, as they are with product commercials, tend to give the viewer the belief that political problems may be ameliorated as quickly as aspirin relieves headaches.

5. *Political Advertising.* According to Dr. Herbert Alexander, whose Citizens Research Foundation is the foremost source of information on campaign finance, Senator Alan Cranston in 1986 spent more in his bid for re-election than had ever been spent by a candidate in California. Of his \$13 million budget, 55 percent was

allocated to television advertising, 28 percent for fund-raising to pay for that advertising and only 17 percent for all other activities, including candidate travel and staff. Thus, what was one of the closest U.S. Senate contests and was the most expensive Senatorial campaign in California history also produced the lowest voter turnout in the state's history.

The Cranston campaign is an example of what has become common place: a tendency to run campaigns entirely on television and to allocate no monies for any activities that might involve and engage potential voters as participants.

These kinds of campaigns have grown increasingly demagogic and negative. Because the independent political consultants who now run most campaigns have found that attack ads work, by serving to undermine faith in and turnout for one's opponent, they are increasingly used. And because they are in tone, format and content, basically unanswerable, the usual recourse by the opposition is to respond in kind.

What the public tends to see is an arms race of attack ads that serve to call into question not only the character and qualifications of the individual candidates but, perhaps subliminally, of the political process as a whole. The result in 1986 was a 10 percent increase in negative attitudes toward candidates and a corresponding 10 percent decline in voter turnout.

Television is, of course, here to stay. Indeed, the greater use of cable, satellite and video-cassette technologies is likely to further fragment and atomize the electorate and reduce the commonality of its experience. But other aspects of television's deleterious impact on voter perceptions and participation could be mitigated.

The United States need not continue to be the only democracy in the world that does not regulate, by time or format, political advertising on television. A uniform format bill, such as the one introduced by Senator Daniel Inouye and Senator Warren Rudman, which requires that every political ad, even the 15-second variety, have an identified spokesperson talking to the camera during the entire duration of every ad of

five minutes or less in length, would go a long way toward making such ads answerable and debatable, reducing their demagogic negative content, eliminating some of the excessive campaign costs, reducing the power of political consultants and perhaps returning some campaign resources to activities that involve citizens.

The networks can and should (as 71 percent of the electorate says it desires) desist from projecting election winners while the polls are still open. Pool coverage could insure that every serious candidate is covered, that conventions might be seen gavel to gavel and that the public gets the information it needs, even in an era of increasing costs and declining profitability.

The networks' news divisions might wish to explore the possibility of longer segments on politics on their nightly newscasts, thus giving context and historicity to the political enterprise and to press more strenuously for an hourlong nightly newscast. The enormous creativity that already exists among the writers, producers and executives within the television industry could be redirected toward making the presentation of public affairs more engaging without sacrificing substance and to reviving, even in commercial programming, what has been lacking in American politics and entertainment for the past eight years: a commitment to something larger than the self.

And Congress, in light of the diminution of public-affairs programming during prime time and the failure of the networks to carry debates this year, might seek to review decisions that essentially have deregulated broadcast programming.

But in the absence of some of these steps, a major crisis, a truly charismatic candidate or a mini-epoch of effective government, it is likely the turnout will continue to decline and that American Government will be increasingly one of, for and by the few.

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