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2.1 Approaching the Analysis of Integration in Societies

The concept of integration has long been both an implicit and explicit concern of all sociological theorists. Yet, despite this provenance, integration is a topic that has been subject to criticism because evaluative considerations of what is “good” or “pathological” in a society. For example, Marxists see the modes of integration of a societal formations as filled with contradictions and basically as a “necessary evil” in an historical process leading to a “better” form of integration as these contradictions lead to conflict and reform. Early functionalists such as Auguste Comte, Herbert Spencer, Emile Durkheim and, more recently, Talcott Parsons have tended to analyze social structures in terms of meeting functional needs for integration, thereby converting existing structural and cultural arrangements into implicit statements that the status quo is “functional” for a society. Such analyses deliberately or inadvertently moralize what should be a more neutral conception of integration. For my purposes here, I see integration as simply *the modes and mechanisms by which social units and the social activities in and between them are coordinated into coherent patterns of social*

organization and the potential of these mechanisms to stave off, or to accelerate, the inevitable disintegration of all patterns of social organization. And so, whether integration is achieved by open markets or high levels of coercion and stratification, it *is* nonetheless integration by the above definition. The point of this chapter is to outline the various forms that integration takes and the degree to which particular forms generate pressures for continued integration or for disintegration. In the long run, disintegration is the fate of societies and their constituent sociocultural formations; the issue then is what modes of integration stave off for how long the inevitable entropy inherent in the social universe. For theorizing about human societies to be complete, it becomes essential to understand both the negative entropic and entropic forces working on human societies.

As I will argue, integration and disintegration operate at all three fundamental levels of human social organization: (1) the micro universe of interaction in face-to-face encounters, (2) the meso world of [a] corporate units (groups, organizations, and communities) revealing divisions of labor and [b] categoric units built from social distinctions based upon criteria such as ethnicity, religion, gender, and age that become that bases for moral evaluations of members of subpopulations in a society, and (3) the macro systems of (a) institutional domains and (b) stratification systems as these become the pillars of (c) societal

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and (d) inter-societal systems. Integration is simply the way in which micro, meso, and macro social formations are laced together, but this process is complicated by the fact that integration operates not only between levels of social organization but within each of these three levels. Thus, there are complex causal relations among the micro, meso, and macro bases of integration and, as will become evident, disintegration as well (Turner 2010a). All of the processes by which such connections are generated and sustained constitute the subject matter of *integration* as a fundamental force in the social universe, while the operation of these forces are also the explanation for the disintegrative potential in all sociocultural formations.

Another way to view integration is as connections among the “parts” of the social universe; and the outline below of the three levels of social reality suggests what these parts are: individual persons, encounters of individuals in face-to-face interaction, corporate units (groups, organizations, and communities) organizing encounters, categoric units of persons denoted as distinctive and evaluated in terms of their perceived distinctiveness that constrain what transpires in encounters, institutional domains built up from corporate units, stratification systems built around categoric-unit distinctions, and societies as well as inter-societal systems arising from institutional domains and systems of stratification.

To conceptualize integration and also disintegration at the same time, it is necessary to recognize that these parts are connected horizontally within each level of social reality and vertically across the micro, meso, and macro levels of the social universe and that disintegration occurs when these horizontal and vertical linkages break down. For example, at the micro level, when persons enter encounters, horizontal processes revolving around interaction rituals (Collins 2004; Turner 2002) and other interpersonal dynamics operate to integrate chains of interaction over time and space. At the same time, encounters are embedded in corporate and categoric units at the meso level and; in turn, these meso-level units are embedded in macro-level

formations, thus assuring the operation of vertical integrative process across levels of social organization. As with the micro-level interaction rituals, horizontal integrative processes operate among also meso-level units. Corporate units differentially distribute resources to persons, which partially determines their categoric unit memberships—at a minimum their social class. Conversely, members of categoric units are located in positions within the divisions of labor of corporate units. And the dynamics revolving around these horizontal connections within the meso level are important to integration not only at this level but also at both the micro and macro levels. Macro structures and cultures are built from meso-level structures, while the corporate and categoric units of the meso-level constrain what transpires in micro encounters. Reciprocally, dynamics of encounters affect the dynamics of integration at the meso level and, at times, even the macro level of social organization.

The arrows moving within and across levels of social organization portrayed in Fig. 2.1 are intended to denote these paths of connection and potential disconnection; and while the processes are complicated, a general theory of integration and disintegration can, it is hoped, make understanding of these connections much simpler than it may seem at first glance. How and where do we get started? I think the best place to start is at the macro level, particularly the societal level of social organization; from there we can move up and down the levels of the figure and begin to fill in the picture of dynamic processes of integration and disintegration in human societies.

2.2 The Macrodynamics of Integration

As outlined above, the macro-level universe is composed of inter-societal systems and societies that are built from institutional domains and stratification systems which, in turn, are built respectively from meso-level corporate and categoric units (Turner 2010a). The dynamics of integration at the macro level of social reality can best be understood by the nature of sociocultural

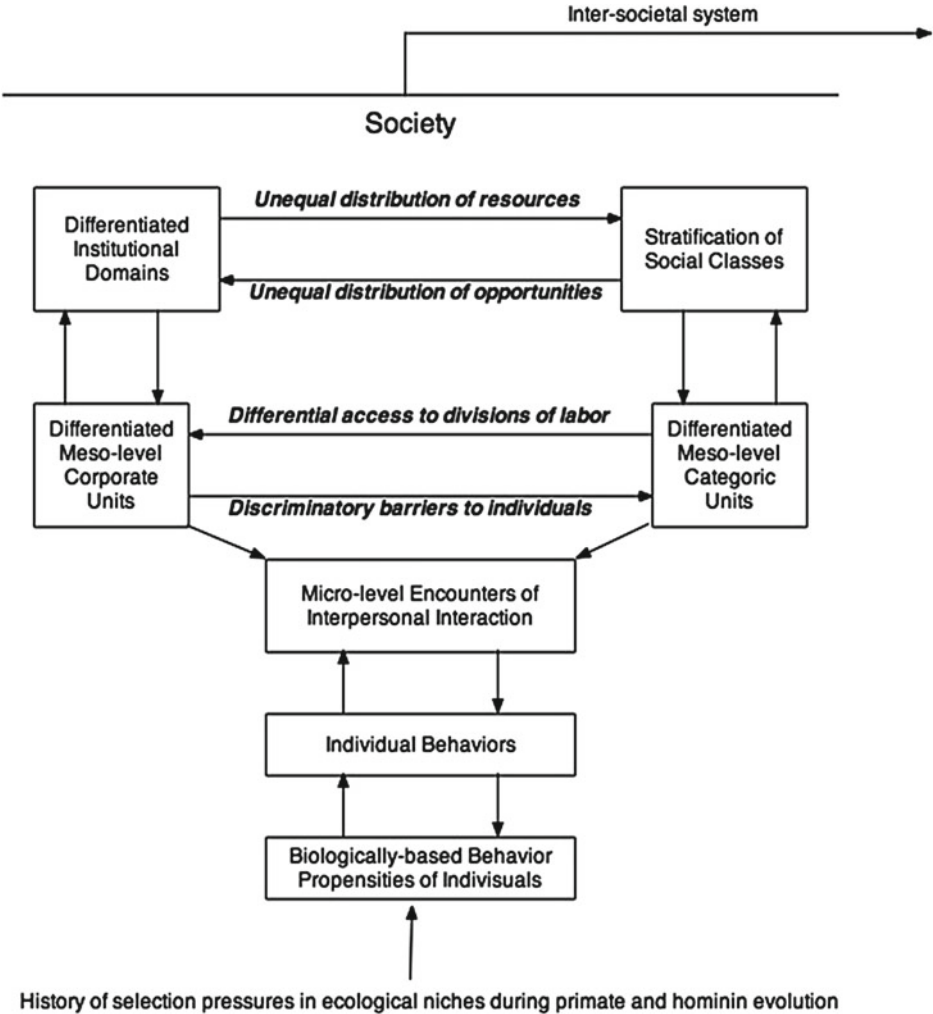


Fig. 2.1 Levels of social reality

formations that organize corporate units and categorical units into institutional domains and stratification systems. There are well-studied *structural mechanisms* by which the macro level of social reality is generated and sustained, including (Turner 2010a): (1) segmentation, (2) differentiation, (3) interdependencies, (4) segregation, (5) domination and stratification, and (6) intersections. While culture is always part of these social structural mechanisms, there are still distinctive *cultural mechanisms* revolving around 2010 (Turner 2010a, b): (1) values, (2) generalized symbolic media, (3) ideologies, (4) meta-ideologies, (5) corporate-unit belief and normative systems,

(6) categorical-unit status belief and normative systems, and (7) expectation states in micro-level encounters. Let me begin with an outline of the structural mechanisms of integration.

