

## THE STUDY OF COMPONENTS OF CULTURE: VALUES , NORMS, MATERIAL OBJECTS ,LANGUAGE AND CULTURE CHANGE

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### ABSTRACT

*The sociological study of culture focuses on values, norms, material objects, language, and cultural change. These cultural components, while not an exhaustive list, comprise the bulk of cultural activities and practices of interest to cultural sociologists. This will defines the main components of culture, provides examples, and explains the role these components plays in constructing a culture. This paper explores the sociology of culture in three parts: An overview of values, norms; material objects, language, and cultural change; a description of the growth of cultural relativistic thought in cultural sociology, and; a discussion of the issues related to cultural sociology's relationships with the fields of cultural studies and traditional sociology.*

**Keywords - Cultural Relativism, Culture, Immaterial Objects, Material Objects, Mores, Norms, Society, Values**

### I INTRODUCTION

Humans are social creatures. Since the dawn of *Homo sapiens* nearly 250,000 years ago, people have grouped together into communities in order to survive. Living together, people form common habits and behaviours—from specific methods of childrearing to preferred techniques for obtaining food. In modern-day Paris, many people shop daily at outdoor markets to pick up what they need for their evening meal, buying cheese, meat, and vegetables from different specialty stalls. In the Canada, the majority of people shop once a week at supermarkets, filling large carts to the brim. The Parisian Roland Barthes disdainfully referred to this as “the hasty stocking up” of a “more mechanical civilization” (Barthes 1977).

Almost every human behaviour, from shopping to marriage to expressions of feelings, is learned. In Canada, people tend to view marriage as a choice between two people, based on mutual feelings of love. In other nations and in other times, marriages have been arranged through an intricate process of interviews and negotiations between entire families, or in other cases, through a direct system such as a “mail order bride.” To someone raised in Winnipeg, the marriage customs of a family from Nigeria may seem strange, or even wrong. Conversely, someone from a

# 6th International Conference on Science, Technology and Management

India International Centre, New Delhi

04 December 2016 , [www.conferenceworld.in](http://www.conferenceworld.in)

(ICSTM-16)

ISBN: 978-93-86171-16-0

traditional Kolkata family might be perplexed with the idea of romantic love as the foundation for the lifelong commitment of marriage. In other words, the way in which people view marriage depends largely on what they have been taught.

Behaviour based on learned customs is not a bad thing. Being familiar with unwritten rules helps people feel secure and “normal.” Most people want to live their daily lives confident that their behaviours will not be challenged or disrupted. But even an action as seemingly simple as commuting to work evidences a great deal of cultural propriety.

Take the case of going to work on public transportation. Whether commuting in Dublin, Cairo, Mumbai, or Vancouver, many behaviours will be the same in all locations, but significant differences also arise between cultures. Typically, a passenger would find a marked bus stop or station, wait for the bus or train, pay an agent before or after boarding, and quietly take a seat if one is available. But when boarding a bus in Cairo, passengers might have to run, because buses there often do not come to a full stop to take on patrons. Dublin bus riders would be expected to extend an arm to indicate that they want the bus to stop for them. And when boarding a commuter train in Mumbai, passengers must squeeze into overstuffed cars amid a lot of pushing and shoving on the crowded platforms. That kind of behaviour would be considered the height of rudeness in Canada, but in Mumbai it reflects the daily challenges of getting around on a train system that is taxed to capacity.

In this example of commuting, culture consists of thoughts (expectations about personal space, for example) and tangible things (bus stops, trains, and seating capacity). **Material culture** refers to the objects or belongings of a group of people. Metro passes and bus tokens are part of material culture, as are automobiles, stores, and the physical structures where people worship. **Nonmaterial culture**, in contrast, consists of the ideas, attitudes, and beliefs of a society. Material and nonmaterial aspects of culture are linked, and physical objects often symbolize cultural ideas. A metro pass is a material object, but it represents a form of nonmaterial culture, namely, capitalism, and the acceptance of paying for transportation. Clothing, hairstyles, and jewellery are part of material culture, but the appropriateness of wearing certain clothing for specific events reflects nonmaterial culture. A school building belongs to material culture, but the teaching methods and educational standards are part of education’s nonmaterial culture. These material and nonmaterial aspects of culture can vary subtly from region to region. As people travel farther afield, moving from different regions to entirely different parts of the world, certain material and nonmaterial aspects of culture become dramatically unfamiliar. What happens when we encounter different cultures? As we interact with cultures other than our own, we become more aware of the differences and commonalities between others’ worlds and our own.

