

M.A. SOCIOLOGY

Course No. 405

Lesson -1

Unit-I

DEFINITION AND SUBJECT MATTER OF POLITICAL SOCIOLOGY

CONTENTS

- 1.1 Introduction
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OBJECTIVES

After studying this lesson you should be able to:

- give the definition of Political Sociology.
- discuss the origin and development of political sociology.

- explain the linkage between political science and sociology.

1.1 INTRODUCTION

Human behaviour oscillates between two poles conflict and cooperation, as these two have been the common experiences of man throughout human history. Where there is conflict, there arises a political situation. Politics today is unthinkable and unapproachable without sociology. Politics is the process by which groups of people make decisions. The term is generally applied to behaviour within civil governments, but politics has been observed in all human group interactions, including corporate, academic, and religious institutions. Political sociology investigates the association between society and politics, and can be considered the intersection of political science and sociology. More specifically, the main focus is on power. In sociology, power is defined as the ability to achieve one's goals over the objections of another group. In political sociology, we study who has the power, how they use it, and how it is institutionalized. This can include the study of political activity of specific groups (race, class, gender, ideology), how social pressure forces change in policy, or how policy will affect society.

1.2 DEFINITION OF POLITICAL SOCIOLOGY

Political sociology provides a new vista in political analysis. It is the study of interaction and linkages between society and politics; between a political system and its social, economic and cultural environment. It examines social power and focuses on the political attitudes, values and behaviour of people in different societies. It is concerned with problems, regarding the management of conflict, the articulation of interests and issues, and political integration and organization. The focal point in all these concerns is the interdependence and interplay of socio cultural, economic and political elements.

Robert E. Dowse & John A. Hughes, "Political Sociology is the study of political behaviour within a sociological perspective of frame."

Bendix & Lipset, "While political science starts with state and examines how it affects the society, political sociology starts with society and examines how it affects state."

A.K. Mukhopadhaya, "Political Sociology is the product of a cross fertilization between sociology and political science that studies the impact of society on politics and also the reverse, although viewing the substance of politics in a social form."

Michael Rush and Phillip Althoff, “ Political Sociology is a discipline that examines the link between politics and society and as such it is a theoretical and methodological bridge between political science and sociology”.

Essential features of political sociology are: (1) Political sociology is not political science since, unlike the later, it is not a state discipline or a study of the state craft. (2) Political sociology concerned with not only with social but with the political as well. (3) Political sociology revolves round the belief that there exists an identify of form between the social process and the political process. Political sociology tries to resolve the traditional dichotomy between state and society. Therefore, Political sociology acts a theoretical and methodological bridge between political science and sociology, what Sartori has called “an inter-disciplinary hybrid”.

1.3 NATURE AND SCOPE OF POLITICAL SOCIOLOGY

Political sociology is a science like any other science. It employs systematic methods of investigation, theoretical thinking and logical assessment of arguments. As such, political sociology is nonpolitical by nature. It becomes society centered fixing its attention on the wider social panorama that shapes the political institutions. Political sociology is a science like any other science. It employs systematic methods of investigation, theoretical thinking and logical assessment of arguments. Political sociology collects evidence about the selected subject matter using planned and organized methods. explanations and conclusions are drawn on the basis of carefully collected evidences. Findings and conclusions are open to inspections, criticism and testing by other researchers. Political sociology involves systematic methods of investigation, analysis of data and the assessment of theories in the light of evidences and logical argument

- a) It is basically concerned with the structures and processes in a society , thatis, the social behaviour in all its dimensions.
- b) It seeks to understand the interaction between the government (State) and society, decision making authorities, conflict and interest.
- c) It concentrates its attention in purely empirical theory building and proposing the models for comparative analysis.

- d) Political Sociology studies the political process as a continuum of interaction between society and its decision maker and between the decision making institutions and social forces.
- e) It interprets political institutions in terms of the behavioural pattern of the individuals who compose it and brings in order and reliability to political analysis.

To sum up, the very nature of political sociology has added precision to political analysis by offering systematic explanation of social phenomena and brought order, reliability and manipulateness to political analysis.

SCOPE

Political sociology studies relationship between the state and society, party system and its relation society. The scope of political sociology includes effect of social attitudes on political participation, social class and political attitudes, voting and its political and social implications. The scope of political sociology is very vast. An important concern of political sociology is the decision-making process through public means. In this process, it takes into account not only the social forces but also includes the economic factors that are regulated by forces such as money, market and other resources scarcities. Political sociology also analysis whether the person occupying the decision- making process has enough grip over the people on whom they are exercising authority. It also includes the concept of political system, which introduces dynamism in political analysis. It not only stress on the study of the major structures of the government such as legislature, courts and administrative agencies, but also embassies on all the structure in their political aspects such as caste groupings, kinship groups and formal organisations such as parties and interest groups.

