

# Berger and Luckmann: The Social Construction of Reality

## Introduction

1. Basic Contentions
  - A. Reality is socially constructed.
  - B. Sociology of knowledge analyzes how this comes to be.
2. Key Terms
  - A. Reality: "quality appertaining to phenomena that we recognize as having been independent of our own volition."
    - i) What *is* that we can't destroy, remove, make disappear, etc. E.g., this chair.
  - B. Knowledge: "certainty that phenomena are real."
    - i) Sureness of things being real. E.g., this chair is brown, it has four legs, a desk, I can sit on it, etc.
    - ii) Berger and Luckmann are not interested in entering the metaphysical debate on whether or not things are "real."
3. What is the Sociology of Knowledge (SoK)?
  - A. Falls in the space between philosophic inquiry and the level of the man on the street.
    - i) Man on the street takes reality and knowledge for granted while philosopher does not.
  - B. Sociologist sees that men from different societies take different realities for granted and wonders if realities may be different because of societal differences.
    - i) E.g., free will. Why is this taken for granted by men in one society and not another?
  - C. The SoK asks not only "What are the differences between realities?" but also "*How does knowledge become reality?*"
    - i) Knowledge does not necessarily have to be valid.
    - ii) SoK "is concerned with the analysis of the social construction of reality."
4. History of SoK
  - A. *Wissenssoziologie*: Term coined in the 1920s by a German philosopher named Max Scheler.
    - i) Discipline was mostly ignored in the West.
      - (1) Seen as "a sociological gloss on the history of ideas."
  - B. SoK has had many definitions over the years ("the history of the sub-discipline thus far has been the history of its various definitions").
    - i) Consensus: SoK is the study of relationship between human thought and social context.
  - C. Three important intellectual waves before SoK that contributed to its development:
    - (1) Marxian.
      - (a) Root of SoK from Marx: "man's consciousness is determined by his social being."
      - (b) Also inherited the idea of ideology (ideas as weapons) and false consciousness (thoughts alienated from the thinker's social being).
      - (c) Sub/Super-structure (Unterbau/Ueberbau).
        - (i) Human thought is founded in human activity and social relations *from activity*.

- (ii) Sub-structure: human activity. Super-structure: world produced by that activity.
  - (2) Nietzschean.
    - (a) Nietzsche set the intellectual background and "mood" of the period in which SoK was born.
    - (b) SoK an application of Nietzsche's "art of mistrust."
  - (3) Historicism.
    - (a) Historicists insist that no historical situation can be understood except in its own terms: "social situation of thought."
    - (b) This led to a strong historical interest among SoKers.
- 5. Scheler and Mannheim.
  - A. Scheler
    - i) Ideal factors and real factors and their relationship.
      - (1) Real factors set conditions so that ideal factors can appear.
      - (2) Real factors do *not* create the content of ideal factors.
      - (3) In other words: Society creates the presence but not content of ideas.
    - ii) Acquisition of knowledge.
      - (1) Given in society as an *a priori* to individual experience: "relative-neutral view."
        - (a) Central concept of SoK.
  - B. Mannheim
    - i) Redefined SoK's boundaries.
      - (1) Mannheim saw that society determines appearance *and* content of human thought.
        - (a) SoK becomes a way to study human thought.
    - ii) Key concern: phenomenon of ideology. Three kinds:
      - (1) Particular ideology: segment of opponent's thought.
      - (2) Total ideology: whole of opponent's thought (false consciousness).
      - (3) General ideology: characteristic of opponent's thought *and* one's own.
        - (a) General ideology falls at the level of the SoK.
    - iii) No human thought is immune to ideological influences in a social context.
      - (a) Ideology can't be eradicated, but mitigated through systemic analysis.
    - iv) Relationism: Knowledge must always be knowledge from a certain position.
      - (1) The more perspectives you have on a thought object, the clearer the object becomes.
  - C. Scheler's definitions v. Mannheim's.
    - i) Moderate v. radical conceptions of the field.
    - ii) Mannheim is more widely read, particularly in the West. When referring to SoK, the assumption is that you are referencing Mannheim.
  - D. Berger and Luckmann.
    - i) SoK cannot solve question of "How can I be sure X is real?"
    - ii) SoK is a part of sociology.
      - (1) Theory refers to concrete problems.
    - iii) SoK is concerned with everything that passes for knowledge.
      - (1) Much wider definition than those previously used.
      - (2) This is not what is real *after* theory, but what people understand to be real.
    - iv) B&L's SoK: How do subjective meanings become objective fact?