## II CULTURE: VALUES, NORMS

The sociology of culture, also referred to as cultural sociology, is an increasingly studied sub-field of sociology. While society remains sociology's primary object of study, sociologists do actively explore the ways in which culture operates in and shapes society. The term society refers to a group of people living and interacting in a defined area and sharing a common culture. Sociologists define culture as the set of customs, attitudes, values, and beliefs that characterize one group of people and distinguish them from other groups. Culture is the collection of customs, attitudes, values, and beliefs that characterizes one group of people and distinguishes them from other groups. Culture includes the products of a group of people. Culture is passed from one generation to succeeding generations through immaterial culture, such as values, norms, language, rituals, and symbols, and material culture, such as objects, art, and institutions.

### 2.1 Sociological Approaches to Cultural Study

Cultural sociology employs five distinct approaches to the study of culture. These approaches, including the organizational approach, social-systemic approach, culture-critical movement, sociological phenomenology, and semiotic approach, each offer a distinctive conception of culture.

- In the organizational approach, sociologists study the impact that the social relations of production, distribution, and consumption of culture have on culture.
- In the social-systemic approach, sociologists study the exchanges between culture as a whole and society as a whole.
- In the culture-critical movement approach, sociologists study a culture as a whole entity. In the sociological phenomenology approach, sociologists study the subjective meanings that the researcher or interpreter attributes to cultural elements, objects and acts.
- In the semiotic approach, sociologists study the meanings and definitions symbolic designs and social texts (Kavolis, 1985).

Despite variations in approach and focus to the sociological study of culture, cultural sociology recognizes that the main components of culture include values, norms, and material objects. Understanding the role culture plays in society is vital background for all those interested in the sociology of culture. This article explores the sociology of culture in three parts: An overview of values, norms; material objects, language, and cultural change; a description of the growth of cultural relativism in cultural sociology, and; a discussion of the issues related to cultural sociology's relationships with the fields of cultural studies and traditional sociology.

## 2.2 Values

Values refer to intangible qualities or beliefs accepted and endorsed by a given society. Values are distinct from attitudes, traits, norms, and needs. Values share the following characteristics and qualities:

- Values tend to be unobservable;
- Values tend to be conflated with other social and psychological phenomena;
- Values tend to have historical and cultural variability.
- Values express an idealized state of being.

Examples of modern U.S. values include achievement; success; independence; freedom; democracy; scientific discovery; progress; comfort; education; and ideas of racial, sexual, religious, or gender superiority and have found ten values shared by 70 cultures spread throughout the world. These ten values include hedonism, power, achievements, stimulation, self-direction, universalism, benevolence, conformity, tradition, security.

Values influence individual and group action. Sociologists study the mechanisms through which values inspire, motivate and influence action in and by society. Sociologists have found that values must be activated in individual and group consciousness to effect action. Values, once activated, lead to varying levels of acceptance for certain actions. Values influence attention, perception, and interpretation within situations and ultimately influence the planning of individual and group action. Sociologists study how individuals learn values. Sociology currently speculates that an individual's values, shaped through late adolescence, tend to be stable across the life course (Hitlin & Piliavin, 2004).

## 2.3 Norms

Norms refer to conditions for social relations between groups and individuals, for the structure of society and the difference between societies, and for human behavior in general. Norms are shared rules, customs, and guidelines that govern society and define how people should behave in the company of others. Norms may be applicable to all members of society or only to certain subsets of the population, such as students, teachers, clergy, police officers, or soldiers in warfare. Norms guide smooth and peaceful interactions by prescribing predictable behavior in different situations. For instance, in the United States, handshaking is a traditional greeting; in other countries, the expected protocol upon meeting someone might be to kiss both cheeks, bow, place palms together, or curtsy. Norms tend to be institutionalized and internalized. Most social control of individuals through norms is internal and guided by the pressures and restraints of cultural indoctrination. Individual cultures sanction their norms. Sanctions may be rewards for conformity to norms or punishment for nonconformity. Positive sanctions include rewards, praise,

smiles, and gestures. Negative sanctions include the infliction of guilt, condemnation, citations, fines, and imprisonment (Opp, 1979).

