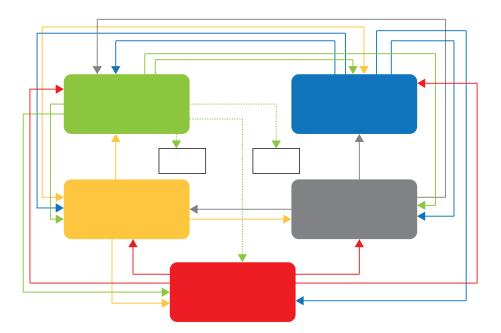
### **JORGE CHUAQUI**

## SOCIAL STRUCTURE, POWER, AND THE INDIVIDUAL

David Mally Guerra Ruby Parraguez Padilla James G. Linn Fabian Araya Galleguillos Sebastian Alejandro Diez Carceres Javier Molina Johannes (Collaborators)



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### JORGE CHUAQUI

## SOCIAL STRUCTURE, POWER, AND THE INDIVIDUAL

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## Jorge Chuaqui

Graduated from the University of Chile and received a doctorate in Human Sciences from the University of Pozman, Poland. Currently, he is Professor in the School of Sociology of the University of Valparaiso, Chile. He has more than 70 publications in sociology. He is the author of the following books (in Spanish): *Society, Psychiatry and Schizophrenia* (2002), *Microsociology and the Global Social Structure* (2012), *Inclusion in Diversity* 



or Exclusion (2012), Social Structure, Power, and the Individual: A Tribute to Capital of Karl Marx (2019) and Editor of Sociology of Health: Chile (2016). He has been principal investigator on several funded empirical studies related to mental health in Chile, and he is a member of the Executive Committee of RC-49 of the International Sociological Association. The Chilean Society of Mental Health has awarded him the Dr. Luis Custodio Munoz prize for his outstanding publication in the *Journal of Psychiatry and Mental Health*. His areas of interest are the sociology of mental health, social theory, politics, and the politics of inclusion and social classes.

To the love of my life, Maria Angelica Susana Klaucke Coll, inspiration, emotional and human support, my life partner, without whom I would not be the person I am.

## Thanks

I wish to thank the University of Valparaiso, where I have always had support, and my students who have accompanied me on many occasions in my projects. Also, I wish to express my deep appreciation to the prominent Chilean-Mexican sociologist, Maria Luisa Tarres, who gave me excellent comments and observations that helped me transform a messy draft into an edited book. The Spanish to English translation was done by William Wilson, MBA, in Nashville Tennessee in 2020.

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### Prologue

In "Social Structure, Power and the Individual," Professor Jorge Chuaqui and his collaborators make important new contributions to sociological theory, provide an adapted Marxian analysis of the state that is applicable to Western Societies including Latin America, offer a unique integration of macro and micro sociology by integrating Marxian, Structural-Functionalist, Weberian and Symbolic-Interactionist concepts, and add to the current discussion of social inclusion of the mentally ill. The theoretical approach of this innovative analysis is best captured in the words of Professor Gordon Marshall (2009).

> "A theory is an account of the world which goes beyond what we can see or measure. It embraces a set of interrelated definitions and relationships that organizes our concepts and understanding of the empirical world in a systematic way. Thus we may establish a statistical relationship between poverty and crime but to explain that relationship we might have to employ a number of theories about people's motivations, the social meanings attached to poverty and crime, and the structural constraints which keep sections of the population in poverty."

This book is unique for its grand theoretical scope and the masterful integration of macro and micro sociological theories and concepts in its analysis. While it extends Marx's (1990) writings on the state, it also applies the theory developed by Hans Gerth and C. Wright Mills in their book "Character and Social Structure: the Psychology of Institutions" (1953). Professor Chuaqui shows us that one must always consider social structure and organizational culture when studying self-fulfillment.

In Part 1 of "Social Structure, Power and the Individual," the focus is on the social dimension of society. Professor Chuaqui defines this as diverse relations among members, systems, and subsystems of the social structure. Chapter 1 presents a theoretical model, which is applicable to the study of the social relations within and between principal formal organizations and families in capitalist societies globally. His contribution is to update Marxian concepts and make them more useful for the analysis of contemporary industrialized countries. Chapter 2 provides a discussion of the State. Professor Chuaqui recognizes the importance of Max Webers' theory of bureaucracy (2015) to understanding formal organizations within the State. He also uses the concepts of roles, norms, and function from the American sociologist, Talcott Parsons (1951). An important contribution is his graph that combines the activities of the State with the diverse parts of its structure in the 21st cen-

tury. Chapter 3 focuses on power and social classes. In the Marxian tradition, the position of a particular class in society is determined by its position in the organization of production, distribution, and appropriation of economic surplus, or the mode of financial exchange or consumption of goods and services. However, Professor Chuaqui observes that there are particular social sectors, e.g., those with mental and social disabilities who have little power but can be given considerable power when recognized and supported by the State. This commentary is a segue to Chapter 4, which provides an historical discussion of the concept of social exclusion. In this analysis, it is noted that social exclusion as it relates to persons with mental and physical disabilities has evolved with the economic transformation of societies. Professor Chuaqui and his collaborators report on Latin American policies promoting inclusion and social and economic factors in those societies that influence the level of inclusion. The theme of democracy and inclusion is developed, and implications are drawn for persons with mental and physical disabilities.

In Part 2 of "Social Structure, Power, and the Individual," there are analyses of the economic, territorial, and symbolic dimensions of society. In Chapter 5, Professor Chuaqui describes key economic relationships among individuals, industries, and nation states. At the individual level, he discusses the analytical relevance of the concepts of social interaction and mental reflection of George Herbert Mead (1982). He also provides a Marxian analysis of major components of the Chilean economy and how the principal industry, "mining," is integrated with the global economic system. Chapter 6 focuses on the importance of territory as a contextual factor in studying the historical development of modern nation states. It includes a very insightful analysis of social exclusion and territory by collaborator David Mally. He focuses on the formation of ghettos in Latin American cities, which have grown as a result of globalization. Relying on the work of Castells (1999), Jimenez (2003), and other outstanding researchers of recent urbanization, he describes how macro economic factors result in spatial segregation, which produces urban ghettos without sufficient services, or economic opportunities that suffer from social exclusion and stigma. In Professor Chuaqui's seventh, and final chapter, "The Symbolic Dimension," he discusses the role of ideology in current capitalistic societies. The distinguished Chilean theorist proposes that ideology - propagated principally by formal education, religion, and mass communication - articulates with economic forces and the power of the state to maintain social control. Durkheim's (2009) concepts of the social functions of religion are very skillfully integrated into this model. He also draws on the work of Gramsci (2006) and Bourdieu (2009).

This chapter is followed by the appendix, "Brief Reflections on Gender, Social Structure, and Personal Accomplishment," which provides a paradigm for sociologists and other social scientists who are interested in studying the structural basis of patriarchy, sexism, gender inequality, and the personal consequences of these issues. He also makes a strong statement in support of gender equality in all areas of society and social and political actions to make this a reality. This is a timely and very valuable addition to his book and accurately and powerfully addresses gender related themes in Chile and globally. A second appendix focuses on the impact of COVID-19 in Chile. It discusses how social inequality has facilitated the rapid spread of the lethal virus and complicated effective treatment of many middle and lower class Chileans.

Overall, Professor Chuaqui is to be praised for successfully pursuing this grand, very complex, theoretical analysis and also for skillfully including the work of a wide range of classical theorists in his treatise.

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## **Author's Prologue**

The first question to be asked is what is the inspiration of this book? Is it a reflection of a particular author?

It is a long story. It started way back in the 1960s when I finished a degree in Sociology at the University of Chile. My turn toward Marxism made me rethink sociological paradigms, mainly those of American sociology, which were dominant at the time. What critique could be made of functionalist sociology, principally as expressed in the writings of Parsons and Merton, and how could that critique become the basis of a reformulation that would overcome their biases?

A first effort was my undergraduate thesis, which gave greater scope and systemic application of the concepts of sociology, and removed the "idealistic" bias of functionalism. However, it focused only on the intersubjective aspects of society. This work was extended to even the most basic concepts such as action and interaction, which were reinterpreted and postulated to be the basic processes of social organization. Later in my intellectual journey I decided to analyze the essential work of Marxism, Das Kapital of Karl Marx. To do this I went to Poland, a socialist country with a strong sociological tradition, for my Ph.D. I was pressured there to make an empirical study rather than a theoretical analysis. Ultimately I met Stanislaw Kozyr-Kowalski, who offered to mentor me. He also became a great friend. I wrote my thesis reinterpreting the capital theory of class relations, an interpretation that seemed valid.

When I returned to Chile in 1973, I encountered a society that was trying to implement socialism with all the social conflicts it involved. The coup was a trauma for me. It was hard to accept that a successful fascist coup has occurred. This mistake almost cost me my life.

It is important to explain here that I suffered with schizophrenia, which was diagnosed in 1964 (at age 24). After the coup, my family and psychiatrists felt that my ideological position was an outcome of my illness. I had countless problems. I was expelled from the University of Chile, Valparaiso (now the University of Valparaiso), in 1977, by direct order of the rector of the University of Santiago. I worked for a time in the factory of my father and received financial support from my family to survive. There was constant tension because of my ideology and illness with my family and psychiatrists who treated me. As a result of my treatment experience and conversations with my psychiatrist about what should not be done in psychosocial treatments, I developed an interest in the sociology of mental health. I continued writing in journals and in some professional magazines (such as the Journal of Social Sciences of UV, and The Psychiatry Magazine and Mental Health), and due to those publications and my desire to continue in sociology, I won three gov-

ernment funded projects (FONDECYT) in sociology of mental health. With these achievements, I spoke with Professor Juan Orellana, who was creating a program of sociology at the UV. He decided to hire me as a researcher. I also taught research, and the sociology of health. Later on, I taught other courses in sociology.

However, being in a university environment rekindled my interest in social theory, and I decided to expand my undergraduate thesis with research and further analysis. Also, I organized a seminar-workshop from which emerged the book Microsociology and Social Structure (Chuaqui, 2012). Unlike my undergraduate thesis, in which I used the behaviorist theory, the book uses symbolic interactionism, because I realized that behavioral treatments block creativity, an essential element of successful inclusion, and encourages passivity. Also in my book, there is a more developed concept of Global Social Structure. And here we enter some digressions about this book.

How did we develop the concept of global social structure?

The common core aspects of contemporary capitalist societies are in a sense historic. At one stage in their developments, the term, feudal society, or other historical formations could be applied. But global social structure is not a historicist concept, in the sense that it is a model that corresponds to a type of society, not just to a particular society. We must realize that a description of a specific society must be integrated with an empirical model. In this sense, "the truth is always concrete" but guided by the general features of the conceptual model.

The notion of infrastructure or base and superstructure seemed to me not to realize the complex relationships of social structure, it is a "very mechanical" model.

The approach I used developing the concept of global social structure began with the analysis of Capital. I assumed that apart from social and economic relationships, there are activities that provide "services," forms of "living labor," which are fundamental for both capitalists and workers. I believe that it was a theoretical mistake to assume that only the production of goods creates material value. It is important to identify the production of material goods and commercial and financial services as they relate to other parts of the structure. In economic relations we also must recognize the operations of the State and personal services. Nevertheless, we must keep in mind, from the social point of view, there is a different relationship between the production of a material object and living labor that acts on people directly. Moreover, it is necessary to differentiate the types of services using terms like principal activity and those which are secondary. You should also have a place for the State as the State apparatus uses coercion to impose legal standards.

I saw the problem in the conceptualization of global social structure, so I turned to the Weberian notion of bureaucracy, which describes interaction

systems having bureaucratic characteristics. From this point of view, the economic and material activities, services, ideational or not, and the State are structured mostly in bureaucratic organizations. The idea of a principal activity of each participant or group is important because the activity of each party or group contributes to the maintenance and support of a dynamic social system.

The concept of organization is linked to the basal structure. People obtain their income by participating in parts of the basal structure. Families are the center of economic consumption. The biological and social reproduction of people, mostly through families, is the minimum requirement to reproduce the basal structure. People, through their participation in the basal structure, have certain interests and organizations arise intended to represent those interests.

Economic relationships cut across the entire structure. This includes production and appropriation of economic surplus in the form of surplus value in the private sector. However, it also occurs in State enterprises, and the State appropriates part of that surplus and has a role in the accounting of all activities. It is a dimension of the structure, not an actual part of the structure. Just like the economic dimension, there is the territorial dimension, since the whole structure and its parts occur in a given space, a feature of first importance for the activity of the State. In addition, not only are there symbolic relationships in the ideational complex, but they also occur in production, the State apparatus, etc. This is a dimension of first importance for the stability and change of the structure. The global social structure, therefore, is composed of the basal structure and the derivative organizations, and all are considered in their social, economic, territorial, and symbolic dimensions.

In my analysis of mental disability through the sociology of mental health, I became interested in the problem of social exclusion, which led me back to the problem of power. Also the study of social classes is, in a sense, an analysis of social power. Developing these ideas, I wrote a chapter which could be added to the first theoretical work on microsociology, but then I thought, why not discuss this issue in detail, to "ground" the notion of global social structure? I worked with associates in the university and the result is this book. Is it Marxist or not? I honestly do not know, but my first inspiration came from the analysis of Capital. In sociology, theoretical works are always unfinished works.

September 2017 jorge.chuaqui@gmail.com www.facebook.com/jorge.chuaqui/ End of Author's Prologue Section

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## 1. Introduction

### 1.1 Microsociology and Macrosociology

How is "society" defined? Many times we choose to highlight some characteristics of the person with the groups to which he or she belongs, as in the symbolic interaction of George Mead, or macrosocial features, such as in the theories of Bauman or Beck. We intend to bridge the two levels, which would allow us to consider aspects of the microstructure, when considering the person and small groups, and, on the other hand, to specify the components of the macrostructure, characterizing their specific relationships, which would include a systematic and contextualized vision of the empirical reality of societies.

In an earlier work (Chuaqui, 2012) we define the most basic component of society in the unit interaction (in which there is a certain similarity to Simmel) and from it the various ways in which they combine and relate into more complex units, reaching national states or multiethnic societies. We also define the interaction context, the interaction relationships between systems which produce global social structure (in the form of nation states or multi-ethnic societies). The person interacts in smaller contexts, performing activities and actions, according to their predispositions (values, habits and attitudes), playing roles and occupying statuses and positions, which constitute the microsystem.

There are two characteristics of the systems, formalization and institutionalization which give rise to formal organizations such as the State and enterprises, and institutions with a low degree of formalization, such as families. The description of formal organizations is influenced by Weber. However, due to the process of interaction, as we defined it, formal organizations can be mediated by not only symbols but also by material objects and money. Taking into account Luhmann, we do not assume single component meanings. In addition, the positions can be the result of interests, which allow us to link systems with biographies. This takes away the anonymity of systems and facilitates the analysis of the power that lies at the level of positions or sets of positions and link different levels, micro and macro, with people occupying those positions. This also takes into account the power of a social class as defined by Bourdieu, since institutional relations are defined at a societal level and involve relations of domination, and the occupants of the superordinate positions. From this viewpoint, power analysis involves analyzing the entire structure or its main features, among which are the different positions and structures of domination. This allows the description of the social reality in which the micro is linked to the macro. The analysis gives the description of

the linkages between these levels, both micro and macro levels and their various relationships. In addition to the definition of the systems, and the analysis of the relationships between them, we describe the most important dimensions that interact with the various interconnected systems, such as economic, symbolic, ideological, and territorial dimensions. These are relevant characteristics to be considered in specific analyses which help us apply the abstractions of science, to describe specific social systems. Here we are reminded, as Lenin said, the truth is always concrete (abstraction being an analytical tool).

### 1.2 The Global Social Structure

Having made these clarifications, let's focus on institutionalized systems with a low degree of formalization, formal organizations and families, which are significant parts of the overall structure which was described in an earlier book.1 They are interconnected and are the basis for the entire structure. In addition, formal organizations, families and communities can be categorized along various dimensions (social, economic, territorial and symbolic ideological) and they constitute the global social structure. The positions of individuals and groups of individuals make the link between personal life and social structure, and the person is a complex creative participant in those positions. Also, the relationships in the structure are given in different dimensions, involving people at various levels and dimensions. The participation is creative and idiosyncratic. The power created by the positions becomes power of individuals and groups of individuals and is exercised using resources provided by the positions through actions which are mediated by their personal characteristics. The person encompasses all of the units of individuals, systems and interaction contexts in its various dimensions, which are integrated idiosyncratically. We must determine the positions in the global social structure prior to describing the structure and relationships among its elements. Basal social structure consists of certain formal organizations and institutions (specifically families) interrelated in various dimensions. We will discuss this in detail in the following section.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Jorge Chuaqui et al (2012). Microsociology and global social structure. Santiago: Lom and CISUV.

### 1.2.1 Basal Social Structure

#### 1.2.1.1 Parts of the Basal Social Structure

- 1. **The economic and physical structure**: provides products or materials for essential needs and financial resources to all members of the wider social system and for itself.
- 2. **The State**: develops and implements standards supported by the use of legitimate physical and economic coercion of the social system, for the other parts of the society and for itself. Taxes extracted from the other parts financed partially or wholly essential services like health and education.
- 3. **The ideational complex**: creates, disseminates and teaches systems of ideas, which are verbal, written, visual, and auditory, for members of all parts of the social structure and for itself. From this point of view, through the dimension of language and other symbols, it provides secondary socialization to the people, through education and other forms of formal communication.
- 4. **Services**: provide actual benefits to members of other parts of the basal structure and themselves. This supports people, biologically and socially, so that they can perform adequately in most other parts of the structure.
- 5. **Families**: reproduce the workforce, serve as consumption centers and through primary relationships, provide basic socialization and psychological and emotional support.

All members of the basal structure except the destitute homeless, those who are in prison or another total institution such as a nursing home or protected home, belong to a family. All members of the basal social structure with paid jobs in society, derive their main income from their current or previous position in one of those parts of the structure. Hobbies and voluntary unpaid activities are excluded. This means that a substantial proportion of adults distribute most of their time between work and family.

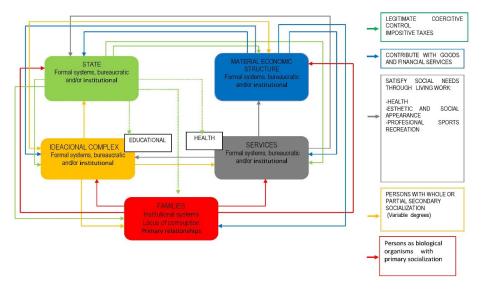
What does this mean in terms of the relationship between people and structure? There must be a minimum of correspondence between the work activity or task, family or relationships, and individual motivation. If there is no such correspondence so that the person will be fulfilled in an ethical and emotional sense, the task or work role should be modified. Also, the family and its relationship to society should reinforce individual motivation and personal ethics. When considering the subjective or motivational state of an individual, we must assess three personal situations or motivational axes. They are work, social commitment, and experienced social solidarity. These three motivational axes may have conflicts between them. The resolution of these contradictions among commitments to family, work, and community may require sacrifice to achieve a balance. Moreover, the integration of the individual, family, work, and community organizations into a global social system often leaves all of these subsystems stunted.

#### 1.2.1.2 Internal Composition and Activities that Belong to Parts 1 to 4 of the Basal Social Structure

- 1. Economic structure: productive activities (material goods for sale or lease), commercial, financial, land rent and other goods and legal gambling and. Systems that perform these activities are large companies, in which case they have a bureaucratized formal structure or small family enterprises managed by one or more family members. Conflicts among members in small family enterprises are resolved within the family.
- 2. **State**: (understood as the only State apparatus) Executive (including ministries / bureaus and dependent administration), regional and munic-ipal administration, the legislature, judiciary, police, the penal system and armed forces. Systems that are formal systems are bureaucratized to ensure "good governance" and must be legitimate (i.e., be institutionalized to some degree).
- 3. **Ideational complex**: Educational system (including research and education programs), mass media (television, radio, press and cinema), churches, artists, writers and scientists working in the private sector. These systems are formally bureaucratized and are governed by professional standards which are institutionalized.
- 4. **Services**: health, professional sports and other personal services (hairdressers, domestics, gardeners, etc.). These systems are formally bureaucratized and are governed by professional standards which also are institutionalized.

### Figure 1. Basal Social Structure

Participants are linked to the basal social structure by (1) working for pay and/or receiving rent from property, and (2) receiving services, e.g. health, legal, or personal services. We wish to emphasize the importance of work and work roles as the most important linkages between individuals and the basal social structure.



#### 1.2.2 Derivative Organizations

The concept of derivative or secondary organizations must be distinguished from basal organizations. Basal organizations are all organizations belonging to the parts of the social structure. Derivative or secondary organizations are organizations seeking to further the interests of members of certain basal organizations. They share common interests because they have similar social structure. Several examples can be found below.

**Unions**: A union is a formal organization that is composed of subordinate members of a basic organization. They can be grouped in various forms.

**Business organizations**: They are formal organizations set up by individuals occupying the top positions in profit-oriented organizations. They may be associated in various ways.

**Territorial organizations**: They are composed of members who are grouped in a territory, and who have similar interests, e.g. urban or rural (neighborhood associations, etc.).

**Occupational organizations**: They are composed of members of the same occupation, regardless of the basic organization in which they work (professional associations, etc.).

**Generational organizations**: organizations which address specific concerns or interests of certain age groups. They usually are not limited to specific age grouping, e.g. youth organizations, clubs, and senior citizens.

**Political parties**: are formal organizations representing general class interests (derived positions) in parts of the social structure. This also includes organizations that are against the State and try to dominate the State. They can be defined and their members identified by their political ideology.

**Organizations established for other purposes**: oppose discrimination, culture, amateur sports, ecology, etc.

#### **1.2.3 Dimensions of the Social Structure**

#### 1.2.3.1 The Economic Dimension: The Economic Market

In today's society, all parts of the social structure are assumed to be necessary for the integrity of the social system. If there were no families to reproduce biologically and give primary socialization to children, social positions would not be populated by functioning individuals. If those people did not receive a minimum of health services and education, they would not be able to perform well in parts of the structure to meet minimum social or work obligations. Without the secondary socialization provided by the ideational complex, they also could not function. Also, if there was no state to coercively strengthen the institutionalized norms, there would be no way to regulate potential conflicts of interest. In general, there always are conflicting interests, or potentially conflicting interests. This occurs despite efforts of the State to change the social structure to eliminate antagonistic interests.

The economic market is a fluid system, in which people and systems exchange goods and services that satisfy to a greater or lesser extent the social needs of its members. From this point of view, the economic market has a fundamental role, as it is linked to the consumption and production of goods and services (productive consumption). Without this exchange, social needs could not be met. The material condition of our society would not exist. Goods and services can be classified into at least three groups: i) investment (the wealthy support productive consumption), ii) consumer need (goods and services for all social classes) and iii) luxury (for the upper classes only). However, this distribution is given by degrees and not exclusive categories and there are numerous exceptions. There is also evidence that a single enterprise or a group of companies play a monopolistic role in the market. Further, the intertwining of the boards of large corporations produces economic groups, which are dominant in the market economy. All of these systems are the parts of the social structure that we have described and interact in one way or another in the economic market. The economic market is regulated to some extent by the state which, in addition to applying laws and regulations, acts financially as a player in the market and can exert compensatory policies which mostly benefit the dominant classes.

Currently it is impossible to analyze the economic dimension without accounting for consumption. Jean Baudrillard (1974), in his book "The consumer society: myths and structures," discussed in depth this facet of the economy and its intricate relationship with culture, society and individuals. But, is today's society categorized as a consumer society? And what is the social logic of consumption?<sup>2</sup>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> The first question find an answer in size and importance that today takes on consumption in the economic system; It is located in the heart of modern capitalism. Baudrillard asserts that "the fundamental problem of contemporary capitalism is no longer the contradiction between 'obtaining maximum benefit' and 'rationalization of production' (at company level), but between a virtually unlimited productivity (at the technostructure) and need for outputting products. At this stage it becomes vital for the system to control not only the production apparatus, but consumer demand, not only prices, but what will be asked at these prices "(Baudrillard, 1974, p. 106). We can see then, that consumption is part of the expansion and perpetuation of the capitalist system, It can not be simply explained by the theory of needs. since it would be ignoring a key aspect: consumption is potentially unlimited. It happens rather than the productive system has come to create a system of needs, which means that "the needs are not produced one by one, in relation to the respective objects, but are produced as a consumer force, global availability within of the more general framework of productive forces "(Baudrillard, 1974, p. 110). Business (production) which exercise power in this economic system, controlling and shaping social behavior, attitudes and needs. Then we show that consumption goes beyond purely economic issues to infiltrate the dynamics of social interaction,

To understand what the social logic of consumption, we must think of this as a complex structure of signs, objects and desires. Means of mass communication have made consumption moves within the logic of the symbolic (and hence are a key element for analysis), so the objects are no longer only their specific utility to become signs, which, linked to a chain of signifiers (happiness, beauty, success, etc.) are desired as provide a place within the social group. According to Baudrillard, "you never consume the object itself (in its utilitarian value); objects are always manipulated (in the broadest sense) as signs that distinguish us, either affiliating to our own group taken as ideal reference,

For this author, consumption is a macro that comes to fill the lives of individuals; is a system integration as long as social control, a system that differentiates and homogenizes the same time. Still according to this view, consumption in contemporary society is a new and specific way of socialization, that seeps into the mentality and everyday ethics, pretending to be just the opposite of social control, ie, a form of expansion of the individual. In this context, "the values, ideals and ideologies are lost in only advantage of the values of everyday life" (Baudrillard, 1974, p. 273). But like all social product, the consumer society creates its own ideology to conceive happiness and salvation through objects. So, consumption immerses individuals in a fantasy world that promises happiness, causing a departure from reality. In this connection, it has been observed that where objects and increase its proximity with them, consequently increasing the distance between human beings.

#### 1.2.3.2 Social Classes of the Social Dimension

In this section we discuss our concept of social class. People obtain their income through participation in one of four areas of the basal social structure, either in positions of greater power, as majority shareholder belonging to a large corporation, or as the last subordinate of a company, or through all intermediate positions. They may participate as a manager of a State enterprise or be a public hospital director. However, they can also work as an employee serving as an intermediate minor administrator of tasks or manager of a public bathroom. At the bottom of the social scale is the homeless person. We must be mindful that the economic interests of the director of a large public hospital funded by the State (through taxes), are different from the director of a private clinic. This definition holds even in the unlikely event that you receive the same income, since the objective interests derived from occupying one or another social position are very different. Furthermore, the objective interests of the wife and children of a great capitalist are very different than those of the wife and children of a postal worker. From this analysis, the class position is determined by the position held in the organization of production, distribution and appropriation of the economic surplus through trade, finance and consumption of goods and services in society. To determine the interests of a class position we must locate the class position in the relational and dynamic context of all relevant aspects of the basal social structure to which it belongs. With this theoretical position, we reject the simplistic arguments reported in much of the Marxist literature. In some analyses it will suffice to consider basic occupation, in other cases it is appropriate to distinguish whether an individual is employed in a productive or financial service, but all of this should be done after a relational structural analysis. As the family is the center of consumption, it appears obvious that the family interests coincide with those of the source of the family income. But we may be faced with additional complexity when another family member with equal labor income is employed in a different part of the basal structure. These are problems for which there are no preset answers. All of this requires a relational structural analysis.

#### 1.2.3.3 The Spatial Dimension

Concentrations of high population density in an area (urban areas) are are dominated by industrial, commercial and financial production systems and services and the ideational complex and major organizations of the State. Areas of low population density (rural) have concentrated agricultural activities including livestock, and some special economic interest such as tourism services. Direct interaction in large urban areas between people who are strangers fosters depersonalization and individuality. In bureaucratic organizations of the parts 1 to 4 of the basal structure in urban areas, high level employers, i.e., those in positions of greater economic power and / or authority with large incomes interact directly with subordinates who receive lower income. In the cities there are privileged areas with luxury houses and apartments, surrounded by beautiful parks, and land prices and housing in these areas have greater value. Less attractive homes and apartments on smaller lots in less desirable neighborhoods with limited services have less economic value. Given this situation, it happens that people in positions of greater economic power and authority working with subordinates in the organization live with their families in privileged urban areas, and that their income can afford the higher value of land and buildings. Conversely, subordinates live in less desirable areas with less expensive dwellings, land, and buildings, because of their lower incomes. The wealthy and powerful employers and their subordinates work together, but live apart. An extreme case of this situation is the true ghetto, or peripheral populations, or pockets of poverty, which have poor services and many criminal activities. They typically have less police presence and higher rates of drug addiction. In any case, urban slums occur when there are groups with precarious economic power and public housing policies that only seek to cut costs. Typically, in the privileged neighborhoods residents have relatively homogeneous levels of family income,

States are organized territorially including the population within the boundaries of a country. Also there are federal districts, regional authorities, and subsystems. However, the center of power usually is in the capital, while administrative centers of less political importance are located in state and provincial governments and municipalities.

Following the model of the State, professional associations, trade unions, business organizations, and political parties are also organized regionally.

The current global economic market spans the borders of countries. Multinational corporations are dominant. They invest where there is better infrastructure, proximity to markets, high quality and/or low-cost labor and favorable government policies. Economic exchange has been global for many decades.

#### 1.2.3.4 Ideologies and Subcultures: The Symbolic Dimension

For the social structure to be maintained over time, it needs to be legitimized and institutionalized in some basic aspects; physical or economic coercion is not enough. There must be a hegemonic ideology that justifies and makes acceptable the crucial aspects of the social structure to its members. The ideational complex, which in our society is linked to the economic and political power, facilitates a consensus. In addition, if the social structure fails to satisfy certain essential social needs and the State guarantees a minimum of rights, economic coercion will be exercised ("if you do not perform your job, you do not eat") and the threat of physical coercion ("the authorities must restrain criminals"). The habituation process and the definition of social roles as discussed by Berger and Luckmann is also implemented.

Nevertheless in every society, in addition to the hegemonic ideology, there are alternative ideologies which result from competing interests and conflicts. Further, there are also large areas of behavior that are not addressed by the hegemonic ideology which question the institutionalized rules. They claim that all, or most, of institutionalized behavior is not authentic human behavior.

In addition to the hegemonic ideology, there are subcultures of social sectors or groups (such as various youth subcultures), or ethnic or racial or religious subcultures within a country that can produce emancipatory movements, and seek autonomy.

In any case, for a movement to produce profound change in the structure and be successful, it must be accompanied by diffusion and acceptance in significant sectors of the population of the new ideology.

## **PART ONE**

## **SOCIAL DIMENSION**

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## 2. Social dimension

The social dimension of society is the most comprehensive because it includes the various relationships among members, systems and subsystems of the social structure. First, to accurately describe these relationships, we must examine in more detail their structure.

### 2.1 The Basal Social Structure: Subsystems and Defined Relationships

This is a model applicable to social interrelations of the main formal organizations and families in the overall social structure of capitalist societies<sup>3</sup>.

The model of global social structure has been developed by us for this analysis. It is not sufficiently general to be applied to all societies because the elements and their interrelationships historically differ according to type and culture. It applies to contemporary Western societies.

Formal organizations are analyzed in the context of the overall social structure. We assume that concepts such as "community" or "society" in general are too unspecific and do not recognize differentiations that occur in the macro context. Further, this means that the macro-relationships between formal organizations differ according to the type of society. To contextualize the macro-relationships of formal organizations, we will use our concept of global social structure.

#### The following parts of the basal social structure are:

#### 1. Material economic structure, composed of the following subparts:

- 1.1 Productive activities.
- 1.2 Commercial activities.
- 1.3 Financial activities.

#### 2. The State is composed of the following subparts:

- 2.1 Government.
- 2.2 The Legislature.
- 2.3 The Judiciary.
- 2.4 The Armed Forces and criminal activities (police and prison custody).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> The first inspiration of this scheme arose from the book of Gerth and Mills: Character and Social Structure, in presenting a scheme applicable to all types of society. Unlike this scheme, ours is specific to Western contemporary societies.