## Foundations of Knowledge in Everyday Life

1. Reality of Everyday Life
  - A. Reality
    - i) Everyday life as interpreted by men and meaningful to them as a coherent world.
      - (1) Basis of sociological analysis.
  - B. Consciousness
    - i) Always intentional, whether focused on inward object (e.g., anxiety) or object (e.g., lecturing).
    - ii) Different objects present themselves as belonging to different realities
      - (1) We are conscious of different realities—e.g., dream people v. real people.
      - (2) The reality of everyday life is designated as the ultimate reality.
    - iii) Language marks co-ordinates in everyday life and gives objects meaning.
  - C. Everyday Reality
    - i) Everyday reality is organized around “here” (the body) and “now” (present time).
    - ii) Everyday reality is experienced in degrees of closeness and remoteness.
      - (1) Close: things that can be manipulated by the body; far: things out of reach of the body.
        - (a) Interest in “far” zone less intense and urgent.
    - iii) Time is a part of everyday reality.
      - (1) Time is a part of everyday reality before death and afterward.
      - (2) Time provides historicity that places situation in the world.
  - D. Intersubjective World
    - i) World shared with others.
    - ii) Commonsense knowledge: knowledge shared with others in routines.
  - E. Continuity and Everyday Life
    - i) Continuity is broken by problems (abnormalities in routines).
      - (1) E.g., you walk into work to find all the employees whispering at the water cooler.
    - ii) Other realities: dream worlds, theatres, etc.
      - (1) All these realities are engulfed by everyday reality
        - (a) “Leaping”: jumping from these finite unrealities to greater everyday reality.
    - iii) Language keeps you grounded in everyday reality.
      - (1) Everyday reality’s language is used to describe trips to unrealities, which brings you back to everyday reality.
        - (a) Problems of translation when describing “unreality” experiences in everyday reality.
  - F. Social Interaction in Everyday Life
    - i) Experiencing Others.
      - (1) Face to face contact.
        - (a) Most important kind of interaction.
        - (b) Both in same present/tense in face to face conversation.
        - (c) Expressions are reciprocated.
        - (d) Face to face makes the other fully real.
        - (e) Face to face can also transform perceptions of other.
          - (i) Typifications hold until challenged face to face.
      - (2) Others are experienced on a continuum of typifications.
        - (a) From inner circle to “anonymous abstractions.”

- G. Language and Knowledge in Everyday Life
- i) Activity is capable of objectivation.
    - (1) Knife and anger.
  - ii) Everyday life is only possible because of objectivation.
  - iii) Signs.
    - (1) Body movements, material artifacts, etc.
    - (2) Some signs can be detached from person.
      - (a) Dance showing anger may be danced by someone who is not angry.
      - (b) Snarling, however, is impossible to detach from person and emotion in the here and now.
      - (c) Thus, the dance is the objective sign.
- H. Language and Everyday Life
- i) Most important of the sign systems.
  - ii) Can be detached from face to face.
  - iii) "Objective repository" of meanings.
    - (1) Language objectivates self, making being available to you and conversation partner simultaneously.
      - (a) Thus, language makes your subjective reality more real.
  - iv) Language forces objectivity.
    - (1) Must play by the rules of grammar and vocabulary to be understood.
    - (2) Also creates anonymity: typifies experiences so others can understand them.
  - v) Language also transcends everyday reality.
    - (1) Can refer to experiences outside everyday reality.
    - (2) Can translate dreams into language and make this other reality an enclave of meaning inside everyday reality.
  - vi) Language builds classifications.
    - (1) Creates "zones of intimacy"—formal and informal you, e.g.
- I. Knowledge and Everyday Life
- i) Recipe knowledge: knowledge limited to pragmatic motive (i.e., knowledge that enables you to do something—e.g., use a telephone).
    - (1) Occupies prominent place in social stock of knowledge (StoK).
    - (2) People don't move beyond the StoK unless there is a problem.
  - ii) Social stock of knowledge: "differentiates reality by degrees of familiarity."
    - (1) Detailed knowledge of your career, but only general and limited knowledge of others.
    - (2) The StoK provides typifications.
      - (a) For example: Henry is an Englishman. Henry is punctual. "Everybody knows" the English are punctual. Henry can now be typified as an Englishman.
    - (3) StoK doesn't provide all knowledge.
      - (a) Total reality is always partly obscured.
        - (i) Despot example: as a despot, you know your orders are followed. You do not know *why* your orders are always followed and you *can't*.
        - (ii) No one person can know everything.