2.2.1 Structural Mechanisms of Integration

2.2.1.1 Segmentation

Emile Durkheim ([1893] 1963) originally conceptualized the process of segmentation as “mechanism solidarity” (in juxtaposition to “organic solidarity”)—a distinction that he had

dropped from his sociology by 1896 in favor of discovering the dynamics of integration common to both simple and complex societies (Durkheim [1912] 1984). Segmentation is the process of producing and reproducing similar corporate units, revealing (a) high levels of structural (regular) equivalence in the network structures of these corporate units (Freeman et al. 1989) and (b) high levels of cultural equivalence in that individuals are guided by the same sets of cultural codes—values, ideologies, meta-ideologies, beliefs, norms, and expectation states. Under these conditions, individuals at locations in similar corporate units experience the social universe in equivalent ways, and thus develop common orientations because they stand in the same relationships to all other positions in the corporate unit and its culture. When human societies first began to grow, segmentation was the principle mechanisms of integration, as new hunter-gather bands and, later, new community structures were spun off of the old, with each new structure revealing the same basic network forms and systems of culture.

Segmentation always continues to operate as an integrative mechanisms even as societies differentiate new kinds of corporate and categoric units. For example, Weber's ([1922] 1968: 956–1004) famous typology on “bureaucracy” is, in essence, an argument about segmentation. Even bureaucratic structures that evolve in different institutional domains evidence some equivalence in their structure and culture. Businesses, schools, churches, government agencies, science organizations, sports teams, and so on are, at a fundamental level, very similar structurally, revealing some cultural equivalences promoting integration, even as persons engage in very different kinds of institutional activities. The result is that individuals diversely situated in seemingly different structures experience a common structural and cultural environment, such as relations of authority and similar norms for impersonality, goal directness, and efficiency. Moreover, segmentation also operates to distinguish axes of differentiation so that those corporate units in the same institutional domain all reveal higher levels

of cultural and structural equivalence. Thus, even as institutional sectors differentiate, the corporate units within these sectors converge in their structure and culture, thereby integrating the sector while, at the same time, having sufficient similarities to corporate units in at least some other institutional domains and sectors in these domains to promote some structural and cultural equivalences across larger swaths of the macro realm. And so, even as high levels of differentiation among corporate units are used to build diverse institutional domains—e.g., economy, polity, education, science, religions, etc.—the continuing segmentation of generic types of corporate units within and between institutional domains operates as a powerful integrative force.

Segmentation does, however, eventually generate disintegrative pressures because there are limitations in how far structural and cultural equivalences can link together large numbers of diverse corporate units and individuals in these units. If only segmentation is possible, a society and inter-societal system cannot become very large because segmentation cannot integrate large and diverse (by categoric unit memberships) populations, without the addition of new integrative mechanisms.

2.2.1.2 Differentiation

As Herbert Spencer ([1874–96] 1898) phrased the matter, growth in the social mass—whether in organic or super-organic bodies—will eventually require a more complex skeleton to support the larger mass. That is, structural and cultural differentiation is a function of the size and rate of growth of populations organized into societies and inter-societal systems. Differentiation involves the creation of new types of corporate units, revealing divisions of labor, organized to pursue diverse goals within and between institutional domains. While, as emphasized above, some degree of segmentation is retained during differentiation, the process of differentiation still divides up labor and functions so that larger-scale tasks can be performed to sustain a population. If a population grows but cannot differentiate new types of corporate units to build out diverse insti-

tutional domains to solve adaptive problems, a society will disintegrate for a lack of ability to produce, reproduce, and regulate its members.

Differentiation, however, generates new types of integrative problems of how to manage and coordinate relations among differentiated corporate units and between corporate units and categoric units. And these integrative problems can be aggravated by conflicts of interests, hardening boundaries and divergent cultures of corporate units with sectors of an institutional domain or among domains, and increases in inequalities among class and other categoric units. Thus, differentiation very rapidly generates new integrative problems that, in turn, generate selection pressures for new mechanisms forging interdependencies among differentiated units.

2.2.1.3 Interdependencies

Interdependencies among corporate units reveal a number of distinctive forms, including (Turner 2010a): (a) exchange, (b) embedding and inclusion, (c) overlap, and (d) mobility. Each of these is examined below.

Exchanges Corporate units form many levels and types of exchange relations with each other and with incumbents in their respective divisions of labor. At the macro level, exchanges cannot become extensive without markets and quasi markets (Simmel [1907] 1979; Weber [1922] 1968: 635–40; Braudel [1979] 1982, 1977; Turner 1995, 2010a). Markets institutionalize the exchange of one resource for another, typically after some negotiation over the respective values of the resources possessed by the actors. Such exchanges are often “economic” because they involve the flow of a generalized resource like *money* among corporate units and between corporate units and members of categoric units who are incumbent in corporate-unit divisions of labor. In turn, increases in the scope, volume, and types of exchanges force the elaboration of distributive infrastructures for moving people, resources, and information across territorial and sociocultural spaces, thereby providing a new mechanisms of integration. Also, exchanges generate further integrative mechanisms, coinage of money, regulation of

money supplies, formation of credit, and differentiation of markets for exchanges of equities and other systems for amassing capital used in exchange distribution. And, these mechanism all increase the volume, velocity, and scope of exchanges, while at the same time increasing the disintegrative potential in markets and, indeed, all economic exchanges (Braudel 1977; Collins 1990; Turner 1995, 2010a).

In addition to these more economic exchanges, the expansion of markets and market infrastructures generate *quasi markets*, thereby increasing the number of social relationships in societies revealing a market-like quality (Simmel [1907] 1979; Turner 1995, 2010a). Quasi markets are, in some ways, a form of loose segmentation because they mimic the basic structure of market exchanges but are not generally explicitly economic. For example, memberships in voluntary corporate units—clubs, churches, sports teams, etc.—take on an exchange character, with the corporate unit “marketing” its resources to potential members and with members joining the corporate unit for non-economic resources, such as religiosity, fun, companionship and love, loyalty, commitments, and philanthropy, aesthetics, competition, prestige, etc. (Hechter 1987). Money may become part of this exchange if dues, fees, and other “price” considerations enter. But, when we speak of a marriage or “dating market,” money is not the explicit medium of exchange (Abrutyn 2015), although such markets can be usurped by more economic forces, as is the case in the dating market that is increasingly regulated by corporate units providing match-making services for a fee. Indeed, as critical theorists like Jurgen Habermas ([1973] 1976) have argued, cold symbolic media like money and power may “colonize” social relationships, with quasi markets being especially vulnerable because they already have many properties of economic markets.

The expansion of economic markets and quasi markets dramatically alters that nature of social relationships in societies, as Georg Simmel ([1907] 1979) was the first to fully explore. Relations become more instrumental, and

individuals begin to have more choice in the resources, including friendships and group affiliations, that they seek. As individuals give up resources—time, energy, commitments, money—they generally do so because they experience an increase in their sense of value, which generates commitments to the macro-level system of market-mediated relations and its institutional supports that allow for a sense of “profit” to be realized in each successive exchange in a market or quasi market. Thus, exchanges not only generate commitments among exchange partners, whether individuals or corporate units, they lead individuals to form commitments to macrostructural systems like institutions and societies as a whole that have enabled them to experience an increase in utilities or profits from exchange activities (Lawler and Yoon 1996; Lawler et al. 2009; Lawler 2001).

But exchange also generates disintegrative pressures. Inherent in all markets—whether economic or quasi markets—are de-stabilizing forces, such as inflation or deflation, fraud and manipulation, oscillations in supplies and demands, exploitation of the disadvantaged, increases in inequalities, pyramiding of meta-markets where the medium of exchange (e.g., money) in a lower market becomes the commodity exchange in higher-level (e.g., money market), speculative markets (equity and futures markets) that are subject of fraud, and over-speculation and collapse. The result is that exchanges force the elaboration of another key integrative mechanisms: the consolidation and centralization of power—to be examined shortly.