Various scholars have discussed the scope of political sociology in different ways. According to Greer and Orleans, it is concerned with the structure of the state; the nature and conditions of legitimacy; the nature of the monopoly of force and its use by the state and the nature of the subunits and their relation with the state. Lasswell explains that since the entire society is characterized by the interplay of influence, influential and the influenced, politics pervades all of society. Politics permeates every social group an association, class and profession. Andreu Effrat suggests that political sociology is concerned with the causes, patterns and consequences of the distribution and process of power and authority in all

social systems. Lipset and Bendix suggest a more representative catalogue of topics when they describe the main areas of interest to political sociologists, as voting behaviour; concentration of economic power and political decision making; ideologies of political movements and interest groups; political parties, voluntary associations, the problem of oligarchy and psychological correlates of political behaviour; and the problem of bureaucracy. At the empirical level, political sociologists have undertaken research to investigate the social basis of political cleavage and consensus. The major area of substantive concern for them is the study of the process of state and nation building. There are four main areas of research focus in contemporary Political Sociology:

- The socio-political formation of the modern state.
- “Who rules”? How social inequality between groups (class, race, gender, etc.) influences politics.
- How public personalities, social movements and trends outside of the formal institutions of political power affect politics, and
- Power relationships within and between social groups (e.g. families, workplaces, bureaucracy, media, etc.).

Political Sociology studies as to how major social trends can affect the political process, as well as tries to explore as to how various social forces work together to change political policies. The study of the political process is also the domain of political sociology. Political process refers to activities of those underlying propensities in society that give meaning and order to the political system. Another major concern of political sociology is to study the impact of the political culture on the political system. The concepts of political culture refer to those underlying propensities that accelerate or retard the pace of performance of the political system. Political participation and political mobilization also from the scope of political sociology. Another important aspect that is covered by political sociology is social stratification. It studies different social stratification systems, such as class, caste, gender and status, and analysis their impact on organized politics. It is also equally concerned on the study of elites and their leadership styles.

Over the last couple of decades, political sociology has shifted away from this focus on how society affects the state. The contemporary political sociology had new

paradigm of thinking like in Comparative Politics, Public administration. Political Sociology also thinks issues like third world development approach. Contemporary Political Sociology discussed economic, political, and cultural globalization means that what the state is and does is now itself in question. As political sociology advances into the twenty first century, four lines of inquiry are posed for further development: (a) legitimacy and identity, (b) governmentality, (c) politics beyond the nation-state, and (d) a synthesis of new institutionalism, rational choice, and constructionism. There is growing realization that the problem of development are not merely technical or bureaucratic in the narrow sense, but essentially sociopolitical in the wider sense, and the political forces must be organized in a way to ensure effective implementation of development plans.

1.4 EMERGENCE OF POLITICAL SOCIOLOGY

Political Sociology, however, was not born by accident. Many factors worked behind its emergence the most important among which was a growing dissatisfaction with the nature of traditional Political science. There are two reasons for their dissatisfaction, firstly, was about the long tradition of political science being steeped in highly normative prescriptions. After the second world war, when fantastic scientific progress and technological advancement had greatly scientised the general intellectual atmosphere, political scientists in the west finally decided to adjure the a priori political speculations and began looking into political realities in the light of hard scientific empiricism. Secondly, traditional political science had always viewed the state as its star attractions. The traditional political science had refused to accept two-way relations between state and society. Since the fifties western social scientists started heading towards the unifications of social sciences with the aid of an inter-disciplinary approach. This was also contributing towards the development of political sociology.

During the Middle Ages, the distinction between the church and the state was made, although the state was considered subservient to the city of God. St. Augustine also argued that society was guided by the divine principles. The greatest thinker of this period, Saint Thomas Aquinas observed that state was a natural institution which worked for serving the earthly needs of the people of each society. He classified laws into four classes: eternal, divine, natural and human, and explained their hierarchical relationships. While in the ancient period society and state were held to be one, in the medieval period the Church

fathers held that state was a natural divine institution working for serving the material needs of the people. They gave importance to the Church and explained the supremacy of Church over the state. Church, State and Society were studied in an interrelated manner, but Church was held to be superior most divine institution. One group of philosophers, which included great thinkers like John Locke, Jean Jacques Rousseau and August Comte, made and projected a distinction between the state and society. They gave primacy to society and general will of the people over the state. Against it the second group of philosophers, which included equally great thinkers like Hobbes, Burke and Hegel, did not make and accept any distinction between the state and society and advocated the supreme and total control of the state over all aspects of life of the people. The issue of relationship between society and state and between individual and state came in sharp focus.