There is a definite difference and distinction between values and norms. Values are individual or, in some instances, commonly shared conceptions of desirable states of being. In contrast, norms are generally accepted prescriptions for or prohibitions against behavior, belief, or feeling. While values can be held by an individual, norms cannot and must be upheld by a group. Norms always include sanctions but values never do. Norms tend to be based on and influenced by common values and they tend to persist even after the reasons for certain behaviors are forgotten. For instance, the habit of shaking hands when meeting another person has its origin in the practice of revealing that the right hand did not conceal a weapon (Morris, 1956).

### 2.3.1 Types of Norms

Sociologists divide norms into four types: Folkways, mores, taboos, and laws. These four types of norms are ranked from least restrictive to most compulsory.

- Folkways refer to norms that protect common conventions. Most people in a society follow traditional folkways but failure to conform to them is considered neither illegal nor immoral. Examples of common folkways found in the United States include having turkey for Thanksgiving dinner or mowing ones lawn.
- Mores refer to stronger norms with associated moral values. Examples of common mores found in the United States include prohibitions against murder, multiple spouses, or desecration of religious symbols.
- Taboos refer to the strongest types of mores. Taboos include the belief that certain activities, such cannibalism, are outside the bounds of cultural acceptance. Violations of mores and taboos tend to be treated with strong social disapproval or criminal consequences.
- Laws refer to the mores that are formally enforced by political authority and backed by the power of the state. Laws may enforce norms or work to change them. Examples of laws that worked to change existing norms include the liquor prohibition laws of the 1920s or civil rights legislation of the 1950s.

Ultimately, social norms are important, in part, because they enable individuals to agree on a shared interpretation of the social situation and prevent harmful social interactions. When individuals transgress against existing norms, they are engaging in a norm violation. Norm violations refer to public or private instances of transgression and deviance from culturally-sanctioned behaviors (Kiesler, 1967).

## III MATERIAL OBJECTS

Material objects, also known as material culture, refer to items with physical substance shaped or produced by humans.

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India International Centre, New Delhi

04 December 2016 , [www.conferenceworld.in](http://www.conferenceworld.in)

(ICSTM-16)

ISBN: 978-93-86171-16-0

Culture is the common denominator that makes the actions of the individuals understandable to a particular group. That is, the system of shared values, beliefs, behaviours, and artefacts making up a society's way of life. Culture can either be represented in form of material or non material culture. The definitions and specific traits of each of them are discussed below.

Material culture is a term representative of the physical creations made, used, or shared by the members of a certain society; it is the society's buffer against the environment. The components of material culture are all the creations (objects) of the human kind and mind, for example, cars, faucets, computers, trees, minerals just to mention but a few.

The transformation of raw material into useable forms through the employment of knowledge is paramount in the achievement of material culture. For example, we make living abodes to shelter ourselves from the adversities of weather and for our own privacy at the basic level, beyond this we make, use, and share sophisticated, interesting and essential items relaying our cultural orientation.

For instance, the types of clothes one wears reflect so much into the culture we subscribe to like school, religion, or where the last vacation was spent.

Non-material culture on the other hand is the abstract or un-seen human creations by the society fashioned towards the behavioural influence of the said society. The components for the non-material culture include symbols, languages, values, and norms. For instance, the activities a society part takes like cricket in India, social institutions such as churches, schools, family, and so forth.

The use of language, the patterns of behaviour and beliefs, and values to it shape the direction of a society over time. Language in its influence on perception, values guiding what the society should be and norms forming the customs of the society.

## 3.1 Language

Language in itself is the combination of symbols expressing ideas enabling people to think and communicate amongst each other, either verbally or nonverbally. Language helps in the description of reality, share experiences, feelings, and knowledge with other people.

The use of language enables the creation of visual images, distinction from outsiders thus maintaining societal solidarity and boundaries. It also serves as a unique tool in manipulation of symbols for the expression of abstract concepts and rules therefore creating and transmitting culture between generations.

The aboriginals for instance in their use of language confine to their society describing relationships rather than judging or evaluate. To them language shapes the reality in perception and experience indeed fronting the thought of neglecting some aspects of world traditionally viewed as important. Most of the aboriginal languages do not abhor the use of personal pronouns used to describe gender like he or she, with some amused by the western debate over

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whether God is a He or a She. For this, language is impact less on the world and reflects at the traditional acceptance of a certain region on the world map.

Language through preconceived ideas may reinforce perceptions about race and ethnicity in advancing the superiority of one a people against another.