Embedding and Inclusion Social structures and their cultures typically become embedded, with smaller units lodged inside of ever-larger corporate units within an institutional domain. In this way, there is a kind of meta-coordination of the divisions of labor of corporate units, their cultures, and their exchange relations, all of which reduce the disintegrative potential of differentiation and exchanges as integrative mechanisms. When there are network ties and relations of authority across embedded structures, when the same generalized symbolic media are employed,

and when these media have been used to form institutional ideologies that in turn regulate the formation of beliefs and norms, highly differentiated structures become more integrated.

Embedding thus generates structural inclusion, but such inclusions also generate their own disintegrative pressures. One is rigidity across wide sectors of institutional domains that makes them unable to respond to new environmental exigencies. Another is the problems that always come with complexity of social structure: poor coordination, fraud, exploitation, abuse of authority, and inefficiencies—all of which can become sources of tension and, hence, institutional if not societal and inter-societal disintegration.

Overlaps The divisions of labor of diverse corporate units sometimes overlap within institutional domains, with the result that the network structure and culture of corporate units become more integrated across a larger set of positions and members incumbent in these positions. If members are from diverse categoric units, overlaps also generates intersections, which as I will analyze later, are a critical mechanism integrating societies. And the more individuals, per se, interact, but especially individuals from diverse and differentially-evaluated categoric units, the less salient will categoric-unit memberships or different locations in divisions of labor become (Blau 1977, 1994; Turner 2002, 2010b), and hence the more integrated will be the overlapping corporate units, and the greater will be the positive emotions that individuals feel for the overlapping corporate units.

Overlaps can, however, consolidate members of categoric-unit memberships when each of the overlapping units reveals high levels of homogeneity of memberships, which reduces rates of inter categoric-unit interaction. Moreover, if overlaps reinforce hierarchies in the divisions of labor, with one unit dominating over the other, then the tensions associated with hierarchy will increase the potential for disintegration (see later discussions of hierarchy and domination).

Mobility Mobility across corporate unit within and between institutional domains increases integration by virtue of increasing the connections among individuals across sociocultural space. Individuals bring the culture of one unit to the other, and out of the blending of cultures (ideologies, beliefs, norms, expectations) cultural similarities across a larger swath of corporate-unit positions increases, and hence, so does cultural integration. Moreover, to the extent that mobility also brings members of different categoric units together and increases their rates of interaction, inequalities in the evaluation of categoric-unit memberships decline, thereby making connections less stressful. And, as stress is reduced, positive emotional arousal increases and reduces tensions associated with inequalities.

However, mobility has the ironic consequence of sometimes increasing the sense of relative deprivation among those who are not mobile but who must observe the mobility of others (Merton 1968). Those left behind can be stigmatized by the ideologies of the domains in which they are incumbent in corporate units, thereby increasing their negative emotions and potential for conflict with, or at least resentment of, those who have been mobile. And, if those left behind are disproportionately members of devalued categoric units, while those who have been mobility are members of more valorized categoric units, then the tensions among members of categoric units in a society will increase, thereby raising the potential for disintegration.

2.2.1.4 Segregation

The opposite of interdependencies is segregation. When corporate units and members of categoric units are consistently separated in space and time, segregation exists and, for a time, can promote integration by separating corporate and categoric units that engage in incompatible activities and/or have histories of conflict and other disintegrative relations. There are almost always entrance and exit rules (Luhmann 1982) for entering and leaving corporate units that have been segregated. There will also be highly ritualized forms of interaction among members of

populations that have been separated but, still, must have some ties to each other (Goffman 1967). Entrance/exit rules and rituals enable actors to make the transition from one culture and/or social structure to another, without activating disintegrative relations with those who have been segregated.

Yet, segregation per se will typically generates disintegrative pressures over the long run because separation of corporate units or subpopulations, or both, almost always involves the use of power and domination to impose and maintain the separation; and once imposed, the distribution of resources often becomes ever-more unequal. And if segregation of corporate units and subpopulations are consolidated, this consolidation of parameters marking status locations (in divisions of labor) with diffuse status characteristics of incumbents in categoric units generally works to increase tensions between (a) corporate units, (b) divisions within them, and (c) members of valued and devalued categoric units.

While such systems can promote integration (that is, regularized patterns of relationships) for considerable periods of time, segregation in the end will increase tensions and the potential for disintegrative conflicts because segregation is typically part of a larger pattern of inequality and stratification in a society or inter-societal system that is created and sustained by domination.

2.2.1.5 Domination and Stratification

Max Weber's ([1922] 1968: 212–299) analysis of domination is perhaps the strongest part of his sociology because it views inequalities and stratification as part of a larger process by which power is mobilized to control and regulate; and in so doing, domination provides a central mechanisms of macrostructural integration. As populations grow and differentiate, polity and law as institutional domains differentiate and begin to consolidate power. Other domains can also do so, as is the case with religion and, at times, with powerful economic actors. Consolidation of power occurs along four bases (Mann 1986; Turner 1995, 2010a): (1) physical coercion, (2) administrative control, (3) manipulation of incentives, and (4) use of cultural symbols. And,

depending upon the particular combination of bases mobilized, the resulting system of domination will vary. Domination is also part of the broader stratification system in which corporate units in various institutional domains distribute resources unequally by virtue of whether or not they allow individuals to become incumbent in the corporate units of differentiated institutional domains and, if admitted, where they can become incumbent in the division of labor and where they can be mobile within and across corporate units.

Inequality and stratification created by domination can promote integration, even under conditions of very high inequality. Indeed, where inequality is great, where domination is extensive and extends to all social relations within and between corporate units and members of categoric units, and where social strata (class and other hierarchical divisions) are consolidated with memberships in valued and devalued categoric units, integration can be high—albeit in a most oppressive manner. Highly stratified societies are integrated but they also possess high potential for tension and conflict in the longer run, but they can persist for considerable periods of time across large expanses of territory.

In contrast, high degrees of integration will be likely when domination is less pronounced. Under this condition of lower domination, intersection of memberships of categoric units in divisions of labor of corporate units will be higher. And high levels of intersection creates less bounded classes that, in turn, encourage upward mobility across the class system. Thus, societies revealing lower levels of dominations have greater flexibility to deal with tensions and conflicts as they arise. Domination and stratification systems between these two extremes of very high and low domination are the mostly likely to reveal immediate disintegrative potential (Turner 2010a: 186–90). Typically, inequality is high and consolidation of resource-distributing corporate units with high and low evaluations of memberships in categoric units is also high. Yet, at the same time, the consolidation of the coercive, administrative, symbolic bases of power is weak, and the lack of material resources makes consolidation of a material incentive base of power

unviable. Under these conditions mobilization for conflict by those denied opportunities to secure valued resources becomes ever-more likely (Turner 2013: 337–74). Indeed, such systems may be in constant cycles of conflict, with the outcome of conflict never leading to a new and stronger system of domination.

2.2.1.6 Intersections

Peter Blau's (1977, 1994) last major theorizing on macrostructures argued that high rates of interaction among diverse types of individuals at different locations of social structures promotes integration. He emphasized that individuals, when viewed from a macro-level perspective, can be arrayed as a series of distributions among subpopulations distinguished by what he termed "parameters." There are two types of parameters: *Graduated parameters* mark individuals location with respect to markers that vary by degree—e.g. amount of income, levels of wealth, years of education, age, etc. *Nominal parameters* mark individuals as members of a discrete social category that is distinct from other categories, or what I am labeling *categoric units*. The key to integration, Blau argued, is *intersection* whereby individuals with high and low locations on graduated parameters and membership marked by high and low evaluations of nominal parameters have *opportunities to interact*: the higher the intersection and rates of interaction among people located in different places on graduated and nominal parameters, the more integrated will be a society.

Conversely, the more *consolidated* are parameters, whereby rates of contact and interaction across graduated and nominal parameters are low, the less integrated will the society be. I would add the caveat that such consolidations is almost always part of a system of domination and stratification and, hence, by my definition, such a system can be highly integrated, at least for a time. But, I think that Blau is essentially correct that intersection of parameters promotes considerable mobility and at time chaos, but it does not lead to the building up of tensions and hostility among subpopulations compared to societies where consolidation of parameters causes the accumulation of tensions and hostilities between

subpopulations defined by their categoric-unit memberships. With intersection, tensions can be resolved and conflicts can be frequent and institutionalized by law, thereby promoting a flexible system of integration, whereas consolidation produces a more rigid system held together by (a) high levels of coercive power, especially around its administrative base, (b) high levels of resource inequality, (c) low rates of mobility, and (d) segregation of individuals and families at divergent points of salient graduated and nominal parameters.

