Pound, Roscoe (1870-1964)

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class alliance with the capitalist class. At the political level, class is determined by relations of authority, while relations of knowledge determine class at the ideological level. Poulantzas differentiates between manual and mental laborers at the ideological level, positing that those with technical expertise should also be excluded from the proletariat.

According to Poulantzas, the state does not dominate through repression, but by consent of both the dominant and subordinate classes. Critical of instrumental Marxists who view the state as a mere tool of the dominant capitalist class, Poulantzas suggests that the capitalist state is relatively autonomous from the economy, even if it does function to benefit the interests of the dominant class much of the time. The notion of a unified dominant class or working class may itself be a misnomer, as Poulantzas argues both classes are often divided. The capitalist state, however, functions as a unifying force to provide cohesion. This cohesion may appear contradictory, as it is a consequence of what Poulantzas calls the isolation effect. Instead of recognizing capitalist relations in terms of class struggle, individuals experience competition as isolated citizens or factions of a particular power bloc. Thus, the hegemonic power of the state rests upon a "false" notion of unity and the fact that, while the state itself constitutes class struggle, it appears to exclude class struggle from its center.

The rise of fascism and military dictatorships in Southern Europe and South America influenced Poulantzas's theory on state power, especially his advocacy of democratic socialism. He was concerned with how the hegemonic power of authoritarian statism grew as the state apparatus was able to incorporate resistance into its dominant ideology and use technocratic discourse to espouse liberalism. Poulantzas came to view all forms of statism as suspect, including Leninism. He feared that a party that followed a Leninist path, obliterating the capitalist state and the political liberties it provided, could hijack the long road to democratic socialism. According to Poulantzas, the Leninist transition to socialism rested upon the fallacies that the capitalist state functioned solely in the interests of the bourgeoisie, that the capitalist state was repressive, and that the working class was unified. Poulantzas did not view the working class as unified, therefore it could not claim to represent the interests of the masses, especially the interests of the new social movements that were beginning to emerge. Poulantzas saw no point in replacing one dominant discourse with another, and argued that "socialism will be democratic or it will not be at all."

SEE ALSO: Class Conflict; Marx, Karl; Marxism and Sociology; State

REFERENCES AND SUGGESTED READINGS


Pound, Roscoe (1870-1964)

Michael R. Hill

Roscoe Pound, sociologist, ecologist, and noted jurist, originated and promulgated the legal movement known as the American school of sociological jurisprudence. This revolutionary perspective remains the single most consequential application of sociological thinking in American society. Pound's sociological theories and empirical methodologies fundamentally transformed the prosecution and administration of US law for a full half-century.

Widely remembered as the dynamic and authoritative Dean of Harvard's Law School (1916-36), Pound was also a creative and insightful plant ecologist as well as a pioneering and innovative sociologist. Albion W. Small,
writing privately in 1916, observed that Pound is central to our understanding of the development of American sociology after 1906, concluding - with regard to sociology and law - that Pound was "not merely magna pars but practically the whole thing." Pound's integration of sociology and law began after 1901 at the University of Nebraska where Edward A. Ross's groundbreaking theoretical work in *Social Control* (1901), *Foundations of Sociology* (1905), and *Social Psychology* (1908) set Pound "in the path" that became the American school of sociological jurisprudence. Later, as Dean of Harvard's prestigious Law School, Pound inculcated sociological ideas into cadres of legal students destined to positions of power and influence, resulting in a widespread, sociologically infused legal perspective that dominated decision-making in the US Supreme Court for 50 years during the mid-twentieth century. A prodigious scholar, Pound wrote hundreds of legal, sociological, and botanical articles and published several well-received books, including *The Spirit of the Common Law* (1921), *Law and Morals* (1924), and *Social Control Through Law* (1942). Frequently cajoled by E. A. Ross to write a short monograph on sociological jurisprudence per se, Pound's five-volume *Jurisprudence* finally appeared in 1959.

Conceptually, Pound's sociological perspective holds that law is a social creation - an astonishing and deeply heretical idea for most lawyers at the beginning of the twentieth century. In 1906, Pound fired his first major salvo on behalf of sociological jurisprudence in an address to the American Bar Association, baldly painting American lawyers and judges as harmful conservatives (*Report of the 29th Annual Meeting of the American Bar Association*, 1906, Vol. 29, I: 395–417). Rejecting concepts of absolute legal "rights" (*Journal of Ethics*, 1915, Vol. 26: 92–116), Pound's sociological "theory of interests" defines law as an institutional mechanism for balancing the complex and often competing claims of individual, public, and social interests (*Publications of the American Sociological Society*, 1920, Vol. 15: 16–45). In the modern world of rapid technological and social change, sociological jurisprudence mandated the "reshaping of our institutions of public justice to the requirements of the times." When established legal precedents fail to illuminate the intricacies of current situations, according to Pound, up-to-date sociological data become fundamentally important to jurists who must adjudicate conflicting claims lodged by divergent interests. Pound's theory thus made empirical sociological research "a presupposition of the work of the lawmaker, judge and jurist."