## Society as Objective Reality

1. Institutionalization
  - A. Organism and Activity
    - i) Man is "world-open."
    - ii) Instincts are undeveloped; drives are unspecialized and undeveloped.
      - (1) Sex drive doesn't dictate how to satisfy it—but society does.
    - iii) Humans develop biologically while in their social environment.
      - (1) The two reach completion simultaneously.
      - (2) Both organism and self cannot be understood apart from social context that created them.
      - (3) Thus, man produces himself, but only *with* society.
    - iv) Humans have "plasticity," variability.
      - (1) Humanness itself is a socio-cultural variable.
        - (a) Human *being* is only possible in a social context.
    - v) Human existence takes place in context of order and stability. Origins of stability:
      - (1) Stability is an ongoing human production, not a biological trait or product of nature.
      - (2) Social order is the result of past human activity and continues to exist only and insofar as human activity produces it.
  - B. Origins of Institutionalization
    - i) Habitualization.
      - (1) Repeated actions become a pattern.
      - (2) Habitualization implies that the action can be repeated in the future.
      - (3) Habits can be both social and non-social activities.
      - (4) Meanings become embedded in routines and then part of the general StoK.
      - (5) Positive consequences of habitualization:
        - (a) Frees men from overwhelming choice—instead of there being 100 ways to drive to work, there's only one, the path traveled daily.
        - (b) Habit becomes the background of thought, leaving the foreground open for deliberation and innovation.
      - (6) Habit precedes institutionalization.
    - ii) History.
      - (1) Institutions are products of their history.
    - iii) Collectivities.
      - (1) Institutions show themselves in societies with a large number of people.
      - (2) However, even with two people, it is possible to observe the process of reciprocal typification (origins of institutionalized conduct).
  - C. Institutions and Typification
    - i) Institutions occur when people type actors and actions
      - (1) Action X is performed by Type X actors (e.g., studying is done by students).
    - ii) Typifications are always shared.
      - (1) Information is available to everyone in the social group.
      - (2) Institutions themselves typify by allowing only Type X people to perform Action X.
  - D. Institutions and Conduct
    - i) Institutions control human conduct.

- (1) By setting up one stream of conduct where many were possible, institutions regulate behavior.
    - (a) This is inherent to *all* institutions.
    - (b) This regulation does not include the sanctions set up to support institutions.
  - ii) To say that something is "institutionalized" is to say that it is under social control.
    - (1) Other controls cover what was not successfully institutionalized.
    - (2) Total (add) institutions to determine degree of social control.
- E. How to Create Institutions
- i) Interaction: Amy and Ben
    - (1) Amy sees Ben perform an action and attaches a motive.
    - (2) Ben continues to perform action; Amy says, "Oh, there he goes again." Ben repeats this process on Amy.
    - (3) Amy and Ben then play roles for each other.
      - (a) Each will appropriate the reiterated roles and become able to predict the other's actions.
        - (i) From "there he goes again" to "there we go again."
      - (4) This widens the sphere of "taken for granted" activities and begins the process of institutionalization.
    - ii) A, B, and C: The Necessity of Children
      - (1) Amy and Ben have a child called Chris.
        - (a) Their behavior becomes historic and is no longer developed as they interact.
        - (b) With a child, their routines become concrete.
          - (i) "There we go again" becomes "This is the way things are done."
          - (ii) To Chris, their routines are *the* objective world.
            - 1. The routines are not transparent but opaque reality.
            - 2. Chris' objective view of the world reflects back to his parents and further solidifies their routines.
- F. The Experience of Institutions
- i) Institutions are experienced as objective reality.
    - (1) They were present before birth and will continue after death.
    - (2) Cannot wish institutions away, cannot magically alter them.
  - ii) Dialectal relationship.
    - (1) Man produces world, but world acts and shapes man as well.
    - (2) The fundamental relationship of three dialectal moments:
      - (a) Society is a human product.
      - (b) Society is an objective reality.
      - (c) Man is a social product.
- G. Institutions and Legitimacy
- i) Institutions must be legitimized, explainable, justified.
    - (1) Amy and Ben must legitimize their institutions in transmitting them to Chris.
    - (2) Legitimacy is then conferred in transmission to the new generation.
  - ii) Deviation from institutions is more likely when they are set up by others.
    - (1) Ergo: sanctions.
      - (a) Institutions must claim authority—"teach them to behave," "keep them in line."
  - iii) Logic is imposed on institutions through reflection and by sharing experiences.
    - (1) People seek to find meaning and coherency among varying institutions.