2.2.1.7 Cultural Integration

At the macro level of organization *texts* (written and oral), *technologies* (knowledge about how to manipulate the environment), *values* (general moral imperatives), *ideologies* (moral imperatives for specific institutional domains, and *meta-ideologies* (moral imperative combining ideologies from several institutional domains) are the most important elements of culture when analyzing integration. Ideologies and meta-ideologies provide, respectively, the moral tenets for beliefs of corporate-unit culture and status beliefs about members of categoric units operating as the meso-level of social organization. units tend to be lodged within a particular institutional domain. At times, meta-ideologies can also be involved in corporate units within the set of domains generating a meta-ideology. And so, the culture of any given corporate unit will be highly constrained by the elements of ideologies and, at times, meta-ideologies of the domain(s) in which it is embedded. Meta-ideologies legitimate the inequalities of the stratification system in a society. Status beliefs at the meso level social organization are derived by meta-ideologies, and these beliefs specify the moral worth and other characteristics of members of categoric units. In turn, normative expectations on incumbents in the divisions of labor in corporate units and on members of categoric units are drawn from the dominant beliefs of corporate-unit culture and the status beliefs about the moral worth and characteristics of members of various categoric units. These normative expectations then determine the specific expectation states on individuals in loca-

tions in the divisions of labor and on members of categoric units during the course of encounters of face-to-face interaction at the micro-level of social organization (see Webster and Foschi 1988 for literatures on expectation states).

Cultural integration increases in a society when there is *consistency* among the cultural systems outlined above. If texts (e.g., histories, philosophies, stories, folklore, etc.) are consistent with each other and with technologies, values, and ideologies, they provide a firmer cultural platform for the development of beliefs, norms, and expectation states at the meso and micro levels of social organization. In contrast, if these cultural systems reveal contradictions and inconsistencies, integration by culture will be much weaker. When cultural systems are *embedded* inside each other, with less encompassing moral codes lodged inside of, and even derived from, more generalized cultural codes, then another level of cultural integration is achieved. Ideologies, then, are derived from texts, technologies, and values; and in turn, meta-ideologies are built up from ideologies so derived, then beliefs in corporate-unit culture and status beliefs about members of categoric units follow from ideologies and meta-ideologies that regulate and legitimate actions with institutional domains and moral evaluations of those at different places in the class system of a society. Then, if normative systems are taken from the moral codings of beliefs (and ideologies and meta-ideologies at the macro level), then expectation states on individuals will be clear, allowing interactions at the micro level to proceed smoothly.

Consistency, embedding, and successive derivation of lower- from higher- level moral codings thus increase integration, even when they legitimate structural arrangements in institutional domains that generate tension-producing inequalities in the stratification system and the differential moral evaluation of members of categoric units. Yet, under such circumstances, the underlying tensions created by inequalities will work to increase potential pressures for disintegration at a social structural level. And, as social structural level tensions increase, these can work to undermine the level of integration provided by culture

as ideologies, meta-ideologies, beliefs, and expectation states are called into question by mobilization for structural (and now cultural as well) conflict (Turner 2013: 337–74; Snow and Soule 2010; Goodwin and Jasper 2006; Goodwin et al. 2000, 2004).

The last element of note are the dynamics revolving around *generalized symbolic media of exchange* (see Table 7.1 Chap. 7 and Table 11.2 in Chap. 11). As actors develop corporate units to deal with adaptive problems, they begin to build culture through discourse about what they are trying to do (Abrutyn 2009, 2014, 2015; Abrutyn and Turner 2011). This discourse is almost always moral, arguing that a particular way of doing things is the most likely to be successful. Emerging from such discourse is the ideology of an institutional domain; and this ideology legitimates and justifies the way corporate units in a domain act and interact to form both the structure and cultural of a domain. These generalized media also can become the valued resource that corporate units distribute unequally to members in different corporate units and at different locations in the divisions of labor of any given corporate unit. Cultural integration increases when there is consensus over the appropriateness of a given generalized symbolic medium as a topic for discourse, text-construction, exchange, and distribution because its moral tenets are used to construct a coherent ideology, the elements of which are consistent with each other and over which there is consensus. The result is that actors see and orient to their environment with a common culture that legitimates their actions and, often, provides valued resources that bring reinforcement. Thus, *money*, *authority/power*, *sacredness-piety*, *love-loyalty*, *imperative coordination/justice*, *aesthetics*, *learning*, *knowledge*, *competition*, etc. are all inherently rewarding, and if individuals agree on the ideologies built from the symbolic part of these medium and can also receive acceptable shares of the resource part of these media (that is, money, authority, love/loyalty, etc.), they will experience positive emotions and make positive attributions to both an institutional domain and the elements of the stratification system created by the inequality distribution of valued resources to individuals

at different locations in the divisions of labor of corporate units and in different categoric units.

And, when these dynamics unfold for dominant institutions, then meta-ideologies across these institutional domains form and add further legitimization to the inequalities in the stratification system. Such meta-ideologies moralize a larger social space: many diverse types of corporate units in multiple institutional domains and potentially multiple hierarchies (e.g., class, ethnic, gender, religious) in the stratification system. Meta-ideologies are particularly likely to form when the generalized symbolic media distributed by corporate units in diverse domains are exchanged across institutional domains, leading to their persistent circulation. For example, *money* from the economy flows through most corporate units in virtually all institutional domains in complex societies, as does *authority* to corporate units that has been franchised out by polity and law, as does *learning* and *knowledge* across domains such as economy, polity, law, education, and science. The more generalized symbolic media circulate and the more widely they are distributed to incumbents in corporate units and in categoric units, the more likely are multiple systems of meta-ideologies to form in a society and provide a basis for integration by legitimating inter-institutional activities, by legitimating inequalities and stratification, and by providing positive utilities and rewards for individuals to receive these media as valued resources that lead them, in turn, to develop commitments to corporate units, to institutional domains rewarding them with these media, and even to systems of inequality making up the stratification system in a society.

This complex of cultural integration can sustain a society for long periods of time, but the very interdependencies among cultural elements and between these elements and structural formations makes integration vulnerable, especially if there are high degrees of inequality in the distribution of symbolic media as valued resources and if the moral meanings of some generalized symbolic media are not consistent with each other (e.g., explanations from science in terms of verified knowledge vs. explanations from texts

about the sacred/supernatural from religion). And so, if consistency in moral tenets of symbolic media is low, then ideologies and meta-ideologies may come into conflict with each other and with other cultural elements such as (a) texts, technologies, and values at the macro level of social organization, (b) beliefs and status beliefs as they generate normative systems at the meso level, and (c) expectation states at the micro level.

Thus, cultural integration in societies is always problematic because, once structural differentiation occurs, sustaining common texts and values, ideologies and meta-ideologies, beliefs and status beliefs, normative expectations for incumbents in divisions of labor of corporate units and for members in categoric units, and on-the-ground expectations states for individuals in encounters all can become more difficult. Consistency among, embedding of less inclusive codes in more inclusive codes, and deriving moral codes down this ladder of embedding is not easily assured, *per se*, and often becomes doubly problematic if cultural codes cause societies with high levels of inequality and stratification to emerge, thereby setting up potential disintegrative pressures from the unequal distribution of the very symbolic media from which cultural integration is sustained.

2.3 The Microdynamics of Integration

The macro-level dynamics of integration revolve around structural and cultural systems that give direction and constraint to both individual and collective actions at the meso- and micro-levels of the social universe. Before examining the meso level in more detail, it is useful to skip down to the micro dynamics of societal integration at the level of encounters before turning to meso-level corporate and categoric units. The micro level of social organization generates, or fails to do so, commitments among individuals to meso and macro structures and their cultures (Turner 2002, 2007, 2010b). These commitments are generated by the arousal of positive emotions that are able to break what Edward Lawler (2001)

has characterized as the *proximal bias* inherent in emotional arousal in encounters. This concept of proximal bias emphasizes the fact that positive emotional flows tend to circulate in local encounters and, hence, stay at the micro level. Emotions that generate micro commitments can, and often do, generate solidarities and sentiments among individuals in encounters; and often these positive sentiments can emerge among individuals who view meso and macro structures (and their cultures) in negative terms, thereby sustaining micro level integration at the cost of macro-level integration. And so, if this proximal bias is not broken, allowing positive emotions to flow outward beyond the local encounter to meso and macro structures, the commitments to the meso and macro levels of reality so necessary for societal integration cannot emerge.