In non-democratic societies, there may be a fusion of the government, the Legislature and the Armed Forces, or some combination of these.

In the Government, the Judiciary and the Armed Forces and Criminal Activities, there are hierarchical levels of power, from the highest levels to the lowest that can be associated with the territory.

In the Government, except the highest positions (head of government), there is a subdivision into ministries or departments in which each of them has a complete bureaucratic structure. In the Armed Forces there is also a subdivision according to their specific activities and the Judiciary, usually it is less differentiated by activity (although there is some differentiation).

The Legislature does not have a well differentiated hierarchical structure.

There are interrelationships between different subparts of the state, which will be specified later.

#### 3. The Ideational Complex, which is divided into subparts:

- 3.1 The educational system.
- 3.2 The mass media.
- 3.3 The churches.
- 3.4 Independent intellectual, scientific and artistic activities.

Hierarchical levels are less pronounced in the Ideational Complex, more in churches and in the educational system, than in the other subparts. The degree of hierarchy depends on the specific companies that are considered.

#### 4. The Services can be described as follows:

- 4.1 Health services.
- 4.2 Professional sports.

4.3 Other Recreational Activities, not ideational, and personal services. The degree of hierarchy in Health Services depends on the specific society that is analyzed.

#### 5. Families, nuclear, single and extended, and other family relationships.

The criterion for differentiating the parts of the global social structure is its predominant activity which relates, or provides an output to, other components of the global social structure. Using this criterion, we will be able to clearly discuss roles, social positions, power relations, communication relations, social processes, etc. of parts of the global social structure.

## The criteria for including a subsystem of society in the overall basal social structure are:

- 1. The parts of the global social structure, in which the adults of the society can work and obtain money for their basic needs (this excludes working without remuneration in the family).
- 2. Those social units including families in which the majority of individuals in society spend most of their time.

To be more specific: The linkage of participants with the basal structure is twofold: 1) receiving money through work or property ownership in one or more parts; and 2) engaging in reciprocal activities with various components of the basal structure.

We must emphasize that there is an apparent overlapping of parts of the global social structure, in the sense that a subpart, or a subsystem, which belongs to a subpart, could belong simultaneously to more than one part of the overall social structure. This is especially true with respect to the State. The State belongs to the economic and physical structure, the ideational complex and services respectively.

# 2.2 Formal Organizations: Definition and Characteristics

#### Definitions

- a. **Processes**: interrelation of human elements and linked materials that follow a certain pattern of change.
- b. **Linear processes:** processes that have a beginning and an end, subdivided into several non-overlapping phases, in which one phase precedes and is a requirement for the other.
- c. **Linear parallel processes**: linear processes in which the end of one process is not a condition for the other.
- d. **Cyclic processes**: the end of each cycle of the process is the beginning of the next cycle, and there is an overlap of interrelated cycles at different stages of development.
- e. **Interaction system**: interrelated set of interactions in which the interaction between organizational members is more frequent and intense than with other individuals outside of the organizations.
- f. **Dominance**: a type of asymmetric interaction in which superordinate individuals give instructions or suggestions directly or through intermediaries, which are obeyed by the subordinate individuals.
- g. **Formalization**: the process by which interactions, or other social processes, follow the pattern marked by a relatively fixed set of interrelated rules.
- h. Authority: formalized domination.
- i. **Formal organizations**: include a major linear process, a set of parallel supportive linear processes, an interaction system, a single authority which defines and coordinates, and several hierarchical levels.

#### Observations

#### From the definition we can conclude:

- 1. The government and similar systems are not one, but several interrelated formal organizations, because although there is a single system of hierarchical authority, which includes processes and systems of different types which interact.
- 2. Linked processes and interaction systems do not constitute a formal organization which has a single system of hierarchical authority (for example, a steel industry is linked with automobile production, but both industries have different hierarchical structures and are different formal organizations).
- 3. Formal organizations include not only formalized relations, but also other processes and interaction systems within them, which include the complex networks of business relationships and informal relationships of different types, i.e. informal groups, informal roles "clicks", etc.
- 4. The formalization of an organization serves a dual purpose:
  - 4.1 It enables the positions of greater power to maintain social control of the organization, through a single system of hierarchical authority from the first to the last level, which involves a line of formal communication and uniformity of sanctions.
  - 4.2 It depersonalizes formal relations and management and simplifies the exercise of dominance of the high level managers over the lower ranks through intermediaries (which are subject to a defined set of formal rules). We observe that the larger the organization, the greater the degree of formalization. Depersonalization of formal relations makes possible the depersonalization of power, symbolically replacing the interests of the positions of greater power by the "objectives of the organization," The objectives ultimately are not to benefit the "organization," because they serve the interests of the high level managers.

Here we must make clarification to the concepts of "interests" and "power" in organizations to avoid misunderstandings.

Interests are objects or relationships of all kinds (material, social and symbolic) that can satisfy to a greater degree the material and social needs of the individuals who occupy defined positions in a social system. They are awarded or served if they perform the appropriate and expected actions. It is clear that the positions that individuals occupy are the main feature or indicators which define their interests and the possibility of achieving them.

Power is defined as the ability of individuals occupying certain positions to assert their interests over the interests of others.

From these definitions it is evident that there are major differences between the concepts of domination and power. Domination is an interpersonal relationship and power is more than that, because it includes other aspects such as material possessions, the economic capital you have, etc. Domination and power can be in different positions in a formal organization and in other contexts. In an economic organization, the owner or principal owners have the power, and executives exert domination. Owners have power because they can change to executives if they wish. Moreover, it can also happen that owners and executives are the same person, that the interests of owners and executives usually coincide, and that executives can be arranged to lead the company, to benefit their interests and not those of the owners, or a compromise between the two. But there is conceptually a difference between power and domination.

In a labor union, formal domination relations are in the hands of the leaders, but the power may be in the hands of subordinates. They can remove the leaders, if they do not fight for the general interest. If there is an oligar-chic power of the leaders, this might not be the case. However, in a democratic union there is an apparent paradox that domination is in the hands of a minority, but the power in the hands of the majority. This is a democratic system, but in our society, economic and political power tends to be concentrated in a few hands.

We have made this digression to avoid the misunderstanding that our theoretical analysis of the formal organization presupposes that a few have the power in all cases. However, we see organizations as being dynamic with the possibility of power shifting to the organized subordinates. Our purpose is to demystify the idea that all organizations are communities which have a common set of values and implement concerted actions towards common abstract goals. The reality is more complex. The existence of an unequal distribution of power in a considerable number of cases makes us accept the notion that organizations often have opposing interests which drive organizational behavior as opposed to commonly shared goals.

### 2.3 The Criteria for the Characterization of Each Part of the Basal Structure and Interrelationships of the Components of the Basal Structure

Material economic structure consists of formal organizations, groups and individuals that produce material goods, those who contribute to the exchange of material goods, and those which contribute to the financing of both processes. In short, it consists of all formal organizations, groups, and individuals who contribute to the production and reproduction of material goods in society.

In relatively developed societies, formal organizations play a predominant role in this context because the economic units that have greater importance are of considerable size, and we know that these companies are configured with different levels of hierarchy.

We know that the production processes are linked, the boundary between one process and another connected with it is made according to two criteria:

- 1. Intervention of the money market and in the exchange of one process for another.
- 2. An independent authority structure between a company and the other (which makes them different formal organizations).

There may also be other situations:

Companies that produce and market their goods, if the processes are strongly linked, that is, if marketing is simply the end of the production process (the output to the economic market), we are dealing with only one formal organization. But if there are marked differences in the systems of interaction and a certain independence in its functioning, we can not properly refer to a single formal organization.

However in the case of a chain of businesses with a single system of authority, we are dealing with parallel processes and a single formal organization (e.g. supermarket chains).

#### 2.3.1 Ideational Complex

The ideational complex consists of formal organizations, groups and individuals that create, disseminate or teach ideas, whose members make a living in the professions (amateur artists, personal hobbies, for example, are not considered part of the ideational complex, while professional artists are part of it).

We refer to this part of the structure as a "complex" and not as a system, because it is heterogeneous and its constituent elements are not strictly related in all cases.

#### The content of the ideas can be classified in several ways for our analysis:

- 1. According to their degree of abstraction and systematization.
- 2. According to their degree of objectivity, ie, the degree to which it expresses the reality (i.e. natural or social) without resorting to fiction.
- 3. According to the purpose of use, ie, to understand or to transform reality.
- 4. According to their emotional or aesthetic content.
- 5. According to its supernatural content.
- 6. According to the degree that it creates an acceptance or rejection of the existing social structure, i.e. according to their ideological content.

### These categories may be combined and have, among others:

- a. Scientific knowledge, which is systematic and objective. There is a varying degree of abstraction in different sciences. They are the natural and social sciences and formal sciences like logic and mathematics.
- b. Applied knowledge or technical knowledge which is a target-oriented transformation of natural reality (the term can also be applied, but restricted to social reality, because this is more important for ideological content).
- c. Information, ideas that seek objectivity and a low degree of abstraction and systematization.
- d. Recreational and artistic ideas with emotional or aesthetic content.

e. Religious (ideas of the supernatural).

We have to emphasize that, according to how we defined the concepts, objective ideas and almost all ideas, can have an ideological content directly or indirectly. The dimensions can be combined. An idea can be perfectly objective and yet contain an ideological content (especially in the social sciences).

The creation of concepts and new ideas occurs in scientific, artistic, philosophical, and theological fields. The process varies within and across fields in the degree to which it is systematic.

The difference between diffusion and teaching of the ideas is that the latter includes a system of formal sanctions, for learning or assimilation for those who receive the ideas or concepts.

#### The subparts of the ideational complex are now described:

a. The educational system consists of formal organizations that teach ideas, which presuppose a gradual linear process, ranging from the simplest ideas to the most complex, socializing individuals for more efficient performance of their roles in the social structure. The predominant content of ideas is general information, science, arts, and religious. A minority of individuals in society experience the full linear process including the most complex knowledge. Usually no single bigrarchical

including the most complex knowledge. Usually no single hierarchical structure of authority governs the full linear process of knowledge dissemination.

Although we can refer to different hierarchical features of knowledge dissemination, there is no single education authority which dominates the entire process.

Scientific knowledge is part of higher education which takes place in formal organizations such as universities, but is also carried out in the educational system.

b. The mass media are formal organizations that disseminate ideas of a relatively small number of individuals to a significantly greater number (the masses or public), through specific technological means. They are classified according to the technical means used. Television and radio broadcast primarily recreational ideas and information; cinema, recreational and artistic ideas; newspapers and magazines, information and recreational ideas specialized books and magazines, almost all kinds of knowledge and ideas.

The mass media do not constitute a unitary system, they are not interconnected by a single system of authority or formally ordered by the complexity of the knowledge, as in the case of the education system.

c. Churches are usually formal organizations that spread religious ideas, some are more hierarchical than others. Some have formal educational organizations and economic systems and belong to the hierarchical structures of authority.

Ideational activity is not restricted to these three subparts and the formalized ideational complex.

# 2.3.2 Services

Services are provided by formal organizations, groups and individuals offering valuable work to individuals in society. The service providers thus make a living from these activities. Services may be offered free or for money to individuals, depending on their regulation by the state or other organization.

#### 1. Health services; three different types of systems:

- 1.1 Societies in which there is a single national health system, there is a single hierarchical structure, but independent relationships with hospitals and health services in different specialties. Here we deal with different formal organizations interrelated through a unique structure of authority.
- 1.2 There are societies where there are almost exclusively private hospitals and health centers, which have separate formal organizations, along with health professionals who work independently, but are legally regulated.
- 1.3 There are societies where a national health system exists alongside

private health services, in this case we have a mixture of the two situations.

- 2. Professional sports is currently structured in formal organizations, but without a high degree of hierarchy.
- 3. Cosmetology service centers and personal aesthetic businesses, gymnasiums, and yoga facilities, etc.

Other personal services are less formal than those mentioned.

# 2.3.3 The Families

They are interactive systems that reproduce biologically individuals, give them basic socialization, participate in consumption, serve as center for maintenance and give emotional support. They are not formal organizations.

# 2.4 Interrelationships Between Parts of the Basal Social Structure: Formal Organizations and Families

## 2.4.1 Economic Organizations that Materially Maintain Parts of the Basal Social Structure

The economic structure provides material goods to other parts of the overall structure, directly or through exchange with other companies. These relationships are mediated by money. Goods provided by the economic and physical structure allow physical maintenance of the whole society and play an important role in every aspect of it.

We have explained that large companies are formalized, and provide an important part of the surplus product. In less developed societies, the relationship with other companies is usually through exporting raw materials and importing manufactured goods. For the economic structure, large economic groups, consisting of interrelated sets of economic organizations that have formalized a strategic position in the economic structure are very important. These relationships can be formal (through a single system of authority) or informal, through interpersonal relationships of the owners or the interrelationship of company directors.

The transfer of the surplus product to the State is through taxes or through formal organizations hierarchically subordinate to the state economic structure.

But there are other economic relationships, occurring when companies are members of large groups belonging to major formal economic organizations that occupy high positions of power within the State. Moreover, representatives or members of the large economic groups are influential lobbyists within the State, precisely because of their corporation's strategic position in the economy. Economic financing of election campaigns is another way in which economic groups influence the representatives of the State.

The economic and physical structures provide material support to the ideational complex, but there are also more specific relationships.

Large formal economic organizations provide money through advertising to mass media, in this way exercising influence on them. Large economic groups are usually the owners or are closely linked to the most influential mass media and the State.

Regarding the educational system, members of middle and upper positions in formal economic organizations pay the education of their children to private schools in undergraduate, graduate, and professional programs.

Also, large organizations and economic groups influence the education system and scientific research through direct contributions or funds provided by their foundations. This monetary support comes from private companies and the State, and goes to private and public institutions of higher education.

A third relationship with the ideational complex stems from the fact that large formal private and public organizations provide jobs for many professionals and the majority of individuals who have some degree of specialization or general education. Through this process these individuals receive an organizational and ideological orientation.

The churches receive donations from large formal economic organizations and many of them have formal organizations that belong to the economic structure.

Regarding family and services, employment in the economic and physical structure provides them resources to fund services.

# 2.4.2 Interrelations of the State and the Basal Social Structure

The State establishes and administers formal rules and decisions that are applied on the threat of coercion, (which is its monopoly of the use of force) to all other parts of the overall basal structure. It regulates (and is influenced by) the general economic structure. Further, it protects and guarantees property relations. Some large economic formal organizations are hierarchically subordinate to the State, to a greater or lesser degree, depending on the specific society.

The State restricts to a greater or a lesser extent the mass media, depending on each specific society. Some may be hierarchically subordinate to the State. Also through paid advertising, the State may influence the mass media.

The State regulates most of the educational system. This includes the part

that is hierarchically subordinate to it, and many private educational organizations that receive public funds.

Churches usually have fewer restrictions from the State, but must comply with the general rules imposed by the societies and organizations.

Services, especially health services, may or may not be hierarchically subordinate, in whole or in part, depending on the specific society. In any case, health services are usually strictly regulated by the State.

Family relationships, especially marriage or divorce, child care, and the situation of women in the family, are regulated by the state.

## 2.4.3 Interrelations of the Ideational Complex and the Basal Social Structure

The ideational complex disseminates ideas and concepts to individuals, groups or formal organizations from components of the global social structure, which can be communicated through language, images, sounds, movements or objects of a symbolic content. These ideas convey not only cognitive content, but also emotions, social values and skills.

The educational system (composed mainly of formal organizations), socializes individuals for positions so that they can play roles in other parts of the global social structure, from the most specialized to the most general. Some of these roles require a high level of theoretical knowledge and others a comprehension of cultural norms which help them play general roles common to most adults in society.

Changes in formal organizations require specialization and specific processes through the educational system; in some cases, the educational system serves as a channel for social mobility.

Social science research, as part of the educational system, can help resolve social problems by strengthening the formal organizations and make them more adaptive to change.

The mass media provide recreational and informative channels for most individuals and more complex and technical media reach more highly educated members of society. In the latter case, it is linked with the upper echelons of the educational system. Usually this type of media has ideological content.

Churches can serve as a means of comfort to insoluble problems of individuals in society or to help them adopt a more critical position.

It is clear that the ideational complex to a great degree disseminates values that have an ideological content. It serves as a means of socialization of individuals in accepting the existing social structure in general and authority within formal organizations in particular. But some media broadcast critical content that may contribute to legitimizing social movements that produce change in the structure.

# 2.4.4 Interrelations of Services to the Basal Social Structure

Services contribute to solving biological, psychological and social needs of individuals. They facilitate goal attainment within the social structure and its formal organizations. In some ways, health services serve as mechanisms of social control. We see this in the growing process of medicalization.

# 2.4.5 Interrelations of the Family to the Basal Social Structure

Families reproduce the labor force for all other parts of the social structure and the formal organizations within it. Their essential functions are biological reproduction, physical maintenance, consumption of food and material items, and basic socialization and psychological support.

There are large economic groups whose owners are linked by kinship.

Each part of the global social structure is dynamic and conditional and interacts with the other components so that it contributes to the reproduction of society as a whole. The basal social structure maintains some basic features, but it is dynamic. These interrelated dynamic parts can transform the entire structure.

# 2.5 Formal Organizations Derived from the Basal Social Structure

In organizations and their relationships, people occupy certain positions and interests arise. The interest associated with the positions are structured according to the characteristics of these organizations and the various dimensions along which they interrelate. This means that it is not enough to define the characteristics of organizations in the abstract to identify the interests, but positions are also affected by how these organizations interact within various dimensions. Therefore, for example, certain territorial dimensions (e.g. rural location promotes ecological interests and urbanization promotes mass transit interests). We must analyze not only organizations in general, but how positions are located in organizations, since in the same organization there may be conflicting interests that will be affected differently in each of the dimensions. The intersecting characteristics of positions, such as gender, for example, that affect or create barriers or limitations in the various organizations and systems must be considered. Further, in the same way, age, disability, racial and ethnic diversity have stigma attached which may be a barrier to the realization of the interests. These characteristics become targets of biased groups and the controversies lead to organizational and legal conflicts.

Given this complexity and difficulty in achieving the interests of positions, or maintaining the privileges of certain positions, leads to the association of people with common interests in specific formal organizations as a way to increase their power. These organizations, reflecting the interests of specific groups, have the power to influence the basal social structure and change conditions that will facilitate the realization of their interests.

To summarize, we can make the distinction between formal organizations in the basal social structure and the derived: The former are all formal organizations that belong to the global social structure; while the latter organizations share common or similar interests as a result of their positions in the social structure and their various interrelationships and dimensions. In the following paragraphs we will describe various derived organizations.

## 2.5.1 Unions

A union is a formal organization that is composed of subordinate members of a basal organization. Unions aim to defend economic and social interests of their members. They may be associated by type of industry, or be an organization that represents several related industries. They may be legal or illegal, depending on the specific rules of the State concerned. The unions' interests are linked to larger interest groups or social classes. Often, its members or leaders are linked to political parties.

## 2.5.2 Business Organizations

Business organizations are formal organizations composed of members of high power, economic organizations, organized by industry, company size or subpart of the economic structure. There may also be formal business organizations in other parts of the overall structure in profit-oriented organizations. There are also business organizations of smaller enterprises, including micro-enterprises. These organizations can make common cause with large companies, but not always. For this, their representatives usually coincide with representatives of political parties who defend the privileges of the ruling classes.

## 2.5.3 Territorial Organizations

In some societies there are formal organizations composed of residents of a similar ecological environment, who share similar lifestyles. Further, the spacial dimension produces common interests in livability, reduced urbanization, and addressing environmental problems. They may be associated with different levels. They may be legal or illegal, democratically constituted, or not, according to the specific rules of society and the State. Also, they intersect with organizations of political parties. According to the economic level of their locality, they may share common economic interests with neighbors and address common problems.

# 2.5.4 Occupational Organizations

Occupational organizations are formal organizations composed of members of the same occupation, which may include individuals in a single industry or many varied industries. Professional organizations are an important type of occupational organizations and their interests obviously depend on the problems being experienced by the profession (social dimension). also they intersect with the activities of political parties.

# 2.5.5 Student Organizations or Parents

At the primary level, where they exist, student organizations are often proxies. In secondary, and in higher education, student organizations can be linked to political organizations.

## 2.5.6 Organizations for the Elderly, Retired, and Pensioned

These organizations emerge to solve the problems and represent the interests of retired, pensioned, and elderly individuals. Their agendas reflect the situations and social positions of these groups.

# 2.5.7 Disability Organizations, Feminist and Gender, and Ecological Groups

Discrimination against the disabled, women, and the LGBTQ community results in the emergence of organizations which defend their rights. Degradation and economic threats to the environment have produced groups to defend it. These organizations also focus on specific problems and are political.

# 2.5.8 Organizations of Health Service Users, Foundations, and Special Interests

They are derived from interest arising from being recipients of the care of health systems, and having specific illnesses and problems associated with obtaining health care.

## 2.5.9 Political Parties

Political parties are formal organizations representing interests of one or several classes and social strata, who are fighting for the power of the State. They do not exclusively represent class interests. They may be legal or illegal, according to the country specifically considered. In some governments, the military plays the role of political parties.

Political parties coalesce around social problems and may include social movements which are trying to influence public policies on a variety of matters and the State.

## 2.6 Structure of the State

The State is constituted by a set of interrelated formal organizations. It is developed and implemented through a set of interrelated formal rules which are enforced through the threat or use of force. Finally, in the tradition of Weber (1997), it is assumed to have the monopoly on the use of coercion over a population occupying a given territory or geographical area.

The state has traditionally been considered one of the most typical bureaucratic organizations. Bureaucracy is an ideal type, developed in detail by Max Weber, which has some common features of formal organizations. Our concept of formal organizations is not an ideal type because it includes informal relationships within it and other deviations from the "pure" ideal type. In addition to the findings of modern sociological research on formal organizations, our conceptual model takes into consideration the importance of external relationships for the development and change on modern complex organizations.

The Legislature makes the more general rules governing the State together with the head of government. The Government specifies the rules and more specific decisions. It applies these rules and decisions through a complex administrative apparatus. The judiciary monitors compliance with the State standards, and administrative decisions by all members of society. If an individual or organization violates the official rule and there is a judicial judgment, criminal penalties are applied by the courts. Armed Forces are subordinate to the head of government, and have a monopoly on the use of force within a nation State or in an external conflict.

The subparts of the State may be merged in less democratic societies; In these countries, the government, the legislature and the use of force may be in the same hands.

In our analysis of the government, we begin with the head of government which is an appropriate term for both parliamentary and nonparliamentary systems.

The head of government can be appointed directly or indirectly by the electorate (in presidential systems), through legislative appointment (in the parliamentary system), kinship (in monarchies), or in other ways. The executive branch has ministries in which there is an entire administrative apparatus constituting large bureaucratic organizations or formal organizations which are highly hierarchical. These ministries are differentiated by the type of activity, and together are not one but a set of formal organizations that rely on a single hierarchical structure of authority which is differentiated in each of these organizations. The head of state is the one who represents that State against external nations.

Administrative rules applied by the ministries depend on the specific field of action, although there are general rules.

The Legislature constitutes one or more systems of interaction, but it is not properly a formal organization, because the degree of hierarchy of authority within it is very low.

The judiciary is a formal organization, highly hierarchical, where there is an overlap between the territorial scope of its subsystem and the position they have in the hierarchical structure of authority. There are also some differentiations within it. Those subsystems that have national coverage are the highest in the authority structure.

The penal system also constitutes a formal organization.

Armed Forces constitute three or more formal organizations, according to their specialization. They are subordinated to a single authority at the top, but with its own internal authority structure, which is very hierarchical.

The relationship between these parts of the State have already been discussed.

## 2.6.1 Internal Composition and Types of States

### 2.6.1.1 The Problem

The concept of the State occupies a central place in political science and has even been considered as defining the topic of this science, although some authors do not agree with this latter position<sup>4</sup>. In defining the overall structure of a modern society, the state is of great importance<sup>5</sup>. Partnerships between institutions and society are attributed to the State<sup>6</sup>. In the study of law, the concept of the State is fundamental.

For both Political Science and the sociology of law, the State is a subject of study. However, the approach is different depending on the discipline and theoretical approach concerned. Each of the aforementioned disciplines has certain theoretical frameworks of its own.

Thus, for example, the prominent American sociologist Talcott Parsons approaches the problem from the point of view of the theory of action. Parsons conceives of social reality as consisting of sets of interrelated roles or social roles, whose participants have common values, which facilitate joint actions that constitute communities. The political subsystem (in which the state occupies a central place) is characterized by its integrative function, stimulating the loyalty of members of society to the system and implementing collective interests. The concept of action is essential here, and according to it the functions of achieving goals through an accountable executive differ. This provides the means for achieving goals through senior administrative officials<sup>7</sup>.

The approach taken in this paper is within the field of sociology, but much closer to the concept of the Weberian State as a formal organization (or as an integrated system of formal organizations<sup>8</sup>), than that of Parsons. The concept of social norm, which is used in the definition of the State and the differentiation of functions, also has a long sociological tradition.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> One of the authors consider that the concept of State is not adequate to describe the object of Political Science is David Easton, The Political System. New York: AA Knopf, 1968, pp. 115-116. This does not detract from the concept of State in Political Science.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> View: Jorge Chuaqui, "The notion of global social structure." Social Science Journal (Valparaiso), 1st Half, 1975. In the article cited the other parts of the structure that are mentioned in this article are defined.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> See, for example, RM MacIver, Society: A Textbook of Sociology. New York: Farrar and Rinehart, Inc. 137, pp. 282-298.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> Talcott Parsons (1969). "The political aspect of the structure and social process." David Easton, Approaches to Political Theory. Buenos Aires: Amarrortu; Contemporary American sociology. Buenos Aires: Polity Press, 1967; The Social System Glencoe, Illinois: The Press, 1951.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup> Max Weber. Economy and Society. Mexico: FCE

This analysis begins, in its substantive part, with a definition of the State. It then specifies its activities and functions, the types of States, and the differentiation of the complex articulated constituent organizations. The central idea is to conceive of the State as an articulated set of organizations with formal specific features, which have a principal defining activity; i.e. the use of coercive power to generate and implement standards. This differs according to the part of the global social structure to which this function is applied and to the variable characteristics of such activity, and the hierarchical and spatial dimensions of the activity. Variations in structure and stages of these processes also serve to define the type of State.

Even when considered separately, only some of the theoretical elements used in the description of the structure of the State are original to the author of this article. We combine them into a coherent whole constituting a new theoretical systematization of the problem.

The definition of the State and the description of the dimensions which differentiate the types of State are heavily influenced by the Weberian conceptualization. As for the activities of the State, there is some influence of the writings of public administration, although these activities are regarded in a new perspective according to a conception of the parts of the social structure on which we focus. State functions are treated from the perspective of constitutional law by prominent authors<sup>9</sup>, but we put a greater emphasis on the problem of the generation and application of standards. Regarding the types of States, there are different classifications based on criteria such as the types of roles that they play<sup>10</sup>, and ideologies that dominate them<sup>11</sup>. The question of a parliamentary or presidential system<sup>12</sup> is also important. We discuss the ideologies that characterize the various types of States and start with a markedly macrostructural approach to the analysis of social roles. The question of a single presidential or parliamentary system is also considered among other dimensions of the State. We consider a multiplicity of dimensions in our analysis.

This paper is intended as a theoretical reference point for comparative analysis of states and the processes of their transformation. It is also a preliminary step to the characterization of social positions that exist in the state, and the relationship between positions in the global social structure and its forms.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>9</sup> See: R. Carre de Malberg (1948). General Theory of the State. Mexico: FCE

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>10</sup> GA Almond (1964). "Comparative Political Systems". RC BE Macridis and Brown (Eds.), Comparative Politics (pp. 50-64). Glencoe, Illinois: The Dorsey Press.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>11</sup> Duverger M. (1962). Political Institutions and Constitutional Law. Barcelona: Ariel.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>12</sup> Verney DV (1964). "Analysis of Political Systems". In A. Eckstein and D. Apter (Eds), Comparative Politics (pp. 175-191). Glencoe, Illinois: The Free Press.

### 2.6.1.2 Definition of State

We discuss a sociological conception of the State, compatible with the rest of the theoretical analysis of the social structure. Regarding this social structure, the State appears as a part of it and therefore not to be confused with the whole of society. From this point of view, what we mean by State is what has been called "the apparatus of the State" or the State as a specific formal organization, and not the state as a country or as a nation.

Since this is a sociological rather than legal analysis, definitions, differentiations and analysis regarding the rules, the functions of the State, etc., do not necessarily coincide with legal definitions or characterizations of these aspects. Legal definitions are strongly determined by the practice of the progress of the State, which must necessarily contemplate various exceptions and should adhere to tradition.

We will start by defining what we mean by State, which does not correspond to the State in general, but only to the modern State, and more specifically, the types of comparative States within a competitive industrialized societies or markets.

#### **Definition:**

A State is a structured system with formalized interaction, which is part of the global social structure that meets the following requirements:

- 1. Develops and implements a set of formal, consistent standards that have a varying degree of generality and importance;
- 2. The standards are followed by the entire population occupying a given territory;
- 3. It ultimately relies on the use of force or physical coercion through formalized subsystems which have technical and material resources to impose its standards on a population living in a defined territory;
- 4. The standards relate to relationships prevailing in the socioeconomic structure, and to other parts of the global social structure;
- 5. The material means of the State system are obtained from the economic and social structure through taxes from a substantial proportion of the population and subsystems of society;
- 6. The material means are not the personal property of those who occupy positions within the State; and
- 7. Most of the positions within the State receive a fixed remuneration in cash.

There is a coherent set of formal rules or standards which are integrated in a logically related system. This system is not always explicit. Therefore specialized personnel are required for precise applications of standards. To maintain coherence between the various rules and regulations there is centralized control of various agencies. This mechanism assures coherence of the system of rules and regulations and facilitates resolution of conflicts. Where there is no consistency in a system, it is difficult to apply appropriate sanctions when the rules / standards are violated. This undermines the predictability of sanctions, and the functioning of the State apparatus and reinforcing relationships.

Further, the fact that the rules of the State are formalized assures their uniform application and predictability for members of society who are punished for prohibited behavior.

As for the overall importance of standards/rules, we provide some criteria. The degree of importance of a standard can be determined by the degree to which they are:

a. Strategic, for the interrelationship of elements of the structure;

- b. Relevant for the basic biological and social existence of the society's population;
- c. Significant for defining the qualifications of State citizenship and territorial boundaries.

To describe the extent of the generality of the standards/rules, we must focus on how they apply to various subsystems which include individuals and social and material objects. These various elements are interrelated in a certain way. These relationships are regulated by the context reference rules or standards.

The degree of generality of the rules/standards depend upon:

- a. The number of different types contexts to which the standard applies.
- b. The frequency with which the types of contexts to which the rule/standard applies are repeated in society.
- c. The number of different types of subsystems which are related structured contexts of the reference standard.

As we see, there are several criteria that are applied to determine the degree of importance and generality of standards. Thus, a rule can be general, but not very important, or may be important regarding criteria and not generally prevalent.

One type of rule or standard that is both important and generally prevalent is one that has to do with the ownership of the material means used to produce the goods required for the proper functioning of society. It constitutes a basic and general norm of the economic and social structure that has effects throughout the rest of the social structure. Its influence is so profound that many assume the tendency to have property is an instinct with which individuals are born. Here we consider the desire to have property as the result of a social relationship, which is reinforced by certain strategic and general State standards. We must clarify another issue related to state standards. Sanctions or rules apply to individuals, or their subsystems which have been defined in the standards as legal entities. Consequently, if the individuals do not act in accordance with the defined standard they incur a penalty. In this sense, ultimately the community or organization relies on State standards sanctions on individuals, rather than those of more complex subsystems. However, the content of such rules can refer to subsystems and other complex relationships (covered by the reference context of the standard).

The characteristics mentioned in the definition of the State are some essential features of the relevant State industrial companies which are in a competitive market. However they do not exhaust all parts of the structure.