- H. Institutions and Language
    - i) Language allows for the superimposition of logic.
    - ii) Legitimacy of the institution is built on language.
      - (1) Thus, language is the principal instrument of legitimacy.
    - iii) The logic of institutions is part of the socially available StoK.
      - (1) This allows people to explain how institutions fit together into a coherent whole.
    - iv) However: institutions may be integrated, but there is not necessary.
      - (1) They are integrated by individuals who reflect on their life and share their experiences with others and thus strive to create an ordered, meaningful world.
  - I. Knowledge Transmission
    - i) Institutions are permanent solutions to permanent problems.
    - ii) Anyone who wishes to engage in institutions must become acquainted with institutionalized meanings.
      - (1) This leads to the education system.
    - iii) Social apparatuses must be in place in order to transmit knowledge.
      - (1) Some people must transmit knowledge and others must receive.
    - iv) Those who transmit StoK do so because they have been designated to do so, not because they actual *know*.
      - (1) If you don't know as your role requires you to, you may be stripped of your institutionalized place.
    - v) Aids in transmission:
      - (1) Objects and actions serve as memory aids.
  - J. Implications of Institutions
    - i) Institutions can only be understood in terms of their members' knowledge.
      - (1) To analyze the institution, analyze the knowledge.
    - ii) The primary knowledge of the institution is the sum total of "what everybody knows."
      - (1) Proverbs, maxims, values, beliefs, myths, etc.
    - iii) This knowledge is what controls conduct.
      - (1) It is socially objectivated as knowledge.
      - (2) This knowledge is seen as *reality* and to act differently is to break with reality.
    - iv) Knowledge of institutions is realized.
      - (1) Seen as objectivated social reality.
      - (2) *Produces* social reality.
2. Sedimentation and Tradition
- A. Consciousness
    - i) Little of all human experience is retained in consciousness.
      - (1) Congeals to memories.
        - (a) Necessary process: otherwise, no one could reflect on his life.
    - ii) Intersubjective sedimentation: several individuals sharing a common biography and a common StoK.
      - (1) This becomes social knowledge only when the knowledge becomes a sign system.
  - B. Language and Sedimentation
    - i) Language objectivates shared experiences.
      - (1) Becomes basis and instrument of collective StoK.
    - ii) Allows new experiences to be objectivated and incorporated.
      - (1) Hunter and bare-handed kill.

- iii) Language is the container of sedimentations.
  - (1) It allows men to acquire the meaning without reconstructing the event.

### 3. Roles

#### A. Origins of Institutional Order

- i) Stem from typification of one's and others' performance.
  - (1) Implication: actions are actors are typified.
- ii) Typification requires objective sense, which requires linguistic objectification.
  - (1) Vocabulary will refer to actions.
    - (a) This allows actions and justifications for such to be seen outside of a sole performance.
    - (b) Thus, self and other can be seen performing an action while understanding that anyone of the appropriate type can do the same.
  - (2) The self identifies with the objective action.
  - (3) Only after the action is part of the self objectified as the action-performer.
    - (a) This allows us to believe that only part of the self is engaged in the action and segregate this social self from our total self.

#### B. Roles and Institutions

- i) Roles are the product of institutionalized conduct.
  - (1) Roles and their standards are a part of the StoK.
  - (2) A failure to meet a role's standards can lead to the loss of the role.
    - (a) Legitimization.
- ii) Roles are used to participate in the social world.
  - (1) Internalizing roles make the social world subjectively real.
- iii) Roles stem from the same processes that create institutionalization: habitualization and objectivation.
  - (1) Institutionalized roles deal with institutionalized conduct.
    - (a) All institutionalized conduct involves roles.
    - (b) Ergo, roles help maintain social control.
      - (i) Once you are identified as performing a role, your conduct can be enforced.
- iv) Roles represent the institutional order on two levels:
  - (1) Role performing represents role.
  - (2) Role represents institutionalized conduct and institution in total.
    - (a) This is what keeps institutions alive as a real presence.

#### C. Representation of Institutions

- i) Language makes institutions present.
- ii) Symbols and physical objects can be used as well.
  - (1) Seals, crests, etc.
  - (2) Symbols lose meaning without a link to human conduct.
- iii) Symbols and representations must be integrated into a cohesive whole.
- iv) Certain roles have strategic importance.
  - (1) These roles represent the total institution more than others (e.g., monarch).
  - (2) These roles maintain social cohesiveness and thus legitimize the institution.

#### D. Social Distribution of Knowledge

- i) Social Distribution of Knowledge (SDK)
  - (1) Some knowledge is relevant only to specific roles.