Political sociology, although a new emergence in its modern form, has a long history and there are substantial contributions made by the scholars of nineteenth century. Political sociology, as an independent discipline emerged in the middle of 19th century. It was not born by accident. Politician, political scientists and sociologists have played a major role in the evolution of this subject. There were a few important factors that contributed to the growth of political sociology. There were many factors that were responsible for the emergence of political sociology.

1. The growing dissatisfaction with the traditional nature of political science. Political science was interested in normative prescriptions and political science had always viewed the state as its star attention.
2. The growth of political sociology was made possible by political scientists who quietly accepted the invasion of sociology into the sphere of politics without any protest. Political scientists began to look at political realities from a scientific perspective or in an empirical manner.
3. Extension of area of politics &
4. Distinction between state and society.

Major developments occurred however in the social sciences, in the wake of the Industrial Revolution, which destroyed the feudal society based an ascriptive hierarchy of landed nobility and peasantry, the pervasive authority of the church and the cumulative

character of political power. The 17th century witnessed a decline in the institution of monarchy and rise of powerful class of landlords. The feudal lords became very powerful. They began using the political power in the state. Monarchy started getting replaced by Aristocracy. The Royal Family, the class of major landlords, the landed aristocracy, and the class of the rich became very powerful classes. The society witnessed the rise of elites each of which came to denote standards of excellence. The role of social classes in the exercise of the power of the state came to an important issue of discussion and debate.

In the 18th century, the American War of Independence leading to the rise of the USA as a sovereign independent republic and the French Revolution reflecting the rise of common people as the real power-holders brought into prominence the issue of role of the people in the exercise of power in each society. In the 19th century the process of democratization of politics in Britain and some other European states got underway and this development greatly strengthened the focus on the issue of exercise of power in society. The 20th century opened as the age of democracy and development but came to develop a violent conflict between democratic and dictatorship states. The end of Second World War highlighted the victory of Democracy over Dictatorship. Post-1945 years witnessed the rapid march of Behavioural Revolution in the study of Politics. It strongly projected the need for making the study of politics comprehensive, realistic, precise, scientific, and an empirical science of human political behaviour in society.

CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

1. Political sociology emerged in the _____ century.
2. Bendix and Lipset defines political sociology as that political science _____
3. Which German sociologist has left a deep imprint in political sociology?
4. _____ is understood as large scale formal organization of the modern societies with specialized functions.
5. Who said “Political Sociology is concerned with the structure of the state, the nature and the conditions of the legitimacy; the nature of the monopoly of force, and peoples relations with their respective states”?
6. Political Sociology studies _____ in relation to social relations.
7. _____ sees politics primarily as a contest among competing interest group.

All this created the environment in which Political Sociology emerged as an important and productive field of Politics. The field of Political Sociology developed from the works of Max Weber, Barrington Moore, Jr., and Moisey Ostrogorsky. Later on, Robert A. Dahl, Seymour Martin Lipset, Theda Skocpol, Luc Boltanski, Nicos Poulantzas, Stein Rokkan, Apter, Crick, Bendix, Greer, Orleans and several others became major Political Sociologists. They successfully demonstrated to the social scientists as to how political study could be advanced by studying politics in the social context.

1.4 IMPORTANCE OF POLITICAL SOCIOLOGY

It is well known that one cannot hope to study political or social institutions as a separate entity in the modern society. An understanding of the existing socio-political structures with all their implications is, therefore, possible only through a study of political

sociology. The importance of political sociology as a subfield of sociology is it focuses on the social forces of politics rather than the mechanics. Political Sociology studies politics at four levels. Political conflict and struggle among nations i.e. the sociology of international relations. The nature and role of the state within various societies. The nature and organisation of political movements and parties. The participation of the individual in politics.

- a) Political Sociology studies modern institutions like bureaucracy, political parties, voting, propaganda, etc. which are day to day issues in the life of the modern masses.
- b) It focuses on the nature and organisation of political movements and parties and participation of the individual in politics.
- c) Patterns of political participation and political behaviour, including non- participation of the people e.g., empirical research of popular participation in politics and voting behaviour.
- d) Power and domination in society and Political elites and masses and the extent to which modern societies can be said to be dominated by a ruling class
- e) Comparative analysis on the basis of survey methods has led to cross-national, cross-cultural and cross-societal research of considerable value.

Political sociology studies human being as a social-political being and his behaviour in society. No one deny the fact that human political behaviour in just one aspect of human behaviour in environment, particularly in society. Political behaviour is always influenced by social behaviour, economic well-being and morality. More particularly it is deterministically influenced by the system of social relations and interactions among all the members of his society. Man is born in a family and gets all his initial values and pattern of behaviour from his family and peer groups. This provides him with the roots for his political behaviour and relations. Hence, the study of human political behaviour can be systematically pursued only by studying it in its social context. Political Sociology serves this necessity.