### 2.6.1.3 Activities and functions of the State

Activities of the State towards the structure, can be divided into three categories:

- 1. **Strengthening activities**: These refer to those activities that tend to reinforce or support (in some cases change) the type of relationship (at various levels) of the economic and social structure, although it also applies to the ideal social complex, services and families. This follows, because the social structure works as a whole and its various parts are interdependent. With these activities, we are concerned with the maintenance (and in some cases change) of the qualitative features of the structure, or its operation as a whole, also in relationship with other structures.
- 2. **Regulatory activities**: They refer to those activities that do not affect the basic type of relationship, in its qualitative aspects, but tend to change their quantitative aspects or its functioning as a process. This includes, for example, the activities of the state to control inflation and stimuli to the development of certain types of private services (such as health), etc.
- 3. **Mainstreaming activities**: The State develops linkages to the subsystems which are parts of the structure. These parts include: The State education system, national health services, state banks, finance companies, construction, railways and state transport, etc.

Combining these activities of the State with the various parts of the structure to which they relate, we have the following possibilities:

| It applies to                | State Activity: |            |               |  |  |  |
|------------------------------|-----------------|------------|---------------|--|--|--|
| It applies to:               | Reinforcement   | Regulation | Incorporation |  |  |  |
| State                        | +               | +          |               |  |  |  |
| Material economic structure  | +               | +          | +             |  |  |  |
| Ideational complex           | +               | +          | +             |  |  |  |
| Services                     | +               | +          | +             |  |  |  |
| Families                     | +               | +          |               |  |  |  |
| Other relationships          | +               | +          |               |  |  |  |
| Structure as a whole         | +               | +          |               |  |  |  |
| Relation to other structures | +               | +          |               |  |  |  |

# Table I. Activities of the State

Regarding the first category on the left, it may seem unexpected that the State regulates and reinforces the same State, but this is necessary. The State needs to protect (strengthen) and adjust the structure of the State itself. For example, the performance of its staff must be regulated and its various subsystems reinforced to preserve its functioning as a unit.

State activities relating to the economic and social structure are of great importance, since it is this entity which provides the material elements for the functioning of the whole society. This does not minimize the importance of those activities for other parts of the structure. Reciprocally, the existence of each part of the structure presupposes the other, since, for example, the economic and social structure can not function without the necessary replacement of individuals who will participate in it (which occurs in families of households). Strengthening family relationships and each of the parts of the structure is important for the total structure.

Those activities that are common to all parts of the social structure and relations between them, are also those which are included in the activities applicable to the structure as a whole.

However, there are problems that we can not refer to any specific part of the structure, nor the structure as a whole, but relate to processes that, although influenced and framed by the structure, are not part of it. This is, for example, the movement of vehicles in a spatial context, which is regulated by the State under the provisions of transit. However, it is not independent of the social structure. Those who own or use vehicles occupy certain positions in the structure, the main activities of the flow of vehicles (companies, subsystems state, etc.) are part of the structure located in a spatial context. The relative frequency of movement of vehicles is determined by the periodic cycles of activity of the structure, which is very clear in the holiday period, etc. However, these activities are not properly part of the structure, but are conditioned by it and fall into the category of Table I: "other".

Among the various possibilities that are included in Table I, are several that do not exist. It would be absurd to consider incorporating all the activities of the State which are re-regulated and maintained by it. Another possibility that is not included, is the incorporation of families to the system-State, although in some ways it may incorporate the functions of a family in the form of children's homes and care services for homeless children, as well as state kindergartens. Two other situations not included in Table 1, for obvious reasons, is the incorporation of the structure as a whole and structures of other societies.

There is an issue arising from the fact that positions in the state are relatively more important than positions in various areas of the structure. When the State uses relationships inside the structure it is indirectly affecting positively the positions within itself. As an example, State strengthening relations of the social economic structure are contributing to an enhancement of State positions.

But the State also can benefit directly certain positions of the structure. This happens very often in matters of justice. The application of sanctions is softer in the case of the top positions of the structure. Thus, such top positions are doubly favored: on one hand, indirectly, from the State's strengthening of existing relationships, and further, with State granted legal or administrative privileges which accrue to those top positions. This is a very difficult trend to counter without profoundly changing the structure, and it is what we call "law of accumulation of privileges". Ultimately, a privileged position in the structure is doubly favored by the state.

We observed that the State standards are formalized and this fact facilitates uniform application and predictability of sanctions. This is necessary for the proper functioning of the economic and social structure. For example, the entrepreneur needs to know in advance what is and is not permitted by the State to organize enterprises in medium and long term. The formality of the rules and their integration into a system is logically consistent and is associated with the concept of justice and predictability of behavior. This fact assumes that both members of the State-system and the rest of society have the concept of order.

Strengthening standards, processes of regulation and incorporation apply to the various parts of the structure, other aspects of society related to the structure, and relations with other structures and societies. This has been entered in Table I. These activities may involve the application of a rule or set of rules and regulations that guide such activities. In this sense, the set of rules and regulations are organized, and applied through specific activities or contexts at a given moment of time. These objects or contexts belong to a part of the structure, and are in Table I.

In this sense, there is a clear distinction between objects or contexts to which the activity of the State is applied and is guided by rules and regulations of the protocol that regulates the generation and application of such standards. Regarding the generation and application of the rules we may distinguish different linked phases, which are the criteria for distinguishing the State functions. This, as we have seen, is an analytically separate problem of the object to which the activity guided by such rules applies. This is categorized in Table I.

From the point of view of the generation and application of the rules, we can distinguish:

- 1. **Legislative function**: The formulation and incorporation of the most general and important to the existing system standards.
- 2. **Executive and Administrative functions**: The formulation of specific rules and provisions and their daily implementation.
- 3. **Judicial and controlling function**: Monitoring compliance and compatibility between the standards, when there are doubts about its violation or consistency, and determination of the sanction or resolution to be applied.
- 4. **Criminal function, sanctions and use of force in general**: The application of the sanction, or the use of force:
  - a. For administrative bodies of the state (in the first case) [sanction].
  - b. By agencies of the State monopolizing the use of physical coercion (in the first and second case) [sanctions and use of force].

Penalties/sanctions ultimately include the possibility of physical coercion in case of resistance.

The characterization of an activity, such as use of force, can not be defined solely regarding various roles in the generation and application of the rules, but more importantly it refers to a relationship with the objects to which such rules apply (e.g. other organizations).

The analytical distinction between object or context to which the standard (Table I) is applied (the four functions discussed above) are expressed in the activity of incorporation. One phase is the formulation and promulgation of standards, managing them, the judgment of irregularities and application of penalties; and another, is the separate subsystem to which they apply, which is incorporated into the system-State. For example, the national health service subsumes all phases of the process of generating and applying the rules or standards. This separate process results in its analytically distinct character.

With the exception of the legislative function, the executive/administrative, judicial/control, and criminal functions are performed by structured, formalized, pyramidal systems in which there is a hierarchical structure of authority.

Executive and administrative functions depend on structured subsystems. Judicial and comptroller functions are supported by the judiciary and related organizations. The criminal function that provides sanctions and the use of force relies on the executive, police and military.

The executive branch usually has important legislative functions. Also, it will provide options for organizing the principal State activities listed in Table I for various ministries and subsystems.

In the case of Chile, strengthening and regulation activities aimed at the social and economic structure are located in the ministries of Finance, Economy, Mining, Agriculture and Transport. To mainstream activities aimed at the strengthening the economic and social structure, organizations such as the Corfo have been established; and to improve regulatory activities oriented to the same part of the structure, Odeplan was created.

As for strengthening, regulation and incorporation activities aimed at the ideal social complex, we have the Ministry of Education and autonomous bodies such as state universities. Also for mainstreaming activities to this complex, radio and television media owned by the state are established.

To provide strengthening activities, regulation and integration to health services, we have the Ministry of Health and the National Health Service. Similarly, we have the Ministry of the Family providing the same type of activities to the family.

As for protection and regulation activities aimed at other relationships, we have the Traffic Departments, and for strengthening and regulation activities oriented toward the structure as a whole, on problems of order and/or justice, we have the Ministry of the Interior and the Ministry of Justice.

Finally, regarding strengthening activities concerning relations with other global structures, we have the Ministry of Defense, and as for regulatory activities, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

Certain subsystems are linked to the above activities, but principally they raise financing for the material operation of the system-State. They are the Internal Revenue Service and Customs.

Thus, we see that the classification of activities outlined in Table I have concrete manifestations, which, in other organizations in different societies can take different forms than those in Chile.

#### 2.6.1.4 Types of States

We have seen that a fundamental part of the State administration is guided by general and specific rules. The management system is a structured, formal, pyramid. Being pyramidal, it is of decisive importance who occupies the top leadership positions, high level management, and some strategic intermediate positions. Since the state administration is a source of revenue and it oversees the implementation of important programs and services, it is also crucial that it include experts who can serve the Executive by enacting legislation, which makes the general and specific rules that guide the administration, and provide various alternatives.

There is another aspect of governance to consider. In the State, and more specifically within its various subsystems, activity is focused on the population of a given area. Territory is divided in various ways. There are various modes of articulation between the upper positions of the State Administration and the upper regional positions. There must be coordination between the State Administration and regional and local management on general and specific rules.

The State Administration is confirmed and receives consent of the governed in various ways. We can classify the types of State along this dimension. This has importance for the activities of the economic and social structures.

Therefore, we classify the State into various groups based on aspects of this dimension. Their groupings are:

- G1: The Government is ratified throughout its term by the legislature subsystem, which, in turn, is ratified by the electorate.
- G2: The Government is ratified directly by the electorate.
- G3: The Government has designated himself, or is designated exclusively by the previous government.

In G1 it is a parliamentary state. G2 is a presidential system. The distinction between parliamentary and presidential systems has been made before by classical organizational theorists. G3 has been added to account for various empirical cases, corresponding to another possible designation of the government. To be clear, the discussion regarding the form of government and the head of state is not because it is the criterion that distinguishes more clearly the different types of systems. Furthermore, we can differentiate governments by functions (e.g. judicial or penal functions) because they do not determine the content of the rules and regulations, but only control their application. To distinguish the character of the governmental system, we maintain that the generation and management standards, the judicial and penal mechanisms, are essential. However, they must adapt to the rules and provisions. Focusing the discussion on the various possibilities for the designation of the government has an underlying rationale. This is that the control of the government is vital for the realization of the interests of the various positions of the structure. In addition, because it relates to the generation and application of the rules that guide all activities of the state and which affect directly, the whole social structure. Basically the underlying reason is that the control of the government is vital for the realization of the interests of the various positions of the structure. This is because it relates to the generation and application of the rules that guide all activities of the State which affect directly, as we mentioned, the whole social structure. Furthermore, we must keep in mind that the control of the government is vital for the realization of the realization of the interests of the various positions of the structure. This is because it relates to the generation and application and that the control of the government is vital for the realization of the realization of the interests of the various positions of the structure. This is because it relates to the generation and application of the interests of the various positions of the structure. Furthermore, we must keep in mind that the control of the government is vital for the realization of the interests of the various positions of the structure. This is because it relates to the generation and application of the rules that guide all activities of the State and which affect directly, as we mentioned, the whole social structure.

## Two additional criteria that will be applied to classify governments are:

- L1: There is independent legislative subsystem (not designated by the Government).
- L2: There is no independent legislative subsystem.

This distinction is basic and does not constitute only a theoretical possibility, since it occurs in various empirical cases. It is worthwhile to discuss the importance of the legislative subsystem within the State. When there is no independent legislative subsystem, there may not be similar promulgation of standards and laws which is a defining characteristic of the State. We also must consider how strategic positions of administration are designated.

## Strategic positions of administration at various levels:

- P1: are designated by the upper positions.
- P2: these are to an appreciable degree autonomous designations.
- P3: are designated through consultation and / or ratification of grassroots organizations.

Within the State, the head of state, the highest positions in the hierarchy, and the intermediate positions in the administration, it is important to ensure that standards and rules are uniformly applied. Moreover, as Max Weber emphasized, the appointment of these positions is an important aspect of party politics. This is the reason to include this dimension. We have included the possibilities (P1 and P2) and the potential influence on the designations of elements outside the state (P3). The designation and ratification through grassroots organizations appear to be more related to the concept of democracy. This concept appears in almost all discussions of State administration.

We must consider whether activities of incorporation and regulation have a significant role in the State and society:

R1: Important.

R2: Secondary.

In the case of R1 it would be classified as an interventionist state. We have distinguished strengthening activities, regulation and incorporation. Strengthening activity is basic to the very definition of the State, without it the State is weak. From this point of view, in all types of state activity reinforcement is important. For this, there is only the possibility of differentiating the types of State in accordance with type of activities that vary most from one case to another, and these are those of regulatory and incorporation actions. This analysis can be placed under the criterion of the relations of the State and social structure which is of great importance.

# As for the relative autonomy of local and regional powers, we have the following possibilities:

- A1: There is relative autonomy of regional and local powers with regard to strengthening activities.
- A2: There is relative autonomy of regional powers and local powers regarding regulatory activities.
- A3: The autonomy of regional and local authorities is restricted with respect to all types of activity.

A1 is the case of a federal State; A2 of a regionalized unitary State, and A3 of a traditional unitary State court.

This analysis refers to an aspect that is basic and defining of the State, and this is the territorial dimension. No power of the State is limited to a given territory. With regard to territorial administration, the State may be subdivided (or not) in parts associated with particular regions or localities, which may have appreciable autonomy. This may complicate or simplify the widespread application of laws, and on the other hand, can allow or hinder the development of regions with their own structure. Strengthening activities express more fundamentally the primary nature of the State and, for this reason, the case is more pronounced in the Federal State autonomy. Where there is less autonomy, as in the unitary State, it is classified as an intermediate regionalized position.

All these dimensions can be combined with each other, resulting in different types of States. Each type resulting from the combination of dimensions, has special features which presume that social processes at the level of global society are affected differently by the different structure of the State. In turn, and even more so, the very functioning of the state will be different in either case. In the table below, (Table II) we are presenting the various possible combinations of the aforementioned dimensions.

# **Table II. Different Types of States**

|    |    | A1 |    | A2 |    | A3 |    |    |
|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|
|    |    | R1 | R2 | R1 | R2 | R1 | R2 |    |
| L1 | G1 | P1 | 1  | 2  | 3  | 4  | 5  | 6  |
|    |    | P2 | 7  | 8  | 9  | 10 | 11 | 12 |
|    |    | P3 | 13 | 14 | 15 | 16 | 17 | 18 |
|    | G2 | P1 | 19 | 20 | 21 | 22 | 23 | 24 |
|    |    | P2 | 25 | 26 | 27 | 28 | 29 | 30 |
|    |    | P3 | 31 | 32 | 33 | 34 | 35 | 36 |
|    | G3 | P1 | 37 | 38 | 39 | 40 | 41 | 42 |
|    |    | P2 | 43 | 44 | 45 | 46 | 47 | 48 |
|    |    | P3 | 49 | 50 | 51 | 52 | 53 | 54 |
| L2 | G2 | P1 | 55 | 56 | 57 | 58 | 59 | 60 |
|    |    | P2 | 61 | 62 | 63 | 64 | 65 | 66 |
|    |    | P3 | 67 | 68 | 69 | 70 | 71 | 72 |
|    | G3 | P1 | 73 | 74 | 75 | 76 | 77 | 78 |
|    |    | P2 | 79 | 80 | 81 | 82 | 83 | 84 |
|    |    | Р3 | 85 | 86 | 87 | 88 | 89 | 90 |

Regarding combinations L1G1 and L1G2, if there is no independent legislative subsystem (L1), it may not be possible for a parliamentary system (G1), or a presidential system in the traditional sense (L1G2). The L1G3 case is different. Here, the Government has a self-appointed or designated executive and therefore is not ratified either by the electorate or by the legislative subsystem. However, unlike L2G3, the executive is limited by the legislative enactment subsystem in general, and certain important provisions, although the influence of the legislative subsystem may be more apparent than real. However, in the various cases of Ll, unlike L2G3, there is a greater possibility of overt or explicit influence of the various political factions organized in the functioning of the state. Nevertheless, L2G3 can give this influence, albeit through various mechanisms, exerting pressure from outside rather than providing integration within the system. Even if there are no organized political factions putting pressure on the policy of the Government, L2G3, it may come from certain interest groups. Thus, it seems unrealistic to conceive of a State as independent of the various interests and tensions that exist in society.

The possible participation of political factions in the State for Integration (L1) has several consequences, both for the organization of political factions as to how the interests express themselves, and to resolve conflicts or tensions between the various interests. Pressure through exclusive participation (L2 cases) modifies the relationship between the expression of interest and the government. Ultimately, this activity affects the relationship between the expression of interest and those who are affected by the decisions. In L2G2, unlike L2G3, there is an instance (in the decision of the Government) that is open to the expression of diverse interests. However, to be truly representative this must be a set of circumstances that guarantee their actual representativeness.

Another issue to consider is: How much control political factions or interest groups exert on the apparatus of the State in the various possible administrative combinations? Control of one political faction or interest group against others in the State is lower in L1G1 and L2G2, than in L1G3. In turn, limited control of the State in L1G3 and L2G2 differs from the way that this limitation is exercised. In L1G3, it is through a legal system, and L2G2, through the electoral process. The legal system and the electoral process fulfill this function in these two cases and is limited, because there is not the whole process as L1G1 and L1G2. Moreover, in L1G3 and L2G2, the legal system and the electoral process generally have a role more apparent than real.

Finally, in L2G3 the power of the government allows control by the apparatus of the State with no formal counterweight, but this does not guarantee that the desired results are obtained. The state, in all cases L1G1 to L2G3, acts as part of the social structure within which objective processes occur (especially the socioeconomic structure), which can be modified according to the activity of the State in certain circumstances. For this reason, the action of the State may have unintended consequences for and impacts on the structure.

We should also consider that apart from the formal structure of the State, an informal structure may arise inside the State which amends decisions and rules adopted by top administrative positions.

It would be utopian to believe that the total functioning of the government and its consequences for the social structure are determined solely by the State.

We add the dimension P. In P2 are positions whose occupants are designated autonomously and therefore without input of the top positions. P3 influences in consultation with and / or ratification of grassroots organizations, and therefore there is a limitation of the decisions of the top positions, this time with an explicit influence of external organizations or subsystems to the State. These limitations, in another sense are an explicit source of external influence to the State, which interact with the electoral process and the legal system. Thus, in L1G1P3 and L1G2P3, the highest degree of formal limitation of the decisions of the top positions, and to a lesser extent L1G1P2 and LlG2P2, are given. Where the counterweight under the decisions of the top positions of the government is given at a formal level, it is in L2G3P1. The other cases are various intermediate variations between these poles, although they vary not only quantitatively, according to the "limiting the authority of the top positions of the Government and by external influences", but also qualitatively, according to combinations of various administrative arrangements.

Finally, we must consider the dimensions A and R.

In A) resides the relative autonomy of regional or local powers. In this case, the degree of influence of local interest on the activity of the State affecting those regions or territories in A1 is greater than A2 and in turn, A2 on A3. A functioning socio-economic structure and social structure may arise at poles of attraction as a result of uneven development. These processes occur in defined spatial contexts and are linked to the rest of society. This means that there can be an intense interplay of economic and social processes in a defined spatial context, and these may be somewhat weaker than in the rest of society. However, this is not uniform for all activities; mutual interaction can be be greater for certain activities than others. Moreover, certain spatial contexts can be characterized by the predominance of certain economic and non-economic activities, and certain types of social relations within these activities, as well as the predominance of certain interest groups arising from this situation. All this activity can make the dynamism of certain spatial contexts agree or conflict with the guidelines of the State. As we noted, the probability of influence of such local interests may be greater in A1 and A2. This influence can also occur in A3, but it should always pass through the central power, which the mediates it effects.

In A3, there is the possibility of the State applying uniform criteria even though it may go against the spontaneous tendencies of development of the various regions. This action could go against the local interests and could inhibit their development, or reorient them positively or negatively. In any case, it will occur but without an autonomous participation of regional and local authorities. The response of the State to local pressures and spontaneous processes of spatial development is more direct and flexible in A1 and A2, which means that this is not always positive for development. The spatial relocation of activities and resources, held by specific groups and the entire population, from one region to another, requires central coordination.

If external influences on the State (resulting in various outcomes) are more direct in L1G1P3 and L1G2P3, than in L2G3P1, the same will happen to the influence of regional and local interests. Thus, in L2G3P1A1 and L2G3P1P2,

these interests often make direct solicitation of the top positions of the State or try to make their demands by pressure. In L1G1P3A1, L1G2P3A1, L1G1P3A2 and L1G2P3A2 they can attain an explicit integration. However, this may happen through representative bodies at the local or regional level L2G3P1A1 and L2G3P1A2. When it happens P2, P3 and especially in the preceding cases (L2G3A1 and L2G3A2), this possibility can materialize through the same positions of the hierarchical structure of the administration. This will be done by designating positions at regional or local level autonomously, in consultation, or through grassroots organizations. In any case, even if this does not occur, the regional structure can give greater flexibility to local or regional administration.

Consider finally R, which describes the degree of involvement of the state in regulatory activities or incorporation. From this point of view, L2G3P1, having a strong government, may, however, refrain from intervening to the same degree as L2G3P1R2. Cases of R1 ( the interventionist state) show the possibility of using the state as an instrument of change, but this may also apply for interest groups or particular positions. The problem of agreement or disagreement of the interests of the various positions, and how they can be reconciled with majority or minority interests is also addressed here. If R1 is accompanied by G1 or G2, this may lead to acute and explicit social conflicts which can deeply affect the State, but they can also occur in the case of R2 in relation to those sectors that pose the need for intervention by the State. For G3, these tensions take on other forms (e.g. pressure).

Ultimately, all the possibilities analyzed in Table II are part of a central problem of organic forms and levels of the State as expressed by levels of tensions and solidarity between the various social positions. They reflect both local interests, group interests, and interests that include positions throughout society. As we tried to show, the particular structure that the State includes are channels through which it can expresses its authority in the social structure. Further, these channels also permit communication and the expression of interests from the social structure to the State.

The total number of possible combinations we have noted are ninety (see Table II), but they may not apply to all forms of the State which now exist. There are some combinations that might not correspond to any actual State. However, the 90 combinations are useful for analyzing the State and social structure in countries along the spectrum of competitive market economies to noncompetitive non-market economies. A test of the validity of our theoretical model will require empirical work that will be the task of another study.

## 2.6.1.5 Internal Differentiation of the State

A final issue that should be analyzed here is the internal differentiation of the State. In this analysis, we examine the subsystems included in the State complex.

We observe that the activity of the State is directed at various parts of the structure: the State itself, the socioeconomic structures, the ideational complex, services, families, other relationships, the structure as a whole, and other global structures. Its role (as shown in Table I) is reinforcement, regulation, and incorporation. The various functions of the State (legislative, executive and administrative, judicial, financial, legal sanctions, criminal prosecutions, and use of force in general) are applied to each of these activities. Our focus here is on the differentiation that occurs in each of these functions with respect to the activities. These differentiated parts are articulated subsystems.

In regard to the issue of functional differentiation and the extent to which it occurs in the activities varies according to the type of function. The greatest differentiation is in the executive and administrative functions. In the other main functions it is given almost exclusively a hierarchical differentiation and territorial jurisdiction (which is also found in the executive and administrative functions). This is expressed in general (there are exceptions); each of the subsystems belonging to the judiciary and comptroller and criminal function, sanctions and use of force generally target all types of activity of the State, and the overall structure and the territorial and hierarchical level that corresponds to them. Differentiations in the legislative subsystem do not include independent decision making. Decisions are made and have implications outside the legislative subsystem. They always consider the general social system. In this sense, this latter activity also covers all parts of the structure in its various interconnections with the State.

First, we will consider the legislative subsystem. Its primary relationship is with executive and administrative functions at the top level of the hierarchy, and also with the State administration. To understand the provisions and activity of the State administration we must consider the laws made in conjunction with the legislative subsystem. Moreover, the relationship of the State administration with the judicial function is given at all levels, as the judicial function verifies compliance or violation of the laws made by the legislative subsystem. Its coverage is national, and in the case of some federal systems, also regional.

Next we examine the judicial and comptroller function: The comptroller function is exercised at specific levels of the organization of the State, mainly regarding legislative activity, but also in relation to other subsystems of the State.

In the case of the judicial function, it is organized in hierarchically ordered subsystems, in which the highest subsystem has a national jurisdiction and the lower subsystem has a restricted territorial jurisdiction. The judicial function hierarchical organization addresses situations corresponding to the appropriateness of a decision on the violation of or compliance with certain laws and determination of sanctions. A higher court may revoke the decision of a lower court. The relationships between hierarchical levels are of this particular type and differ from these hierarchical administrative relationships that make decisions demanding activity at lower levels.

The hierarchical organization of the judicial function relates to the importance (in economic or social terms) of the matter which is judged. In certain cases, the higher levels of the judiciary have jurisdiction over legislative activities. Persons exercising the judicial function may be designated or elected in different ways, in different global societies. Regarding the criminal function, sanctions, and use of force in general, there are interconnections with various activities of the State, parts of the structure, and the structure as a whole.

With respect to sanctions in general, they do not constitute a subsystem, or a set of separate subsystems within the State. The integration occurs in specific subsystems. It is in terms of materials and technical means of physical restraint. These are articulated subsystems, specialized in the use of force.

One can establish a basic distinction as to whether they are aimed at a criminal function or use of force in general. The procedure followed in the use of force sometimes differ greatly from the public perception of it. Also the use of force differs with regard to its application to private companies, public institutions, groups, or individuals. In times of crisis all subsystems that monopolize the use of physical coercion can be used within society.

The penalty function consists of several articulated subsystems that can be applied to the criminal function, and also the use of force in other circumstances. It is subordinate to the upper positions of executive function. Further, it is linked to a set of subsystems exercising the judicial function. Therefore it is subordinate to the higher positions of executive function linked to the judicial activities.

The subsystems exercising the criminal function are hierarchical. They are classic bureaucratic formal organizations. There are superordinate and subordinate positions. In addition, there is a parallel spatial hierarchy with subsystems that have national jurisdiction and then subsystems that have territorial jurisdiction which are increasingly restricted in size so that they can serve smaller territorial units.

The linked subsystem exercising the use of force in general is also organized hierarchically, and is subordinate to the upper positions of the executive. However it is subdivided into specialized branches which are defined by the type of coercion. Each branch has its own hierarchy which is subordinate to a higher position, that, in turn, is subordinate to the top position or top executive positions.

We still refer ultimately to the executive and administration. The top position is constituted by the head of government, and in many cases also by a specific subsystem. Then, down in the hierarchy, the subsystems that update the executive management function are divided according to the part of the structure (State, economic and social structures, ideal social complex, services, households, the structure as a whole), other relationships, and other structures that guide their activity (see table I). Note that even with respect to a portion of the structure (especially the economic and social structure) subdivisions are made according to the dimension of the substructure to which activity is directed.

In turn, each of these large link subsystems is subdivided into complex subsystems according to whether it is a strengthening activity, regulation, or incorporation, and according to the sector dimension of the structure to orient activity. In this connection, sets of subsystems may be characterized by the following combination of activities:

A. Reinforcement.

- B. Regulation.
- C. Strengthening and regulation.
- D. Incorporation.
- E. Regulation and incorporation.
- F. Reinforcement, regulation and incorporation.

It is clear that the higher levels within each of the major subdivisions of the administration share decisions about strengthening, regulation and, where appropriate, incorporation.

For sets of subordinate subsystems within each of these subdivisions there are large differences in the predominance of one of the alternatives from A to F.

In this regard, all the activities of reinforcement or regulation (alternative A, B, C, E and F), may be in a subdivision, linked to the hierarchical differentiation, which fixes the level in the hierarchy and gives them territorial jurisdiction. From this perspective, they will be subordinated to the Government subsystems and the upper positions of the major subdivisions of the administration. However they will be superordinate relative to other subsystems that depend on the national judiciary. They can then be coupled with the declining hierarchy, in territorial jurisdictions.

Finally, regarding the built subsystems (alternative D), it may, but not always, have a territorial differentiation along the hierarchical differentiation. There could be cases of incorporated subsystems that are not distinct territorially or not having a defined geographic coverage. Finally, we must consider the last part of the administration. It has local power organs that can not be subordinated to the hierarchy of the executive directly. The possible contradiction between this local power and the executive power is solved by assigning a restricted type of activities as local powers, which do not conflict with the dependent activities of the executive. Although there can be no direct subordination, there is a division of tasks, which are dependent on the basic aspects of the executive, and the specific activities of the local authorities.

This completes an outline of the internal subdivision of the State apparatus. It will adopt specific features depending on the type of State that is being studied.

It is clear that certain control subsystems within the State will have different impacts according to the type of function in question, level of the hierarchy, and type of State. The importance of control of the parts and subdivisions of the State by different interests also vary according to their position in the global social structure they represent.

Finally, to complete this analysis of the structure of the State, we must complete a dynamic study of the processes of permanence and change in the global social structure and show its impact on the State. Our analysis is intended as an initial step in a theory of the structure of the State.

# 2.7 Power And Social Classes

## 2.7.1 Social Power and Interests

This section is focused on the concept of power. Power is a particular form of relationship of individuals or groups of individuals with their interaction contexts. Therefore, it depends on: a. the individual or group of individuals; b. the characteristics of interaction contexts; c. the resources available in the interaction context; and d. the position of individuals or groups of individuals in the context of the interaction within a particular environment.

We define the social power as the ability of individuals or groups of individuals to assert their interests in the context of interaction. The term social power implies that the behavior of individuals or groups of individuals in a given context achieve more of their objective interests. The exercise of power can result in not only in an improved position of the individual or group of individuals in a particular interaction context, but also an enhanced position in other interaction contexts that interface with the first context through individual reference or other social processes. When this situation occurs, it is called external social power. When it does not occur, it is called inner power. The concept of social power is linked to interests, objectives, and manifestos. We have defined these concepts as:

"interest objectives." Specifically, the concept refers to the set of objects (physical and social, real and symbolic) to which an individual in a position aspires to obtain, and through individual or collective action appropriates.

Furthermore, the objective interests consist of a set of objects which are accessible to an individual in a defined social position who alone, or with others, takes action to obtain them because they provide the highest level of benefits available in a particular context.

Manifest interests are the interests which are conceptualized or perceived by individuals. Persons see them as accessible from their social position, provided that they execute sequences of purposeful acts to appropriate them. Also, these actions are motivated by the perception that the manifest interest objects will provide high levels of benefits.

Here we must state some caveats or limitations. The description of the "objective interests" is a theoretical construct of what those interests could be. It may differ from the "manifest interests." Individuals who are discovering their "objective interests" should expand their awareness of the situation they are in and analyze courses of action. This means taking on an active and creative role. Objective interests are not determined from outside and imposed on individuals even if others disagree with their manifestos / goals. More appropriately, mentors should accompany and help others as they discover their objective interests. In working with individuals or groups we must support their legitimate manifest interests. This mentoring is especially important with vulnerable subjects. With vulnerable individuals, we must raise awareness, but not impose a course of action from outside. People are entitled to play an active and creative role. They should not be an object of political action. Instead, they should be supported to realize their self-determination.

It is also important to recognize that many people in a social context have common interests because they occupy similar positions. However, "common interests" are not the same as "collective interests." To have a "collective interest" we must organize people in a community.

The ability of an individual to further their interests and exercise power depends on the interaction systems in which they participate, positions that they occupy, and their personal characteristics and behaviors. To understand power, we must analyze the interaction system where power is exercised. Thus, the power of the head of household is different in the family than the company where he or she works; but they are connected, because the income received by working increases power in the family.

## 2.7.2 Social Class Status

As previously noted, class position is determined by the relationships of the position occupant to the organization of production, distribution and appropriation of the economic surplus and participation in trade, finance and consumption of goods and services. To determine the interests of a class position means to locate the class position in the relational and dynamic context of the social structure baseline to which it belongs. To define social class status we do not rely on the concept of stratification and higher or lower classes. Instead, we focus on class relations within the organization of the global social structure. To use this definition, we must first describe the global social structure, including its parts and relationships, and then discuss classes. The first question is "how many classes are there and how can they be distinguished from each other."