- (a) The division of labor leads to more role-specific knowledge and specialists.
  - (b) Economic surplus requirement for specialization of knowledge.
  - (c) Ability to reference specialists is a part of the StoK.
- E. Knowledge and Roles
- i) Must have socially objectivated knowledge to play a role.
    - (1) Must know the norms, values, and emotions required of the role.
    - (2) There is both a cognitive and affective level to role-playing.
  - ii) Two perspectives on role-playing and knowledge:
    - (1) From the perspective of the institution: society exists only as individuals are conscious of it.
    - (2) From the perspective of the roles: individual consciousness is socially determined.
    - (3) Or, in other words:
      - (a) Institutional order is real insofar as it is realized in roles OR
      - (b) Roles are representatives of the institutional order that gives them shape and attached knowledge.
  - iii) Specialization.
    - (1) Division of labor required for specialized knowledge.
      - (a) As more labor is divided, there is less institutionalization.
    - (2) Economic surplus is also required.
      - (a) Surplus allows people to engage in activities not related to subsistence.
- F. Integrating Institutions
- i) Relevance structures do not have to “hang together”/integrate in objective reality.
    - (1) They do in the consciousness of the individual.
      - (a) Mythology, religion, propaganda, social science.
  - ii) Sub-Universes
    - (1) Creation
      - (a) Sub-universes occur when role knowledge becomes esoteric.
      - (b) Sub-universes increase with as economic surplus and labor divide.
      - (c) Sub-universes are supported by the collectivity.
        - (i) Competition among sub-universes.
    - (2) Purpose
      - (a) Each sub-universe has a different perspective on the total society.
        - (i) These are not reflections of social interests.
        - (ii) Knowledge can be detached from the knower’s interests.
      - (b) Sub-universes can act back on the collectivity.
        - (i) Knowledge is a social product.
        - (ii) Knowledge is a factor in social change.
    - (3) Legitimization
      - (a) Sub-universes become autonomous.
        - (i) Leads to legitimization problems when groups want special recognition and privileges.
          - 1. How can outsiders be kept out while group receives attention?
            - a. Intimidation, rational and irrational propaganda, mystification, and manipulation of prestige symbols.
- G. Reification
- i) Definition
    - (1) Process of seeing products of human activity as if they were *not*.
      - (a) Products of nature, God, divine will, etc.

- (b) Leads to dehumanized world.
- (c) Dialectic between man and his world no longer conscious.
- (2) When the world is seen as objectivated, reification is near.
- (3) Man is typically seen as the product of world while human activity is the product of a non-human process.
- (4) Can apply to segments and entire institutions.
- ii) Levels
  - (1) Possible on pretheoretical and theoretical levels.
    - (a) Pretheory level: What everybody knows.
    - (b) Theory level: Biology, psychology, metaphysics, etc.
  - (2) Man's original view of the world is reified.
    - (a) To understand that the world is reified, a process of dereification must occur.
  - (3) Roles can be reified as well.
    - (a) "I have to do this; I'm a father."
    - (b) Narrows distance between the individual and the role.
      - (i) Individual becomes only his type.

#### 4. Legitimization

##### A. Origins of Symbolic Universes

- i) Legitimization creates meanings that integrate meanings already attached to separate institutions.
- ii) Makes objectively available and subjectively plausible already institutionalized objectivations.
- iii) Subjectively plausibility:
  - (1) Total institutional order should make sense to people in different institutional processes.
    - (a) Horizontal level.
  - (2) Total life: one's passing through various institutional orders must be made subjectively meaningful.
    - (a) Vertical level.
- iv) Legitimization is the process of explaining and justifying.
  - (1) Legitimization gives cognitive meaning and normative dignity to objectivated meanings.
    - (a) Cognitive: "X is done."
    - (b) Normative: "X *should* be done."

##### B. Levels of Legitimization

- i) Incipient.
  - (1) Develops once linguistic objectivations of human experiences occurs.
    - (a) Vocabulary leads to structure.
  - (2) "This is how things are done."
  - (3) Pre-theoretical.
  - (4) Foundation of self-evident knowledge.
- ii) Theoretical propositions.
  - (1) Proverbs, moral maxims, etc.
- iii) Explicit theories.
  - (1) Shift from pragmatic application to pretheory.
  - (2) Transmitted by specialized personnel.
  - (3) Start of autonomy in legitimization and may allow legitimization to become an institution in its own right.
- iv) Symbolic universe.
  - (1) Integrates provinces of meaning into symbolic whole.
  - (2) Distinguished by meaningful integration.