1.6 RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN SOCIOLOGY OF POLITICS & POLITICAL SOCIOLOGY

Some scholars consider these two as the same while some others refuse to treat these as identical. The scholars belonging to the second group advocate the view that Political Sociology is something more than Sociology of Politics. The latter defines the social changes which occur when political machinery enters the social environment. The social change may occur due to political culture, political participation of masses, social basis of political behaviour, political ideologies, political consensus and cleavage, power, authority and legitimacy, patterns of political leadership and several other such factors.

Sociology of Politics examines and tries to sort out the causes of tensions in society resulting from any political activity. It also tries to show the consequences and results of any political activity and its impact both upon the common man and the society as a whole. Sociology of Politics makes an enquiry into the society and places main emphasis upon social aspects of all changes. It argues that social forces which operate behind the political phenomena are more important than the phenomena itself, which is the primary concern of Political Science. It undertakes a sociological appraisal of politics and regards political phenomena as a dependent variable and considers the underlying social phenomena as the explanatory variable. Sociology of Politics is a subfield of Sociology.

1.6.1 Relation between Sociology and Political Science

Political science and sociology are closely related. Political science is that branch of social science which mostly deals with state, government and power. According to Morris Ginsberg, "Historically sociology has its main roots in politics and philosophy of history." Political science deals with the political activities of man. It deals with the principles of organization and government of human society. It studies social groups organized under the sovereignty of the state. It is said that without the sociological background the study of political science will be incomplete. The forms of government, the nature of governmental organs, the laws and sphere of the state activities are determined by the social process. Both the sciences are mutually helpful since political activities is only a part of the social activities.

Political activity influences and is influenced by the social life of the man. Politics is after all the reflection of the society. Political science gives the fact about the organization and function of state of government. Similarly, political science is derived from a knowledge of the origin of the political authority. As political science is concerned with the state, sociology also studies state as one of the human associations. The state in its early form was more a social institution than that of original one. Without sociological background, the study of political science will be incomplete. But also sociology depends on political science for its conclusion. The special study of political life of the society is very important for the complete study of the society as a whole.

1.6.2 Differences between Sociology and Political Science

- Sociology is the science of society whereas political science is the science of state and government.
- Sociology studies all kinds of society organized and unorganized while political science studies politically organized society.
- The scope of sociology is found wider than scope of political science.
- Sociology studies man as fundamentally a social animal whereas political science studies man as a political animal.
- Sociology is the general science and is relatively younger but political science is special and is older than sociology.
- The approach of sociology is different than that of political science.

Despite the similarities and dissimilarities between two disciplines sociology and political science, they have a close relationship. Political sociology thus became popular in the modern period. Political sociology is a connecting bridge between sociology and political science. It believes in a two-way relationship between sociology and political science, giving equal emphasis on social and political variables. Political sociology does not, therefore, study simply the social factors that condition the political order, but also the way political institutions affect non-political social structures.

1.7 SUMMARY

It is important to note that the domain of political sociology, as defined above, does not assign causal priority to society over polity or to polity over society. It differs from political science in a variety of ways. Political sociologists tend to emphasize the relationships between political institutions and other social institutions and society in general, rather than focusing on political institutions in their own right; political sociology tends to have a broader and also historical scope. Political sociology deals with the relationship between state and society on the basis of mutual interaction and with power as the ultimate aim of all political processes. Political sociology involves an ongoing search for a more comprehensive scope, as well as more realistic, precise and theory conscious analysis. It has opened new frontiers of research and has experimented with new methods of analysis.

1.8 MODEL TEST PAPER

(A) Answer the following questions:

- Q1: Define Political Sociology.
- Q2: Discuss in detail the origin and growth of political sociology.
- Q3: Explain the importance of political sociology in contemporary times.
- Q4: Differentiate between Sociology and Political Science.
- Q5: Explain the relationship between political sociology and sociology of politics.

(B) Tick the right option:

- i. Who developed the field of political sociology?
- a) Gramsci b) Lipset c) Hegel
- ii. Who called Political sociology as ‘interdisciplinary hybrid’?
- a) P. Blau b) Sartori c) Kothari
- iii. Political Sociology is the study of _____
- iv. The concept of _____ is at the centre of the treatment of politics.
(profit/power/prestige).

1.9 SUGGESTED READINGS

- Ashraf, Ali & Sharma, L.N. 1983. *Political Sociology- A New Grammar of Politics*. Universities Press (India).
- Ralhan, S.S. & Lambat, S.R. 2006. *Political Sociology*. New Delhi: Commonwealth Publishers.
- Rathod, P.B. 2005. *Fundamentals of Political Sociology*. Jaipur: ABD Publishers.