The first distinction we can make is between those who produce and those who live off of the appropriation of the surplus. However, this is not entirely correct, because it does not reflect the complexity of the relationships.

Within the economic material structure, the surplus product produced by workers (from the least skilled worker, to the most sophisticated engineer) does not wholly go to the industrial, mining and/or agriculture capitalist, because part goes to the commercial capitalist, and the financial capitalist and land owners. On the other hand, commercial and financial capitalists pay their employees with part of the surplus product obtained. Moreover, the large economic groups appropriate part of the surplus product of capitalists using the strategic power they have in the economy.

The large capitalists also share a part of the surplus product they obtain with their executives. We must also consider household production on farms, and independent small business owners who produce goods, but do not have a "boss." In this case, it is possible that a portion of the created economic value is through those marketed products.

In our continuing analysis of social classes, we assume that they vary according to the specific company in which individuals and their positions are situated and the international economic relationships which influence them.

We also must keep in mind that both selling labor in the ideational complex and through personal services produce value.

What we try to show is that what is important in our view is not a simple class arrangement according to the prestige, authority or income, but actual class relations, which requires a description of the specific structural relationships considered. The number of classes that can be identified depend on the detailed analysis and purpose of the study and the social and economic reality considered. Turning to the issue of class interests, as we have shown in the analysis of the global social structure, that the ideational complex usually emits ideas that have an ideological content (which have to do with class interests). Further, classes require different services and include families that must be maintained. To support our theoretical analysis, we will give some case studies. We begin with the ideological content in the newspaper industry:

#### An independent daily:

- belongs to mass media in which most companies have a strong ideological position;
- b. the funding source of the newspaper is through paid advertising from large economic enterprises, in this case we are referring to the owner;
- c. journalists will protect interests of those who finance them;
- d. journalists writing editorials will have a stronger ideological position than writers of subordinate lower rank, e.g. a sports reporter;
- e. in a repressive society, the ideological position of the reporter takes on even greater importance.

In this case, we have a company that produces profit and private property. Its positions are class positions. However, the journalist, being a worker, defends interests that ideologically are not supportive of most workers. The newspaper has financial links with big capital and because the "production" of the newspaper company has ideological content its relations of authority are subordinate to those who control the company.

### There are other "special" cases:

A doctor who cares for the health of powerful people tends to share their interests. In services, as a means of social control, one's ideology is important. This is very significant for high positions of major health organizations because the officials can guide policies.

The children and spouse of the medical doctor belong to his/her social class, although such members may take a different ideology as a result of their own life experiences.

We define strata as sets of individuals who occupy similar positions in the State, the ideational complex, and the public or private service sector. They may have similar interests and political predispositions which are defined in relation to the different interests of the dominant political representatives in the State. Also, members of a particular social strata share an ideological orientation which they obtain through participation in a political party or labor union. For the analysis of strata, as in the case of classes, it is necessary to analyze the specific structure and relationships. Strata can be described using broad criteria.

Other special cases regarding class interests are the high positions of the executive and legislative branches of the State democracies. Their interests coincide with those of classes and groups that they represent. This situation

has inherent contradictions and tensions because a representative or head of state may defend or promote various interests. They represent the party that elected and/or supported them. In any case, the strata analyzed will depend on the purpose of the study and the reality considered. It is not necessary to analyze all of them here.

We have defined the class position as the position held in the organization of production, distribution and appropriation of the economic surplus, trade, finance and consumption of goods and services in society. In this sense, the classes are closely tied to the economic dimension, but as we have seen, the various parts of the social structure are interdependent and, therefore, to identify the interests and the problem of the power of these classes the economic dimension is not sufficient.

In our societies, valuable material comes from the capitalist income structure, and therefore is based on private ownership of businesses and gaining profit. Consequently, the economic surplus is in the hands of the capitalists. But the problem is not so simple. The type of capitalist differs according to how the economic surplus is extracted. To obtain surplus through financial interest loans or trade would lead to at least three types of capitalists: the production capitalist, the banker, the financier, retailers (including supermarkets and department stores), and landlords. But even here the problem is more complex, since department stores also act as financiers, giving customers credit to buy their goods. Also, transport and presentation and preservation of food products add value. Further, the interests of the employees are linked to those of their capitalist employers. For example, both will favor economic expansion of the company. Moreover, at the level of big business there is an interweaving of various types of capital in large economic groups. National economies through globalization are intertwined with enterprises and transnational groups. When we try to define "working class" conceptually we see that at least in the short term, their interests are far from homogeneous. The concept breaks down when workers are given managerial roles.

But to maintain or increase capital, capitalists, despite their heterogeneity, and workers, with their regulations require the State to protect them and increase their respective power. For the interests of workers, the content and practice of labor laws is important. Similarly, economic regulation measures that can help or hurt certain capitalist sectors are significant. Among the positions in the State (strata) there are political appointees, who defer to popular sentiment but also differ according to income, authority and power, and their support for the pursuit of profit in capitalist organizations.

Financial services, such as pension funds or health services can be financed by the State or be capitalist, and based on profit. This differentiates the interests of their incumbent managers. The interests of the employees of a public clinic do not match with those of an expensive private medical practice because their earnings depend upon their attention to different social classes. Similar differences in the class interests of managers and workers occur between those producing luxury consumer goods versus consumer necessities. It is likely that the political class awareness of the public sector physicians differs, for example, from doctors who only work in the private sector.

With regard to the ideational complex, there is a double dimensionality: economic and ideological, because what they produce has ideological content. The mass media are financed by big capitalist advertisers and the state. The vast majority of those who work in mass media for the State have ideological independence. The education system is socialized into the dominant ideology and, to a lesser extent, in alternative ideologies. The private educational system which depends on tuition provides a degree of pluralism, allowing, though not guaranteeing training that considers a spectrum of interests including those of vulnerable groups in society.

Families are centers of consumption and primary socialization, so the standard of living of children and youth within them depends on the adults of the family, and their interests are linked to it. This justifies considering the family as a unit from the point of view of the classes, which is not excluded from conceptual problems if different members of it belong to different classes.

The class interests of family members are linked to the positions they occupy in the social structure and are not fixed. Moreover, the social structure is dynamic and their positions in the structure may also vary. Therefore, to determine the class interest at a given time, it is necessary to analyze the structural situation at that time.

We have seen that the realization of the interests of social classes is closely linked to the action of the State. To modify the action of the State there must be social movements and empowered political parties, which represent the class interests of the majority. Major shifts in power and achievement of social classes are not common. Class conflicts are rooted in the sense that on important occasions achieving the interests of one or more classes must be at the expense of the interests of other classes. This results in antagonistic interests. It should also be noted that the action of the State does not always have class content. It can benefit groups, social groups or individuals without including a class or class fraction.

There are sectors of society that are in special situations due to their employability in the economic system, socialization in countercultural values, or they are dispossessed from their socioeconomic class (e.g. intellectuals and artists). Historically this group has been characterized as "lumpen."

(1) There are people and groups who have precarious jobs, either because they are temporary (e.g. as agricultural wage labor), seasonal, or they do not have a secure contract. Also, there are others who have stable employment at a very low level and receive a minimum wage. All of these workers would be experiencing some degree of social exclusion, due to their restricted access to goods and services, social and cultural capital, and frequently social security and protection of the State. Thus, they do not have economic, social and cultural power.

(2) There are other groups who are excluded due to the way they obtain their livelihood. These are the sectors that earn their income with informal activities such as street trade. They evade accounting controls and taxes of the State. They are not completely "out" of the system because they get their goods from the "chinks" in the formal trade (e.g. damaged or low quality goods). However, they compete with the formal trade market. Yet they evade police checks, are involved in unstable activities, and do not enjoy protection of the State with regard to normal contracts. Such activities constitute the informal sector, which is largely unregulated.

(3) Another group, prostitutes, whose activity, if not illegal, is strongly rejected by society.

(4) There is a fourth excluded category, which consists of groups that derive their livelihoods through activities guided by rules of the criminal counterculture. These groups are persecuted by the law and their activities of "selling" goods and providing services do not constitute actual work. They are not "out" of the system because they regularly interact with their victims, who are part of the system. Criminals of all types of countercultural groups such as, for example, drug cartels, bank robbers, and swindlers, consume goods and services and have an interaction with the State of antagonism and conflict. There are two aspects of exclusion which apply here - i.e. internal and external. What we have called internal factors are those associated with the desire to continue committing crimes to the victim. Often this is associated with the family context, which encourages crime or does not provide a positive psychological support person. There are also links, in terms of emotional or primary relationships with other offenders of the gang, in the neighborhood. Without an intervention to modify the negative effects of these contexts for the subject, such as plans to support, provide guidance, and help solve family problems, educational activities and alternatives will be fruitless. Many support efforts focus exclusively on the juvenile subject and emotional, or primary relationships with other offenders of the neighborhood gang, but they have limited success.

(5) Indigents living by begging are in another excluded category. Among the people living in this situation, there is a link with society, given that the alms they receive are from other members of society and they consume goods produced and distributed by other members of that society. Here you can distinguish different subgroups: a) people who live by begging temporarily, and b) people living permanently by begging. People in this situation are included in the categories below: persons who live by begging and dwell in homes of more than one person (for example, single women with children, couples, disabled, etc.); c) persons who live alone and dwell in a room; and d) persons who live by begging on the streets and are homeless. In the latter case, there are frequent problems of alcoholism, drug addiction or mental disorders that have led to the destruction of the links with the homes and families from which they come. If they are homeless, they often do not appear registered in national or regional censuses.

It is observed that the outcome of social relations objectives are internalized by social actors and are incorporated into their consciousness. Further, they form the bases of their perception of social reality resulting in their definitions of roles, norms and values (Berger and Luckmann, 2001). This internalized symbolic reality is reflected in the dominant ideology, which may have contradictions and partial ideologies or sub-ideologies. They come from sectors, social categories, and individual groups, in various forms, as social representations of groups or categories. As the norms and values of the dominant ideologies are partially accepted by the subordinate classes, some of whose interests are antagonistic with those of the ruling classes whose domination justifies speaking of symbolic violence (Bourdieu, 2003). They also help to maintain a contrary subordination to the interests of the subordinate classes. This can stimulate actions that change or improve the state of subordination of those classes. This can be manifested in political, trade union or social movement participation that favors their interests. Also, it may further the adoption of political positions contrary to their objective interests. Another form of expression is of individualistic values which undermine class solidarity and are contrary to structural aspects of their subordination. As we see, given the power of the State to maintain class relations (apart from the power of reproduction of the same economic structure), it is natural to link the symbolic violence at the political level. It is manifested in voting in elections, trade union involvement, and apathy toward social movements that favor their interests and democratizing processes.

A major problem, apart from its political dimension, is the forms of generational reproduction of social classes, in the sense that an individual who is born into a social class is likely to remain in it. This process has been studied by Bourdieu in various works. We assume that being born into a family of a certain social class, a person has a certain primary socialization, access to a type of education, links with people in their class (social capital), and have recognized academic background (cultural capital) and financial resources (economic capital), which facilitates remaining as an adult in the class with more or less power. Moreover, social practices and predispositions differ according to social class. This fact influences social reproduction. The excluded sectors that we have listed in numbers (1) to (5), find it difficult to overcome their situation and change to class sectors which are most benefited from the system. In this sense, generationally they tend to reproduce within excluded sectors, such as the criminal counterculture. Another concept, "social exclusion," like as social classes, is linked to the concept of power.

The concept of social class includes the relations between the classes and considers how society is organized globally in terms of production, distribution and consumption, and in terms of both the economic and social, ideological and territorial aspects. Disrupting power relations of the ruling classes means an overall change of the system. There are classes and other social sectors (such as those based on gender differences and sexual orientation, physical or mental disability, and place in the workforce) who have situations which have limited social power. Their situation is also structural, however, they can improve without eliminating the privileged classes. For example, there can be profound changes, such as has occurred in the situation of women. However, this has not required that all relations of production, exchange and distribution be modified. The historic experiences with gender and roles show us that social changes within a class system can improve and reduce the subordination of women.

In this sense the notion of exclusion and inclusion has been linked in origin to the welfare state or the loss of the welfare state, which does not deny its capitalist nature. There are situations of specific exclusion of those who do not understand the concept of social class and that means a real drama for them. They suffer both from the State and discrimination in their community. However, there can be small beneficial changes without destroying the ruling classes. Coercive treatment in mental health can evolve or change radically, while the influence of transnational groups remains in the economy. One does not have to wait for radical systemic transformative changes to support democratic changes of inclusion.

## 2.7.3 Class Interests and Interests: Theoretical Analysis

Jorge Chuaqui & James G. Linn

#### 2.7.3.1 Analysis of the Concept of Interactions and Social Needs

One of the criticisms that Giddens (Giddens, 1983) makes of the Marxist approach is the ambiguity of the concept of class interests. We want to delve into this concept and the general concept of social interests.

We must begin by clarifying the concepts of social interaction and necessity, since they are linked to social interests.

The concept of interaction used by Parsons (Parsons, 1951) is a relationship of complementarity and mutual expectations in the relationship, that is, a relationship that both individuals are aware of and which directs their behavior towards the other. It presumably is guided by norms that both share. We do not think that these types of complementary interactions encompass all possible types of interactions. Let's look at this through an example: A person in China places the minute hands in the manufacture of a wall clock, or more precisely, he makes a movement of his arms with a tool to adjust them to the body of the clock. Another person, in Chile, looks at the time on the same Chinese wall clock and remembers that he must rush to a meeting with a client in a cafe. The person who looked at the time greets his client at the cafe. The client shakes his hand. The act of adjusting the minute hand to the Chinese worker's clock and the act of the client shaking hands (in Chile) already described, constitute an interaction, in this case very indirect, but if we leave out this type of interaction, we are not including the social interactions that occur in the economic market. Therefore, we will call the relationships that Parsons describes as "intersubjective interactions," bearing in mind that they do not include all types of social interactions.

We assume that the social interactions in general which a person participates are motivated by their desire to satisfy their needs, fully or partially. Ultimately, we are social animals. We use the concept of need in a broad sense since human beings are socially modeling biological and psychological needs. It is possible to satisfy them with very different types of objects; i.e. the pleasure of adjusting to a norm, feeding oneself, advancing a political ideal or goal, etc. Personal needs can be satisfied not only by material objects, but also and to a high degree by social and symbolic objects.

Unlike Parsons, we do not assume that intersubjective interactions are symmetrical. Parsons maintains that the duties of the first person in a relationship to the second are the rights to the second and vice versa. In this way the positions in the relationship are complementary. Weber (Weber, 1997) from a different perspective points out that the poverty status with the discrimination that it involves leaves them in a subordinate position, which is also a lower status. From that point of view, status includes not only rights but also limitations and degradations. The status of being "poor" is one of the clearest subordinate statuses, but in almost all cases there are major or minor asymmetries. Complementarity means mutually exchanged behaviors. Subordinate positions can only satisfy individuals' needs to a lesser extent.

#### 2.7.3.2 Interests

The concept of interests refers to the set of objects, (material and social, real and symbolic) to which a subject would have access if they successfully occupy a social position. These various objects once obtained satisfy their needs.

If we consider that in every social relationship there is a certain degree of asymmetry, this means that by participating in the relationship, the participants' needs are not satisfied to the same extent. Consequently in many cases the greater satisfaction of one individual or group implies a reduction of the satisfaction of needs of the other participants (antagonistic relationships). Strengthening the relationship makes it difficult to satisfy the subordinate pole. From this point of view, in many complementary relationships there is a tension between the participants' interests and the complementarity of the relationship.

We will exemplify this with two types of relationships in something that is often shown as a harmonious whole, the basis of society: families. Supporting "family harmony" can often mean reinforcing tension between competing interests. Even cooperative relationships in the family can manifest tensions due to some partial contradictions of interests. Considering the family as the center of consumption, the distribution of the family budget can give rise to partial conflicts of interest among its members. In cases of death of people in families, frequent conflicts arise over inheritance matters.

Our societies are changing and previously invisible interests are emerging. There has been a criticism of Patriarchalism which is still common as a cultural guideline (norms) in our societies. This means that the subordination of women to men is an important dimension in relationships within families. Two important areas of potential conflict are an equitable allocation of the family budget and acceptance of the male head of household the wider role of women in society. These conflicts of interest are also manifested in forms of violence and physical, sexual and verbal abuse towards women. Now, one issue is the detection of the conflict of interest between marital partners, and another is the transformation, or rupture of the patriarchal relationship, which would require obtaining support and alliances to achieve it.

Another example of conflict of interests in families occurs in the case of mental health treatments. One of the strongest social stigmas in society that results in discrimination occurs with mental illness. In the case of seri-

ous mental illness such as schizophrenia, when relationships in society are broken, the patient is isolated. Often, the only remaining source of support is from the family. Efforts are made to adapt the individual to society. When patients are asked about their most important desires, the most prominent among them is the desire to work for a wage. A good quality job which provides sufficient income so that they can live independently is their goal. This provides the possibility of financing their own family and gives them a certain degree of autonomy in decisions regarding their own life. In the family of someone with schizophrenia, too often they have accepted the stigma of mental illness. They deny the possibility of the development of the patient. This leads to overprotection and disregard for the patient's work capacities. In this way the patient remains cloistered in the family, in a subordinate position and experiences a conflict of interest.

## 2.7.3.3 Social Classes

Before discussing class interests, we must make our conception of social classes explicit. We will explain our concept of social class. To adequately do this, we must first describe our theoretical model of social structure. The structure is composed of the Basal Social Structure, with the following interacting parts:

- 1. **The economic-material structure**: provides material products, or their temporary use, and financial resources to all members of society and to itself.
- 2. **The state**: develops and applies rules supported by the use of legitimate physical and economic coercion, for members of society and for itself. It draws taxes from the other parts of the social structure and finances all or part of essential services such as health and education.
- 3. **The ideational complex**: creates, disseminates and teaches with a system of sanctions and evaluations, systems of ideas, in verbal, written, audiovisual, auditory and visual form, which are for the members of the other parts of the structure and for itself. Also, through language and other symbols, it provides secondary socialization to the population, through education and other forms of formal communication.
- 4. **The services**: provide tangible work to members of other parts of the structure and to themselves. With these services, people's biological and social needs are met and they perform adequately in other parts of the structure.
- 5. **The families**: reproduce the workforce, serve as a center of consumption, and working through kinship relationships, provide basic socialization and psychological and emotional support to their members through primary relationships.

There are also the Derivative Organizations: Derivative organizations are those entities that seek to make the interests of members who belong to certain basal institutions prevail and who share common or similar interests due to their position in one or more dimensions, or because they have other common characteristics in the structure. They include, among others, trade unions, business organizations, professional associations, territorial organizations, youth organizations, political parties, ecological organizations, etc.

All these organizations, basal and derived, are related in the social, economic, territorial and symbolic-ideological dimensions.

People obtain an income for their "task" participation in one of the parts of the social structure. They may be in positions of greater power, such as a majority shareholder belonging to a large economic group, or they may be the last subordinate of the company, or they may be in intermediate positions. Further, they could be a manager of a state company or director of a public hospital, or serve as an intermediate employee performing minor administrative tasks or in charge of daily cleaning. At the bottom end is the homeless person. It is not the same (in terms of interests) to be the Director of a large public hospital financed by the State (through taxes) as the Director of a large private clinic. Even in the hypothetical case that they receive the same income, since their objective interests derive from occupying one or another very different social position. On the other hand, the objective interests of the wife and children of a great capitalist are very different from those of the wife and children of a postal worker. From this point of view, the class position would be given by the position that is occupied in the organization of the production, distribution and appropriation of the economic surplus. The interests of a class position means placing the class position in the relational and dynamic context of all relevant aspects of the basal social structure to which it belongs. However, it is necessary to distinguish between the interests of the individual members of a social class and those that are common to the set of class positions or class fraction as a social category. From this point of view, we are against the simplifications introduced by simplistic disclosures that have occurred in current Marxism. In some elementary cases it will be enough to consider occupation, in other cases to distinguish whether it is productive or financial services, but all this must be done after a structural relational analysis. As the family is the center of consumption, it appears obvious that the interests of the family coincide with those of the member providing the family income, but the problem remains to be explained. What happens if there is another member of the family with the same labor income in another place and position of the social structure? They are problems to which there are no fixed answers. In some elementary cases it will be enough to consider occupation, in other cases to distinguish whether it is productive or financial services, but all of this should be done after a structural relational analysis.

Continuing with our analysis, we need to comment on the recent work of the American sociologist Erik Olin Wright (Wright, 2015). He distinguishes three approaches to class analysis on which we agree in some respects:

- **Individual attributes**: Consider the demographic characteristics and conditions of life. Theories of social stratification.
- Exclusive access to opportunities: Take into account that certain positions have the possibility of accessing valuable economic life opportunities; while these advantages are not available to occupants of other positions. Weberian tradition.
- **Domination and exploitation**: Certain economic positions allow individuals to control the lives of others. Marxist tradition.

Our approach connects with the second and third approaches, that is, it is a relational approach. The first approach mentioned by Wright is developed at length by Bernard Barber in his work Social Stratification (Barber, 1964). We see the usefulness of this approach for public opinion studies, marketing, etc. But our approach is relational, that is, rather than focusing on the characteristics of class categories, we define classes by the relationships between them and with the rest of the social structure.

We also agree with the position that it is important to differentiate classes with regard to their ability to exercise domination and exploitation. However, we go beyond differentiating and establishing relationships with the ownership or non-ownership of the means of production and introduce a differentiation that better accounts for the complexity of property relationships. Based on an analysis of the work of Marx, Capital (Marx, 1965), we refer to the property relations that allow the appropriation of surplus or surplus value, including financial, commercial and land rent activities and other types of income. These are all relationships that in their pure type do not create value but allow the appropriation of part of the surplus, without excluding the complex relationships with the capital of the Chilean corporations. The reason for extending the analysis is because the immediate interests of these workers and financiers cannot be strictly classified with regard to the exploitation of workers' labor in an industry. This is an aspect in which our vision enriches the precision of the analysis.

In addition, when analyzing the economic dimension at the national and international level, our approach, by not focusing exclusively on relationships within companies, allows us to put in the foreground, the power of the largest economic groups and transnational companies, which not only have power within their companies but even more so in society. The power situation of this elite class is not reflected in surveys; for example, the work of Bourdieu (1983), because due to their small number they do not appear in community samples. However, they can be studied when we model the economic and social relations in society. Another very important aspect is the relationship of the classes and class fractions with the State and derived organizations and, within them, the political parties.

In our approach, by distinguishing different dimensions, we can link the characteristics of the classes with the territory, which is useful for targeting social policies aimed at the different classes. In addition, by conceptualizing society as a set of interrelated parts, the families of the classes, with greater or lesser economic power are assumed to receive differentiated services from companies and service people (from the ideational complex and non-ideational services).

A weakness of our approach is that we do not distinguish a large number of class fractions, because we group class categories according to the objectives of the investigation.

#### 2.7.3.4 Class Interests

Class positions depend on the position in the economic dimension. But their interests occur not only in the economic dimension but in all dimensions; e.g. social, territorial and ideological symbolic, and in their relations with the other parts of the basal social structure. They also depend on the situation of the company or enterprise in the period considered, and also on the period of time considered, whether in the short, medium or long term. Rather than being an ambiguous concept, it is multidimensional and must be limited according to the contexts considered.

#### Interests may vary:

- 1. According to the situation of society;
- 2. According to the class fraction (s) considered;
- 3. According to the territorial context considered, region, country or international context;
- 4. According to the period of time considered, short, medium or long term;
- 5. According to the scope of needs that is considered;
- 6. According to the support of different social forces that make it possible through collective actions to reach or not reach the material, social or symbolic objects that constitute the interests.

#### Consider for example the owners of small commercial businesses:

- 1. Their interests will be different if it is a stable period, within the "social explosion", or the pandemic of the corona virus;
- 2. It is different if it is only this sector of commerce or if they are grouped with the owners of all types of commercial companies, including supermarkets and department stores, with which there may be conflicts of interest;
- 3. It will vary by region, city or country in general;
- 4. It will vary according to whether your immediate interests are considered, in a longer period or it is a long-term period, such as a future more just society;
- 5. It will vary if it concerns financial maintenance needs, access to health or educational services, etc.; and
- 6. To be achievable interests depends on the strength of social movements to achieve them, support from political parties or representatives and the State in general.

In all these senses, the impression of ambiguity of the concept of class interests is due to its multifaceted character, since we think that by contextually limiting it, it can have a more precise use.

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# 2.8 Social Exclusion

David Mally and Ruby Parraguez

## 2.8.1 A Historical Review of the Concept of Social Exclusion

To find the origins of the concept of social exclusion, we must read the works of the classic figures of sociology. The term social exclusion (SE) did not originate with Durkheim or Marx; but these theorists diagnosed the problems of the societies of their time. They applied the concepts of "deviant" or "alienated," which were based on different epistemological positions, and explained certain social phenomena. Through their works, they contributed to an explanatory model which included the logic of social exclusion "inside / outside" (Jimenez, 2008).

According to Rizo (2006) and Fabre (2002), the historical context in which the concept of social exclusion (SE) arose was postwar Europe. In the post World War II era, capitalism was restructured as noted by the authors. As a result of this restructuring, there was a transformation of the public apparatus and a rethinking of the State which became a benefactor of social status. Thus, the concept of SE owes its origin to some extent to the changes implemented in the model of capitalist development in the second half of the twentieth century.

In 1957, Father Joseph Wresinski used the concept of exclusion in describing relief movement misfortune. He focused on what is now known as the Fourth World. This concept had the function to explain the situation of the poorest groups in society. However, it was René Lenoir in 1974, who more specifically defined the concept as including withdrawal of social benefits and restriction from participating in the labor market (Rizo, 2006). While this contribution to the discussion of SE was made in the French literature, in England the discussion focused on the concept of underclass (underclass), which was a criterion of social stratification that would be useful at the time to mention a phenomenon in Great Britain that also occurred in France.

In the case of Latin America, to avoid the bias of premature generalization, it is important to historically analyze the transformations of different models of societal development, which have an emphasis on the accumulation pattern, and show signs of strong crisis integration mechanisms (Sarmiento, 1998). As a consequence of recurring economic crises, social exclusion and other concepts from different ethical and political assumptions have been used to describe and explain the main problems of Western development models associated with the relocation of companies.

Beginning in the 1950s in Latin America, there was an attempt to establish

the Developmental State which was a model of accumulation based on the domestic market and import substitution. To create a modern society there were important changes in the State and work. The governments recognized certain basic social rights which were aimed at improving the quality of life in Latin American populations. This was a premise of the modernization of societies.

However, in the 1970s and 1980s there was the imposition of an accumulation model focused on the market. This undermined the social policies of the Developmental State. The substantial change focused on certain groups of the population as being unproductive, to counteract the perverse consequences of the imposition of new economic policies and mask the true causes of exclusion.

From a structural perspective, to interpret the decade of the sixties we must see the level of SE as an outcome of class conflict. It is during the 80s when we clearly take a new approach to the concept of SE which was a result of the deepening of neoliberal strategies in terms of financial and economic reforms. This process showed the fallacy of the market as a system of social organization. The end of a State guarantee of basic social rights was diluted as the market expanded its domain and forced the State to limit its action and intervention in society. More explicitly, "social integration was sacrificed in favor of systemic integration; that is to say, the functional requirements of capitalist accumulation were pursued at the expense of social cohesion." We observe that the phenomena of social exclusion is in contradiction to the social intervention of the State. "We also note the origin of SE is in the world of work "(Sarmientos, 1998, p. 58).

The interpretation made regarding a group of people who were not adapted to the development of capitalism generated a broad discussion, and provided a critical position for analytical proposals focused on SE as a real social problem. As a result of this analytical tension and the social, cultural and political context which was highly dynamic, the study of SE took different paths and produced knowledge that has had a lasting effect.

## 2.8.2 The Concept of Social Exclusion

There is a temptation, expressed in various analyses, to characterize the concept of exclusion as outside of society. However, strictly speaking, people are never "out" of social systems. We understand exclusion as a social relationship that prevents, or hinders, the achievement of a better social position, or overcoming a situation / obstacle, or enjoying a right that should be accessible to everyone. This relationship can affect social categories (sets of positions with common characteristics without necessarily having direct interaction between positions with those characteristics) or interaction systems or

social groups (sets of people interacting). As we shall see, exclusion can occur in various ratios, levels or features of the social structure. This will become apparent when we specify, their concrete manifestations,

As a way of introduction, we can describe a multicausal exclusion as a structural and dynamic process (Jimenez, 2008). It is dynamic because of the complexity of social reality and the multiple causes of social phenomena resulting from interconnectivity of systems and their constituent elements. Therefore, we can not view social exclusion as a fixed linear process, since it may involve to varying degrees the different risk factors of exclusion which may be encountered in a specific situation, or in a particular context. They can regenerate and feed the process.

Further, we must keep in mind that exclusion is structural; since its causes are based on the economic and the political structure of a society and the culture that develops around these dimensions. It is a process that is part of the natural order of society in its social development. It is a manifested characteristic of a particular kind of development.

In our following essay we will see how this unfavorable situation prevents the personal fulfillment of individuals and we will discuss the ethical relevance of "inclusion" as the antithesis to exclusion.

Beginning randomly, we can site some manifestations of exclusion in our own society.

#### There are three recognizable levels within which exclusion is manifested:

- 1. The exclusion can manifest itself as an impediment or difficulty encountered when entering a social system. For example, when entering an education system, job, or other group socialization which is mediated by economic, religious, ideological, gender or other obstacles.
- 2. It is also possible to recognize the exclusion difficulties when accessing services or fundamental rights such as those for health, education, and culture etc.
- 3. Finally, we find exclusion within a social system, group, or service network at the relational level which has resulted from damaged social relationships, which hinder social contact and the possibility to establish relations of good quality. This negative process is an outcome of discrimination and stigma.

#### In turn, we can recognize some factors or immediate reasons why people may be excluded:

- 1. Precarious social class:
  - a. This can limit access to education, health care, housing and work.
  - b. This is an obstacle to participation in a social system with quality social relationships and socioeconomic conditions, e.g. clothing, housing, public transport, cultural institutions and linguistically correct verbal expression.

- 2. Socioterritorial location which is isolated, or marginal.
  - a. Difficulties in accessing quality education, health care, housing, or work.
  - b. Residing in an unfriendly environment.
  - c. Few opportunities to build networks and social ties.
- 3. Placed in a medical or legal category that indicates social anomaly, chronic illness, disability, communicable disease, LGBT sexuality, or criminal record.
- 4. Female gender.
- 5. Elder age group.
- 6. Physical appearance and behavior outside the "normal" range including a physical abnormality, different style of dress, and participating in prostitution or delinquency.
- 7. Perceived disability (mental, intellectual or physical).
- 8. Sexual preferences which are outside of the norm.
- 9. Political activism.
- 10. Type of professed religion.
- 11. Non-normative ideology.
- 12. Membership in an ethnic group of low status.

We describe the concept of social position as follows: All determinations or opportunities for each individual to participate in a system of interaction, not only with respect to other specific individuals, but also regarding relationships to the system as a whole, and the relations of the system with the environment. This includes determinations arising from the concept of objective interests and social power. We include the concept of a position in the system, and the global social position. It should be noted that the weight or relevance of the different positions of the individual is not the same as their overall social position. Also, the role concept corresponds to the status of the position.

#### **Social Exclusion:**

It consists of limitations or degradations of the status of asocial category or system interaction which is expressed multidimensionally as the precariousness of power, or structural barriers imposed on positions of a social category or interaction system.