Moreover, the problems of breaking the proximal bias to positive emotions are aggravated by the *distal bias* for negative emotions which, Lawler (2001) argues, tend to move away from local encounters outward toward meso and macro structures, thus reducing the ability for commitments to form and, indeed, encouraging distancing emotions like alienation from, or even hostility toward, meso and macro structures and their cultures. This distal bias, I argue, is fed by the activation of defense mechanisms protecting persons in local encounters and activating attributions toward safer, less immediate structures and their cultures (Turner 2002, 2007, 2010b).

Thus, the basic problem on micro-level integration revolves around the dual problems of overcoming both the proximal and distal biases of positive and negative emotions. If positive emotions remain local, and negative emotions consistently target meso and macro structures and their cultures, then the potential power of emotions to integrate and connect *all three levels* of the social universe is not realized, causing only micro-level integrations among chains of encounters and small corporate units like groups. And often, as noted above, these encounters and groups sustain their local focus by viewing other groups in negative emotional terms, thus promoting conflict among groups. Gang violence would be a good example of how micro solidarity of the

gang is sustained by positive emotions aroused by interactions within the gang, reinforced by negative emotional reactions toward rival gangs. A social universe built from rival gangs will be disintegrated across all three levels of social reality, whereas an integrated society evidences connections within and across all three levels of reality. How, then, are these connections created and sustained in the presence of the proximal and distal biases of, respectively, positive and negative emotions? Some of my answer is given in Chap. 7 of this volume; let's consider some of these arguments.

2.3.1 Basic Conditions of Emotion Arousal

Humans are wired to be highly emotional (Turner 2000, 2002, 2007, 2010b); and emotions are aroused under two basic conditions: (1) expectations and (2) sanctions. When expectations for what should occur in a situation are met, individuals experience mild to potentially more intense positive emotions, whereas when expectations are not realized, the opposite is the case, thereby activating the distal bias that generally takes negative emotions away from the local encounter and targets more remote objects that will not disrupt the encounter and, at the same time, will protect individuals from negative feelings about themselves. When individuals experience positive sanctions, or approving responses from others, they experience positive emotions, whereas when they experience negative sanctions, they experience such negative emotions as anger, fear, shame, guilt, and humiliation, thus activating external attributions as a defense mechanism to protect both self and viability of the local encounter. Thus, I argue that the cognitive-emotional machinery driving the distal bias to negative emotions is, first, repression of negative emotions toward self, second, their transmutation into safer emotions like anger and alienation, and, third, activation of external attributions that push negative emotions outward onto safer objects, away

from self and the local encounter (Turner 2007). For there to be integration within and across levels of social reality, it is necessary for individuals to perceive that they have met expectations and that they have received positive sanctioning from others in a situation.

But more is involved; individuals must *consistently experience* this sense of meeting expectations and receiving positive sanctions in encounters iterated over time and in encounters across a large number of *different types of corporate units* (groups, organizations, and communities) *embedded in many differentiated* institutional domains and *across memberships in diverse categoric units* (Turner 2002, 2007). Thus, solidarity at the level of the encounter and across domains of reality is not a "one shot" process, but a consistent experience of meeting expectations in iterated encounters across corporate units lodged in diverse institutional domains in a society and across encounters where categoric unit memberships have been salient and expectations for treatment and sanctions have activated positive emotions. It is the *repetition of these positive emotional experiences across many contexts* that activates positive emotions to the point where they can break the hold of the proximal bias, and move out from the encounter and, thereby, target meso-level and macro-level structures and their cultures. Persistent positive emotional arousal in many diverse contexts allows individuals to perceive the source of positive emotion as emanating from the structure and culture of meso and macro social units. And as these positive emotions build up, their arousal dampens the effects of the distal bias inhering in negative emotional arousal.

In this way individuals develop commitments to meso and macro structures, seeing them as responsible for their ability to meet expectations and receive positive sanctions. And, the more individuals who can have these experiences and the more often they can have them across many different types of encounters embedded in different types of corporate units within diverse institutional domains, the greater will be their commitments of a population to all levels of

social structure and culture outlined in Figs. 7.1 and 7.3. What conditions, then, allow people to meet expectations and receive positive sanctions from others?

2.3.2 The Distribution of Generalized Symbolic Media

In general, the distribution of generalized symbolic media will be highly salient in almost all encounters because these are not just symbolic codings forming moralities (and derived expectation states), they are often *the valued resource* distributed unequally by corporate units (Abrutyn 2015). When people can consistently meet expectations for receipt of generalized symbolic media across many institutional domains, they will typically experience positive emotions, even if their expectations are comparatively low. But, when these expectations are not realized, the negative emotional arousal will be intense and will contribute considerably to the potential undermining of the system of stratification, and particularly so, if there are high levels of intersection among social class and non-class memberships in categorical units.

2.3.3 Meeting Expectations and Receiving Positive Sanctions

When expectations are clear, non-contradictory, consistent, and successively embedded from the most general (texts and values, for example) to increasingly specific moral codes (i.e., ideologies, meta-ideologies, beliefs in corporate units and status beliefs for categorical, norms and situational expectations), it is likely that individuals will, first of all, hold realistic expectations. Secondly, they will be able to behave in ways that allows them to meet these expectations for self and to facilitate others' capacity to meet the expectations.

When expectations are met, the positive emotions aroused feel like positive sanctions, but it is

also necessary for persons to perceive that others are actively signaling approval of their behaviors. Thus, the clarity of expectations, as this clarity follows from the conditions enumerated above, is also critical to meeting feelings of being positively sanctioned by others. And, when clarity, consistency, and successive embedding are not present, individuals are likely to behave in ways that, to some degree, make them feel like they have not met expectations and, moreover, that they have failed in the eyes of others who are perceived to be sanctioning them negatively.

As noted above, when the parameters marking individuals as members of differentially valued categorical units are highly consolidated, meeting expectations that will arouse positive emotions can be difficult and avoiding the sense of being negatively sanctioned can be hard to avoid. For example, if ethnicity in a society is highly correlated with social class memberships, with members of devalued ethnic subpopulations over-represented in lower classes and with members of other, more-valued ethnic subpopulations incumbent in middle-to-higher social classes, then interactions among these different ethnic groups will often be difficult because they will sustain low and high evaluations, and force those who are less valued to meet expectations that stigmatize them and, in so doing, that make it seem like they are being negatively sanctioned by higher-status individuals. Under these conditions, even meeting expectations can be humiliating and shame-provoking, thereby arousing negative emotions that must often be repressed. Given that consolidation also typically involves consolidation of members of higher- and lower-ranked members of different categorical units with particular corporate units, such as neighborhoods, schools, workplaces, and even churches, some of the stigma of inter-categorical unit interactions can be mitigated by *intra-categorical* unit interactions where individuals can meet intra-categorical and corporate-unit expectations and feel as if others are approving of them in giving off positive responses to behaviors. Still, segregation as a macro-level integrative mechanism (as it generates high rates of intra-categorical unit interaction at the micro level or reality) can only go so

far because people know they are devalued in the broader society, and as a consequence, they experience the sting of such an evaluation when forced to interact as subordinates with those in higher-ranking positions in divisions of labor and with those in more highly valued, even valorized, categoric units.

Domination and other integrative mechanisms like segregation and even interdependencies can, therefore, make retreat to consolidated and segregated “safe heavens” unfulfilling. Hence, high levels of inequality and discrimination against members of categoric unit sustaining inequality will, eventually, arouse large pools of negative emotions—anger, fear, shame, humiliation, sadness, alienation, and unhappiness in general—among subpopulations where at least some of their interactions in encounters are not gratifying.

Thus, like any other valued resource in a society, positive and negative emotions are distributed unequally (Turner 2014); and when negative emotions are disproportionately consolidated with lower class and other devalued memberships in non-class categoric units, integration will be under duress, eventually shifting into mobilization by members of devalued categoric units against the existing system of integration in various forms of intra- or even inter-society conflict.