M.A. SOCIOLOGY

M. A. Sociology

Course No. 405

Lesson -2

Unit-I

THEORETICAL APPROACHES OF POLITICAL SOCIOLOGY

CONTENTS

- 2.1 Introduction
- 2.2 Behavioural Approach
- 2.3 Systems Approach
- 2.4 Structural-Functional Approach
- 2.5 Comparative Approach
- 2.6 Development Approach
- 2.7 Summary

OBJECTIVES

After studying this lesson, you should be able to:

- describe the distinctive approaches related to political sociology
- discuss the significance of these approaches in studying political sociology.

2.1 INTRODUCTION

The attempt to systematize political knowledge is reflected in various ways of looking at political phenomenon. These ways or perspectives are the analytical system, approaches or paradigms. An analytical system or approach underlies all scientific

investigations. An approach simply means a particular orientation or point of view. The various approaches to the study of political sociology are as under:

2.2 BEHAVIOURAL APPROACH

This approach stands as an important milestone in the study of political sociology. Its main achievement is that it has changed the emphasis of study from structures and institutions to the behaviour of individuals in political situations and roles. It has posited that institutions do not work by themselves, or in a vacuum and it is the attitude, motives and perceptions of individual actors in the political arena which make up the mainspring of their political action. The political analysts conceived individuals a biological and human entity existing within social and cultural environment. And in order to understand behaviour, it is necessary to look at the situation in which an individual finds himself in a political situation. In short, the behavioural approach gathered momentum as a reaction to traditional approach and studied the human behaviour as conditioned by cultural background, social environment and personal qualities. The research objectives of this approach are follows:

- i) to obtain political orientation through direct inquiry rather than through inferences from the writing of intellectuals novels, poetry etc.;
- ii) to obtain systematically collected data rather than data obtained through casual means such as conversations and inadequate samples;
- iii) to give quantitative meaning to such words as ‘characteristic’, ‘usual’ etc. found in studies of political attitude;
- iv) to characterize political societies by their patterns of attitudes discovered through systematic inquiry;
- v) to analyse attitudes and to explain why the attitudes are the way they are.

Such an attempt by behavioural analysts have not only accorded a scientific character to political studies but also blew a death nail to purely descriptive and introspective approach, factual narration of events, abstract formulation and legalistic interpretation of institutions. Lucian Pye’s study of Burma used psychological complexes of the Burmese bureaucracy to explain its administrative behaviour. Harold Lasswell’s

works spelt out the psychological basis of political leadership. His book *The Psychopathology of Politics* (1930), and his famous formulation that political activity arises from the displacement of personal frustrations on to public causes, gave valuable insight into the psychological basis of the radical political leadership and movement. Such a behavioural approach has expanded the scope of political analysis and ushered an era of scientificism and scholasticism by parting with formalism and institutionalism on the one hand, and by exploring social structures, activities and interactions on the other hand. In the field of political sociology, it has enriched the contents and encouraged the studies relating to political personalities, elites, group attitude and public opinion, voting behaviour and levels of political participation, i.e. focusing on informal aspects of political system.

The behavioural approach has been criticized by traditionalists on various grounds:

- i) It is very difficult to study human behaviour, whether individual or social, with objectivity and political phenomena by their very nature cannot be subjected to any rigorous study.
- ii) The traditionalists have pointed out that the observability of political phenomena is quite limited and for a comprehensive understanding of political phenomena one has to go beyond observable behaviour.
- iii) There is a danger that if the political scientists go over emphasizing the interdependence of the political phenomena under study upon other aspects of individual's behaviour, the researcher may lose sight of what he is primarily interested in namely, the study of political behaviour.

2.3 SYSTEMS APPROACH

The direct offshoot of behavioural 1st foundation of politics is the system's approach. The genesis of system analysis can be traced back to the writings of Ludwig Von Bettrallanfy a biologist in the 1920's. The term "system" is useful for organizing ones knowledge about many social objects and the use of the system approach to politics allows one to see the subjects in such a way that "each part of the political canvas does not stand alone but is related to each other parts", or that "operation of the one parts cannot be fully understood without references to the way in which the

whole itself operates”. Without making ‘state’ as the point of star attraction, the political analysts in general and political sociologists in particular, devised the term ‘political system’ that will provide a comprehensive framework of analysis to the study of political phenomena in all kinds of societies regardless of its culture, degree of modernization and size. The political sociologists directed their attention to the operation of the political system within an environment that exhibits the following characteristics of a political system:

1. It is a set of elements or objects composing the whole;
2. A regular pattern of interaction among these elements;
3. They are interdependent upon one another;
4. Comprehensiveness;
5. Existence of boundaries; and
6. Specialized structures to perform functions.