### 2.8.3 Definition of Exclusion

The position or status within social systems or subsystems are given varying degrees of power in the sense of the ability to achieve their interests. Thus, there may be barriers or limitations in the position or status, which are expressed in different dimensions, such as access to health services, education, or territorial access to services, and difficulty accessing a job position or social class of equal quality, etc. Now we can rigorously define the concept of social exclusion as it pertains to the individual and his or her family, i.e., their location in the social structure, access to property, ideational services, habitat or dwelling space, and recreational services. Access to the amenities depends on the location in the social structure of adult family members, jobs, and property owned. Members of families who have a paid job or property, have more power and more autonomy to make decisions. They are more empowered and less dependent.

# 2.8.4 Explanatory Factors of Social Exclusion (SE)

Several factors explain why SE varies. You can not directly identify if certain factors are relating on different analytical levels where SE processes occur. Thus, a focused exploration of the factors is a comprehensive approach to the complex phenomena.

We begin by discussing the traditional Marxist perspective that sees economic exclusion as a result of the uneven development of capitalist society, which concentrates economic power in a few hands and develops non harmoniously. Productivity guided only by the profit motive. A byproduct of capitalist production is a floating population or temporary employed work force. Other sectors eventually dissociate from production and are identified as the lumpenproletariat (vagabonds, criminals, prostitutes, industrial reserve army etc.). Marxism emphasizes the role of the proletarian political parties in overcoming problems and transforming society so that it will be more just (with less exclusion). Also, the role of grassroots organizations is discussed in this historic production. However, care should be taken that these organizations genuinely represent those who they claim to represent and are not oligarchically controlled. In the socialisms of Europe and of the East, trade unions and other organizations were created and largely controlled from above by the State.

In the list of categories of exclusion, we have seen that it can be a result of a position in a precarious social class (category 1 mentioned in the above list), limitations or degradations of status (gender, disabled, sick, belonging to an unrecognized religion, ideology or political group) (categories 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10). Also, territorial barriers or cultural obstacles (categories 2 and 12)

produce exclusion. From this categorization, our definition in the above box covers all variants of the various forms and sources of exclusion.

The concepts of social class and exclusion have different theoretical origins: social class linked to the analysis of class struggle and political struggle in general, and was also used to examine preferences and lifestyles, regarding relations of power or domination between classes. The exclusion is linked to the concept of citizenship and civil rights that should ensure a state of wellness. It is aimed at designing inclusion policies from the State to overcome exclusion. However, there are various forms of this process of inclusion, some more welfarist and some more democratic. We are mindful that inclusion policies "from above" do not mean real empowerment of the excluded. For classes, however, must act politically to change the relationship between them. But both, as we have seen, have a power center associated with social positions.

The labor and property defining classes, also play a central role in exclusion because they have multidimensional characteristics. Work and property play a major role in society and in the lives of individuals and groups. Work and property provide the means for self-sustenance of adult individuals and they are crucial elements in the quality of life. Work and property provide quality social recognition and they are the fundamental components of social prestige.

# It is useful to review the perspectives of other theorists on the origins of social exclusion. Barros and co-authors (1996), identified factors determining social exclusion:

- The first perspective was labeled "solidarity." This French perspective maintains that the exclusion should be understood as an anomaly or defect of society as a whole. Therefore, it is argued that social exclusion is considered as being "outside" the "value consensus" (Barros et al., 1996, p. 4). This approach assumes the perspective of social integration, since social exclusion is seen to be a pathological form. Socially excluded groups exist because they resist the moral imperative that society established. They have broken the social contract.
- 2. The second perspective is based on liberal political ideology. Under this approach, social exclusion is understood to be the result of social interaction. In that sense, exclusion would be determined by the decisions of individuals and not by determinations of the social system. The exclusion is explained largely by the type of exchange that people have.
- The third approach is called the perspective of the "Monopoly", and is associated with the "European social regime" (Barros et to the., 1996, p. 5). In this perspective, social exclusion is structural to the system and is strongly determined by the positions that certain groups have in relation to power. Thus, some groups determine the position of the other groups within the social system.

According to Rizo (2006), at a political-ideological level there are three types of explanatory models:

- 1. The conservative solidarity model: No responsibility is given to the State to foster social ties for the promotion of social cohesion.
- 2. The liberal model of specialization: It explains the different interests and abilities of individuals within the market and society.
- 3. The social model of monopoly: the Social Exclusion comes from competition for resources and the rules established by the dominant groups.

Another explanatory model of Social Exclusion was proposed by Laparra and associates (2006). It generated an approach with different explanations for SE. Some of the causes are those related to:

- A rejection of formal rules and social norms, e.g. dress and language and the absence of personal discipline.
- The SE is the result of active discrimination toward certain social groups which are stigmatized.
- It is also possible within this framework that there are processes of self-exclusion.
- Social Exclusion could also be related to the weakening of the family from the countercultural movement beginning in the 60s, as well as excessive deprivation by the State.

Another position, much less behaviorist, says that the causes of the SE are linked to the processes of industrialization and the technological revolution. Many of the workers have become obsolete as a result of transformations of the world of work. The excluded are among those with limited skills who cannot perform a work role in postindustrial society.

Moreover, there are structural factors affecting work processes. However, they have an impact only in the production structure. Other phenomena that affect the social exclusion which have yet to be discussed in detail are:

- a. Changes in ways of living together;
- b. Transformations of the welfare state;
- c. Transformations in the labor market.

In the explanatory models of social exclusion, there are predominately explanations about the transformation of the State apparatus as it relates to the production structure, with an emphasis on the market modification of work. However, they do not deny the interpretations of the changes in lifestyles or ways of living together. The transformations that have taken place, which are not explained by the capitalist model have also affected private and everyday life, with special emphasis on the mechanisms of social and cultural socialization. According to Sarmientos (1998), possible clues to explain the phenomena of social exclusion should be sought in the role of the State and in the labor market. First, when we consider as a factor, the transformation of the welfare State in society, the consequences are seen in the elimination of social protections formally guaranteed by the State, which produced deteriorating social conditions of life. They eliminated the minimum conditions of equality (i.e. access to social goods as essential as, education, employment, health, housing, protection in old age, among others). This historical process produced the social exclusion of large sectors of society who previously saw the intervention of the state a way of being integrated into the society of which they were a part.

The labor market has been transformed. Two factors have had important roles in this transformation: 1) the emergence of a production model called post-fordist, and 2) the introduction of new technologies. These factors have produced changes in labor relations. Work is no longer the great integrator, as it had been at the beginning of the twentieth century. In this situation, social exclusion can not be attributed to the lack of qualification of the workforce, but the new way in which production relations and employment is organized (Sarmientos, 1998).

Beck (2000) noted that what is really at stake is the very concept of work as a cohesive element of life, as a mechanism for integration and as a great articulator of social relations. Jimenez, commenting later on the same theme, stated that "personal and social life, largely conditioned by work, and it is through it that the vast majority of people get the resources they need to survive and have access to products and services that define us as being socially 'integrated' "(Jimenez, 2008, p. 181).

But the centrality of work to the multi-causal processes of social exclusion goes beyond issues of unemployment and access to the labor market. Also, it is no less important to analyze the manifestations through deprivation and barriers to full participation in education, health, the environment, housing, and culture. That is why today, the specter of social exclusion includes the issues of citizenship, ethnicity, gender, and criminality.

Taking from these points of view, we can better explain the causes and potential solutions to the problem of exclusion. We can learn from a variety of theoretical approaches. They range from Marxism and functionalism to postmodernism. And many of the theoretical perspectives are often in conflict with each other. Our intention with this discussion has been to clarify conceptually and ethically exclusion and inclusion policies.

### 2.8.5 Two Important Dimensions of Exclusion

In addition to the labor and property manifestations of exclusion, we must discuss the territorial and cultural dimensions.

## 2.8.6 The Territory

Most of the adults in society divide their time between fulfilling a task or social obligation and enjoying relationships and consumption. At the center of adult life, consumption is organized in the family. Some adults do their homework or social obligation to the household or home, as women and men who primarily work as housewives (or househusbands), doing domestic chores and parenting. But in most cases, to have the resources that allow consumption within the family, one or more adult members must have paid work outside the home, giving them income needed for consumption.

In organizations that pay salaries, the amount of income varies by the type of position, the income scale, profits, wages or salaries. Also it is associated with the concept of ownership. Further, it is related to the hierarchy of authority positions, and the level of education or training required in job performance. In this regard, a large company can include the entire range of the income distribution from the appropriation of huge profits by the owners. High salaries are given to executives and highly trained professionals. Intermediate salaries are paid to junior executives and foremen, and the lowest wages given to manual occupations without any required qualification.

What difference does territory make for these people? It is not necessarily the place where they work, if they all work in the same companies. However, territory can make a great difference when we consider where they live. And this has an explanation. Families live in dwellings that are their homes. This is where individuals and families seek emotional and psychological support, organize essential consumption, and enjoy recreational leisure. Considering the values of our society, family relationships and family recreation are important aspects of personal fulfillment. However, it is crucial to our analysis that the geographical distribution of household income is associated with the quality of the urban neighborhood and buildings, and the available services. The price of land and buildings is highly variable. While people may work together, but differ in their income, they can not afford to live in similar dwellings or urban localities and consequently experience a very different quality of life. This analysis is supported by historic data gathered in a regional study done in Chile (SERPLAC, 1977). The analysis showed a high correlation coefficient (r = 0.75) between the level of industrial development of the Chilean provinces and the number of occupations. However, this correlation was zero at the community level, indicating that where people work differs from where they live. Further, this data supported the frequently observed residential segregation (by income) in Chilean cities.

In addition, people in precarious jobs or stable low-income jobs, and those working in the informal sector, are the most vulnerable in society. They concentrate in real ghettos on the outskirts of cities where the quality of life and urbanization, access to parks and public spaces of enjoyment, admission to good schools for their children and other urban services are very scarce. Unfortunately, the housing policy for disadvantaged sectors who can pay the lowest possible cost, tend to increase social differences territorially. This public housing programming affects the quality of life and opportunities for the personal fulfillment of the people it serves.

Following this trend, spatial segregation and associated limited social conditions reinforces structural inequality through the location of publicly supported housing. It can be considered again an effect of further exclusion. Moreover, these conditions of residential segregation in turn, generate other conditions of exclusion, because as has been noted, they limit access to basic services and rights to quality education, outdoor leisure (parks) and culture. Further, they limit social encounters and the establishment of enduring quality relationships. In these situations, where people live, can be a source of stigmatization when an individual is looking for a better job. This is another form of exclusion. Thus the process of residential segregation reinforces the overvaluation of social status and the cult of expensive dress and appearance that support discrimination and stigma.

In short, the social exclusion for work or activity for economic sustenance is connected to exclusion from access to services of the State. These education and health services and other urban amenities have territorial expressions in the sense that these sectors are usually concentrated in deteriorated urban areas with poor housing and limited mass transit to essential services. In some situations, low income workers live in ghettos with sectors that are controlled by drug dealers and criminals. Living in these notorious areas, they become highly stigmatized because they also are assumed to take part in criminal activity. It does not solve all the problems of residential segregation when the community participates in urban renewal. It can mitigate some of their social exclusion. Territorial relationships are one of the important dimensions of social systems in our societies. When many community members must live in undesirable urban areas, they can not adequately realize their economic, social, and cultural interests. This situation places them in weakened power relations.

# 2.8.7 The Cultural Sphere: Ethnicity and Discrimination

Within a territory where a hegemonic ideology and culture predominate, there may be other ethnic groups with different worldviews. These particular ethnic groups initially only occupied their territory, but some of them have migrated to other areas which have the hegemonic culture. This regional culture and ethnic worldview clashes with the hegemonic ideology and culture, and they often are not adequately considered in State policies, which causes disruptions in daily life. This is a factor of exclusion, and all conceptualizations of cultural conflict also apply here. It is important, to have an appropriate policy of inclusion of these particular ethnic groups, which recognizes them constitutionally and legally, that considers their worldview and rights. Consequently, they will not be in conflict with public and private policies that affect them.

Also to be considered, are other forms of exclusion that apply to groups inside the subsystems of society. What is discrimination?

The roles of people depend on ascribed and acquired characteristics, such as gender, age, position in the family, etc. Associated with a role is a status. The status may consist of certain rights, but also limitations and processes of lowering respect. These limitations and degradations, when they reach a certain level, or affect some important aspect of interaction, constitute discrimination that can affect one, or many areas of the situations of an individual, groups, and systems. These discriminations are forms of exclusion. Stigma is a more intense form of discrimination.

#### From this point of view, there are several forms of exclusion:

- 1. Discrimination against women.
- 2. Discrimination against the elderly (considering them as partially disabled).

- 3. Discrimination against the disabled (not considering their potential) and against the mentally disabled or mentally ill (in addition to the denial of their capabilities, it is considered as deviant)<sup>13</sup>.
- 4. Discrimination towards certain youth groups for their cultural traits or forms of dress, which are seen as deviant.
- 5. Discrimination toward homosexuals which denies then the rights to civil unions.
- 6. Discrimination against people with HIV / AIDS.
- 7. Discrimination against people with COVID-19.

In most of these situations, people who suffer these exclusions do not have equal access to good jobs and education opportunities. In the case of people who are categorized as "deviant," mechanisms of "social control" are applied that coerce them to "adapt" to the system. These policies do not take into account their inherent dialectical nature, which produces further conflicts in social relations.

Relationships with discrimination and stigma are the opposite to those which empower individuals. They leave them in subordinate positions in micro-social relations of power and domination.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>13</sup> As the sociologist Talcott Parsons shownThe sick role is socially constructed is not just something given by nature. The role of mental illness is more specific and there is a social construction all respect, also from the point of view of psychiatry, as described by Michael Foucault and Roger Bastide. Mental illness, unlike biological only have to do with behaviors that are socially evaluated, and that in these cases are heavily stigmatized by common sense and psychiatry. From this perspective, stigma is one of the social barriers, rooted in the social construction of the mentally ill, who must contend with people labeled in this way. Many of these features of the social construction of mental illness are attributed, without full justification, to biological characteristics of individuals. Thus, for example, symptoms neqative schizophrenia often attributed to characteristics of the endogenous development of the disease, having reason to believe that rather are the result of a process in which the interaction of the patient with the social environment is essential. Apparently it is also assumed that there is a loss of social values in people with schizophrenia, which contradicts the results of extensive empirical research with 150 people from all social sectors affected in schizophrenia, showing that religious and political values, both type and intensity are the same as those of the rest of the population. All these assumptions weakly founded would justify subjecting them to a forced process of social adaptation as a first step to integration, a process that so far has not resolved for most vital problems fundamental and those who aspire: to have a decent job and a stable partner with which they can form their own family. In contrast, the forced adaptation process leads to a lack of initiative and passivity, which hinder performance in any work involving some level of accountability decisions. Moreover, social systems are characterized because in them is recurrent partial departure from the norms, conflicts and contradictions, so coercively subjecting the person to what others expect of him is a forced adaptation that leaves her in a vulnerable position, subordinated and disadvantaged. From this point of view, it arises directly support the person, non-coercive way, encouraging their personal and social support initiative, so as to achieve a higher degree of personal fulfillment directly.

# 2.8.8 Inclusion Policies

#### 2.8.8.1 The Concept of Integration

According to Rizo (2006), the concept of social exclusion (SE) has its implications in variables of psycho-social outcomes developed in classical sociology. Alienation and anomie are concepts that are useful to describe the consequences of SE.

While the SE is an undesirable social condition, it is the antithesis of the outcome of empowering social relationships, which for Rizo (2006) is the concept of integration.

Integration refers to broad social groups or collectives, and its origin can be found in American sociology. Integration is defined in terms of several social dimensions which when measured indicate the degree to which certain groups are integrated in society.

Rizo (2006), defines four types of integration within any society:

- A. Cultural integration: consistency between the rules and culture.
- B. Regulatory integration: conduct conformity to social norms.
- C. **Communicative integration**: exchange of mutually understood meanings.
- D. **Functional integration**: interdependence due to the exchange of services within the division of labor.

The concept of social exclusion includes a dual image of society, in which there is an integrated economic organization and an excluded industry / enterprise. This excluded sector is marginal in terms of social rights to employment, education, culture, and other social and economic amenities (Jimenez, 2008).

As we saw in the American tradition, often inclusion is identified with the concept of integration, and integration is the opposite of exclusion. Integration is defined intersubjectively, and the concept of institutionalization takes on a central role.

From this point of view, with respect to the social groups:

- 1. **Cultural integration**: is attained when the rules that guide the conduct of members of the group match institutionalized norms of society.
- 2. **Normative integration**: occurs when individuals' role performance adheres to the institutionalized norms.
- 3. **Communicative integration**: is achieved when there is a an integrated group with good communication processes and understanding and a sense of shared meanings.
- 4. **Functional integration**: is attained when there is social integration resulting from a reciprocity in the exchange of services that creates a division of labor.

Following this interpretation, we tend to identify the concept of exclusion with deviation (with respect to the institutionalized norms). However, we have seen in the discussion of the roles that this is a narrow view, as there are large areas of conduct / behavior in all social relationships that are not institutionalized. There are disagreements and conflicts, and frequently dialectic between institutionalized and non-institutionalized actions. In addition, communication is never perfect. In every group there are levels of discrepancies and conflicts and exchange. So called integrated societies do not always follow patterns of reciprocity. Social classes have antagonistic interests partially expressed in the political struggle. If exclusion is identified with deviation, efforts towards integration will be identified by making social control more effective. Individuals or groups labeled "deviant" appear to be lower on the social ladder and efforts to integrate them through social control is the opposite of empowerment. On the contrary, it disempowers them and they must adapt to the social system. This leaves the groups and individuals labeled "deviant" in a position of absolute subordination, until they can be empowered. But we have seen that, strictly speaking, all individuals and groups in society are "deviant", since the rules apply only partially to their behavior and there are always conflicts. From this perspective, the label "deviant" simply means to disempower or subordinate the person or group, and to apply a reinforced social control. Since there is an asymmetrical distribution of power in groups and society, which strengthens the social control mechanisms; the social control mechanisms further reinforce social positions that already have greater power and / or privileges.

Thus we disagree with Rizo's (2006) concept of exclusion.

Unlike the theory of deviance, we argue that to empower individuals and groups means changing social relationships that fall into the category of "deviant." Therefore, we must not only change the characteristics of individuals and groups which are categorized as "deviant" but also change their social relationships so that they are not excluded, but empowered.

#### 2.8.8.2 The Concept of Personal Fulfillment

The present concept of social exclusion (SE) as a relationship that hinders and prevents the subject from filling a position, overcoming a situation, or exercising a right, ultimately is an ethical judgment. Under this ethical imperative, we believe that the concept of social inclusion should include a requirement that all persons can play active social roles. Individuals within social systems should participate as subjects and actors, so that they realize inclusion. From this point of view, exclusion or segregation means that there are barriers to the fulfillment of their basic human rights, which would allow them to realize their interests. However, we must take into account that humans are, in their values, aspirations and ideologies, very different from each other. It is imprecise to speak of human achievement in general and we must account for such differences. The concept of personhood does not consider individuals only as biological organisms, but also assumes that they have been socialized in a culture in the anthropological sense. Thus, the development of individual personality is an outcome of a biological template, social interaction with caregivers, and the internalization of cultural norms, values, and expectations.

But we are not focused on situations. What interests us is not the exclusion or segregation of isolated individuals. Our concern is about multiple individuals in similar social situations who experience exclusion and segregation. For these groups of individuals who share challenging social situations the segregation and social exclusion when maintained over time has a structural character. This is not because it depends on their individual characteristics, but is associated with their social situation, status, and/or structural position, regardless of who occupies that position or situation.

We believe that most people prefer high quality social relations, decent work, a sound education for themselves and their children, good quality housing in a friendly urban or rural sector, and freedom from discrimination for sexual reasons, ideological positions, political affiliation, religious beliefs, or mental illness or disability.

What happens when personal choices are based on contrary values? Here you have to put a restriction on the range of acceptable values or preferences. Not just any social value is acceptable, eligible preferences must not contradict three core values: love of family, love of work or social obligations (work, study, or family roles), and commitment to society or social solidarity. We allow for possible conflicts or contradictions among these three types of values.

Why do we say that these three types of values are absolutely required? All current and future, capitalist, socialist, or postmodern society: a) will not eliminate the family, or a personal level of motivation based on family values; b) will not delete the job or task, or social obligation that society requires must be performed efficiently; and c) exist without a modicum of solidarity or respect for one's neighbor.

With this we are not advocating a particular type of society. However, we must ask whether today's society promotes these basic values. The same segregation and exclusion of large social groups stimulates the emergence of countervalues, as in the case of crime, which is markedly stimulated by conditions of exclusion and lack of educational opportunities and accessible work to which you can feel commitment. Therefore, we must maximize efforts to remove the barriers that generate such negative values. Promoting the love of family, love of work and social solidarity is an outcome of a critical approach that will transform today's society,

It is also important to ask about the personal meaning of being prevented from achieving personal fulfillment.

Personal fulfillment is synonymous with achieving essential interests. The ability to achieve the interests is synonymous with power. From this point of view, we have defined the concept of exclusion as the same as absence or lack of power. Therefore, it depends on power relations that exist within society and within systems of interaction in which people participate. Power is related to, but it is different from the relations of domination. However, it can be exercised in some cases through relations of domination. Exclusion is also related in some way to the relations of domination, especially when lack of power is an outcome of relations of symbolic domination. This occurs in the cases of subordination due to social stigma.

#### 2.8.8.3 Legitimate Inclusion Policies

Inclusion policies should be the outcome of organized, informed and equal participation in decision-making of the sectors, groups or persons involved. Therefore, we must transform structural relationships to give them more real power. At the individual level, inclusion policies should be based on personal fulfillment, as ethical and social criteria, rather than on social adaptation.

The concept that should guide efforts to reintegrate socially excluded individuals is personal fulfillment. We have developed the concept of inclusion using theoretical concepts, which are separate from ethical rationales. We all seek social recognition through our behavior (as stated by sociologist George Mead, 1934), our inner satisfaction depends on others. In addition, as suggested by Max Weber (1997), the great goals that arise among men do not just happen, they are socially elaborated goals.

Does this mean that the concept of personal fulfillment coincides is the same as social adaptation?

#### This is not the case because:

- 1. Recognition may be given for some actions, but not for others;
- 2. Recognition may not be the most important personal goal but should be one of life's priorities or goals such as the family or basic education;
- 3. Personal goals have individual content that are associated with specific situations and experiences and cannot be shared or established from outside.

We do not assume that an individual will realize their life goals in the short or medium term. The must have a strategy to achieve smaller goals that will lead to major goals, in concert with their values and outlook on life. It is not enough that a person's socially valued goal is fulfilled, as they must personally have achievements, i.e. to work to achieve their personal objectives. The concept of personal fulfillment not only gives an ethical perspective to inclusion, but it is a corollary of all rights. To achieve personhood, the individual must have the real possibility of paid work according to their vocation, and a decent wage that allows them to form a family and pursue education, and acquire or rent good housing and enjoy all fundamental human rights. These requirements must be achieved, and they should be according to their values and preferences so that they feel unique and satisfied.

# Inclusion policies, to be ethical, must be conceptually correct. There should be some minimum requirements:

- 1. They must support the aspirations and values of a significant sector of the society and they can not be imported from outside. Further, someone in the particular social sector affected must direct the process of inclusion and influence the changes in the positions of power and authority.
- 2. The broad sectors of society must be given real participation in policy relevant decision-making organizations. Also, they must be advised by experts who can interpret their longings and deepest aspirations, without making arbitrary impositions.
- 3. In numbers 1 and 2 we give real power to individuals, groups of individuals and organizations representing social categories that lack such power. From this point of view, we eliminate or reduce exclusion because this process is synonymous with empowerment of individuals and organizations.

One current solution to the ethical problem of exclusion of broad sectors of society arises as a result of public consultations or interventions by State or municipal agencies, such as local development councils. But this is insufficient by itself. Real participation involves participation of organizations which have a strong base that is empowered and is independent of the State, but benefits from professional advisers, who are only loyal to them. If there are no such organizations, these sectors have no real capacity to resist if they are not heard. In other cases, there are simply policies from above and changes in power relations are excluded. The only way to avoid this situation is when they have the strength to exercise their power and that they are recognized as valid representatives by State and private organizations. To illustrate the problem, we can refer to health policies in Brazil, where public participation is guaranteed in the discussion of health policy at State and local councils. But what really happens? Health policies are formulated centrally by health professionals who are experts on the subject and therefore participation in the discussion of these policies by the affected population is minimal, or practically nonexistent. Consequently, their local councils are merely supporters or "rubber stamps" of official policies.

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## 2.8.9 The Individual and the Family System

The family is conceptualized by the ideology of common sense as the basis of society. In periods of crisis, such as during the military dictatorship in Chile, it was the refuge from widespread distrust and the hostile political opinions of others. Also, as preparation for the academy, children receive their primary socialization in the family, without which they could not function in adult life. It is one of the main social places where the individual receives affection and psychological support and it also serves as a consumer center where we meet our needs. The family or household is considered as a unit (rather than individuals) in class analysis.

It is therefore a good starting point for analyzing the dialectical and non-mechanical nature of the relationship between people and systems involved in social interaction. People, acting individually, can not meet their needs, but by participating in interaction systems, it is conceivable that a person can meet their needs. We participate in such systems, according to our position. Actors in a social system present themselves as objective realities (in addition to having a subjective dimension). Does that mean that players should unconditionally serve the interaction systems in which they are involved? Should they always strengthen them and fight for their unity? In the case of the family, for example, does it mean that it always provides the best guidance for its members? We must ask, what are the interests of each member who belongs to your family? The answer to these questions is no. It is also a negative answer to the question about whether the individual must fight for the independent interests of the family. They are in a dialectical relationship.

Individuals are the product and creators of systems and the structures of the systems in which they are involved. But social systems, although they include certain organizations objectively, unlike people, do not think or feel. It makes no sense to maintain the same system that blocks the self realization of its members. People need social systems and for practical reasons, must participate in them. But these systems are not an end in themselves. They are useful to the extent that they contribute to the self realization of their members.

Let us explain this through a brief digression regarding the family system. Do the family members always have common interest? Often this is not the case. The family is an institutionalized system; in the sense that its structural features are institutionalized. The roles of father, mother, husband, wife, children, and siblings, are shaped by accepted norms about what is the definition of a good father, mother, son, etc. Though not fully defined, those people only partially adjust to the normatively defined roles and in some cases not at all, as in the case of domestic violence. But a less dramatic case occurs where the family system stifles the realization of its members, i.e. the norms that influence the behavior of family members are in conflict with the legitimate interests of its members. In a family in which patriarchal norms prevail and they are imposed by the institutionalized authority of the head of household, they can stifle the legitimate interests of the wife of wanting to work for pay outside the home. This arrangement would help balance the power of the couple. Overall we must remember that the normative structure of the family can go against the self realization of some of its members.

To further test this observation, in the years 2002-2003 we conducted research supported by the Fund for Science and Technology (Grant No. 1020027), in which we interviewed guardians of one hundred patients who were medically compensated for schizophrenia and who lived in the Metropolitan Region of Chile. We concluded that there was no agreement between the patients evaluated to work in competitive jobs and the decisions of guardians with regard to the patients' labor force participation. The guardians felt that they could only perform well in rehabilitation workshops. This was against the evidence, and the patients' desire to work in normal jobs. This decision was based on a false assumption and good intentions, that the family were doing the best for the patient. Also, guardians overwhelmingly believed that it was not possible for patients to be able to have a stable relationship, which was the second deepest desire reported by patients.

Our position is not to elevate any interaction system, such as the family system for example. People, not systems, feel and think. When there is a contradiction between a system and the personal fulfillment of its members, the system should change. We should not adapt the members to the system, but transform the system to empower members. This is a dialectic interaction.

# 2.8.10 For a Democratizing Process

Conflicts of interest are the result of how social processes are structured. People have a creative role in the sense that they reinforce such structures or transform, mitigate, or eliminate them. This can put to great disadvantage individual positions and sets of positions. They can change from being the majority to becoming the minority.

Among the tools for these transformations are derived organizations, which must meet certain conditions to achieve their goal:

- 1. Adequately represent the interests of persons not empowered by society.
- 2. Ideally most of those represented join workers' organizations.
- 3. There is an intense and extensive participation of those represented and mechanisms to ensure that leaders genuinely express the interests they represent.
- 4. To mobilize their demands.
- 5. To be coordinated so as not to be neutralized and be made more effective.
- 6. To have sufficient strength and have legal or institutional mechanisms that empower, i.e. entitled not only to information but to implement their institutional demands.

These conditions apply to political parties, trade unions, local organizations, occupational organizations, generational organizations (youth as students, among others, older adults and those of pensioners among others), and organizations with specific objectives such as environmentalists, disability, gender, etc.

At the microsociological level, democratizing means not simply applying the criteria to adapt to the system, but creatively facilitating the transformation of systems to achieve personal fulfillment of its most vulnerable members. As ideologies and the sphere of symbolic culture have a great role in behavior, the democratizing process involves transforming, including the internet, democratization of the means of mass communication and the educational system. This involves changing mental health services into an empowering vision of seeing life and society, and show the true interests of individuals, groups, and classes. At the same time, we must weaken the predominant forms of symbolic violence.

Achieving the long-term interests of broad social categories and subordinate classes and / or vulnerable people, frequently involves changes in the State and social structures.

Human beings in social interaction create social systems and structures that they perceive as objective reality, but they must react creatively, and strive to democratize them so that people can realize their full potentials.

# **PART TWO**

# ECONOMIC, TERRITORIAL, and SYMBOLIC DIMENSIONS

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# 3. Economic Dimension

Economic relations are described at various levels.

# 3.1 Introduction: Money

Human needs are socially formed (see J. Chuaqui, 2012), social interaction produces social consciousness and reflection (G. Mead, 1934). Biological impulses acquire social characteristics. This process is based on lived experience and cultural norms. In this perspective, satisfactions or gratifications (following Parsons) are far from what would result if born impulses stayed the same. This social and cultural process causes direct gratification which fulfills a moral value or achievement influenced by the ideology of the person, as well as love or friendship.

There are two linked social processes which produce direct gratification in a relationship or from a behavior. They also result in later gratification, or the prevention of future harm. In this case, the motivation is instrumental. It is a means for further achievement or the avoidance of harm. When the processes and gratification prevent harm they are directly expressive.

How is human behavior made to conform with what a group wants or needs? This is a problem of social control. At the level of global social structure, there are three basic means of control:

- 1. **Physical coercion**: obedience is done to prevent damage to physical integrity, or physically restrict the behavior of the person.
- 2. Economic coercion: obedience is achieved by providing or denying items or services that the person feels that he or she needs or will need in the future.
- 3. **The moral adherence**: obedience is achieved when the person acts voluntarily because they have shared values<sup>1</sup>.

Usually, none of these means of control are provided exclusively. Dictatorships, for example, more often resort to physical restraint as a means of control, but their actions have a veneer of legality to facilitate control. Economic coercion is exercised through the legal system and is supported by physical coercion to operate smoothly. Violation of the law is an economic crime. Some degree of moral commitment is necessary in any system to prevent frequent offenses or disruptions.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> In connection with these reflections, seeking to adjust the behavior of the population consider French Unemployment Insurance as an incentive to return to work, providing moralizing accession to such activity. Mainly, three of the requirements for beneficiary / a: i) a labor disruption for legitimate reasons, ii) used for positive acts and iii) accept reasonable offers of employment (CLEISS, 2015).

From this point of view, money or financial compensation which is endorsed by the State appears to be the most widespread form of economic coercion. Money operates in an economic market. Entrepreneurs are permitted to hire labor to run the business. Consequently, they exercise control over the employees of the company and what it produces. Thus, the State allows the capitalist entrepreneur to appropriate the surplus produced by all employees. Therefore, the government has exerted power through economic coercion. Also, through remuneration or money, the consumer meets social needs. We observe that money is coercion in numerical form. Through financial payment private companies and the State are managed.

Money is the medium of economic coercion and through it the social structure functions and exercises economic power.

Money has an instrumental characteristic in that it provides for personal consumption and an entrepreneur can invest the surplus. However, just working to get money without personal satisfaction with the work is limiting for a person. From this point of view, the work fulfills both an expressive role, in addition to the instrumental role. It is important that the characteristics of the work or job inspire a love for the task. This will improve performance and job satisfaction.