The diversity of language in some parts of the world shows how it can influence the culture of the societies in such a country. Canada is one example of the diversities in language today with Aboriginal, French, and English speaking societies.

Language teaches cultural heritage and sense of identity in a culture. It also is a power and social control booster with perpetuation of inequalities between people, groups in that words can be used intentionally or not to gag people. The existence of hate in the Canadian society is one such scenario siring a lot of suffering in the country. The aboriginals lament on the assumption of the English language as a source of power and prestige citing the lack of movies in their language while the former has the lions share in the film business.

Language contributes a great deal in the advancement of the material and both the non-material cultures. Materially in that, the movie business is geared at economically empowering the culture of the English and non-materially in teaching the same on their heritage and identity.

## 3.2 Mores

Mores (mor-ays) are norms that embody the moral views and principles of a group. Violating them can have serious consequences. The strongest mores are legally protected with laws or other formal norms. In the United States, for instance, murder is considered immoral, and it is punishable by law (a formal norm). But more often, mores are judged and guarded by public sentiment (an informal norm). People who violate mores are seen as shameful. They can even be shunned or banned from some groups. The mores of the Canadian school system require that a student's writing be in the student's own words or use special forms (such as quotation marks and a whole system of citation) for crediting other writers. Writing another person's words as if they are one's own has a name—plagiarism. The consequences for violating this norm are severe, and can usually result in expulsion.

Unlike mores, **folkways** are norms without any moral underpinnings. Folkways direct appropriate behaviour in the day-to-day practices and expressions of a culture. Folkways indicate whether to shake hands or kiss on the cheek when greeting another person. They specify whether to wear a tie and blazer or a T-shirt and sandals to an event. In Canada, women can smile and say hello to men on the street. In Egypt, it's not acceptable. In Northern Europe, it is fine for people to go into a sauna or hot tub naked. Typically in North America, it is not. An opinion poll that asked Canadian women what they felt would end a relationship after a first date showed that women in British Columbia were "pickier" than women in the rest of the country (*Times Colonist* 2014). First date "deal breakers" included poor hygiene (82 percent), being distracted by a mobile device (74 percent), talking about sexual history and being rude

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to waiters (72 percent), and eating with their mouths open (60 percent). All of these examples illustrate breaking informal rules, which are not serious enough to be called mores, but are serious enough to terminate a relationship before it has begun.

Many folkways are actions we take for granted. People need to act without thinking to get seamlessly through daily routines; they can't stop and analyze every action (Sumner 1906). People who experience culture shock may find that it subsides as they learn the new culture's folkways and are able to move through their daily routines more smoothly. Folkways might be small manners, learned by observation and imitated, but they are by no means trivial. Like mores and laws, these norms help people negotiate their daily life within a given culture.

### 3.3 Cultural Change

As the hipster example illustrates, culture is always evolving. Moreover, new things are added to material culture every day, and they affect nonmaterial culture as well. Cultures change when something new (say, railroads or smartphones) opens up new ways of living and when new ideas enter a culture (say, as a result of travel or globalization).

## IV INNOVATION: DISCOVERY AND INVENTION

An **innovation** refers to an object or concept's initial appearance in society—it's innovative because it is markedly new. There are two ways to come across an innovative object or idea: discover it or invent it. **Discoveries** make known previously unknown but existing aspects of reality. In 1610, when Galileo looked through his telescope and discovered Saturn, the planet was already there, but until then, no one had known about it. When Christopher Columbus encountered America, the land was, of course, already well known to its inhabitants. However, Columbus's discovery was new knowledge for Europeans, and it opened the way to changes in European culture, as well as to the cultures of the discovered lands. For example, new foods such as potatoes and tomatoes transformed the European diet, and horses brought from Europe changed hunting practices of Native American tribes of the Great Plains.

**Inventions** result when something new is formed from existing objects or concepts—when things are put together in an entirely new manner. In the late 1800s and early 1900s, electric appliances were invented at an astonishing pace. Cars, airplanes, vacuum cleaners, lamps, radios, telephones, and televisions were all new inventions. Inventions may shape a culture when people use them in place of older ways of carrying out activities and relating to others, or as a way to carry out new kinds of activities. Their adoption reflects (and may shape) cultural values, and their use may require new norms for new situations.