- (a) All aspects of institutions are integrated into an all-encompassing frame of reference.
- C. Symbolic Universes
  - i) Social products.
    - (1) To understand symbolic universes, their history must also be understood.
    - (2) Simultaneously, symbolic universes present themselves as inevitable.
  - ii) Serve as overarching construct over institutions.
  - iii) Integrate discrete institutions.
  - iv) Symbolic universes are always under siege.
    - (1) All social reality is a fight against chaos.
- D. Benefits of Symbolic Universes
  - i) Symbolic universes serve to order the world.
    - (1) Allows individual to organize life and experiences.
    - (2) Mitigates unreality and confirms reality.
    - (3) Orders enclaves of meaning.
    - (4) Keeps one from wondering which reality is real—dreams or life.
  - ii) Ultimate legitimization of institutional order.
  - iii) Integrates most institutions.
    - (1) All acts can be placed in greatest frame of reference.
    - (2) Legitimizes roles, priorities, and procedures.
    - (3) Gives significance to daily life.
  - iv) Allows for ordered biography.
    - (1) Biological phases are legitimized as states of being in the universe.
    - (2) Allows an individual to believe he has lived “correct” life.
  - v) Legitimizes subjective identity.
    - (1) Identity now has an unchanging reference.
    - (2) Concept of the “real self.”
  - vi) Helps individual cope with death.
    - (1) Best example of symbolic universes’ power.
    - (2) Without a symbolic universe, life is a nightmare: death is an ever-present fear.
- 5. Conceptual Machineries of Universe-Maintenance
  - A. Legitimization of Symbolic Universe
    - i) Need to maintain universe only when it become a problem.
      - (1) Otherwise, the universe is self-maintaining.
    - ii) No universe is taken for granted completely.
      - (1) So universes are problematic by definition—it’s a question of degree.
    - iii) Problem is greater is there are deviant versions of the symbolic universe.
      - (1) Deviance becomes a reality of its own when groups share vision.
      - (2) This challenges the reality of the first universe.
      - (3) Leads to legitimized repression.
  - B. Others and Symbolic Universes
    - i) Deviance is *most* threatening when another society has its own history and StoK.
    - ii) An alternative universe posits that your symbolic universe is *not* inevitable—a very threatening idea.
      - (1) The symbolic universe that wins typically wins on military might and not theoretical merits.
    - iii) Conceptual machines develop as an elaboration on legitimization.
      - (1) Mythology.
        - (a) Most archaic machine.

- (b) Closest to the symbolic universe.
      - (2) Theology.
      - (3) Philosophy.
      - (4) Science.
      - (a) Most detached from universe.
      - (5) Therapy.
      - (6) Nihilation.
    - C. Therapy As A Conceptual Machine
      - i) Keeps inhabitants from "crossing over" to alternate social reality.
      - ii) Challenges social reality on cognitive and normative levels.
      - iii) Therapy requires:
        - (1) A defined pathology.
        - (2) Diagnostic concepts.
        - (3) Curative processes.
      - iv) The individual learns to accept his illness, gains "insight," and the diagnosis becomes real to him.
      - v) Therapy ends in resocialization.
    - D. Nihilation As A Conceptual Machine
      - i) Therapy reinforces the symbolic universe and holds inhabitants inside its framework by annihilating all other possible realities.
        - (1) Denies other realities equal status, denigrates them, etc.
      - ii) Incorporates deviance into one's own universe:
        - (1) "When X says he disagrees with our beliefs, he's lying and deep down he knows it. . . ."
        - (a) Bad faith (Sartre).
6. Social Organization of Universe-Maintenance
- A. Change in Universes
    - i) Proposal: Universes are social realities. Individuals define realities. Therefore, universes are subject to change.
    - ii) As economic surplus grows, intelligentsia and academia class can concentrate fully on their topics, to certain consequences:
      - (1) Pure theoretical thought.
      - (2) Strengthened traditionalism.
        - (a) Habits limit human actions.
        - (b) Institutions will exist until they become a problem.
        - (c) Call this the "don't rock the boat" theory.
    - iii) Full-time experts allow for social conflict.
      - (1) Experts v. workers.
        - (a) Who knows the *real* reality?
      - (2) Experts v. experts.
    - iv) There will always be arguments and rival realities.
      - (1) Outcome will be affected and determined by social support.
      - (2) Theoretical debates can occur on two levels:
        - (a) Between experts (e.g., Hopf v. Schweller), in secret.
        - (b) In society.
    - v) When experts compete in front of society, rival social interests will attach themselves to the debate.
      - (1) Certain theories are shown to be superior by usefulness to the social group(s) that carries them.
  - B. Ideology in Universes
    - i) Ideology: when reality becomes attached to a power interest.
      - (1) The same universe interpreted in different ways.