Still, at the micro level, even interactions among unequals—whether the inequality stems from different locations in the divisions of labor, memberships in evaluated categoric units, or both (in the case of consolidation)—have a tendency for unequals to honor expectations states. Higher status persons will be allowed to initiate more talk and action and will be given deference by lower status persons; and lower status persons will often sanction their fellow lower-status members who challenge the micro system of inequality (imposed by the meso, and ultimately, macro levels of social organization). For, to challenge the inequality invites negative emotional arousal by higher-status persons and hence negative sanctions that carry the power to make lower-status members of groups feel even more negative emotions. In return for acceptance of the status order, then, higher-status persons treat those in lower positions with respect and dignity,

thereby arousing positive emotions within the encounter (Ridgeway 1994). Of course, if a higher-status person fails to honor this implicit bargain, the tension in the encounter will increase, but most people, most of the time, implicitly realize what is at stake: constant tension or mild positive emotional flow, with the latter being more gratifying (Ridgeway 1994; Turner 2002). This dynamic mitigates some of the negative processes unleashed by consolidation of parameters, as discussed above, but does not obviate them. And so, the corrosive emotional effect of prolonged inequalities across many diverse situations on people trapped in consolidated devaluated categoric units will gradually increase the potential for disintegrative conflict, as negative emotions build up to the point where individuals become ever-more willing to engage in conflict.

2.3.4 Transactional Needs and Their Effects on Meeting Expectations and Receiving Positive Sanctions

Many expectations come from what I have labeled *transactional needs* (Turner 1987, 2002, 2007, 2010b), which are motive states that arouse and direct the behaviors of all humans. These are, I believe, hard-wired into human neuroanatomy, with sociocultural elaborations; and in virtually every micro-levels encounter, these transactional needs establish expectations for how a person should be treated by others. If others treat a person as expected, then the person will experience positive emotions just as this person would from expectations from any other source. When not treated as expected by the arousal of need states, the failure to do so will arouse negative emotions, per se, but with a super-charging effect from a sense of being sanctioned by others. This failure to meet expectations arising from need states will thus almost always be seen as a negative sanction by others, thus doubling up on the person's negative emotional arousal. And, if large numbers of individuals in devalued categoric units must consistently fail in meeting their transactional needs, the pool of negative emotional arousal will

consolidate with class and other devalued categorical memberships.

While people may lower their expectations when consistently not realized, such is more difficult to do for expectations generated by transactional needs that are *part of the person's sense of who and what they are*, above and beyond their memberships in categorical units. Hence, even as people come to accept a certain consistent level of failure in meeting needs, the corrosive effects of negative emotional arousal, often accompanied by repression, further stock the pool of negative emotions that can undermine societal integration.

Table 2.1 lists the universal transactional needs that drive the behaviors of individuals in virtually every encounter of interpersonal behavior (Turner 1987, 1988, 2002, 2007, 2010b). These needs vary in the relative power, as is captured in the rank-ordering implied by the list in Table 2.1.

As the ranking in the table denotes, *verification* of various levels of *identity* is the most powerful transactional need; and the ranking of these various types of selves (from core-self down through social-, group-, and role-identities) indicate their relative power to arouse negative or positive emotions. The second most powerful need is, I believe, the need to feel that one has gained a *profit in exchanges of resources*—both intrinsic and extrinsic—with others. Human calculations of profit are determined by the value of resources received for those given up as costs and investments (accumulated costs), evaluated against various cultural standards of fairness and justice. The third most powerful need is one that I have added in recent work, and it emphasizes achieving a *sense of efficacy* in interaction, or the sense that one has some control over what will occur and what the outcomes will be. The fourth need is a need for *group inclusion*, or the sense that one is part of the ongoing flow of the interaction. The fifth is a *sense of trust* that depends up the predictability of self and others respective actions, the ability to fall into what Collins (2004) rhythmic synchronization in talk and body movements, and the sense that others are being sincere and respective to self. These five trans-

Table 2.1 Transactional needs generating expectation states

1. Verification of identities: needs to verify one or more of the four basic identities that individuals present in all encounters
(a) <i>Core-identity:</i> the conceptions and emotions that individuals have about themselves as persons that they carry to most encounters
(b) <i>Social-identity:</i> the conception that individuals have of themselves by virtual of their membership in categorical units which, depending upon the situation, will vary in salience to self and others; when salient, individuals seek to have others verify their social identity
(c) <i>Group-identity:</i> the conception that individuals have about their incumbency in corporate units (groups, organizations, and communities) and/or their identification with the members, structure, and culture of a corporate unit; when individuals have a strong sense of identification with a corporate unit, they seek to have others verify this identity
(d) <i>Role-identity:</i> the conception that individuals have about themselves as role players, particularly roles embedded in corporate units nested in institutional domains; the more a role-identity is lodged in a domain, the more likely will individuals need to have this identity verified by others
2. Making a profit the exchange of resources: needs to feel that the receipt of resources by persons in encounters exceeds their costs and investments in securing these resources and that their shares of resources are just compared to (a) the shares that others receive in the situation and (b) reference points that are used to establish what is a just share
3. Efficacy: needs to feel that one is in control of the situation and has the individual capacity and opportunity to direct one's own conduct, despite sociocultural constraints
4. Group inclusion: needs to feel that one is a part of the ongoing flow of interaction in an encounter; and the more focused is the encounter, the more powerful is this need
5. Trust: needs to feel that others' are predictable, sincere, respective of self, and capable of rhythmic sustaining synchronization
6. Facticity: needs to feel that, for the purposes of the present interaction, individuals share a common inter-subjectivity, that matters in the situation are as they seem, and that the situation has an obdurate character

actional needs are the most powerful, and they have the greatest effect on, first, establishing expectations in a situation and on, secondly, the intensity of the emotional reaction, whether positive or negative, for success or failure in

meeting expectations and perceiving that others are positively or negatively sanctioning a person. The sixth need for *facticity* will arouse highly negative emotions when not met, as when individuals do not achieve the sense that they are experiencing the situation in the same manner, but it is not as powerful as the other need states; and when the sense of facticity is achieved, it does not arouse strong positive emotions.

People in most encounters, even those among unequals, are typically trying to meet each others transactional needs because, to fail to do so, will breach an encounter and often arouse intense negative emotions, especially if an identity or sense of profit is denied by others. Not only are the expectations not realized, but others are likely to be seen as responsible, thus filling the encounter with negative emotions that are difficult for all to endure. And so, if individuals can understand the nature of expectations arising from these needs—and people are very adept at reading these expectations in the gestures of others—they will do so, if they possibly can. And if they cannot get a firm initial reading about each other's expectations, they will tread "interpersonal" water and stay in a highly ritualized mode of conduct until they have a better sense of which identity is most salient in the situation, which resources are in play in exchanges, what will make others feel a sense of efficacy, what is involved in securing a sense of being part of the action, and what is necessary to communicate a sense of trust. This positive bias to most interactions is part of the proximal bias; and it is one reason why people are able to experience positive emotions in most—but, obviously, not all—encounters. This bias thus assures some degree of integration at the micro level, and if sufficiently consistent over encounters and across situations, the positive emotions generated can break the hold of proximal bias and begin to form commitments to meso and macro structures and their cultures in a society.

Yet, when people consistently do not meet the expectations arising from their transactional needs across encounters in an array of corporate units in different institutional domains, the negative emotions will be particularly painful because

need states are internal to the individual and, as noted earlier, are part of a person's basic sense of who they are and how they should be treated. So, failing to meet even lowered expectations (from past readjustment downward of these expectations) arouses not only emotions like shame, alienation, and withdrawal from commitments to macrostructures but also proactive emotions like anger and needs for vengeance to strike out at the source of this failure. The distal bias and the use of external attributions toward meso and macrostructures will increase disaffection from social structures, and rapidly erode commitments to all levels of social reality, except those that continue to offer some chance of meeting expectations.

2.4 Mesodynamics of Integration

The macro and micro levels of reality meet in the meso level, composed of corporate and categoric units. Almost every encounter is embedded in a corporate unit revealing a division of labor and several categoric units composed of persons who are placed into variously evaluated social categories. Corporate units are the building blocks of institutional domains, but once these domains are formed, corporate units are also the conduits by which the culture and structure of the macro realm makes its down and imposes expectations—derived from societal-level values, institutional ideologies and the symbolic media used to develop these ideologies, meta-ideologies, corporate units beliefs, norms of the division of labor of corporate units and, finally, expectations states derived from these norms that will guide interaction in micro encounters.

Categoric units are the building blocks of the macro realm, via their effects on the formation of a system of stratification in society, whereby social strata or classes are, to various degrees, consolidated with memberships in non-class categoric units, such as ethnicity/race, religious affiliation, gender, age, national origins, and the like. Stratification systems are created by the unequal distribution of the generalized symbolic media summarized in Table 11.2 as valued

resources and legitimated by the meta-ideologies that form from the circulation of generalized symbolic media across sets of institutional domains. As such, the meta-ideologies of the stratification system set up status beliefs and expectations states for individuals in encounters who are members of diverse categoric units that are typically differentially evaluated in terms of their moral worth.