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Consider the introduction of modern communication technology such as mobile phones and smartphones. As more and more people began carrying these devices, phone conversations no longer were restricted to homes, offices, and phone booths. People on trains, in restaurants, and in other public places became annoyed by listening to one-sided conversations. Norms were needed for cell phone use. Some people pushed for the idea that those who are out in the world should pay attention to their companions and surroundings. However, technology enabled a workaround: texting, which enables quiet communication, and has surpassed phoning as the chief way to meet today's highly valued ability to stay in touch anywhere, everywhere.

When the pace of innovation increases, it can lead to generation gaps. Technological gadgets that catch on quickly with one generation are sometimes dismissed by a skeptical older generation. A culture's objects and ideas can cause not just generational but cultural gaps. Material culture tends to diffuse more quickly than nonmaterial culture; technology can spread through society in a matter of months, but it can take generations for the ideas and beliefs of society to change. Sociologist William F. Ogburn coined the term **culture lag** to refer to this time that elapses between when a new item of material culture is introduced and when it becomes an accepted part of nonmaterial culture (Ogburn 1957).

Culture lag can also cause tangible problems. The industrial economy of North America was built on the assumption that the resources available to exploit and the ability for the environment to sustain industrial activity were unlimited. The concept of sustainable development did not enter into the public imagination until environmental movement of the 1960s and the *Limits to Growth* report of the Club of Rome in 1972. Today it seems easier to imagine global catastrophe as a result of climate change than it does to implement regulatory changes needed to stem carbon emissions or find alternatives to fossil fuels. There is a lag in conceptualizing solutions to technological problems. Exhausted groundwater supplies, increased air pollution, and climate change are all symptoms of culture lag. Although people are becoming aware of the consequences of overusing resources and of neglecting the integrity of the ecosystems that sustain life, the means to support changes takes time to achieve.

## V ETHNOCENTRISM AND CULTURAL RELATIVISM

Despite how much humans have in common, cultural differences are far more prevalent than cultural universals. For example, while all cultures have language, analysis of particular language structures and conversational etiquette reveal tremendous differences. In some Middle Eastern cultures, it is common to stand close to others in conversation. North Americans keep more distance, maintaining a large "personal space." Even something as simple as eating and drinking varies greatly from culture to culture. If your professor comes into an early morning class holding a mug of liquid, what do you assume she is drinking? In the United States, it's most likely filled with coffee, not Earl Grey tea, a favourite in England, or Yak Butter tea, a staple in Tibet.

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The way cuisines vary across cultures fascinates many people. Some travellers, like celebrated food writer Anthony Bourdain, pride themselves on their willingness to try unfamiliar foods, while others return home expressing gratitude for their native culture's fare. Canadians often express disgust at other cultures' cuisine, thinking it is gross to eat meat from a dog or guinea pig, for example, while they do not question their own habit of eating cows or pigs. Such attitudes are an example of **ethnocentrism**, or evaluating and judging another culture based on how it compares to one's own cultural norms. Ethnocentrism, as sociologist William Graham Sumner (1906) described the term, involves a belief or attitude that one's own culture is better than all others. Almost everyone is a little bit ethnocentric. For example, Canadians tend to say that people from England drive on the "wrong" side of the road, rather than the "other" side. Someone from a country where dogs are considered dirty and unhygienic might find it off-putting to see a dog in a French restaurant.

A high level of appreciation for one's own culture can be healthy; a shared sense of community pride, for example, connects people in a society. But ethnocentrism can lead to disdain or dislike for other cultures, causing misunderstanding and conflict. People with the best intentions sometimes travel to a society to "help" its people, seeing them as uneducated or backward, essentially inferior. In reality, these travellers are guilty of cultural imperialism—the deliberate imposition of one's own cultural values on another culture. Europe's colonial expansion, begun in the 16th century, was often accompanied by a severe cultural imperialism. European colonizers often viewed the people in the lands they colonized as uncultured savages who were in need of European governance, dress, religion, and other cultural practices. On the West Coast of Canada, the aboriginal "potlatch" (gift-giving) ceremony was made illegal in 1885 because it was thought to prevent natives from acquiring the proper industriousness and respect for material goods required by civilization. A more modern example of **cultural imperialism** may include the work of international aid agencies who introduce modern technological agricultural methods and plant species from developed countries while overlooking indigenous varieties and agricultural approaches that are better suited to the particular region.