- ii) Ideology often adapted when its elements lead to gains.
    - (1) Social conflict requires solidarity; ideology provides solidarity.
  - iii) Ideology is modified to maintain interests it must legitimize (from Marxism to Leninism to Stalinism).
- C. Societal Types: Monopolistic
- i) All alternate views of reality are:
    - (1) Nihilated instantly.
    - (2) Integrated.
    - (3) Segregated.
  - ii) Inhabitants of universe can have relations with segregated strangers, but cannot view deviant universe as a potential habitat.
    - (1) War or integration.
  - iii) Once a monopoly is established, personnel tend to support conservative policies.
- D. Societal Types: Pluralistic
- i) Shared core universe, but different partial universes.
  - ii) Pluralism changes the social position of definitions of reality and ways these are made conscious.
  - iii) Assumes urban society, economic surplus, and a division of labor.
  - iv) Pluralism encourages skepticism and innovation.
- E. The Role of the Intellectual
- i) By definition, the intellectual is a marginal figure.
  - ii) Lack of theoretical integration into universe.
    - (1) "Counter-expert."
  - iii) Intellectual can react in several ways.
    - (1) Withdraw from society.
      - (a) Find social base for objectivation of deviant views.
      - (b) Limit relationships to those who support deviance.
    - (2) Revolution.
      - (a) Enact redesign of society *in* society.
      - (b) Revolutionary requires others to confirm his beliefs.
      - (c) Also requires others to reinforce subjective plausibility of revolution.

## Society as Subjective Reality

1. Internalization of Reality
  - A. Primary Socialization
    - i) Society as ongoing dialectal process.
      - (1) Externalization.
      - (2) Objectivation.
      - (3) Internalization.
        - (a) Understanding that an objective event expresses meaning.
        - (b) Necessary to understand other people and to see the world as meaningful.
        - (c) When the individual understands others' subjective processes and the world of the other, mutual identification occurs.
          - (i) This is what makes the individual a part of society.
    - ii) Individual is not born a member of society. Socialization brings him into the flock.
      - (1) Individual born into objective social structure and objective social world.
      - (2) Significant others (parents) translate and in so doing modify this world as they explain it to him.
        - (a) "Filtering."
      - (3) Socialization occurs with emotions.
        - (a) Internalization occurs as identification occurs.
        - (b) Identification with significant figures allows for identity creation.
          - (i) Self is a reflected entity.
      - (4) Individual takes on roles, attitude, and world of significant figures.
    - iii) Primary socialization allows for understanding of roles and attitudes generally.
      - (1) Mom gets mad when I color on the walls.
      - (2) *Everybody* dislikes it when I color on the walls.
      - (3) Therefore, one does not color on the walls.
      - (4) Generalized other: individual identifies with society and not just significant figures.
        - (a) Once this occurs, identity becomes stable and continuous.
    - iv) Language must always be internalized for primary socialization to succeed.
    - v) Learning sequences:
      - (1) At six, learn this. At seven, learn that and the other thing.
    - vi) Primary socialization ends with the creation of the General Other.
      - (1) Internalization isn't over, nor is socialization.
  - B. General Other
    - i) Decisive phase of socialization
      - (1) Shows internalization of objective reality and subjective establishment of identity.
      - (2) Society, identity, and reality are crystallized all at once.
        - (a) Concurrent with language.
      - (3) Language serves as both the content and instrument of socialization.
    - ii) With General Other, objective and subjective reality have relationship.
      - (1) Objective reality is translated to subjective and vice versa.
        - (a) No individual totally internalizes objective reality—too much to know.
        - (b) Subjective biography is never fully social.

- (c) Both inside and outside society is an ongoing balancing act.
- C. Secondary Socialization
- i) Division of labor creates secondary socialization.
    - (1) Secondary socialization: internalization of subworlds.
      - (a) Determined by division of labor.
      - (b) Acquisition of role-specific knowledge.
  - ii) Secondary socialization is partial reality to primary socialization's base world.
  - iii) Secondary socialization occurs as individual becomes capable of understanding and using role-specific knowledge.
    - (1) Maxims, physical constructions, etc.
  - iv) Secondary socialization cannot occur without primary socialization.
  - v) Learning sequences are developed to enhance prestige of roles.
    - (1) To be a professor, you need a Ph.D., etc.
  - vi) Unlike primary socialization, secondary socialization does not require emotional identification.
    - (1) In secondary socialization, institutional context is understood.
    - (2) Those who transmit the knowledge are interchangeable figures.
      - (a) Secondary socialization is more detached than primary socialization.
  - vii) The reality of secondary socialization is easily shrugged off.
    - (1) Part of *self* that can be cast off.
    - (2) This self is relevant only to role-specific knowledge.
- D. Reality Accent
- i) Must be reinforced in secondary socialization.
  - ii) The teacher must make content:
    - (1) Vivid.
    - (2) Relevant.
    - (3) Interesting.
  - iii) The more continuity between old and new knowledge is shown, the more real they seem.
  - iv) Secondary socialization learning:
    - (1) Sometimes special techniques are needed (e.g., music education).
    - (2) Intrinsic and extrinsic factors.
  - v) Techniques are used to create an affective charge in the secondary socialization process:
    - (1) Initiation processes.
    - (2) Socializing agents take on role of significant figures.
  - vi) If the socialization task is sufficiently complex, a socialization agency may be created.
    - (1) Quantico, e.g.
2. Maintenance and Transformation of Subjective Reality
- A. Reality Maintenance
- i) Socialization is never complete—so reality maintenance procedures are developed (ability to shrug aside dreams, e.g.).
    - (1) The more artificial the socialization, the more vulnerable it is.
  - ii) Secondary socialization is less threatened by marginal reality than primary socialization.
    - (1) Marginal reality not relevant to role-specific tasks.
    - (2) How well primary internalizations hold up in the face of marginal reality is the test of their subjective reality/strength.
- B. Maintenance