Leading by example, after co-founding the American Institute of Criminal Law and Criminology (1909), Pound - together with Felix Frankfurter - organized and directed the first full-scale interdisciplinary empirical survey of crime in America (*Criminal Justice in Cleveland*, 1922), a project immediately cited as a methodological exemplar by Robert E. Park and Ernest W. Burgess in the second edition of their influential *Introduction to the Science of Society* (1924). Pound's subsequent sociological synthesis appeared as *Criminal Justice in America* (1930). At Harvard, Pound championed the Survey of Crime and Criminal Justice in Boston (1934–6) and sponsored Sheldon Glueck's *One Thousand Juvenile Delinquents* (1934). As a commissioner working largely behind the scenes on Herbert Hoover's National Commission on Law Observance and Enforcement (popularly known as the Wickersham Commission, 1929–31), Pound framed much of the massive final *Report* (1931), lauded the meticulous work of Chicago's Edith Abbott, his former Nebraska student, in her *Crime and the Foreign Born* (1931), and successfully blocked the persistent tendency of Chicago's Clifford Shaw and Henry McKay to overreach their ecological data in *The Causes of Crime* (1931). Pound undertook his last empirical study at age 75: the Survey of Criminal Justice in China (1946–8), personally conducting site visits and interviews on mainland China. The results remain today embedded in Taiwan's legal code. Within the social sciences, Pound's welding of sociology and law is most often compared to and contrasted with the decidedly anthropological interpretation of law adopted by Karl Llewellyn.

Pound died in Cambridge, Massachusetts, still an active scholar, on July 1, 1964.

SEE ALSO: American Sociological Association; Law, Criminal; Law, Sociology of; Park, Robert E. and Burgess, Ernest W.; Small, Albion W.
REFERENCES AND SUGGESTED READINGS


While poverty generally refers to material deprivation, it is a multifaceted experience for those struggling to get by. It can certainly involve economic hardship, such as difficulty in paying food bills or living in housing in severe disrepair. For some, poverty means lacking some of the basic consumer items that their neighbors have, such as telephones and cars. The term poverty can be used to describe a lack of other types of goods, such as education or human rights. The focus here, however, is more narrowly on the economic dimensions of poverty.

There are several reasons why poverty is considered a critical social issue. First, the hardship that often accompanies poverty can have adverse effects on individuals' physical and psychological well-being. A number of studies have shown that children raised in poor families are worse off in terms of their cognitive development, school achievement, and emotional well-being. Poor individuals are also more likely to have health problems and shorter life expectancies. Many people would also agree that it is morally troubling to have poverty amidst relative affluence.

Second, poverty has broader economic consequences. Economies thrive in societies with vibrant working and middle classes. For example, much of the strong economic growth in the United States in the twentieth century was fueled by the expansion of consumer markets. As the demand for new products increased, so did technological innovation, productivity, and wages and benefits. Thus, declining levels of poverty contribute to a healthy economy by increasing the number of people who can produce and purchase goods and services; that increase, in turn, stimulates economic growth and raises average standards of living.

Third, high levels of poverty can have serious social and political consequences. Poor people often feel alienated from mainstream society. Poverty can provoke social disorder and crime and reduce public confidence in democratic institutions if people do not feel their needs are being addressed by the prevailing system. The unequal distribution of resources can contribute to a fragmentation of society, both nationally and globally.

There are a number of measures one could use to estimate the prevalence of poverty in society. Income poverty measures are perhaps the most common. They usually involve comparing a household's income to a poverty threshold to determine whether that household is poor. Two basic types of income poverty measures are absolute and relative measures. Absolute measures, such as the current US official measure, are ones that typically attempt to define a truly basic -absolute -needs standard that remains constant over time and perhaps updated only for inflation. Relative measures, which are more commonly used by researchers in Europe, explicitly define poverty as a condition of comparative disadvantage, to be assessed against some evolving standard of living.

The most common poverty thresholds used in developing countries are absolute ones. The