Ethnocentrism can be so strong that when confronted with all the differences of a new culture, one may experience disorientation and frustration. In sociology, we call this "**culture shock**." A traveller from Chicago might find the nightly silence of rural Montana unsettling, not peaceful. An exchange student from China might be annoyed by the constant interruptions in class as other students ask questions—a practice that is considered rude in China. Perhaps the Chicago traveller was initially captivated with Montana's quiet beauty and the Chinese student was originally excited to see an American-style classroom firsthand. But as they experience unanticipated differences from their own culture, their excitement gives way to discomfort and doubts about how to behave appropriately in the new situation. Eventually, as people learn more about a culture, they recover from culture shock.

Culture shock may appear because people aren't always expecting cultural differences. Anthropologist Ken Barger (1971) discovered this when conducting participatory observation in an Inuit community in the Canadian Arctic.

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Originally from Indiana, Barger hesitated when invited to join a local snowshoe race. He knew he'd never hold his own against these experts. Sure enough, he finished last, to his mortification. But the tribal members congratulated him, saying, "You really tried!" In Barger's own culture, he had learned to value victory. To the Inuit people, winning was enjoyable, but their culture valued survival skills essential to their environment: how hard someone tried could mean the difference between life and death. Over the course of his stay, Barger participated in caribou hunts, learned how to take shelter in winter storms, and sometimes went days with little or no food to share among tribal members. Trying hard and working together, two nonmaterial values, were indeed much more important than winning.

During his time with the Inuit, Barger learned to engage in cultural relativism. **Cultural relativism** is the practice of assessing a culture by its own standards rather than viewing it through the lens of one's own culture. The anthropologist Ruth Benedict (1887–1948) argued that each culture has an internally consistent pattern of thought and action, which alone could be the basis for judging the merits and morality of the culture's practices. Cultural relativism requires an open mind and a willingness to consider, and even adapt to, new values and **norms**. However, indiscriminately embracing everything about a new culture is not always possible. Even the most culturally relativist people from egalitarian societies—ones in which women have political rights and control over their own bodies—would question whether the widespread practice of female genital mutilation in countries such as Ethiopia and Sudan should be accepted as a part of cultural tradition.

Sociologists attempting to engage in cultural relativism may struggle to reconcile aspects of their own culture with aspects of a culture they are studying. Pride in one's own culture doesn't have to lead to imposing its values on others. And an appreciation for another culture shouldn't preclude individuals from studying it with a critical eye.

Feminist sociology is particularly attuned to the way that most cultures present a male-dominated view of the world as if it were simply the view of the world. Androcentricism is a perspective in which male concerns, male attitudes, and male practices are presented as "normal" or define what is significant and valued in a culture. Women's experiences, activities, and contributions to society and history are ignored, devalued, or marginalized.

As a result the perspectives, concerns, and interests of only one sex and class are represented as general. Only one sex and class are directly and actively involved in producing, debating, and developing its ideas, in creating its art, in forming its medical and psychological conceptions, in framing its laws, its political principles, its educational values and objectives. Thus a one-sided standpoint comes to be seen as natural, obvious, and general, and a one-sided set of interests preoccupy intellectual and creative work (Smith 1987).

In part this is simply a question of the bias of those who have the power to define cultural values, and in part, it is the result of a process in which women have been actively excluded from the culture-creating process. It is still

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common, for example, to use the personal pronoun “he” or the word “man” to represent people in general or humanity. Despite the good intentions of many who use these terms, and the grammatical awkwardness of trying to find gender neutral terms to replace “he” or “man,” the overall effect is to establish masculine values and imagery as normal. A “policeman” brings to mind a man who is doing a man’s job, when in fact women have been involved in policing for several decades now. Replacing “he” with “she” in a sentence can often have a jarring effect because it undermines the “naturalness” of the male perspective.

## VI CONCLUSION

Culture in the sociological field is analyzed as the ways of thinking and describing, the ways of acting and the material objects that together shape a people’s way of life. Despite variations in approach and focus to the sociological study of culture, cultural sociology recognizes that the main components of culture include values, norms, and material objects. Understanding the role culture plays in society is vital background for all those interested in the sociology of culture. This paper explores the sociology of culture in three parts: An overview of values, norms; material objects, language, and cultural change; a description of the growth of cultural relativism in cultural sociology, and; a discussion of the issues related to cultural sociology's relationships with the fields of cultural studies and traditional sociology.

## VII ACKNOWLEDGMENT

I would like to thank Dr. Amanpreet kaur , Associate Professor, Guru Kashi University, Bathinda for giving me valuable guidance and suggestions during this study.

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