In any case, money is a central feature of the problem of power. Financial remuneration directly related to the relevance and roles of individuals and organizations in social power.

# 3.2 Features of the Economic Dimension in the Structure

The economic dimension refers to the role of money in the whole social structure. The value of money depends ultimately on the economic value of goods (goods and services) produced in different parts of the structure, but there are monetary relationships in all parts of the global social structure.

We can observe large corporations as a set of formal organizations interconnected through capital transfers. Further, at the interpersonal level, the interrelationship of their corporate directories is very important for their functioning.

Industries and other comercial and financial organizations relate to each other through competition in the economic market. The economic market crosses the entire basal social structure. It includes not only productive enterprises, commercial and financial, but also ideational services, which are both private and public, and the overall State apparatus.

Other types of relationships exist between production companies, in which the goods produced by one is the condition for the production process of the other. In this case, they do not compete with each other. However, the competitive relationship is always given in international economics. This conflict process is observed in the case of large national or transnational economic groups, which fight for more power within the national and international economy.

Let us now look at the three levels of the structure in relation to formal organizations. The three levels are:

- 1. Creating economic value, including the surplus product;
- 2. The circulation of economic processes; and
- 3. The distribution of the surplus product.

1. The creation of economic value arises, in our view, exclusively in the production process of goods (goods and services with use value, i.e., satisfying social needs resulting from work) of all kinds, both material goods and services, including industrial processes, mining, agriculture, private health, etc. It includes creation of economic value at three sublevels:

- 1.1 An individual production process.
- 1.2 The processes of an industry (which produces goods of the same or similar type).
- 1.3 Production of society as a whole.

These processes are linear processes which are considered sequential production cycles. In each sublevel there are three sublevels related to each other.

The economic value of goods produced involves relationships between these three sublevels.

The work invested in a single production process is first compared to the work invested in an industry and then the average labor expended in the production of society as a whole. If the work invested in a single production process is more than the average work invested in the industry, there is work wasted because the economic value is the same for goods of the same type and quality (industry), regulated by fluctuations introduced by supply and demand. If we now compare the work invested in one type of goods, with the average labor spent on all goods of society, the sublevel 1.3 is referring to the economic value of a type of goods relative to other commodities. The economic value of goods depends then on the work invested in the different sublevels of a given society. In the individual production process wasted work is at a disadvantage compared to the value with other commodities of the same type. This means that the excess product (the difference between the wages of workers and the value created by the job) is lower in individual production waste working hours, if the surplus produced is higher in some industries than in others. The first instance attracts investment capital until it establishes a new State of equilibrium. Finally, there is the surplus product in production processes throughout society, which is the difference between gross domestic

product and wages and salaries. of work invested in the different sublevels of a given society.

#### 2. The movement of economic processes refers to cyclic processes that allow the development of production of goods (goods and services use value); Here we have two sublevels:

2.1 An individual process.

2.2 The process at the level of society as a whole.

For an individual process to attain developed production, it is necessary that the process be repeated cyclically, money be invested in buying the goods (material means of production) and an adequate workforce for the production. When these factors are in place, production is set in motion producing goods which have to be sold and transformed into money. The profit is invested in the production, and thus cyclically the amount of money is increased by creating new economic value, through the process of production. This new economic value is the same surplus product of the first level expressed in money. The surplus product is expressed in the value added to goods produced.

The cycle of the goods and the production cycle are overlapping and interrelated including the following:

If the goods are not sold (converted into money), the whole process stops, and the business is sold. During the production process, it is necessary to invest money until it results in processed goods. The longer the production process, the greater the amount of additional money needed to complete the cycle, even if most new investments are made to increase production, and hence the need for financial capital. If any of these cycles is paralyzed, it stops the other cycles, commercial and financial activities are necessary and are interrelated with the production process.

At the societal level, the movement of the economy is a cyclical process of commodity exchange mediated by money among the different sectors of production. The means of production are produced, the owners receive luxury goods and the labor force receives goods and services that meet their basic needs. Exchange processes between different sectors are repeated on a cyclical continuous schedule. The surplus product consists of the new goods created by labor.

If we compare the level of economic value creation with the level of circulation of economic processes, we can realize that they express the same reality seen from different perspectives or planes. The economic value can be created only with an implicit process of circulation, and the circulation process involves a process of value creation. The same product surplus is theoretically expressed in different ways at both levels. 3. The distribution of the surplus product is categorized as industrial profit or gain including the productive activities in general, i.e. mining, agriculture, private services, trading profit and financial benefits. A portion goes to other entities in the social structure (for example, the State through taxes) to provide material maintenance in the broad sense of all members of society.

We have yet to describe the relationships among the three levels of the structure. Up to this point we have analyzed processes and not organizations or companies.

There is a reason for this. The discussion of separate but related levels is theoretical. Formal enterprises (formal organizations participating in the economic market) operate at more than one level. Therefore it is important to describe the multi-level dynamics of these companies.

In an enterprise that produces goods and services for private use, we have a linear process of creating economic value, and cyclical processes of circulation and profit.

#### Formal productive enterprises can be grouped by industry in two ways:

- 1. These can be ranked by competitiveness in the economic market. Those which produce less surplus product in relation to investment (lower productivity) are eliminated from the financial market (first level).
- 2. They can be grouped together because they share the means of production, or owners, or consumers or workers (usually through trading companies). Among these industries are enterprises which produce means of production, luxury goods, or the necessary means of life.

All formal productive organizations produce surplus for the rest of the global social structure.

Formal productive enterprises are linked to commercial companies and financed through the process of circulation of the economy. The portion of the surplus product of the first level is shared with the other two (second and third levels).

The distribution of income and the budget of each organization belongs to the global social structure. Costs including material needs and profits are considered at this decision-making level of society. Those who have the power to distribute income within and between organizations and groups have a powerful means of coercion to be obeyed by his subordinates, and hence the power to exercise domination.

In fact, the whole society depends on the surplus product, which serves as a means of coercion across the global social structure. The group that creates value has a strategic place within society, however this is not a secure position. In this sense, they have some degree of relative independence, which influences how society reproduces, without which no group can survive. Thus far we have described the economic and material relations in the structure as limited by the State. But we must keep in mind that economic relations are international. This applies to production, trade, finance and personal services. From this point of view, exchange or circulation at the societal level involving consumer or luxury goods and production is not a closed system within a country, but has an important international component. This is expressed in different ways in different countries. Those in Latin America, for example, tend to be monoproducers, at least that is the case in Chile with copper, which far exceeds other exports<sup>2</sup>. Not so in France<sup>3</sup> and the US, where exports and imports are much more diversified. Many of the goods consumed in a country are not produced in it<sup>4</sup>.

If we now examine how people in a country look at different national realities (Chile, USA and France) and find that "services" are seen as predominant, we then find that the trade services are one of the economic activities that include more employed people<sup>5</sup>. This situation is far from the image of a large industrial working class in any of these three countries.

Trade in pure terms, does not create value, but adds value. This occurs because to sell goods they must be transported and packaged in an attractive manner. In this type of commerce, the company that historically has employed the most people in the US is the supermarket<sup>6</sup>. This enterprise has a strategic position in the economy because it meets a basic need and controls what is sold. Therefore, it has an important role regarding what is produced. In addition to supermarkets, large department stores also have an important role regarding what is produced. Both types of enterprises also provide finan-

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> In 2010, Chile reached 62.7% in mining exports in the total exports of the country. See: Council Minero (2014). "Annual Report 2013-2014". Annual Report, 1-77.

However, in 2012 the economic sector "mining and quarrying" represented only 1.5% of sector share of total employment in the country. It is also important to note that large companies (including mining) are involved in 85% of the overall distribution of total sales. See: Ministry of Economy, Studies Unit. "Companies in Chile by size and economic sector since 2005 to date." June, 2014.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> In the French case, imports occupy about 30% of the national GDP.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> In the case of the US, imported and exported products are curiously quite similar, being the most traded cars. 2014 exports and importsSource: Observatory of Economic Complexity.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> Around 73% of companies in Chile correspond to the tertiary sector of the economy, ie services. See: Ministry of Economy, Studies Unit. "Companies in Chile by size and economic sector since 2005 to date." June, 2014.

In the US case, the services are to a considerable 77.7% of the total annual GDP; Likewise, the tertiary sector provides 81.2% of formal jobs. Distribution of economic activity by sector; source:http://data-bank.worldbank.org/.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> A list of the hundred most productive US companies, the supermarket chain Walmart is the one that has the largest number of employees by 2015, according to Fortune magazine. View: http://www.fortune.com/fortune500.

cial services to facilitate the sale of their products. These types of companies often are international, making investments in different countries.

In addition to the large commercial enterprises there are small businesses in Chile, France,<sup>7</sup> and the US. In Chile, the smaller companies are microenterprises owned by a single person. The owners are categorized as "self-employed." These small businesses employ about one-fifth of the entire workforce. They provide modest incomes and are often in the informal sector<sup>8</sup>. Despite the large number of small businesses, and the substantial number of Chilean workers who are employed in them, they control a fraction of sales and many of the jobs are in the informal economy<sup>9</sup>.

The contemporary economic structure is not largely composed of industrial workers, miners or agricultural workers. There are, on the one hand, gigantic productive commercial or financial enterprises with a high level of sales. They deal directly with a minority of the workforce. Then there is a myriad of small and medium enterprises, with more limited sales. Large companies usually have international ties, either through exports or imports or transfers of capital and technology. This type of economic activity constitutes most of the gross domestic product.

While large corporations directly employ a minority of the population, indirectly they have links to other smaller companies that provide productive services, generate needed job training, health services, etc. They involve a much larger sector of the population.

Large production companies which operate internationally, whether in electronics, vehicles, weapons of war, the pharmaceutical industry, mining,

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> It would be interesting to add the type of contracts, as well as the amount of money earned from employment, quality it becomes relevant. In France, 7% (2010-2013) of the working population is in vulnerable employment, ie self-employed or even non-remunerated. On the other hand, long-term unemployment that lingers over the same period reaches 40% of the unemployed. In other words, almost half of the unemployed (10.3% in 2013) lies in that situation for continuous periods exceeding one year.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup> During the first mobile quarter of 2015, workers "self-employed" reached 19.2%. See: INE. National Employment Survey. Bulletin No. 198, April 2015.

In the US, meanwhile, by 2013, 52% of the active population (120 million people) works in a small business. There are nearly 28 million small businesses in the US and more than 22 million are self-employed, no payroll or additional employees (these are called nonemployers). Of these 22 million businesses, 19.4 million are individual (a person), 1.6 million are partnerships and 1.4 million are corporations. To see in:https://www.census.gov/econ/nonemployer/index.html (Accessed July 2015).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>9</sup> In Chile, 85% of the total sales is generated by large enterprises, while micro, small and medium enterprises reaches only 15%. See: Ministry of Economy, Studies Unit. "Companies in Chile by size and economic sector since 2005 to date," June, 2014.

etc., monopolize resources and technological productivity, which makes it very difficult for medium-sized companies to compete with them. In the communications industry especially with regard to software, there is also a high degree of monopolization.

We observed that a substantial degree of casualization of labor in microenterprises exists in trade, but it also frequently occurs in other areas. Contracts are part-time fee contracts, fixed-term contracts, and subcontracts that do not receive the benefits of the company for providing services<sup>10</sup>. These types of contracts exist for workers in public and private enterprise. This process is characterized by Bauman as the liquidity of the social structure and is described by Beck as the risk society.

Insecurity of employment is partially offset by the security policies of governments, such as unemployment benefits. These are found more in France<sup>11</sup> than in the US and Chile.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>10</sup> Large companies in Chile have a higher percentage of contract workers, reaching 34% of the contracted staff, unlike small businesses, where this figure reaches 3.2%. Another fact to complement gives us the Structural Survey on Earnings, Cost Labor and Employment of the INE (2007) having 14.1% of contracting through the verbal agreement of the total employed, ie who they do not have social security and the safeguards necessary to ensure stability and safety at work. For France, there are (legally) three types of contract: contract with indefinite duration (CDI), fixed-term contract (CDD) and temporary work contract. Also, a table is added to the vulnerable employment and unemployment. Cf. French Ministry of Labor.: http://travail-emploi.gouv.fr/etudes-recherches-statistiques-de,76/etudes-etrecherches, 77/publications-dares,98/dares-analyses-dares-indicateurs,102. Finally, in the US, the case of written contracts, in all states except Montana, presumably at will employment, unless the contract create a different relationship. The employer and employee can agree on important details about working without agreeing that the employee will have job security. In fact, many employers ask employees to sign written employment contracts explicitly recognizing that will be used at will. Montana has a different rule: once an employee of Montana has completed the probationary period the employer, or have worked for six months (if the employer has no trial period), the employee may be dismissed only for good cause. In the case of oral contracts, these are as enforceable as written contracts, but much more difficult to prove. If there is a dispute, it will be your word against the employer. If the employee is terminated for any reason other than any of the agreements spoken, that is a breach of contract. There is also the case of implicit contracts. They are the ones who have not been reduced to a formal document or even explicitly stated but is implied from a combination of statements and actions oral and written employer. If there is an implicit contract usually comes after an employee has been dismissed, and this is reinstated. Some of the factors that courts consider whether the decision has created an implicit contract work: a) if the employer gave assurances safety of employees at work; b) if the employer policies limit their right to fire at will;

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>11</sup> An overview of the situation, with updated data, may be found in the official publication Dares Indicateurs. In our case, it should look at the number of March 2015, obtained from the website of the Ministry of the French Labor in the link: http://travail-emploi.gouv.fr/IMG/pdf/2015-022-2.pdf. As we have not used alone document, should go to the page of the Center des Liaisons Européennes et Internationales de Sécurité Sociale (CLEISS, 2015): http://www.cleiss.fr.

# 3.3 The Economic Dimension and Social Power

In societies like Chile, which have a long history of capitalism, the economic dimension is characterized by those who have no capital and are employed in production, trade, finance, the ideational complex, or services. They work for a wage or salary, and produce materials, services, and consumer goods. The predominant form of control in the economic structure and in work in general is economic coercion. Workers and laborers are those who, working in production and services, create goods and services that serve as a means of social control at work and throughout the structure.

In the activities of production of material goods and services, workers create more value than they get to keep. The difference between what they create with their work and what they receive is surplus value or surplus product. Regarding production, initially, the capitalist must contribute capital in machinery, buildings, raw materials, etc., to facilitate production of the workers. The capitalist appropriates surplus product or surplus value created by workers in the form of profit, which they use for consumption or invest in new production. The original capital is spent on the production process, and is totally depleted over time. All of the remaining capital is the result of the work of the workers themselves who were hired. That is to say, when you've spent the original capital, which necessarily has to occur over time, the capitalist must hire workers who through their work create profit themselves. This is true for a capitalist in particular, and the capitalist class as a whole. The working class creates surplus value, i.e. capital to sustain itself and the capitalist.

Economic coercion is a relationship of power in capitalist society that will reproduce the same social relations during production cycles. But no capitalists can only be concerned with the production of material goods. Goods need to be sold and production increased through the investment of capital. The productive capitalist (including those in personal services such as health and others) cedes part of the capitalist gain (which is financial) to workers. Moreover, he or she cedes to the State profit needed to maintain the social structure in the form of taxes. Services are funded in part by the State and partly by users working in the social structure. Its physical infrastructure is also part of the surplus value produced. Another part of the surplus value consists of State resources and form part of the ideational complex.

The workers and employees (including technicians, supervisors, etc.) involved in the production of material goods and services create all the surplus value of society, in the form of material goods and services and provide maintenance support of all other classes of society. The great "managers" of economic and social life in general are the capitalists in whose hands are concentrated the springs of social power in the form of surplus value. The surplus value is used to hire workers, finance media (directly or through advertising), pay services, finance election campaigns in democratic political systems, etc. Thus, production, appropriation and distribution of surplus value is the key mechanism for reproduction and maintenance of all social life and power relations that characterize it, and as we have defined it. It is the one historical process that determines the position of the various social classes (see definition of the dimension "class situation"). Families of different kinds, very unequal in their urban conditions and habitability, experience generational problems, which occur in different ways in different social classes. This is expressed in territorial groupings (spatial dimension) in certain neighborhoods, and secondly in functional hierarchy (knowledge and skills).

Forms of power and domination give rise to specific occupations. These processes determine the position of various classes (see the definition of the dimension "class situation"). Different types of families are found in rich and poor urban neighborhoods. As we observed, the structure of domination has a spatial dimension and a functional dimension (grouping families with higher or lower knowledge and skills in certain neighborhoods). The class positions of families, their urban locations, and knowledge and skill levels, are passed down intergenerationally.

From this discussion, it is clear that the class structure is not reflected only in the economic dimension, but in power relations in all dimensions of social structure, which goes far beyond the ability to "hire persons". Its scope is also international, because economic relations between different countries (investment, international flows of capital, expansion or contraction of markets, etc.) depend on the defining character of class relations in each country and among them. Therefore, for entrepreneurs in key economic positions the nature of class relations in another country is very important. An understanding that external trade and investment is producing a qualitative change in class relations in a country because power relations are unequal and asymmetrical, is necessary. Foreign investment may cause resistance of the subordinate classes, and distortions or ideological bias at the level of social representations (as shown in ideas, social reality and, more specifically, class relationships). An outcome can be the misperception that these power relations are more equal than they really are.

The production of material objects (machinery, raw materials, buildings, etc.) makes constant capital. However, this process does not create value. Work is what creates value. With technological advances, increased productivity, and constant capital, there are economic gains in a particular company. But if we look globally, as the constant capital increases, that does not create value. To calculate the rate of profit (surplus / cap. Constant + value workforce) and with increases to the constant capital, the denominator tends to lower that rate. But at the same time, increased productivity, with the same labor force produces more and the difference between what the workforce

produces and what is received by the worker tends to be higher. That is, the relationship: gain / value of the labor force tends to be greater. Therefore, workers produce more and get less proportionally; so the apparent paradox is a tendency to have decline in the profit rate and an increasing the rate of exploitation.

With the increases in capitalist irrationality, the total expansion of the mass of goods produced and a decrease in proportion of the product in the hands of workers, there is a decline in demand. Thus with a wide range of goods increasingly produced, there is less demand. This process according to the market leads to a restructuring of the entire production. The mismatch period can be quite long (years) and during this time, new companies increase their productivity while restricting what the workforce receives. This means that, in relation to the continued advances in production, there is a restriction in consumption (which is greater economic coercion). Specifically, there is a reduction or halt to the production of consumer goods needed. Simultaneously, there is increased production of luxury goods for higher-income sectors. This increase in the production of luxury goods is necessary so that factories remain solvent. In addition, increased productivity through the application of new technology impacts labor. Workers with higher level skills are hired rather than less skilled labor. The workers who are less skilled, and those who lose employment, experience extreme economic oppression. Unemployment is a brutal case of economic coercion, which can be alleviated to some extent by State subsidies.

But entrepreneurs are also subject to economic coercion. Competition means that they earn about what others lose, and entrepreneurs are subject to competition between companies. Although they set the economic conditions, they face competition and may lose. However, competition results in a more advantageous position in the market (with greater economic power), These employers can neutralize partly economic coercion, which is evidenced by behavior of the multinationals and large economic groups.

Economic coercion means that on the one hand, there are no human material objects and services that satisfy biological, psychological and social needs of workers, and secondly, there are factors in (not just technology), economic and social structure that hinder their production. These difficulties or obstacles can be partially overcome in most cases (not all), and this is a great stimulus for sustained effort to overcome them. When the possibilities to overcome them are increased, it becomes virtually impossible for a capitalist to start and maintain production without the support of financial institutions. The increasing importance of financial institutions leads to the development of large financial groups which lead to other economic activities, and acquire a role of primary importance in market societies.

# 3.4 Resource Allocation in Today's Society

Market society, globally, as we have seen, is characterized by economic growth accompanied by increased economic coercion and productivity. In every society there is economic coercion, but market societies inherently have a dominant social control mechanism at work, which tends to neutralize or mitigate other forms of control in society.

The trend towards increasing the rate of exploitation can be reversed in part by the intervention of the State through redistributive social policies. However this has limitations. If redistribution is greatly expanded, it reduces the rate of profit. This redistributive policy discourages economic investment in this type of society.

Capitalism follows a policy of resource allocation based on market trends. It imposes short-term allocation, both in terms of physical and human resources. In capitalist economies in general, the distortions arising from the lack of a long range temporal perspective of the market and biases imposed by the form of economy can be corrected only partially. If it were otherwise, it would undermine the foundations of this economy through conscious action of the State. In capitalism, the momentum of development is the increased productivity and the mechanisms for financial gain in general.

Development in capitalism leads to an increase in productivity, efficiency in the use of resources at work, but in a contradictory manner. The results of increased productivity lead, as we have discussed in previous parts of this chapter, to marked social inequalities and social frustration in the sectors that suffer. This trend produces escapist solutions and crime.

One of the evolving forms of economic coercion produces other processes. To market the surplus of produced goods, given the relative restriction of consumption (because of the increasing the rate of exploitation), the need for advertising increases to sell certain goods in competition with others. Therefore, in market societies there is an emphasis on advertising and marketing in general.

In a market society, financial activities become more relevant. Although these financial services are always necessary to ensure continuity of production, due to the requirements arising from the need for greater investment in the means of production, to start production or begin a new phase of the production process to have improvements in productivity, they are a requirement. But financial activities also become more important in relation to non-productive consumption, as a way of selling goods with consumer loans. Therefore, both the advertising and marketing activities combined with financial services acquire great importance in market societies and in advanced capitalism in general. We need to focus on the importance of financial services in market societies. Not only do they increase with the development of the economy and the organic composition of capital, but also with the scale of production leading to a polarization of resources. Luxury goods are overrepresented; while there is insufficient production to meet the basic needs of workers. This means that a high proportion of social resources are used to meet the needs of a small number of people. This is contrary to an optimal resource allocation which would prioritize real human needs. Consequently, there is a high differentiation in access to essential goods and services in current market societies which reflects high levels of inequality in access to resources.

The emphasis on increased productivity in today's capitalism produces better utilization of the workforce, which, accompanied by economic coercion, can result in a dramatic increase in production. Furthermore, investment in new technology has the outcome of higher quality products which makes for easy placement on the market, because they are more attractive. In addition, the increased production of high quality attractive goods makes it possible to lower the prices of goods and market them to lower income sectors of society.

Moreover, in capitalism, the search for greater productivity immediately leads to a myopic allocation (seeking immediate results at the expense of future developments) of resources in science and technology. Further, as in some cases the research is funded by private economic groups. This can lead to the investigation being conducted in disconnected small projects. Private industrial secrecy and patents owned by companies limit the fruitful contact among researchers dealing with similar research problems. The contradictory demands regarding the skill level of labor (increased coordination efforts, which require higher level training accompanied by a simplification of tasks, which requires entry level workers), which is limited for low level workers but expanded for highly skilled labor. The educational system contributes to higher productivity, but it is expensive and it is organized to reproduce the class structure. Consequently, students without resources cannot obtain training that would qualify them for positions of greater responsibility and benefits. These issues relate to the allocation of financial resources in the ideational complex.

With regard to the economic structure, expanded financial activities (e.g. advertising and consumer loans) distract skilled labor from relevant social tasks. They become absorbed in consumerism rather than social development (e.g. healthy families and well integrated and functioning residential communities). Some members of the skilled workers group who are absorbed with the material life become social parasites.

# 3.5 Freedom and Social Classes

We maintain that there is greater freedom when there are more alternative courses of action available to meet biological, psychological and social needs following the legitimated values in society, and that as a result of this normatively sanctioned free choice there is less physical and mental suffering. An individual is not free if they must violate legitimate norms to attain essential goals. Their illegitimate behavior in goal attainment may result from economic, physical, or moral coercion that originates in the prevailing economic and social structures.

Social relations are antagonistic when one group's fulfillment of their (biological, psychological and social) needs decreases the possibility that another group can satisfy their basic needs (specifically those in antagonistic relationship). If the capitalist class gets more surplus value, it decreases the life chances of other classes, unless this gain of surplus value is not due to changes in class relations, but to greater global development. From this point of view, the antagonistic class relations in capitalism assures that the freedom of certain classes is based on the restriction of freedom for other lower classes.

#### The analysis suggests additional observations:

- 1. Economic coercion through market regulations in capitalism limits the freedom of all classes; however the degree to which it affects a particular class / group depends on their relative economic power.
- 2. When social relationships are polarized and antagonistic, it becomes necessary to increase direct controls over classes. This, to some extent, also restricts the freedom of those who must exercise such control.
- 3. The class relations in capitalism also allow contradictory global development of the economy. Consequently, relations are only partially antagonistic, as the global development can increase the freedom of the subordinate classes to some degree.

One aspect that increases the degree of freedom is social mobility, in the sense that there are real alternatives for individuals to change subordinate positions to other less subordinate, or even dominant positions. The greater the social mobility, the greater individual freedom. However, if relations remain antagonistic, the subordinate classes always enjoy less real freedom than the ruling classes. On the other hand, social mobility can not be completely unrestrained, there must always be some social barriers to overcome in order to change position, because if not, no one would remain in subordinate positions, which is a prerequisite for the existence of dominant antagonistic positions and classes.

Here we must digress. When we talk about freedom, we do not refer exclusively to the freedom to purchase products and services. In analyzing power relations, we have seen that economic relations involve social power, power to decide what is reversed, power to hire and subordinate people, power to manage the economy (and consciously or not, spend much of the surplus on luxury goods and personal services); power to influence the media and education, and power to reproduce the class structure. Furthermore, the problem of power, understood as the ability to force the attainment of their own interests over the interests of others in the same or lower social position, is directly related to our concept of freedom. Regarding freedom of assembly, expression, and universal suffrage, the people should finance election campaigns (where the power differential among classes can be seen), and the class relations are reproduced in education differentials and the political issues chosen. They should seek to directly or indirectly influence the media, so that it no longer benefits the positions of greater power. It is the duty of the subordinate classes to try to use those freedoms for change in their favor, because these freedoms in practice usually are used more in favor of the positions of greater power.

One relationship we mentioned that we should emphasize, is that the greater economic coercion, less the freedom. When moral control in the economy is of greater importance than economic coercion, a greater degree of development is feasible. However, for the economy to function properly, it is unrealistic to completely eliminate economic coercion, but to the extent that it can be partially replaced by moral control, there will be an increase in freedom. This change represents a qualitative change in class relations.

As noted previously, the global development of the economy, expressed as the gross production rate increases the chances of having freedom. However, it is limited for subordinate positions, and by the degree of economic antagonism.

Job insecurity and unemployment decrease economic freedom, as they restrict the choice of employment status. These mechanisms promote capital accumulation because they create a pool of cheap, flexible labor. This constitutes a brutal restriction of economic freedom.

# 3.6 Bauman and Casualization of Work

In this section we provide a summary of the analysis of Zygmunt Bauman from his text *Work, Consumerism and the New Poor* (2000). It develops the theme of the work ethic of modernity and its current role in society. Also he provides the history of the welfare State and its connection with the needs of Western capitalism.

We then apply Bauman's analysis of the process of work casualization to the Chilean economy. Data provided by the SOL Foundation regarding work in Chile is presented.

# 3.6.1 Work Ethics and Aesthetics of Consumption

In the text, Bauman begins his approach to the subject of the work, referring to the ethics of work on two premises: a) "Nothing is free: it is always a quid pro quo, a give something to give me something"; b) "It is absurd and irrational to seek job satisfaction; although in an ideal sense work is a value in itself, a noble, personally fulfilling activity "(Bauman, 2000, p. 17). Bauman says that public policy followed these assumptions to eliminate malpractices and encourage good practices for the progress of modern society.

However, with the crisis of the welfare State, the "work ethic" is replaced by the "aesthetics of consumption", relegating the value that was accorded to work to consumption during modernity. It refers to contemporary society as a society of consumers, however, people have always consumed one product or another throughout history. The difference between modern society and modernism is that currently we are a "community of consumers" and our priority is to "consume". Unlike previous generations, which recruited large numbers of workers when industry was booming. Bauman called this era the "society of producers". In the society of producers, workers with jobs were unlikely to protest or disturb production.

While before the poor were those who did not have work and functioned as a "reserve army of labor"; now the poor are those who have been left out of the dynamics of consumption. Specifically, there are many individuals who have jobs, which are precarious and the causes lie outside the dynamics of consumption.

The following quote summarizes the above:

"Where once 'being poor' meant being unemployed, now it refers primarily to the status of a consumer driven from the market" (Bauman, 2000, p. 11).

To better understand this argument, Bauman analyzes the relationship of capitalism with the welfare State (western-European) and their subsequent change. Regarding Europe, in the post war era, it was sustained by social integration through work (that was the normative order), guaranteed a level of "public welfare", giving citizens a common minimum standard of living for a decent life. Bauman relates the internal dynamics of the modern State. He observed that capitalism needed healthy and educated labor for its production processes. The costs of education and healthcare were assumed by the State through contributions of its members. Capitalism alone without the help of politics could not have been achieved.

# 3.6.2 Overcoming the Welfare State

The crisis of the welfare State occurred when capitalism no longer needed masses of educated and healthy workers. This was the result of technological advances that managed to keep productivity high without having the same amount of labor as in the past. In addition, during this period there was privatization of social services. They were integrated into the dynamics of the financial market. The welfare State became a State without workers. It was without its substance and was in crisis. The "reserve army of labor" educated and healthy, which the welfare State was responsible for maintaining, was no longer necessary, because capitalism did not need it. Rather, it needed flexible workers, part-time and not so specialized, to lower costs. In this context, Bauman exemplified through a study by the Financial Times: "People employed in industry declined in the countries of the European Community between 1970 and 1994, from 30% to 20%, and from 28% to 16% in the United States. During the same period, industrial productivity increased on average 2.5% a year "(Bauman, 2000, p. 45). This can be explained in part by the massive transfer of industry to Asian countries – especially China, whose labor is less expensive, and the use of high technology (robotics) is implemented on a large scale.

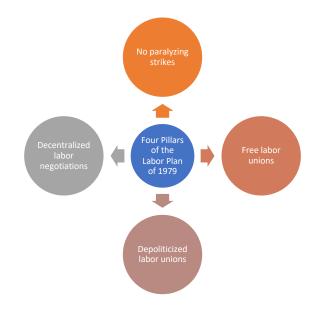
# 3.6.3 The Chilean Case

Casualization of work due to the change in work ethic to an aesthetic of consumption is shown with some data provided by the SOL Foundation. This official information related to work and employment in Chile generates debates about decent work, which is encouraged by the International Labor Organization as a way to reverse the negative consequences of globalization.

#### 3.6.3.1 Chilean Data on Labor Force

It is important to note that Chile has never been a welfare State strictly following the European model. However, it became known as a developmental State with many similar components to the European welfare State. Major changes in the Chilean labor forcé began after the coup of 1973. The major transformation that was carried out in 1979, with the so-called "Labor Plan" which was prepared and carried out during the dictatorship without political opposition. It consisted of four key areas that will be discussed below following Figure 1, which was taken from the report of the SOL Foundation, Unions on collective bargaining (Durán & and Kremerman, 2015).

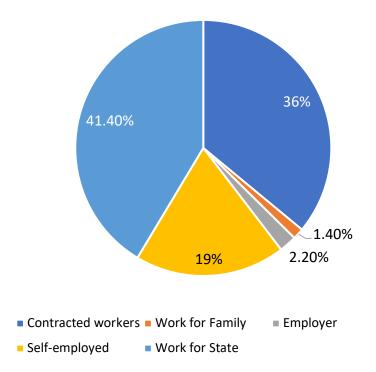
# Figure 1: Four Pillars of the Labor Plan of 1979



*Source: Narbona, K. (2014) "Antecedents of Chile's Labor Relations Model", Social Observations Project: Work, Education, and Health.* 

These four pillars of the labor plan of 1979 were a turning point regarding the Chilean labor market. They were the beginning of a new conception of the role of the State in its regulation. This meant that job insecurity became worse during the 1980s. During this period the labor policies of the "Concertación", or agreement, were developed as a method of engaging this new reality of the global labor market. A characteristic feature of labor flexibility is the outsourcing process, where major companies through contractual obligations, give responsibility over the workforce to a third party (or contractor). This allows greater flexibility for the client company. It can easily dispense with the labor contractor, who is hired as a temporary worker. In many cases there are unspecialized workers who are employed under different job categories. Table 1 shows that for the periods January-March 2010 to January-March 2015 41.1% of the workers were contracted, and 19 % were self-employed (informal, entrepreneurs, professional fees, etc.).