- i) Two kinds of maintenance:
    - (1) Routine maintenance: Plausibility Structure.
      - (a) Reaffirmed in conversations.
      - (b) Conversations must be consistent to maintain subjective reality.
      - (c) Refreshers of social base needed to keep symbols of subjective reality meaningful.
      - (d) Plausibility structures also deny skepticism.
        - (i) Individual learns to keep doubts to himself due to fear of ridicule and then ridicules himself.
    - (2) Crisis maintenance.
      - (a) Essentially the same as routine maintenance, but the reality contact is explicit and intense.
      - (b) Violence of methods used to purge deviance is proportional to sense of threat.
  - ii) Reality is reaffirmed by interactions with others.
    - (1) Early morning commute, e.g.
    - (2) Do not have to interact with others to confirm reality.
  - iii) Conversation *maintains* reality.
    - (1) Conversation strengthens subjective reality.
      - (a) The more casual the conversation, the more the subjective reality is strengthened.
      - (b) Casual conversations reinforce the understood and imply routines.
    - (2) Conversation can strengthen and weaken parts of reality.
      - (a) Can talk yourself into doubts *and* out of them.
    - (3) Conversation allows language to make the world real.
- C. Modification
- i) Living in society is an ongoing process of modification of subjective reality.
  - ii) Near-Total Transformation
    - (1) Requires re-socialization:
      - (a) Breakdown of primary socialization and then the building of a new reality.
      - (b) Must have strong social base and significant figures that carry new message.
        - (i) Identification with significant figures as in primary socialization.
      - (c) Contact limited to those who share in the new reality.
        - (i) Think of common conceptions of brainwashing.
3. Internalization and Social Structure
- A. Socialization and Social Structure
- i) Socialization always occurs within the social structure.
    - (1) Successful socialization: objective and subjective realities are mostly symmetrical.
    - (2) Maximum success is most likely in societies with minimal knowledge distribution.
      - (a) Everyone is who he is supposed to be.
        - (i) You're born a bastard, you stay a bastard, and there is no questioning of this fact.
      - (b) No identity problems/crises.
  - ii) Counter realities are only possible when individuals create a socially durable group.
    - (1) Question of "Who am I?" is only possible when there is more than one answer.

- (a) I'm born a bastard, but what if I'm *really* marked by God as a prophet? → Who am I? question can now occur with an alternate theory posited.
    - iii) Socialization is less successful in complex societies.
      - (1) Different significant figures giving different objective realities to a child cause the child to learn of two different worlds simultaneously.
        - (a) May create asymmetry.
        - (b) "treason to the self."
        - (c) Gives rise to "the individual."
      - (2) Discrepancies between private and social selves.
        - (a) Secondary socialization may open up alternative realities and identities.
          - (i) Fantasy identities.
4. Theories About Identity
- A. Identity
    - i) Key element of subjective reality.
    - ii) Stands in dialectal relationship.
    - iii) Formed by social processes.
    - iv) Societies have histories in which specific identities merge, but these histories are made by men with specific identities.
      - (1) Social structure determines processes that form and maintain identities.
      - (2) Identities react back on social structure.
    - v) Identity types typified and can be verified at pretheoretical level.
  - B. Identity and Psychology
    - i) Identity types are social products.
      - (1) Theories of identities are always present.
      - (2) All identity theory must occur within framework of the world.
    - ii) Psychologists check for reality; sociologists ask "*Which* reality?"
      - (1) Psychological status is relative to social structures and is socially defined.
      - (2) Dialectic between psychology and society.
    - iii) Psychology theories legitimize identity-maintenance and identity-repair.
      - (1) Psychologically adequate: When psychological theories reflect the psychological reality they attempt to explain.
5. Organism and Identity
- A. Organism and Development
    - i) Organism affects each phase of reality construction and vice-versa.
      - (1) Animal instincts and sociality co-exist.
      - (2) Dialectic between nature and society.
        - (a) Class differences and health.
    - ii) Social reality determines organism functioning.
      - (1) Sex drives.
      - (2) Nutrition.
    - iii) Socialization requires subjugation of biological drives.
      - (1) Higher being v. lower self.