David Easton was the first political scientist who systematically and scientifically developed a framework on the basis of the systems approach for the study of politics instead of merely adapting it from anthropology or sociology”. He has selected political system as the basic unit of analysis and concentrated on the intra-system behaviour of various systems as principal areas of social science research and investigation. He has defined *political system* as ‘a set of interactions’ and *politics* as ‘making authoritative allocation of values’. He has been exploring the utility of the system as the major unit, focusing on political life as a system of behaviour operating within and responding to its environment as it makes binding allocation of values.

Easton conceptual framework evolved in three phases. The first phase is represented by *The Political System* published in 1953. The second and third phases are represented by ‘*A Framework for Political Analysis*’ and a ‘*System Analysis of Political Life*’, both published in 1965, one after another. His conceptual framework was based on four assumptions:

- i) The empirical search for knowledge requires the construction of systematic theory i.e the highest order of generalization.
- ii) Political scientists must view the political system as a whole rather than concentrate on solutions for particular problems. They must combine factual knowledge and empirical data.
- iii) Research on the political system draws from psychological data and situational data both by personalities and motivations of the participants and the influences emanating from the natural and social environment.
- iv) Political life is generally in a condition of disequilibrium, a counter-tendency to equilibrium which is never realized in practice.

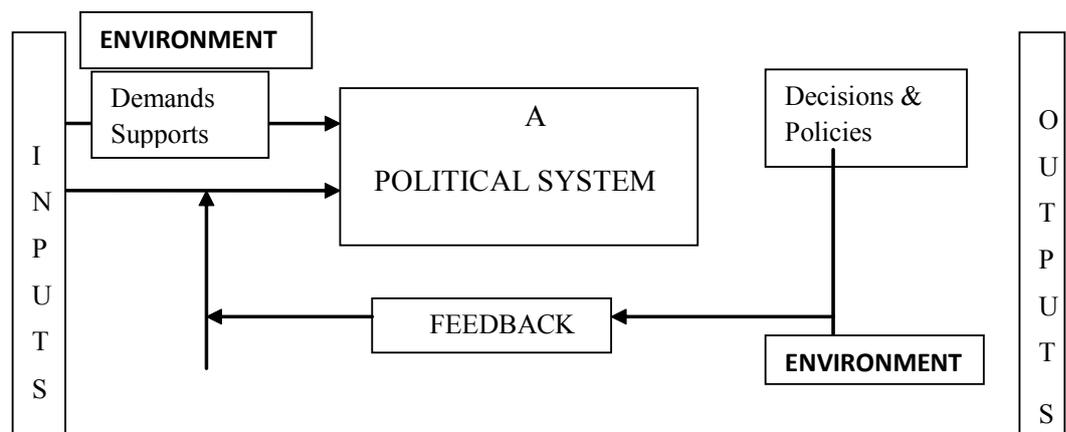
Easton rejected the concept of the state by referring to confusion and variety of its meanings. He regarded power as a significant concept which shapes and carries out authoritative - politics in society. It rests on the ability to influence actions of others. A policy, therefore, “consists of a web of decisions and actions that allocate values.” The concepts of power, authority, decision-making and policy are important in Easton concept of political life as the authoritative allocations of values for a society. He identified the following attributes of political system:

- 1) Units and boundaries
- 2) Inputs and outputs
- 3) Differentiations with in a system and
- 4) Integration with in a system

Easton’s treatment of political systems as both open and adaptive and his primary emphasis on the nature of the exchanges and transactions that take place between a political system and its environment, naturally, bring in the concepts of systemic boundaries and boundary conditions. But a political scientist has to concentrate mainly on the processing and converting of a variety of influences- *what Easton calls, “the life process of political systems”*. David Easton’s system analysis is also known **as input-output analysis** or conversion process. The input-output analysis of Easton has three main variables in the form of demands, supports and feedbacks.

The most important feature of input-output analysis is, the conversion of the inputs into output by the system. For him political system absorbs the inputs in the form of demands on authorities and supports from institutions and the political community and produces outputs in the form of policies and decisions. Easton has taken note of what he calls Para political systems- internal political systems of groups and organizations- but he concentrates his analyses on the “political system” dealing with political life in the most inclusive unit. Input-output analysis therefore, systematizes the study of relationships between system and its total environment.