When the conditions outlined for macro-level integration are in place, then the structures of the macro and meso realms are well integrated, and if the culture associated with these structures is also well connected in the patterned outlined above, beliefs and norms at the meso level provide clear expectation states for micro level behaviors among individuals in encounters. Conversely, if there are gaps, inconsistencies, failures to embed or if integration is achieved by segregation and consolidations within and between corporate and categoric units, then expectations may be somewhat clear but they are likely to generate negative emotions at the level of the encounter. In so doing, they erode integration by reducing commitments of persons to meso and the macro structures and cultures built up from meso structures. These dynamics have been discussed in the sections on macro and micro integration, but they can be given additional focus by viewing corporate units as operating within *cultural and structural fields* generated by the institutional domains in which they are lodged and the modes of integrating corporate units with and across institutional domains. Similarly, focus is achieved by examining the dynamics of *consolidation and intersection* of categoric units in cultural and structural fields generated by the structure of the stratification system and the meta-ideology legitimating this system. Let me first take on the fields and niches of corporate units.

2.4.1 Fields and Niches Among Corporate Units

The institutional domains in which corporate units are embedded constitute, on the one hand, a set of resource niches in which corporate units

seek resources necessary to function, and on the other, a cultural and structural field. The emergence of organizational ecology (e.g., Hannan and Freeman 1977, 1989) changed the way organizations and, potentially, corporate units more generally are analyzed, whereas, the so-called “new institutionalism” (Powell and DiMaggio 1991; Friedland and Alford 1991; Fligstein and McAdam 2012)) did the same but in a less useful way than organizational ecology. In the new institutionalism, the field of any given organization is other organizations, which is certainly true but misses the critical point that other organizations are part of *emergent* institutional domains with their own macro-level structures and cultures that are sustained by the macro modes of integration examined earlier. Let me first examine what organizational ecology adds to a view of integrative dynamics in societies, and then turn to the notion of field emerging from the new institutionalism.

2.4.1.1 The Ecology of Corporate Units

When attention shifts to the ecology of corporate units, instead of just organizations, the ideas of both urban and organizational ecology become relevant (Turner 2015; Irwin 2015), as does a more micro view of groups as seeking resource niches. Macro-level dynamics of integration organize the environments of corporate units, once they have been built up into institutional domains that distribute resources generating stratification as a macro-level system. These environments can be seen as distributions of various types of resources—demographic, material, cultural, and structural—needed to sustain the operation of a corporate unit. One generalization is that when institutional domains are integrated by differentiation and interdependencies, the number of resource niches dramatically increases, especially as markets and other distributive infrastructures move resources across institutional domains. And, as the number of resource niches increases, the greater will be the pressures for further differentiation within and between the corporate units in diverse institutional domains; and hence, the greater will be the number of corporate units organizing a population. As this

number increases, selection pressures build for further mechanisms of macro-level integration outlined earlier relying more upon interdependencies more than domination, and for more equitable distribution of generalized symbolic media as resources within the system of stratification. And as differentiation among corporate unit increases, so will the level of intersection among members of diverse categoric units across the divisions of labor of corporate units in a greater number of institutional domains.

A related set of generalizations arise from a view of corporate units as seeking diverse resources in niches, in which the competition for resources is regulated by markets and quasi markets. Organizations in particular, but other corporate units as well, will compete not just for clients, members, and incumbents but also the additional resources that they may bring to an organization (sales receipts, dues, positive feelings, learning, knowledge, loyalty, competitiveness, etc.). The result will be that generalized symbolic media will tend to flow across different corporate units within and across institutional domains, providing a basis for integration; and if this integration is built up by intersections between corporate and categoric units, these intersections will reduce tensions associated with inequalities and, thereby, increase integration. Further, as both differentiation and resource-seeking efforts of corporate units encourage recruitment of clients, customers, members, and incumbents, individuals in a society will have access to more generalized symbolic media as resources across diverse resource-seeking and resource-giving corporate units across diverse institutional domains, thereby by increasing positive emotional arousal and commitments to macro structures and their cultures and, thus, increasing micro-level integration of macro structures and their cultures.

Differentiation and dynamism of resource-seeking corporate units also increases integration by encouraging such institutional domains as polity and law to rely upon (a) material incentives (thereby creating new resource niches) more than coercive or administrative power, which will decrease resources available to corporate units,

and (b) more on positivistic law than traditionalism and rigid systems (e.g., religious) of moral codes to direct corporate-unit activities. The result is that tensions and conflicts among corporate units can be negotiated and resolved in various political and legal forums without resorting to coercive domination. Moreover, when an arena of politics and positivistic law exist as regulatory mechanisms of integration (Luhmann 1982), competition among corporate units will be less likely to evolve into open and potentially violent conflict that would increase the disintegrative potential in a society.

Thus, integrated ecosystems at the societal level require internal capacities to regulate competition for resources. Markets represent one mechanisms for doing so, but the co-evolution of a polity relying more on incentives than coercion and a legal system built around the capacity to adjust legal codes and contracts to new conditions (positivistic law) decrease the likelihood that regulated competition in markets will evolve into coercive dynamics revolving around strategies employing violent conflict to gain access to resources.

Yet, as resource niches become too densely population by corporate units, they can fail (Hannan and Freeman 1977), thereby also failing to meet the expectations of their incumbents. Moreover, systems regulated by markets, even those with political and legal controls, are inherently unstable, often resulting in contractions of the number of corporate units in resource niches, and thus, causing once again a failure of individuals to meet expectations for resources. The result is that even in systems where domination is low-key and revolves around manipulation of material incentive and positivistic law are vulnerable to the vagaries of competition in resource niches, which can increase disintegrative pressures at all levels of social organization.

2.4.1.2 Structural and Cultural Fields

The new institutionalism tended to see the fields of organizations as revealing such properties as “logics” that directed the activities of organizations in their environments. While there is a certain vagueness to terms like “logics,” I interpret

the underlying idea in the following way: the integration of macro structures and their cultures generate cultural and structural environments to which not only organizations, but also all other types of corporate units must adapt. The modes and mechanisms of structural integration at the macro level of social organization provide create and sustain a system of relationships among corporate units (and categoric units as well) to which any given corporate unit must adapt, and in many cases also adopt as part of its structure and culture. Similarly, the cultural systems of moral coding (see Fig. 7.3 in Chap. 7) attached to institutional domains and the stratification system provide a set of highly moralized instructions in their ideologies and meta-ideologies to all corporate units; and in so doing, this system of moral codings provides beliefs, norms, and expectations directing incumbents in the divisions of labor of corporate units and for members in categoric units. Let me now elaborate on both structural and cultural fields as integrative mechanisms.

Structural Fields A structural field is created by the macro-level integration on corporate units as institutional domains evolve. For example, if segmentation is the dominant mechanism of integration, existing structures and their cultures provide both organizational templates and systems of moral codings that, in essence, need to be copied. Segmentation always generates structural and cultural fields, even as other mechanisms become more prominent. For instance, as differentiation increases and, in turn, as differentiation forces the evolution of new mechanisms of integration revolving around building up interdependencies, the particular configuration mechanisms that emerge provide structural templates for corporate units to built up their structures so as to be able to fit into patterns of interdependencies generated by these mechanisms. If, for example, exchange becomes a dominant mechanism for creating and sustaining interdependencies, then corporate units will develop structures designed to use market forces to secure resources and build up their structures, and they will develop culture codes viewing competition for resources as an acceptable mode of conduct. Conversely, let us say that

domination becomes the central mechanisms for ordering relations in a society, coupled with high levels of inequality and segregation among members of different categoric units. The emerging system of relationships among corporate units, and the culture that they develop, will be very different than one based upon market forces guiding exchanges among corporate units. All existing and emergent corporate units in such a system will need to organize themselves so as to fit into this template or, if one prefers, “logic” of social organization at the macro level.

Cultural Fields There are always idiosyncratic elements to the cultural systems that emerge as societies evolve; these elements are shaped by the unique features of a population’s history, its geographical location, and its previous modes of integration. Still, there are certain general classes of cultural systems operating in all societies. All societies reveal value systems, all evidence ideologies of existing institutional domains, all reveal meta-ideologies legitimating the stratification system and evaluations of members of categoric units, all generate belief system derived from ideologies and meta-ideologies governing the operation of corporate and categoric unit dynamics, and all impose micro-level expectations states at the level of the encounter drawn from these meso-level belief systems. Thus, cultural fields will always reveal a pattern or logic based upon these invariant dimensions of how culture structures itself in relation to social structures, and vice versa.