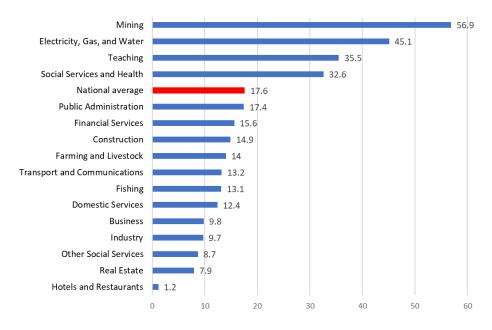
# Table 1: Distribution of New Employees: January 2010 to March 2015



Source: Duran, G. & Kremerman, M. (2015). The Real Wages of Chile: The SOL Foundation.

This same analysis can be performed by branch of economic activity (Table 2), where mining has the largest number of contracted workers, 56.9%, while the national average for the Chilean workforce is 17.6% outsourced workers. This high level of contracted workers is due to the needs of the mining industry, which requires flexibility in a highly competitive market. While the average income of these workers is higher than that of workers in other occupations, outsourcing is part of the very dogma of the new liquid employment. Precarization is not necessarily measured by revenue alone, but also includes contractual relations, employment safety, duration of employment, and rights of workers. For outsourced or external employees in public administration it reaches 17.4%, who are categorized as "fake employees"

# Table 2: Percentage of Contracted Workers by Type of Economic Activity



*Source: Monthly Report of Quality of Work: SOL Foundation December 2014 to February 2015.* 

False earners, shown in Table 3, are defined as employees who have no employment contract. For example, workers in government departments who perform the same tasks as fully benefited public workers, but do not have social security and lifetime job tenure. These correspond to other cited examples of labor liquidity and precarious employment. The use of this type of hiring in public agencies is justified because of the need for flexibility in hiring and the need to overcome bureaucratic barriers of a rigid State. According to the SOL Foundation, this number of precarious worker rises to 1.1 million workers in Chile, reaching 20.6% of women and 16.2% of men. The State or public sector are the principal employers in the country.

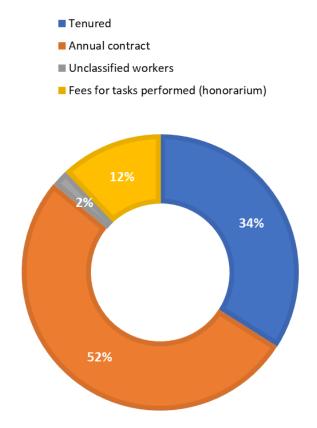
# Table 3: Percentage of Government Workers Who Do Not Have Contracts



Source: Duran, G. & Kremerman, M. (2015). The Real Wages of Chile: The SOL Foundation.

The data provided from the 2014 Budget of the Ministry of Finance (Table 4) show the existence of a total of 12% of personnel recruited under the system of fees for tasks performed and 52% with annual contracts during 2013. While one is worse than the other, as those who work for fees have no social security, a contract has a duration of only one year. This situation creates uncertainty and can not be classified as stable work itself.

# Table 4: Distribution of Personnel in the Public Sector in 2013



Source: National Budget Office (2014).

In the public sector, there are many fee compensated workers who perform their work following fixed schedules and fulfill the same functions as a contract worker or a tenured public servant. However in the private sector it is more complicated. Many private sector workers are hired by companies with a job title, but they do not necessarily fulfill the role of a worker with a fixed or defined contract or term or service. Therefore, they do not have a defined work schedule nor have a place in an occupational hierarchy, which are the defining elements of classic wage employment.

This data analysis shows the importance of the study of employment relations for understanding society, which can not be seen in isolation. The labor market must be understood in the context of globalization, which makes these relationships complex and affected by the dynamics of a fluid-dynamic capitalism.

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# 4. Territorial Dimension

Human behavior, social interactions, and the development of social organizations take place in a physical space. The spatial characteristics condition the relationships and set limits and influence possibilities arising from them. Spatial or territorial dimensions impact the entire social structure. We observe that the social structure and the demographic characteristics of its population are derived from this spatial dimension.

# 4.1 State and Territory

For the organizations of States, territory is an essential dimension. All states must define their territory. A State has a monopoly on physical coercion in a territory. The rules and types of administration of a State within the territory of a country are associated with that territory. Border conflicts between countries ensure the rule of the State in that territory. This is one of the crucial aspects of external relations of States. No international policies of States can ignore the territorial dimension.

With regard to self-determination, each country must determine its own domestic and international policies. They should not be imposed by other states outside the territory. We assume that the armed forces of a country must defend the territory as its main function, but they must uphold the rule of the State within the territory.

With globalization and the economic exchange and transfer of capital at an international level, we must respect the laws and jurisdiction within the territory of each State. International economic relations cannot supersede the jurisdiction of the laws and legal regulations in the territories of each State.

States also differ internally with regard to the autonomy of particular territories. Federal States typically have more autonomy and unitary states less. The struggle for greater regional autonomy comes with various movements and the level of social consensus. Production and services differ across territories. It is hypothesized that greater autonomy and concentration of administrative decisions at the regional level, contribute to the less unequal development of regions. The proposition is put forth by those who believe in the benefits of greater centralization.

Looking at government, from the administrative point of view there are regional and local authorities. Also, administrations are differentiated territorially. There are also State authorities which are locally elected. The national laws in the local unit have greater authority than local regulations (which must conform to federal statutes). Not only the government, but also the judicial and penal systems are territorially differentiated; the greater the territory, the more hierarchical the levels. State agencies ranging from national, regional and local jurisdictions with executive, judicial, and police functions are established in the territory.

# 4.2 The Overall Social Structure and the Territory

With regard to the economic structure of the territory, we must acknowledge that historically industrialization contributed to the rapid growth of cities. Productive activity requires a significant number of people in a small space. Industrial, commercial, and financial activities contribute to an increase in the number of people involved in a restricted space and the growth of cities. Farming and livestock require more physical space, reducing the human population density, one of the main criteria for defining a zone as rural. Agricultural industries complicate the analysis with respect to population density. Moreover, spatial relationships between neighboring cities generate processes of urban expansion.

But the accelerated urbanization is seen by large organizations, e.g. hospitals and health centers, major shopping centers and small businesses, together with large organizations of the ideational complex (higher education and large secondary schools) and the services of the State, as providing opportunities for expansion. This varied organizational growth promotes even greater increases in urban population.

People who work in various parts of the overall structure live with their families, which means commuting from the place of housing to the workplace. This raises issues of the need for public and private transport. If all the houses were very far apart, as in rural areas, the large number of people produces a problem of commuting which could be unmanageable. There are cities in which the distance between the inhabitants and their respective workplace is problematic and not served well by public transport. The loss of potential hours of leisure and family life influences the quality of life.

Consumption of goods and services for the maintenance and reproduction of people is done in families where there are the most intimate social relationships. Ideally, this occurs in families which can provide emotional and psychological support for all of the members. From this point of view, the habitat in which the family lives is one of the main indicators of the quality of life. It is there, too, where there are major recreational spaces for people. One of the outcomes of work or income from the property is the maintenance and enjoyment of families.

Residential spaces can be assessed according to urban characteristics, such as green areas, the level of services, housing quality, safety standards, etc.

These criteria determine the price of land and housing. Therefore, where one lives is strongly associated with the available income. The neighborhood and housing in which it resides are the main indicators of social status of the family. Given the conflicting aspects and inequality in economic relations, these are manifested in urban areas where social inequalities are spatially expressed.

#### With the unregulated growth of cities, a number of problems arises:

- The problem of public and private passenger transport.
- Inadequate transport infrastructure.
- Differentiation of residential areas as an expression of social inequalities.
- The problem of distance between work site and residences and the growth of cities.
- Urban problems of delinquency and crime.
- Ecological problems, e.g. air, water, and noise pollution.

But in the cities, there are not only residential and working spaces and services. There are public spaces, including green areas, parks and squares, which have common access. However, the territorial distribution of these green spaces is higher in the privileged residential sectors. And there are public-private spaces such as malls (where there are many department stores as well), which some consider non-spaces for the exclusive purpose of consumption for the entire family. There are also areas where local restaurants dedicated to the gastronomic enjoyment and other cultural areas visited by very broad sectors of the population.

But besides these residential and cultural aspects, the territorial dimension is important from the point of view of production. There are cities and regions where large productive enterprises, associated transportation, and consumption centers, both domestic and international (in the case of exports and imports) are concentrated. This type of concentration can have effects on the uneven development of regions and cause problems of ecological degradation (as in the case of mining). Also, as in the residential sector, the price of industrial land is associated with accessibility to major transport routes to markets and to firms that provide inputs to production.

Finally, the territorial dimension is associated with international capital movements, in which national companies are established throughout other countries, and vice versa. In these cases, one must consider the important legal provisions of the host country.

# 4.3 Power in the Territory

If we consider power, and the ability to assert the interests derived from social position as manifested in the territorial dimension, the foremost indicator is the assertion of the interest in the residential sectors, which are arranged and function according to the social status of residents. There are apparent advantages in terms of education and available public spaces, housing characteristics, and urban environment quality, for the most privileged individuals and groups. Further, there are true ghettos of misery, which have minimal ability to realize the interests for the lower social classes. There are also middle-income sectors, which have a greater diversity of social positions for residents. This also can be observed in government policies that favor those positions / individuals with more political weight in society. Policies with regard to public housing relegate it to the periphery, far from the workplace, where land is cheaper. Therefore, we find that social and economic power is then expressed territorially.

Also, at the national level, the economic policies of the State protect existing property relations, and favor the privileged throughout the country. This State action grants them the power to realize their interests.

People with local interests such as neighborhood councils and other similar organizations often come together to assert collective interests to improve their neighborhood (territorial interests) and through organizations increase their power. The same applies to regional movements, which create derivative organizations with particular interests. There are also various organizations and movements with ecological interests.

When a territorial industry, such as a mining company, degrades the environment, the community comes together to preserve their natural areas. However, experience shows that through sinecures, they are often controlled by mining companies. A contradiction exists here with regard to the interests of the community. The company on the one hand is a source of work but on the other, preys on the environment. This conflict is common.

The workers unions mitigate to some extent the highly serious situation regarding the lack of territorial power of the disadvantaged. When an organization acquires political power, it can make some changes.

# 4.4 Social Exclusion at the Local Level

David Mally

# 4.4.1 Social Exclusion at the Territorial Level: Concepts, Processes and Alternatives

One of the main axioms on social exclusion at the territorial level is dictated by the close relationship that would exist between the territory, habitat and housing, as a process of social exclusion (Mira, 2001). In this regard, it should be argued that the processes of social exclusion, and this general level, occur mainly in urban settings. In such environments, the main consequences of social exclusion at the local level have to do with spatial segregation, social stigmatization of certain neighborhoods and the creation of ghetto neighborhoods in certain areas of the city.

## 4.4.2 Concepts

Necessarily, if social exclusion is considered a multi-causal phenomenon, we must consider the effect of the spatial variable within this social problem (Diaz et to the., 2000). In that sense, the territory, and more specifically the city becomes a factor. It is critical to understanding the processes of social exclusion, and the vulnerability of certain social sectors.

Sabatini and associates (2001) defined residential segregation as "the degree of spatial proximity or territorial agglomeration of families belonging to the same social group, whether it is defined in ethnic terms, age, religious or socioeconomic preferences." The three constitutive dimensions of this definition relate to: a) the tendency of social groups to concentrate on certain areas of the city; b) the shaping of socially homogeneous areas or neighborhoods; c) the subjective perception that the inhabitants have of the first two dimensions.

A reason for this is that the population is distributed in concentrations and grouped in defined areas of the city. Consequently, their high degree of social homogeneity is useful when mapping indicators of inequality and social exclusion processes (Bayon, 2008).

One of the analyses completed to understand the phenomenon of social exclusion is its association with urban poverty. Thus, urban poverty areas are largely excluded sectors of cities. According to Mira (2001), "it is urbanizing poverty in terms of social exclusion when it is caused by the actual breach of the right to housing." Directly stated, exclusion at the territorial level is unwanted by those who inhabit certain areas of existing principalities. Thus, one of the main pillars in studies on social exclusion has to do with the intervention strategies that are made.

The concern regarding social exclusion in today's cities has to do with its concentration in certain sectors. These sectors have specific characteristics, such as job insecurity, unstable wage levels, lack of protection of social rights, social disintegration and lack of support networks.

Explanatory models of social exclusion at the territorial level make the argument that the concentration of inequality in certain areas of the city and its permanence over time in certain neighborhoods within the city, is due to socioeconomic conditions and urban structures. Individuals and groups are excluded because of their situation in disadvantaged neighborhoods and the interaction with multidimensional processes that combine social, spatial, and economic functions which hinder the development of the resident population. However, according to Diaz and associates (2000), it is also necessary to associate symbolic and cultural factors with such fragmented sectors.

Thus, we find an accumulation of population vulnerability factors for excluded groups such as a low educational level, inadequate vocational training, an obsolete labor market, unemployment or precarious employment. This population has, therefore, low income and high dependency on benefits provided by the State.

#### 4.4.3 Processes

Such processes and unfavorable consequences for a large number of inhabitants of today's cities are contextualized by the processes of globalization that contemporary societies have undergone. The context of globalization has a close relationship with the economic opening of markets. In turn, it is impossible to deny the relationship between globalization and technological revolution. Furthermore, we observe the two main phenomena that drive the globalization processes of our societies: the demographic transition that transformed the physiognomy of the population pyramids; and increased life expectancy of children and the elderly (Mira, 2001).

Globalization brings in its relationship with the companies' new lifestyles and homogenization of cultural models that rather than being characteristics are real consequences for certain sectors. The negative effects of a global economy are located, as mentioned previously, in certain sectors of the territory, which are largely devoid of a sustainable economy. This is a reality that is opposed to sections of the city where the main enclaves of the labor market are concentrated.

According to this discussion, it is possible to affirm as a consequence of globalization, economic growth of cities goes hand in hand with increasing social exclusion. Following the neoliberal economic model, a large part of the population is out of the market economy. Exclusion of economic structure, hand in hand with the reduction and redefinition of the role of the State

structure are an important part of the context that affects our societies. The way the economy is organized in societies results in strong segregation, a sort of neoliberal galaxy. In the same way it is possible to note that the capabilities of the State have been reduced and positioned as a sort of patronage, giving little benefit to the public sector. Among such consequences, it is possible to identify a crisis in terms of the model of urban development. Cities and urban areas in general seem to naturally integrate economic, social, territorial and ecological differences in certain sectors. If we had to make a critical examination of the causes of this phenomenon, we must focus on the economic criterion which is the best predictor for why it occurs. Individuals with resources have a privileged status in the economic structure. They have ability to choose which part of the urban ecosystem will be their residential location. Therefore, it is very difficult to give responsibility to the State on issues of social exclusion, since according Mira (2001), adequate housing means "a private place, with enough space, physical accessibility, adequate security, security of tenure, structural stability and durability, lighting, heating and ventilation. Also, adequate basic infrastructure that includes a water supply, sanitation and waste disposal, a high quality environment, and good access to work and health services. All of the amenities are at a reasonable cost (Mira, 2001). These residential requirements were mentioned in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights of 1948.

For Sabatini and associates (2001), and in communion with the other authors recently mentioned, changes in the scale and the effects of segregation are associated with the globalization of the economy, with the liberalization of markets around urban land, and the lowering of the cost of labor. All of these changes were implemented from the 1980s onward.

While the economic structure and the reduced role of the State in social life are axes from which to observe the processes of social exclusion at the territorial level, no less important are the changes in lifestyles, changes in family composition and the role of women within this new scenario (Diaz et to the., 2000). The economic instability and poverty that is generated, coupled with social factors such as family breakdown and the poor social environment of the neighborhood, sometimes create vicious circles of decline and marginalization, which can lead to situations of exclusion (Mira, 2001; Diaz, et al., 2000). These situations are particularly serious when individuals or families are also affected by other factors of vulnerability arising from discrimination based on age, gender, ethnicity, disability, etc.

According Bayón (2008), "the emergence of a new geographical structure of inequality characterized by a spatial intensification of both privilege and poverty, particularly in large urban areas, where divisions are made more

rigid, as they are affected by a powerful process of geographical concentration. The concentration of poverty is explained by the confluence of several processes that bring together the poor in space, and block their socioeconomic and residential mobility" (Bayon, 2008, p. 128).

This process generates public interventions that isolate and cut off the neighborhood from outside investment. Consequently, its regeneration is prevented. Progressive construction of public housing for vulnerable groups; increasing concentration of vulnerable groups in substandard dwellings; the disappearance of local businesses (workshops, shops, etc.) and the absence of new investments because the social and physical environment is unattractive, undesirable, and insecure, are part of the downward spiral. In addition, it is very common to observe lack of resources in the family environment and social networks. On the other hand, there is the difficulty for the inhabitants of these neighborhoods to have access to vocational training and employment income. This is embedded in a lack of support for cultural and community life of these neighborhoods.

But the understanding of territorial segregation of cities does not simply mean an integrated segment and a segregated section. Marcuse (1995), describes the current city in terms of segments. He distinguishes five types of neighborhoods, which are interdependent units, but are separate. First is the dominant city, occupied by the economic, social and political hierarchy; next the gentrification city, inhabited by groups of professionals, managers and technicians of high income; third is the suburban town, which has middle class dwellings occupied by skilled workers and public employees; fourth is the city of tenants, including public housing, occupied by low-skilled workers; and finally, the abandoned city, composed of the poor and unemployed.

However, understanding the big picture of segregation in Latin American cities is not a simple matter. Following the analysis of Sabatini (2001), we find that the concentration of elite spaces is characterized by a remarkable social diversity (low segregation); however, in spaces where they concentrate the broad strata of poor citizens a social homogeneity (high segregation) is observed.

Therefore, attempts to interpret the spatial segregation of cities cannot leave out the objective and subjective elements operating in them as related processes. Taking into account the ratio of structural factors with dynamic elements is a possible way to generate a panorama of segregation.

## 4.4.4 Alternatives

When one considers alternative models of intervention, it is common to hear that one of the main dimensions is social and citizen participation which is important for overcoming social exclusion at the local level. Such intervention strategies have to do with models based on sociocultural amplification, especially through local community development. Using that approach to address exclusion at the territorial level, it is possible to link specific types of interventions. This specificity lies in its dual focus; on the one hand, physical intervention and, on the other hand, social intervention. While these are the areas where intervention is focused, it is also very likely that the effectiveness of these interventions depends on the State. The State proposes intervention policies from above. They are concerned with building model cities. From below, i.e. from the segregated neighborhoods, intervention programs are developed to support local development processes, community development, neighborhood economies and the establishment of social networks.

However, we are not finished yet. It is also necessary to guide State policies from a global vision of social exclusion. Such a process necessarily involves harmonizing the objectives of public policy and housing land and use with integration efforts that consider the physical and social problems tied to existing cities.

Thus, the fundamentals of a policy must take into account a number of features such as those noted by Mira (2001):

- 1. Willingness to consider the problems related to social exclusion and social diversity (gender, minority, diversity of origin, etc.) from an integrated approach.
- 2. The integrated approach means that the importance of an intervention scheme, based on an analysis of the causes of social exclusion. Further, the social exclusion process as a whole is emphasized.
- 3. A mobilization of resources from the community itself. Therefore, the program benefits the community as a whole and not only risk groups affected.
- 4. Associations of local organizations are increased; thereby broadening the base of social partners on which integration rests.
- 5. Make recipients of intervention processes leaders of the proposed program, not just passive recipients of services.

In short, it must combine the capacity to mobilize resources from State institutions and social partners to address the problems. The effects of these resources would be much smaller if they were not accompanied by the (social, moral and participatory) resources of the community. Thus we highlight the important role that associations, informal groups, community leaders and neighborhood networks have on the efficiency of these integration programs.

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# 5. Symbolic Dimension

# 5.1 Anatomy of Social Power

#### LEGITIMATE COERCITIVE CONTROL IMPOSITIVE TAXES CONTRIBUTE WITH GOODS AND FINANCIAL SERVICES Formal systems, bureaucratic and/or institutional SATISFY SOCIAL NEE THROUGH LIVING WORK: NEEDS -HEALTH AND -ESTHETIC SOCIAL APPEARANCE SPORTS PROFESIONAL RECREATION HEALTH EDUCATIONAL **IDEACIONAL COMPLEX** Formal systems, bureaucratic Formal systems, bureaucrati and/or institutional and/or institutional PERSONS WITH WHOLE OR PARTIAL SECONDARY SOCIALIZATION (Variable degrees) Persons as biological organisms with primary socialization

# **Figure: Basal Social Structure**

Source: Jorge Chuaqui (2019).

# 5.1.1 Classes and Social Categories and the Individual

Social classes depend on how society is structured economically. Depending on how the economy is organized nationally and internationally, the large capitalists who control large international groups have more political power than the highest elected State officials. They may even promote policies to bring down national governments. Working with high, elected, State officials, they use the existing legal framework and standard economic principles to make policies to mitigate the crises of capitalism. But why is the structure of the economic system so important to analyzing the problem of power in society? There are several preponderant reasons. It is organized internationally, it is determined by social and material conditions of human existence, and it is essential for the fulfillment of personal aspirations and social values. This does not deny the importance or relevance of the other dimensions of the basal social structure, which are often necessary conditions for the system to function. For example, it is necessary that there be an ideological system that legitimizes such a social system; without which there would be little or no functionality. A modern economy also requires the development of science and the training of professional and technical personnel. All of these are produced by educational systems, etc. Without these conditions, a capitalist system is not fully or "efficiently" developed. This has occurred in some countries in Africa.

Another question concerns the power of a class. Is it equivalent to the power of each member of the class, or a quantitative sum of them? Obviously, it is not the power of an individual member, or the sum of the powers of the members of the class. What is key here is how the class positions articulate with the system, and how they fit with the rest of the positions in the society. That's why we focus on class relations.

So when we describe an individual as a member of the capitalist class, we are not saying whether he is honest or dishonest, because the relationship of exploitation is an objective relationship depending on the organization of the economy rather than preferences. To keep those relationships of domination over other classes and reproduce as a class, (in terms of Bourdieu) they must generate certain social practices in relation to the other classes in the struggle for domination. That requirement "justifies" a system of shared ideas which dominate and mystify their subordination. Bourdieu calls this process "symbolic violence".

According to our view, this intersection is where the objective (class structure) joins the subjective (ideology).

The person who has a particular class position, say a capitalist within a certain range, lives in a privileged urban sector, their children study in private schools and universities, holidays are abroad and in exclusive locations. They have different musical tastes and sports preferences and religious affiliation. These experiences shape a particular class psychology. The psychological circumstances are radically different from those of a self-employed person, such as a street vendor, for example. Their children go to municipal schools, where they may or may not complete their education. If financially possible, they seek higher education. Vacations are with relatives. Their class position makes them linked differently to the ideational complex and education and health services. The power position translates into economic and social differences. These differences affect their ability to be inserted as adults in one or another social class. We assume that differences in the prestige and quality reproduces social differences in Chile.

But apart from class differences, there are other forms of exclusion relations. They are based, among others, in gender, disability, and culture. These differentiations cross the entire social structure, interact with the economic structure, and affect a significant proportion of the population. Being a woman, in traditional societies, defines a set of behaviors which have less power within the family and in the workplace. Here the determining factor is patriarchal ideology which includes "macho" culture. This has negative manifestations such as domestic violence, and discrimination in the workplace.

Disabilities marginalize people because of the social stigma, family overprotective attitudes and lack of adequate policies, lack of affective rights and good opportunities for employment and social inclusion.

In both cases, female gender and disabilities, the ability to occupy advantageous positions in the economic structure is reduced or blocked.

# 5.2 Ideological Domination

#### 5.2.1 The Knowledge and Power of Foucault

The overall society is shaped and functionally affected according to the features of the basal social structure. There are a several general requirements, including education and facets of the ideational complex. Another is the maintenance of health.

Those who control these processes, we call intellectuals, officials, teachers, clergy and physicians who are presented as repositories of truth in their respective areas: education, religion and health. In each of these cases there are procedures of social control. Specifically, we refer to education, which includes learning processes in sciences, humanities, and other areas; religion that provides salvation rituals, and medicine, which maintains health with the contemporary scientific approach. People follow norms and socialize because it is accepted that such intellectual processes exercise social control and ideological dominance in their fields. We are not sure on the issues of domination and power because it is not clear who exercises the domination and who benefits. We recognize that social consensus theory indicates that the acts of a doctor works to the benefit of the patient (see analysis Parsons of medical practice). The same can be said for the educator and clergyman, and as a result, we cannot automatically apply our definition of power, but these dimensions of the social structure require an analysis. It is clear that the legitimizing processes benefit the reproduction of the system and dominant classes, and they are maintained by the State. Therefore, those in privileged positions have more power. Further, considering the corporate interests of the social categories of doctors, teachers, and clergy, they are well served by these system processes. Domination exercised by the teacher, the priest and the doctor can be called legitimate or legitimated domination, as it is institutionalized (i.e., is recognized socially); it is maintained over long periods of

time; and it is accepted by most of the population. Their acceptance is based on a subjective interpretation, where they are considered custodians of certain truths; scientific knowledge in the case of the medical professionals, scientific or social content in the case of teachers, and the divine origin of beliefs in the case of clerics.

When we talk about social power, we mean the ability to assert personal or group interests in the context of an interaction, against the interests of others. It is commonly assumed that the doctor-patient, teacher-student, and priest-parishioner relationships are not antagonistic, but complementary. When this belief of the complementarity of interests is accepted, the doctors, teachers, and priests maintain prestige or legitimacy. They can then perform their role of legitimate domination through which they obtain their income.

The question then arises, what serves societal / global interests other than corporate, legitimate domination? One of the general issues is obvious: how are the interests of the most powerful positions in the system, which contribute to reproduction, served? But we must also consider the most private relationships. We must analyze interaction contexts in which intellectual officials are involved.

Education, churches, and health services act directly on individuals and seek to exercise social control over them. They act on the subjective self; i.e. values, beliefs, and attitudes shape and transform them into docile people who serve the system. Everyone has a body and thus control over them involves a biopolitics in terms of Foucault. The power / strength of this control depends on how true are the ideas and beliefs of intellectual officials.

In our model, their activities are characterized as personal services, i.e., they do not consist of producing material objects, but they are living labor who "produce" changes in people. The educational, health, and religious changes are necessary for the reproduction of capitalist society. As Foucault has observed, the reproduction of society would not be possible without these fundamental types of socialization.

Religions are articulated with churches as systems of interaction and formal organization. On the one hand, they serve those who occupy key positions in them. However, simultaneously they serve worker social classes which receive most of their resources. Consequently, we have revolutionary religious ideologies (e.g., the theology of liberation), which encourage profound change in the society. However, in situations of social stability, their predominant activities are more conservative. In many situations where there is exclusion, they spread and/or reinforce machismo and traditional cultural social forms. This process strengthens conservative views and social sectors.

Education at the present time provides scientific knowledge and "truths" through institutions which are endorsed by the State. The student must

"accept" and internalize what is taught by the teacher, because it is current knowledge. This information is of varying levels of complexity to meet the needs of different groups of students who differ according to motivation, etc. While education provides values, it must also reproduce the skilled labor force, and the more complex the task, the higher the level of education required. From that point of view, the modern or postmodern capitalism could not exist without the professional and technical personnel produced educationally. Further, these graduates should be "docile" enough to occupy strategic economic, political and social positions.

The concept of national identity is not possible without an educational system that covers the entire country, and provides a value-based cognitive coherence, but permits the concept of the socio-territorial unit. Further, it must deliver the skills necessary for various occupational activities. Currently, digital skills are of primary importance.

In the case of medicine, the criteria of normality is "key." It is assumed that what is not normal indicates the presence of a disease, and that the work of the physician is to determine the type of abnormality and prescribe therapies to return patients to a normal condition. For Parsons, talking about being sick is a deviation to be corrected to reintegrate patients so that they can fulfill their social obligations. The doctor, both from the point of view of Parsons and Foucault, is authorized to prescribe therapies which can be traumatic, and/or even against the will of the patient. Further, he/she has powerful social control, often unquestioningly accepted. Expert doctors can make a determination of what is normal or abnormal. Foucault, in The Psychiatric Power, notes that the psychiatrist is "the master of madness." According to psychiatrist Otto Dor, psychiatric abnormality occurs when the person has a breakdown of common sense, either qualitative (in the case of psychoses) or quantitative (in other mental illnesses). The Psychiatrists who return patients to "common sense" are powerful agents of social control that "protect society."

Regarding the power of intellectual officials (specifically the teacher, priest and doctor); they determine the various levels of the social system to which they focus their efforts. They are supported by the State because those who control the machinery of the State need to ensure successful governance in society, which includes effective social control of the population. Those who have that power/knowledge necessary to control the system, receive higher economic remuneration and official recognition. In the case of religions, the apparatus of the State confers certain rights and in some cases, even permits an integration with the secular State. It also defends a religion against those who oppose it.

Second, the intellectual officials work with both private and public baseline organizations, which have political and social class expression. They work in

a private for-profit company, or belong to an economic cooperative group. In their organizational roles they produce a differentiation of political and social interests. Moreover, if they occupy managerial positions in these organizations, they serve as rector of a private university, a corporate executive, or dean of an elitist private school etc.

Also, members of the social system have interests, such as to have a higher position, better remuneration of their job and higher positions to take care of their family, etc. To determine personal interests, we must specify the position in the various systems involved, and their idiosyncratic values, conflicts of interest at different levels of their holdings in different systems, etc.

In the sociology of culture, the role of compulsory education is recognized in shaping national identity, since having a common culture transmitted by education joins those who have it, linked to the concept of national identity.

#### 5.2.2 The Role of Religions: Bourdieu

The statement above regarding social classes coincides with Bourdieu's analysis, which sees the role of religion, with its bureaucracy (the religious part of the ideational complex organization), to strengthen the domination of some classes over others. The sociology of religion was not a defined field of investigation of Pierre Bourdieu. However according to Michael Löwy (2000), fundamental concepts of the theoretical model (e.g. "field" and "habitus") are directly related to the early observational research on religion. The definition of habitus as a modus operandi, for example, is directly linked to the scholastic philosophy of the priestly habit. Löwy concluded that from this point of view, the work of Bourdieu was almost a sociology of 'generalized' religions from ancient times to the present religion. It included paradigmatically, properties common to all areas of symbolic activity" (Dianteill and Löwy, 2009, p. 174).

But we must first clarify the genesis of Bourdieu's conceptualization of symbolic language (which is important to the later theory of symbolic violence). A first model comes from Émile Durkheim, who conceived of religion as a symbolic language, perhaps the symbolic language par excellence. This means that religion, under this theoretical framework, influenced by Kantian philosophy, has a dual function: to communicate, on the one hand, and on the other, "knowing." Accordingly, the Durkheimian notion of religion is part of the academic area of the Sociology of Knowledge.

Following this line of reasoning that Bourdieu (influenced by the findings of the French structuralist Levi-Strauss), saw myth as a way of social structuring (i.e., general religion and myths) related to social structure. Also, social functions in the Durkhemian conceptualization were expressed as political functions. Religion became part of the paradigm of the exercise of power which can be interpreted in two ways: 1) the Marxist view of class domination; and 2) the Weberian which emphasized the rationalization of society by religion. Weber refused to consider religion as a construct armed exclusively from the domination of the "intelligentsia." Overall, if you agree with Marx, you see that religion works with some existential doubt, and has the primary function of preserving the social order. In short, it is a tool of power.