The environment in which a political system operates may be put into two parts: (i) intra societal, i.e., one consisting of systems in a given society other than the political, and (ii) extra societal or the one including all those systems that lie outside they give society itself. Intra societal systems include sets of behaviour, attitudes and ideas like the economy, culture, social structures and personalities, the extra- societal systems are functional components of an international society, a ‘super system’ of which any single society is a part. It is these two classes of systems –the intra-societal and the extra-societal- that comprise the total environment of political system and it “is from these sources that these influences arise that are of consequences for possible stress on the political systems”. Easton divides the basic components of his model of the political system into ‘inputs’ consisting of ‘demands’ and ‘supports’ and ‘outputs’ connected by ‘feedback’.



Easton's Input-Output Model

Inputs

Inputs which give the political system its dynamic character and furnish it both with the raw material or information that the system called upon to process and the energy to keep are of two kinds-demands and supports.

Demand

Easton defines demand “as an expression of opinion that an authoritative allocation with regard to particular subject matter should or should not be made by those responsible for doing so”. It means that the people as ‘actors’ make demands upon their political system that sub serve their specific interests. The demand may be following four types:

- i. Demands for allocation of goods and services such as wage, educational opportunities, housing and medical facilities etc.
- ii. Demands for regulation of behaviour such as control over markets; provision for public safety; rules relating to marriage, health and sanitation etc.
- iii. Demands for participation in the political system such as right to seek election, to hold office to organize processions, to petitions public officials etc., and
- iv. Demands for communication and information such as communication of policy intent from political elites or display of the power of the political system in period of threats or on ceremonial occasions.

Supports

Supports are those structures or process which gives the political system the capacity to cope with the demands made upon it. Support means giving obedience and showing loyalty to political system. It refers to expression of willingness to accept particular value allocation or the process by which allocations are made. Support may be classified as overt support and covert support. Overt support refers to actions that are clearly and manifestly supportive while covert support refers to supportive attitude or sentiments. A political system receives considerable support from the environment without which it cannot survive. Supports are of the following four types:

- i. Material supports, such as the payment of taxes or other levies, and the provisions of services such as labour on public works or military service;
- ii. Obedience to laws and regulations;
- iii. Participatory support, such as voting, political discussion, and other forms of political activities;
- iv. Attention paid to governmental communication and manifestation of deference or respect to public authority, symbols and ceremonials.

Conversion Process

The manner and mechanism through which a political system converts inputs and responds to the process in the environment is called the conversion process. This process of conversion depends upon the capability of the political system for extraction of resources, regulation and control over individuals and goods, distribution of resources and its capacity for development.

Out puts

A political system, therefore, maintains itself partly through its own regulatory mechanisms and partly through the support, specific as well as defused, which it can generate the society. The main test of its effectiveness lies in what it does for society. An output of a political system is a political decision or policy. Easton points out that out puts “not only help to influence events in the broader society of which the system is a part, but also, in doing so, they help to determine each succeeding round of inputs that finds its way into the political system”. Easton tells us that the out puts of a political system are the authoritative decisions and actions of the system’s leaders that bear on the allocation of values for it. These out outs not only help to influence events in the broader society of which the system is a part, but also in doing so, they help to determine each succeeding round of inputs that finds its way into the political system.

Feedback

There is a feedback loop, the identification which helps us to explain the process through which the system may cope with the stress. Though it, the system may take the advantage of what has been happening by trying to adjust its feature behaviour.

The idea of feedback means that if the actions of the authorities are taken to satisfy demands or create conditions that will do so, information must be fed back, at least those authorities, about the effects of each round out puts. Without information feedback about what is happening in the system, the authorities would have operated in the dark. Easton, further, says that the feedback loop itself has a number of parts worthy of detailed investigation. It consists of production outputs by the authorities a response by the members of the society to these out puts, the communication of information about the responses to authorities and, finally, possible succeeding actions by the authorities. Thereby a new round of out puts, response, information-feed back, and reaction by the authorities is set in the motion, forming a seamless web of activities. The feedback thus has a profound influence on the capacity of the system to persist and to cope with the stress.

However, David Easton's model of input output analysis has been subjected to following criticisms. Eugene Meehan points out that "Like Parson, Easton does not think of a theory in terms of explanation but in terms of the creation of conceptual framework. The result is highly abstract structure that is logically suspected, conceptually fuzzy and empirically almost useless". Easton's Input-Output analysis attaches importance to the questions concerning persistence and adaptation of the political system and the regulation of the stress, stability and systems equilibrium, it has also charged from time to time with harboring a status quo bias. Moreover, Easton's Output analysis contains comparatively little material concerning goals and values beyond the question of persistence.

2.4 STRUCTURAL FUNCTIONAL APPROACH

Structural Functional approach is a form of systemic analysis which looks at political system as a coherent whole which influences and is in influenced by their environments. A political system is held together by the presence of legitimate force throughout the system. It has three characteristics: comprehensiveness, independence and existence of boundaries. The interactions that take place within a system are not between individuals but between the roles which these individuals adopt. Lastly, the political system is an open system and is involved in communications with systems, beyond its boundaries. The credit for adopting the predominantly sociological concept

like structural functional analysis goes to some leading political scientists like Gabriel A. Almond, William C. Mitchell and David Apter.