The cultural field of any corporate or categoric unit is thus composed of the general value premises of the society, the ideologies and meta-ideologies that evolve to legitimate activities in institutional domains, the beliefs shaping corporate-unit culture derived from ideologies and the status beliefs drawn from meta-ideologies shaping the evaluation of members of categoric, and the expectations states in local encounters constrained by these belief systems. The content of any of these of moral codings will, of course, varying by virtue of unique empirical and

historical events (which cannot be so easily theorized) and by the particular configuration of institutional domains that exists and the modes and mechanisms by which these domains and the stratification system are integrated. Once we know these structural fields that have been created, it becomes possible to determine the structure of the cultural fields, and vice versa. For example, if religion becomes a dominant institutional domain and consolidates coercive power and uses this power as a mean of domination, the ideology of religion and the meta-ideology that is built around religion will become the cultural field to which all corporate and categoric units must adapt and adopt. Present day Iran offers a good illustration of such a cultural field. In contrast, if the institutional revolves around economic trade with other populations and within a society, the cultural field that evolves will be very different because it is more likely to be created to justify exchange as a dominant mechanism of integration revolving around interdependencies, and the ideology of this domain will be the center of meta-ideologies from other institutional domains that are used to legitimate the stratification system, and vice versa. This cultural field will then shape the evolution and modes of integration among corporate units that evolve in this society. The emergence of capitalism, as described by Weber ([1905] 1930) and Braudel (1977) provide a good illustration such fields. The differences between these fields cannot always be predicted, but a reasonable hypothesis would be that a population with a history of conflict with neighboring populations would produce a cultural field built more around ideologies of domination than one that does not have such a history or one that has a history of external trade relations rather than warfare with its neighbors. But, the point here is not so much the prediction but the realization that, for whatever reason, the particular configuration of mechanism of integration that evolve in a society at the macro level will shape the configuration of the cultural fields that evolve, and vice versa. And so, in trying to understand how cultural fields integrate societies, it is necessary to understand how they were used

during the period when new kinds of corporate units were forming and beginning to build up (a) new and diverse institutional domains and (b) a stratification system composed of categoric units created by the unequal distribution of generalized symbolic media as resources by these new corporate units.

By viewing cultural fields in this way, we can see their effect on meso-level integration. Corporate and categoric units are always being forced to adapt to the more macro-level cultural systems—values, ideologies, and meta-ideologies (as well as texts and technologies)—and as they do so, they implicitly seek to incorporate the logic or the commands of these moral codes. And to the degree that the belief systems evolve around corporate units within institutional domains and around status differences among members of categoric units are consistent with, and follow from, the ideologies, meta-ideologies, and general values of the macro realm, they promote integration at the meso level because they present a coherent cultural field. As they do so, they increase the likelihood that expectations at the micro level will be clear and, thereby, realized at least to some degree, thus promoting integration at the micro level. And, as beliefs and expectations states at the meso and micro level reproduce the cultural field and the structural arrangement that it legitimates, these fields thus reproduce the structures and cultures of the macro realm, thereby promoting integration.

The converse is true if there are dramatic discontinuities and inconsistencies in the moral codes of the macro realm, or if beliefs are not derived from existing ideologies and meta-ideologies but, instead, are evolving on-the-ground as actors seek to justify new types of sociocultural formations. Such a system will not be integrated and will be likely to experience dramatic change, as ideologies of existing institutional systems come into conflict with new ones that are evolving or with new types of corporate units challenging the existing “logics” of the fields in which corporate units had heretofore operated.

2.4.2 Intersection and Consolidation Among Categorical Units

To the extent that structural and cultural fields, as well as competition for resources by corporate units in various resource niches, increase rates of discrimination against members of devalued categorical units, they promote consolidation of parameters marking categorical unit memberships with differential rates of access to resource-distributing corporate units, with varying rates of mobility up the divisions of labor of such corporate units and, in so doing, with over- or underrepresentation members of categorical units in the hierarchy of classes in a society. When domination and segregation are prominent mechanisms of integration at the macro level of social organization, consolidation is most likely and severe, but all societies evidence some degree of consolidation of memberships in categorical units with locations in divisions of labor of corporate units, even those relying upon interdependencies regulated by politics relying heavily on the material incentive base of power and by positivistic law. Consolidation also occurs, as is evident in societies like the United States, that evidence egalitarian tenets in value premises and most institutional ideologies and meta-ideologies. Thus, consolidation is a powerful force in all human societies, beginning with the emergence of advanced horticultural forms during societal evolution and continuing well into the post-industrial age and, no doubt, into the future. Thus, all societies reveal disintegrative potential from consolidation, and the higher is the level of consolidation, the greater is this potential.

Even in societies with high rates of intersection, which increase mobility among members of variously evaluated categorical units across corporate units in more institutional domains, and up the hierarchical divisions of labor in these units, there are typically subpopulations that are overrepresented in lower social classes and that are subject to prejudicial status beliefs, even in societies with moral codes emphasizing equality among persons and/or equalities of opportunity. Consolidation at the meso level limits rates of

interaction between members of valued and devalued categorical units at the micro level and, if interaction occurs, it is structured around inequalities in status, differential stigma imposed by status beliefs and expectation states drawn from meta-ideologies, and often open discrimination. Thus, the persistence of consolidation in human societies assures that there will always be powerful disintegrative pressures working against those promoting integration.

Intersection of memberships of variously valued categorical units across all types of corporate units in all institutional domains, and mobility up and down the divisions of labor of these units, increases rates of interaction at the micro level will all work to reduce the salience of status beliefs at the meso level which, in turn, reduces the power of beliefs that legitimate discrimination. Intersection becomes more likely in societies using differentiation and interdependencies as macro-level mechanisms of integration, and very high rates of intersection reduce the power of stigmatizing and prejudicial status beliefs, which in turn make discrimination and segregation less acceptable and more difficult to legitimate with prejudicial beliefs pulled from meta-ideologies, thereby changing the cultural and structural fields of all meso-level corporate units.

The result is increased integration of a society, albeit sometimes chaotic because of the constant play of conflicting interests and the normal problems with markets regulating corporate-unit competition in resource niches. But this kind of chaos occurs in systems that are more flexible and thus able to adapt to more frequent but less severe disintegrative forces, particularly when compared to societies where coercive domination is the master form of integration. Societies that effectively use domination may appear less chaotic on the surface but the underlying tensions arising from inequalities, discrimination and segregation, and consolidation of membership in categorical unit with access to resource-distribution corporate units bode for disintegrative problems in the future. The breakup of Yugoslavia or the forced dismantling of the Hussein regime in Iraq document what happens when cracks in the system of domination appear.

2.5 Conclusion

In this chapter, I have phrased the arguments in the terminology that I have used in recent decades. But the ideas come from all over sociology and from thinkers in both classical and contemporary sociology. In many ways, integration as a force driving the dynamics of human societies has been under-theorized, even as most scholars trying to develop general theory in sociology have proposed at least partial theories of integration. My goal in this chapter has been to bring the pieces of theorizing together into a more unified theory, although many may object to the limitations of my conceptual vocabulary. Yet, if we are to address integration at all levels of social organization, and trace out how it operates within any given level as well as across levels, we need a simplifying vocabulary that retains a focus as analysis shifts from one level to another. There are some aspects of integration that cannot easily be theorized because they occur by virtue of unique historical circumstances, but I think that we can describe what happens in history with a common conceptual vocabulary. And, once we have done this, we can begin to tease out the integrative dynamics that ensue and to see these as part of a more general sociological theory of integration.

At the very least, I have proposed that integration is a multi-level and complex process that cannot be theorized any one level of social organization. We cannot simply pronounce processes—say interaction rituals, self verification, exchange, cultural fields, networks, etc.—as a master mechanism of societal integration. This has been the theoretical tendency, and it has led scholars to abandon the effort to develop a general theory of integration. But once we seek integration as a series of mechanisms operating at distinct levels of social reality, and then, across levels of reality, we place ourselves in a position to develop a more robust theory. This chapter represents my best effort to pull together what are often conflicting strains of theorizing over the last 100 years and place them in one, reasonably coherent, framework for understanding the dynamics of the social universe. What emerges is

a composite, but a composite of ideas that are linked conceptually. The result is at a minimum the beginnings of a more robust and unified theory of integration in human societies.

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