We accept the Durkheimian notion of the social function of religion, emphasize its inherent political function. There is an intersection between the social function of religious beliefs, and religion in its political meaning. The outcome is that acceptance of religion exercises power in the mind of the individual. Hence, I can confirm the true weight of religion as a form of power, because it facilitates domination, operating at the mental or psychic level.

However, this religious phenomenon as seen by Bourdieu happens in a more recent period. Following Max Weber, he sees it moving society from the countryside to the city, but also influencing material work. The rationalization of work relates to the moralizing of religion. The establishment of an administrative apparatus that connects with the hope of salvation of individuals results in a more effective and solvent productivity. Bourdieu observed that there was a felt need for methods more rational to know the divine will, and priests to guide them (Bourdieu, 2009).

This also explains the rejection of polytheism, and the definitive establishment of monotheism for all religions in the West. It was more rational to concentrate the existential problems of belief to one God, and clarify the path to salvation. This approach maintained spirituality and thus facilitated the exercise of power. Further, it allowed for the creation of capital, which consisted of symbolic backlogs.

The monopolization of religious knowledge occurs mainly through a system of legal reinterpretation of myths and ritutals. This also results in the formation of a religious elite who perform institutionalized roles aimed at reproducing the dominant social order. Thus, knowledge systemized and passed from one generation to another sustains the dominant class over time.

How does this religious based power operate effectively? Historically the priest has the power. This role of the priesthood predates Christian societies. In religious mythology the charismatic works of a prophet were interpreted by the priest and incorporated into practical professional ideology. This was observed some time ago in rural, primitive societies by Levi-Strauss, who was studying shamanic complexity among indigenous peoples (Bourdieu, 2009, p. 69).

Moreover, the asceticism of the priest was a manifestation of the impersonal power he transmitted through a transcendent spirituality. The priest renounces the worldliness of his existence in order to acquire the sacraments which symbolize the power conferred upon him by the religious system. In the words of Bourdieu:

"the imperative of economic charisma imposes upon the priesthood the necessity of an ascetic lifestyle and the creation of a professional, interchangeable clergy who perform homogeneous worship. These skills are acquired through learning from a standardized curriculum that assures homogenizing action. This varies somewhat with different historical situations." (Bourdieu, 2009, p. 78).

We see therefore, the connection of the small independent entrepreneur, on the one hand, and the priest, who is affiliated with a religious institution that has trained him, on the other. The moments when the priest comes to operate as a prophet are exaggerated. This caricature is more myth than reality. Through exaltation of a priest (e.g. as prophet) there is manipulation of a situation and social control. The mystical content of religious language is nothing more than exaltation of the same. This is what Bourdieu called ritualization of crises (Bourdieu, 2009, p. 87). In this sense, a political revolution can not occur if it is proceeded by a symbolic revolution.

As we have explained, the religious institution or church, serves as reinforcement, a prosthesis, if you will, of the political order. It is there to facilitate the exercise of power. Parallel to the hierarchy of values, it manifests itself in the hierarchy of beings, establishing a social and value based scale. The bureaucracy of the Church is an allegory of society itself, with a rank order of positions. The function of the myth is to reduce the diversity of the world into a series of simple conflicts of good with bad ((Bourdieu, 2009, p. 83).

Bourdieu understands the microsociology of the dialectic of faith. This was the whole social experience: from the habit of communicating to power relations. Everything ends up being (perhaps reluctantly) this belief. It is the epistemological core of the general social theory of Bourdieu. His work approximates that of Marx: with regard to the concept of commodity, currency circulation and gain, which in the case of ideology is irrevocably false, but not useless or inconsequential. Everything works according to the belief that the object in question is of a priori value. This is defined as religious capital.

Bourdieu's work, as shown, is a conceptually Marxist interpretation of the religious institution, and its bureaucratic and rational dimensions.

#### 5.2.3 The Concept of Hegemony (Gramsci)

We have emphasized the importance of economic relations in the structure. These relationships are ideologically coerced and maintained by the State and socializing agencies such as those previously mentioned. Without any legitimacy the use of force is massively applied. From that point of view, the civil and criminal code, courts and police are essential for the development of class relations. There is not enough economic coercion to maintain and develop class relations. It is necessary that civil society consider these relations as natural, thereby disguising their inherent antagonisms. For example, we frequently hear "it has always been." We must realize that mass media, education and religion, and the ideational complex in general are controlled by the ruling classes. This reduces the field of contesting ideologies. However, even in the field of religion, in certain periods, revolutionary ideas emerge, as happened in the Catholic Church in the 1960s with liberation theology.

In Latin America during the 1960s a new perspective emerged in theology. The central question of theology became the relationship between salvation and historical process (Gutiérrez, 1975). Liberation theology is seeking an understanding of the link between salvation and historical process. This became central to the Catholic church. From the ecclesiastical discussions and new interpretations of biblical texts provided since Vatican II, the Catholic church had to reconfigure the notion of salvation and the respective roles believers and the church would play in the historical process.

This reformulation of Christian postulates arises from a need to unite. First, we have belief, and second, the concept of faith. Thus, the priority is the Latin American social reality. With the understanding of this historic situation comes the human and pastoral concern. Then European theology gives us insights and literature that applies to our own reality (Botella, 2001). Therefore, "theology is not the first, the first is the commitment; theology is an intelligence of the commitment, the commitment is action "(Gutiérrez, 1968). In this conjunction, theology required an existential position, i.e. a position in the current real world, a place that had been relegated to the background in the preceding theologies. Thus the theology of liberation takes a stand on the story of how faith is lived in the current world.

Therefore, there would be several stages in this process: a) economic liberalization, b) historical release of the workers, c) establishment of a social utopia and d) release of sin. Thus, a) a revolutionary action on economic dependency, b) construction of the destiny of mankind, c) a complaint to the existing world with the announcement of a better future, d) communion with God and men. In brief, salvation is presented as intrinsic to the revolutionary action of the man in the world, as this fourfold process is indivisible: there would be no link without necessarily the other. Therefore, raising a liberation theology means therefore to ask "what is the meaning of work in this world of faith. In other words: what is the relationship between the building of the world and salvation" (Gutiérrez, 1968).

Precisely for this analysis, traditional theology is shown to be an earthly commitment; whereas *authentic liberation theology* is assumed to be the result of collective work (Gutiérrez, 1968). For these reasons, it is possible to clarify

the theology of liberation, and not rely on the interpretation of the Catholic Church. Largely, this orientation to praxis of liberation theology was due to the close bond it had with Marxism. It took a more pastoral than a dogmatic attitude.

So the Church that is built on the foundation of liberation theology is, inexorably, *a Church of the poor*. Its existential stance is committed to the liberation of the oppressed and exploited classes. It is rooted in the Christian belief "...the radical incompatibility of evangelical demands with an unjust and alienating society. They feel very clearly that they cannot claim to be Christians without assuming a liberating commitment" (Gutiérrez, 1975, p 189). This would be based precisely on the unity of the liberators of humanity, and faith. It is understood as a commitment to God and all men.

The theology of liberation is committed to abolish the current situation of injustice and to build a new society. It must be verified by the practice of this commitment. This requires active and effective participation in the struggle that exploited social classes have undertaken against their oppressors. Liberation from all forms of exploitation, the possibility of a life more human and more dignified, creation of a new man, will be the outcome of the struggle (Gutiérrez, 1975, p. 387).

And in this search to create a *new man* it was noted in the Second Vatican Council: "We are witnessing the birth of a new humanism, in which man is defined by his responsibility to his brothers and to history" (Gutiérrez, 1975, p 190.). Now, "what in the light of the word, means fighting an unjust society, creating a new man?" (Gutiérrez, 1975, p. 193). Rather than as a transcendent end, liberation theology presents a salvation in the world, not getting rid of the earthly, but in the midst of historical reality. This prevents the evasion of earthly existence, and we may face the question of non-believers. Therefore, "...the salvation of human communion with God and communion of men among them guides, transforms and brings the story to its fullness" (Gutiérrez, 1975, p. 199). Even "the history of salvation is the same as human history" (Gutiérrez, 1975, p. 200).

As has been presented, this theological-political interpretation allows us to combine the historical reality with the spiritual vision of the future. It combines a mechanism in the struggle for releasing oppressed classes and both personal and collective salvation in the process. But "this is not a 'fight for others' ...but to free men from living in an alienated society" (Gutiérrez, 1975, p. 190). And it is in this movement that moves the Church as mediator of salvation, since the salvation related will of God is universal. As stated in Gutierrez (1975), this universality of salvation was announced by Paul in his letter to Timothy, and under other terms, also outlined in Matthew, 25, to say that those who renounce selfishness and seek to create a genuine brotherhood of men would accept their communion with God. In contrast, those who lose interest in this construction of the world would reject salvation. Under these parameters, It extends the possibility of salvation to all men, even those who have no clear awareness of it. Therefore, "...the presence of willful acceptance of liberation theology is not necessary, as it is human action that produces salvation" (Gutiérrez, 1975, p. 196). Therefore "sin is a break with historical reality. Salvation is communion of formerly bankrupt men. It is the folding of the man about himself" (Gutiérrez, 1975, p. 198).

Thus, sin is one of the main obstacles for the salvation of humanity. Any action resulting in exploitation is a break with God and men. In other words, the Christian valorization of earthly actions involves inexorably the social struggle for the liberation of believers at the same time. This includes the inevitable commitment to all humanity and to salvation itself. Finally, we argue that such release is only possible "when they themselves [the oppressed] 'realize the hope' that they have. When they are the managers of their own liberation. For now, it will be limited to efforts which contribute to that process which has just begun" (Gutiérrez, 1975, p. 387). In the effort to contribute to the social struggles that promote the liberation of the oppressed, it is that this theological rereading promoted by liberation theology and pastoral practice which takes precedence over dogmatic discussions about biblical revelations. Liberation theology emerged in a time when capitalism was changing. Now we do not envision that profound restructuring and religion is fulfilling its traditional role to strengthen and stabilize the existing system.

One wonders why people in society share ideas that are antagonistic to the social structure? Why do they accept the symbolic violence as described by Bourdieu? Why in an economic system that produces so much inequality and poverty, are people happy with their lives (as revealed in the latest Human Development Report of UNDP in Chile)?

First, it is because of the media (e.g. advertising and news stories) people are presented with a false picture of economic reality. This false picture of the economy is reinforced by the educational systems and the church. However, for some people, their lived experience contradicts these inaccurate renditions of society.

At a deeper level we assume that the apparatus of the ideational complex reinforces the prevailing economic forces. This problem was analyzed by Gramsci.

One of the central concepts in Gramsci's theory is hegemony. It helps to unify the complexity of his work. Specifically, it connects his conception of the State, human nature, the role of intellectuals, the construction of the party, and many other issues that intertwine. However, we emphasize that in Gramsci's perspective the ideological-cultural field is not a mere reflection of the social structure. Quite to the contrary, we have the role of culture, "for Gramsci, it helped create those feelings that were ready to explode for a common cause" (Sexton, 2007, p. 17). This process allows the production of consensus and constant reaffirmation. It is the consensus which is the dynamic process through which civil society is constituted. This process constantly reaffirms hegemony.

Further, for Gramsci, it is through this discursive social process that social actions are channeled and legitimated. This is identified by other authors who make qualitative comparisons as structure and superstructure. To understand the relevance of his theory, it is necessary to review Gramsci's writings about public opinion.

For Gramsci, when the State wants to start an unpopular action, it creates preventively, proper public opinion, that is, it organizes and centralizes certain elements of civil society. "Public opinion is the political content of social discourse, which often contains conflicting ideas. Consequently, there is often conflict among the organs of public opinion (newspapers, parties, parliament), until a single force emerges and is labeled the national political will. As a result, individual dissidents are eliminated" (Campione, 2010, p. 29).

Thus, the importance of ideological and cultural production in the world is revealed. Therefore, it has also, largely a fundamental role in the definition of 'human nature.' This ideological and cultural production includes the idea of evolution. Man is seen as changing with changing social relations. This assumption denies the 'man in general' argument (Sexton, 2007, p. 280). Thus, human nature is seen as evolving during the entire history of mankind. Finally, dominance is presented as a determinant of the construction of this human nature.

Then, civil society is the expression of hegemony, which is the driving behavior. In other words, coercion which is exercised in the political society creates civil society. Over time, the coercion is unnecessary because political behaviors have become rooted in human behavior. The bureaucracy that manages behavior becomes unnecessary, since "Civil society operates without 'sanctions' or obligations. It is no longer necessary to exert collective pressure. The objective results are obtained as a result of customs, ways of thinking and accepted morality, etc." (Gramsci, 2006, p. 135). The village has been created.

The school, which has a positive educational function, and the courts, which have a repressive and negative educative function, are the most important State activities spacing collective behavior. They serve the same purpose as essential parts of the political apparatus and cultural hegemony of the dominant classes (Gramsci, 2006, p. 151).

The State educates to create consensus, that is, to set up civil society. Hobbes is not relevant here. For such a configuration, multiple educational and coercive institutions coexist. They are both public and private, and facilitate the creation of a societal or mass consensus. Therefore, "the State is sovereign to the extent that it is the same ordered society" (Gramsci, 2006, p. 149).

Gramsci identifies the State as the outcome of political society and civil society, that is, *hegemony armored with coercion*. Thus, it is formed by a bureaucracy that tends to use coercion (public) and a hegemony that operates at the everyday level, in private lives. In this relationship – always unfinished – is the problem of the education of the masses, to create a, "... social conformism that is useful to the policies of the leading group" (Gramsci, 2006, p. 165). Therein lies the key discovery: the creation of a spontaneous mass that actively adheres to what has been presented as usual, normal and good. Therefore, we are talking about socially based needs and wants that are easily raised in the great majority of people.

Consequently, our (human) nature is mediated obviously by the influence of the various bodies (e.g. schools, media, religion): "That is why we can say that each change affecting individuals itself is amended, to the extent that changes modify the whole complex of relations which is at the center of human nature" (Sexton, 2007, p. 438). Precisely because of the multiple mediations involved in the production of man, it is that culture that becomes increasingly relevant because of the diversity of subtle devices that produce it. As noted previously, the bureaucracy may disappear, but not its function, which refers to the unification necessary to channel the mass towards the goals set by the ruling class. Therefore, through this analysis it becomes clear how Gramsci viewed government:

"...dictators and oligarchies do not care about winning the consensus of the dominated classes. Otherwise, they would lie to hide their interests and purposes. They may expose the prevarication and tyrannical attempts of opponents for propaganda purposes and as a warning to opponents whom they deal with through violent coercion. The bourgeois-democratic forces are inclined, however, to disguise the true nature of conflicting economic and social interests. They hide the truth, in order to obtain a passive consensus, from the masses who participate in the political system (Santucci, 2005, p. 26).

While the consensus is maintained through *civil society*, it is viable to continue with the administration toward those hidden interests, by presenting them as natural tendencies of the world. Their socialization has already been done. In other words, civil society wants precisely to continue to exist, so that the bureaucracy continues to function. More specifically, some enforcement by authorities could disappear, but political-cultural hegemony is a permanent condition assuring the conformity of the masses. This happens because in their development as individuals they internalized a desire to be a part of society. However, positioning Gramsci within the ideological-cultural field, it is then necessary to delete the philosophy of praxis. We must recognize that

it is hard work to create a group of independent intellectuals. This requires a long process, with actions and reactions, adhesions and solutions (Massardo, 1997, pp. 16-17).

With the above understood, it is now clear that rebuilding a culture begins with the role that each individual plays in many areas of society. Thus, creating a *new culture* not only involves original discoveries, but above all socialization. Therefore, intellectual production should be directed to disseminate the truths, critically discovered to create the elements of coordination (Sacristan, 2007, p. 366). Consequently, politics and philosophy serve this purpose; both becoming indistinguishable. In this cultural project we learn that the ideas of Antonio Gramsci are great and are achievable. It is clear that there are real relationships inherent in the transformative situation. We must clarify specifically the process of acts through which an organized collective gives birth to this relationship over time, and destroys and replaces the old social order (Sacristan, 2007, p. 317).

We now return to the problematic axis of the work, i.e. the creation of a culture that is capable of emancipating the working class, or fashioning an alternative hegemony (not just make visible the mechanisms of domination of the working class), but also make possible the self-emancipation of the oppressed. In other words, we must disrupt the social conformism instituted by civil society, and describe the transformative processes for the population which will result in a clear assimilation (Gramsci, 2006). Another point of view, would be expressed (in Hobbesian terms) as sedition and consequent dissolution of the State. This is clearly expressed in the De Cive (1642) essay: "Before government establish one, in the void where previously right and wrong do not exist, because nature always depends on what you send" (Hobbes, 2000, p 197.). Thus, we must create a new culture which is focused on what is right and moral with regard to the working class.

In short, we can say that the concept of hegemony reveals the real role of the dominant class when analyzing production. It also shows that the liberation of the workers is possible. Gramsci, as stated in the Prison Notebooks, "to become intellectually independent of the governed rulers, we must destroy hegemony of the dominant class and create another hegemony to achieve the reversal of praxis" (Massardo, 2007, p. 133). Thus, the social transformation tends to destroy the social conformism that had been useful to follow the type of development imposed by the ruling class (Gramsci, 2006). It can transform society as a whole, and redistribute surplus to all social sectors. In brief, this will create a human nature which supports general well-being.

After examining these macrophenomena, we conclude with some brief thoughts about people, the actors who set in motion the social structure.

## 5.3 The Person

What is a person? It is clear that everyone is a biological organism and therefore has biological needs that must be satisfied to live.

The person is born into a family, extended, nuclear or single-parent, of a certain social class. In the family, through interaction and language, the person develops their self-image. They reflect on this perception and react idiosyncratically. Even as a young child, a person is not a simple receptacle of stimuli that elicits a standard reaction. The various stimuli and reflexive reactions are feeding back and shaping the child's personality. Through this process, the individual develops motivation, a vision of the world, social values, and idiosyncrasies, which are never the same in two people. Because reaction to stimuli is reflective, the same stimulus can cause different reactions.

Being born into a certain social class determines the type and quantity of education and food they can access. However, in the case of the subordinate classes, there are several alternative idiosyncratic reactions: conformist, they accept their life situation; individualist, they try to improve their situation; collectivist, they attempt to join groups and organizations, social and political, to improve the group or try to change the social structure, or they pursue other alternatives, such as escape through drugs or crime. Primary friendships that arise in the urban and rural environment can influence the alternatives selected. The same can be said with the effect resulting from the mass media, their readings, education, etc., always filtered idiosyncratically. The domestic and international economic situation and how it is perceived through the filter of media, class, and personal, political struggles of the time is also influential in their unique development.

Relationships formed while pursuing higher education and later in the workplace also shape idiosyncrasies, especially when filtered through social class. Due to existing social barriers many persons with disabilities have limited participation in higher education and the labor force. These challenges may affect their psychosocial development and personal well-being.

Even for those of the ruling classes, there are different alternatives in addition to business, such as science, art, and others. Through their academic and personal reading and life experience, some may become radicalized. There is no one to one equivalence between class and the occupational and political paths that individuals follow.

Therefore, social class does not determine personal development. Relationships within the family, the subsystems to which they are connected, the degree of respect they receive for their idiosyncrasies, and life experience and interpersonal relationships, contribute to define a person. Participation in educational organizations for students (and the primary relationships that arise in them), or work, is not reducible to social class; affection, motivations and aspirations are all aspects of the person that are not explained by class relations. Similarly, political and religious participation, which define personal trajectories and idiosyncrasies, are not the direct outcome of class relations.

The occupation of different social positions generates a variety of different interests: e.g. to maximize corporate wealth or worker salaries and rights; to be a good parent; to overcome the marginality of disability through inclusion. Class analysis does not cover the entire social spectrum, but interacts with micro and macro processes that give the person a unique idiosyncrasy.

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# 6. Appendix

# Brief Reflections on Gender, Social Structure and Personal Fulfillment

Gender is an important dimension of the social structure, since about half or more of humanity is female. This distribution of gender is a characteristic of all societies. There have been a few exceptions due to the depletion of men during a war. For this basic analysis, we are not taking into consideration the currently recognized classification of sexual diversity, although we recognize and respect its reality.

Gender, in its historical-social form is not a biological trait, although it is associated with a biological differentiation.

Gender relations, which now are rapidly changing, have been characterized by patriarchy. Patriarchy has dictated the subordination of women to make decisions, and defined women as passive sex objects. In the Latin American case, patriarchy is merged with machismo, both sexual, and through patterns of male domination. Men and women were, and in some instances still are, socialized in those guidelines. This cultural pattern is followed by the people, either because of external coercion or because it has been internalized. These guidelines, on gender, were (historically) enforced in all subsystems of society: in families, in the productive material sphere, in services, media and education, and in the State, at its different levels. Clearly, there has been some change, but in many cases they are still in place.

But the question arises, why are these guidelines in place, are how are they imposed? Further, from where comes the power of enforcement?

To address these questions, we must do a structural analysis, which begins with the basal social structure.

Parts of the basal social structure:

- 1. **The economic and physical structure**: provides products and materials and financial resources to all members of the other parts of the social structure and itself.
- 2. **The State**: develops and implements standards supported by the use of legitimate physical and economic coercion which can be implemented in the State itself or other parts of the social structure. Taxes extracted from the various parts of the social structure finance some essential services like health and education.
- 3. **The ideational complex**: creates, disseminates and teaches systems of ideas (verbal, written, visual, auditory and visual), for members of the other parts of the structure and for itself. Though the dimension of

language and other symbols, it provides secondary socialization to the population through education and forms of formal communication. It also has a system of sanctions and degrees.

- 4. **Services**: provide actual work to members of other parts of the social structure and themselves. The service sector enables people to perform necessary tasks for parts of the basal structure.
- 5. **Families**: reproduce the workforce, serve as consumption centers, and together through family relationships, provide basic socialization and psychological and emotional support to its members through primary relationships.

All members of the basal structure except the destitute homeless and those who are in prison or another total institution (e.g. nursing home or protected home, belong to a family). All members with paid jobs in society carry out their activities in parts 1 to 4 of the social structure or derivative organizations. Persons doing hobbies and voluntary unpaid activities are excluded. This means that a substantial proportion of adults distribute most of their time between work (participation in one of the parts (1 to 4) of the basal social structure as a social obligation or task) and their family. There are also people, such as children and housewives whose social or work obligation is studying or doing housework.

As discussed previously, the various parts, or subsystems of the basal structure, relate in specific ways to other parts or subsystems. Furthermore, these are articulated subsystems, with major parts – such as the family.

Consumption that occurs mainly in families is essential for physical subsistence (food, shelter, etc.) and it sustains the wider economy (through purchases of homes, cars, clothes, furniture, etc.).

For purposes of discussion only, we will assume that only men work for pay and have economic ownership. What would this mean in terms of power?

If the man is the one "who brings money home," he exercises potential economic coercion, which is another form of violence, within the family, because all are obliged to obey or he can deny them their necessary subsistence. Elsewhere we said that the unit of social class is the family, not individuals, because children are dependent on the social class of parents and the same hypothetically would be for a woman who has no property or work for pay. But within the family, in this hypothetical situation, the man would have the power and the means to exercise it.

Now, moving forward with our analysis, if only the man works for pay or has economic ownership, he will have privilege to occupy positions in the State, in services, in material production, education and the media, i.e., he would be the absolute master. Now, in situations where the man is/was solely focused on his job, women have/had the task of managing the household budget, domestic cleaning, child care, etc. We are not saying these are not important tasks, parenting and home management is fundamental to society, but they do not give the power of money.

In situations where the familial division of labor is patriarchal, in the family, children learn the roles of domination and subordination. Further, when education in schools and inside the family is controlled by men, children are taught in these patterns of domination. The patriarchal matrix could not subdue the family members only by force. No system can rely solely on external coercion, you need its members to some extent accept patriarchy as a natural thing.

We acknowledge changes in women's and men's work roles over the past two centuries. Increasingly, in most countries, women are working for pay. Although there are men who do not accept it. I think the liberation of women is partly due to their increasing incorporation in paid work globally. Women have collective economic power. Power, which is a social category, as opposed to individual power, is a basis for rebellion.

We defined personal fulfillment as synonymous with empowering, i.e., the ability to achieve social objects or relationships which are socially valued according to the position held in the interaction system or the general social system. In a mature society, that personal fulfillment based on equal power becomes the law. Since patriarchal relations are still ubiquitous, transforming them is a multidimensional task. You must change the various systems of socialization, education, mass media, and even expand the labor participation of women to eliminate patriarchy. Specifically, you must remove all obstacles that hinder the liberation and fulfillment of women.

## 7. Appendix

# Brief Reflections on the Impact of Covid-19 in Chile

James G. Linn & Jorge Chuaqui

#### Introduction

Throughout history, epidemics have had profound social, political, and economic impacts on the nations that were infected with lethal diseases (Hays, 2009). These health outcomes have been studied and well documented in the cases of bubonic plague, cholera, tuberculosis and now Sars-Corona Virus-Sars Cov2, that causes the potentially fatal Covid-19.

Following the teachings of the French sociologist, Emile Durkheim (1951), the concept of anomie is applicable to our current social situation with the pandemic. When people experience anomie, they have lost the traditional values, norms, shared behaviors, and institutions that have provided order and routine to their lives. The American sociologist, Jerald Hage, has recently argued that the rapid economic and social changes, which have occurred with onset of Covid-19, (e.g., unemployment, social isolation, increases in illness, and deaths) have left many people across the globe in an Anomic Crisis (Hage, 2020). Their lives have lost meaning, and they suffer anxiety and depression because of what they lost and their inability to see a future for themselves.

The Sars-Carona Virus – SARS COV2, which causes the potentially deadly Covid-19, now has infected more than 108 million individuals globally and accounts for more than 2.38 million deaths. It is the worst pandemic in over 100 years. Chile has reported over 768,000 cases of Covid-19 and 19,000 deaths. It has ranked among the top 10 countries in the world in deaths per 100,000 residents (WHO, 2021).

#### Covid-19 in Chile

The first confirmed case of Covid-19 in Chile occurred on March 3, 2020. In the following week, several more cases appeared in an elite private school in Santiago. A teacher was infected by an individual who contracted the virus on a winter trip to Italy. Before being hospitalized, the teacher met with various academic, family, and community members. Seventy of them became infected and by March 13th, the private school was closed for a two week quarantine. Cases of Covid-19 began to appear in mostly wealthier neighborhoods of Santiago and were associated with recent travel to Europe. President Pinera responded to the virus outbreak by publicly stating that Chile was prepared to deal with the virus because they were closely following World Health Organization guidelines. On March 18th, Chile closed its borders to all foreign travelers and reported its first Covid-19 related death on March 23rd. Over the next several days, the Chilean government put into place "stay at home" or "dynamic quarantines" in areas of Santiago where clusters of Covid-19 cases appeared. In areas of the city outside of the quarantined (mostly wealthy) neighborhoods, there were no restrictions – people continued to frequent bars and restaurants and hundreds of thousands of residents continued to commute back and forth across the city to work using the metros or their cars. Also, workers in the homes of the quarantined families continued to provide their household services and often carried the Corona virus with them back to their families in poorer areas of the city (Alacron, 2020).

#### Social and Economic Impact of Covid in Latin America

The rapid extreme and painful social, economic, and public health consequences of the Covid 19 pandemic in Latin America have moved policy makers and researchers to ask why was the region so susceptible to this virus? The common experience of its spread from the affluent sectors of these societies to the working class who experienced greater mortality and economic deprivation points to the most important structural factor causing this catastrophe – social inequality (Amed, 2020). While this process of virus transmission from richer to poorer social sectors is now a global phenomenon, it is understandable that Latin America, which historically and currently has the widest chasm between the wealthy and the impoverished, is experiencing such a profound crisis with the Covid pandemic (United Nations, 2013).

#### **Inequality in Chile**

Chile is known as one of the most economically developed and, until recently, most politically stable countries in Latin America. It is also renown for the high quality and wide coverage of its healthcare and mental health services and preventative programs. However, these global indicators for Chile mask great economic and social inequality, which has been a precondition to the rapid spread and severe health consequence of the Covid-19.

The per-capita income in Chile is over \$24,000 (World Bank, 2019). However, when we examine Chile's Gini Index, a measure of wealth distribution, it is over .50, which is one of the world's highest – greater than Mexico, Turkey, United States, and Great Britain (OECD, 2019). Incomes of the richest 10 percent of Chilean households are 26 times greater than the poorest 10 percent of Chilean households (OECD, 2017). The median wage in Chile is \$550 per month, and approximately 50 percent of Chileans have this amount of monthly income or less (Institute of National Statistics of Chile, 2018). An estimated 70 percent of Chilean workers earn less than \$825 per month (mondediplo.com, 2019).

The lack of parity in healthcare resulting from limited government investment in the public system, which is the primary service option for most Chileans, means that poor and middle class individuals receive a potentially lower level of care for Covid and other diseases than citizens who can afford private clinics and hospitals. Chuaqui and Linn (2019) discussed the lack of parity and healthcare coverage for all Chileans.

Currently, there is no systematically gathered data at the national level that would support a valid comparison of public versus private healthcare services in Chile. We can only rely on qualitative assessments such as that given by Andrea Insunza of Diego Portales University and case studies.

"In Chile, there are two countries. There is the country like me. I have good education, a good salary, and my social security is privatized, which means that I can access quality private hospitals and clinics. For the Chilean who is poor, they depend on the public health system" (Beaubien, 2020).

#### Conclusion

The Sars-Carona Virus – SARS COV2, which causes the often deadly Covid-19, has produced the worst pandemic in over 100 years. Globally, there have been at least 108 million infected individuals and 2.38 million deaths (WHO, 2021). Chile, a rich country with a small population of 19 million, has an unexpectedly high number of cases of Covid-19 (768,000) and reported deaths from the virus (19,000). The high number of cases suggests that preventative measures (quarantines, lock downs, masks, and social distancing) have not been effective, and the great number of deaths indicates that many Chileans who become ill with Covid-19 are not receiving adequate treatment. This would reflect longstanding issues in healthcare parity with regard to access to quality healthcare for most Chileans. Many Chileans remain in a state of anomie and are fearful of the future.

The Covid-19 pandemic in Chile began in March 2020 during a social revolution protesting inequity, which is ongoing and demands constitutional and structural reform. The pandemic increased awareness of the lack of parity in the country and the need for a new constitution with progressive guarantees of access to higher quality health services (as well as wider access to education, higher wages, and a better pension). The now certain prospects that Chile will have a new constitution opens the possibility of a restructured healthcare system with a single funding source and prompt access to quality care for all Chileans (Bartlett, 2020). This will help create a new, psycholog-

ically reassuring social contract between most Chileans and their government. Another reason for Chileans to be hopeful is that it has been highly successful in rapidly vaccinating its population against Covid-19, and that the government has as a goal to vaccinate 80 percent of its adults by mid-year 2021. Although the virus continues to infect many Chileans, the government is trying to assure that all adults have their second shot as soon as possible (NPR, 2021).

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In this book, Professor Jorge Chuaqui and his collaborators have made important new contributions to sociological theory. They provide an adapted Marxian analysis of the State that is applicable to Western Societies including Latin America, offer a unique integration of macro and micro sociology by integrating Marxian, Structural-Functionalist, Weberian and Symbolic-Interactionist concepts, and add to the current discussion of social inclusion of the mentally ill.

This book is unique for its grand theoretical scope and masterful integration of macro and micro sociological theories and concepts in its analysis. While it extends Marx's writings on the State, it also applies the theory of Hans Gerth and C. Wright Mills in their book, "Character and Social Structure: The Psychology of Social Institutions." Professor Chuaqui shows us that one must always consider social structure and organizational culture when studying self-fulfillment.

Overall, Professor Chuaqui is to be praised for successfully pursuing this grand, very complex, theoretical analysis and also for skillfully including the work of a wide range of classical theorists in his treatise.

> Dr. James G. Linn (United States) Dr. Reinhold Kilian (Germany)

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