William C. Mitchell

Mitchell in his work on *American Political System* offers four requisite functions that are performed by a polity. He was influenced by Talcott Parsons, and defines polity as a subsystem primarily concerned with the mobilization of resources to meet the goals of the system. He identifies four functions of the American party. In general, this analysis is applicable to any modern polity:

1. The authoritative to any modern polity,
2. The authoritative mobilization of resources to implement the goals,
3. The integration of the system, and
4. The allocation of values and costs.

David Apter

David Apter in his book entitled *Politics of Modernization* in 1965, tried to apply the functional model to comparative study of modernizing countries. He observed that almost all of the developing countries are populist and in a real sense mainly democratic rather than antidemocratic. Different political systems not only embody different ways of choosing but vary in their priorities. The study of political system in the newly emerging countries of the Third World led him to include some interesting problems relating to the types and forces that have played their part in the process of rapid transformation in them. His politics of modernization seeks to analyse political system in three respects which are as follows:

1. **Nature and purpose of government:** He feels that the business of the government is to see the conditions under which it can maintain itself during the period of transition from a traditional to a modern form without losing legitimacy.
2. **Models of government:** He suggests that instead of classifying governments into broad categories of liberal-democratic and totalitarian, the modernizing

governments should be placed in a third category, which he termed as “pre-democratic”. He presents three models namely, (a) mobilization system, (b) reconciliation system, and (c) modernizing autocracy.

3. Functions of the government: According to Apter, each system has four functions to perform which are:

- (i) The logic of sanctions in society,
- (ii) The providers of symbols linking the people’s past and future,
- (iii) The responsible agents for the orderly arrangement and performance of roles in a system, and
- (iv) The providers of criteria for deciding on membership and participation in society.

His central functional hypothesis is that, different politics employ different mixtures of coercion and information in trying to maintain authority, stability and to increase efficiency. Modernizing societies and industrial societies can utilize information only when they possess sound interpretative mechanisms.

Gabriel.A.Almond

The systems approach to political analysis developed by David Easton, was again furthered by Gabriel A. Almond in his model of ‘Structural-functional analysis’ and thereby giving a completely new dimension to political analysis. In his book entitled *The Politics of Developing Areas* in 1950, he gives a detailed analysis of his approach. For him, system was more important than process because system implied totality, interactions among units within the totality and stability in these interactions, which he described as “changing equilibrium”. Almond relied upon Max and Talcott Parsons in the political system’s actions and turned to concepts like structure and role replacing the legal vocabulary of institution, group or organization. Lastly, he introduced the concept of political culture which is embedded in a particular pattern of orientations to political action. These patterns generally extend beyond the boundaries of the political system. Almond suggested that all political systems have four characteristics:

- i) All political systems have structures.
- ii) The same political functions are performed in all political systems.
- iii) All political structures are multifunctional.
- iv) All political systems-are mixed in the cultural sense.

Almond then outlined his own functional categories classifying them into inputs and outputs:

Input functions :

Political socialization and recruitment

The function of political socialisation and recruitment are performed usually by them political structure, political parties. The child is socialized by the political parties, educational institution, family, organizations, etc. And they are recruited directly to the political parties by its senior members. These two are the primary input functions performed by the structures.

Interest articulation

Interest articulation means the identification and coordination of different interests of the people by interest groups or pressure groups. Based on these interests later the demands are prepared by them for its implementation. Caste, educational, business, farmers, laborer's interest groups perform their role in society to bring out their interests.

Interest aggregation

After interest articulation, the necessary demands from the groups were communicated to the political parties for its aggregation. This process is called as lobbying. The political parties then accept or reject the various demands and formulate it in the form of a proposal for law.

Political communication

The final input function is political communication. In this function the aggregated demands or interests are communicated to the political system by the political parties

for its acceptance. Usually the people's representatives in the legislature, who are the members of different political parties, perform these functions. The political parties have the responsibility to inform the public about respective legislative proposals and they work as the channel of communication. After political communication, the output structures start to carry out their functions.

Output Functions

Rule making

Rule making is the primary output function performed by the political structure, legislature. After the political communication the political system receives necessary demands from the environment or society, and starts the conversion process, i.e., the transformation of different demands into formal rules and regulations.

Rule application

The function of implementation of the rules is done by the executive wing of the government or political system, the other political structure. Through its various Ministries and departments the executive enforces the laws prepared from the legislature.

Rule adjudication

Rule adjudication is the final output function performed by the judiciary. The laws once implemented by the executive went to the hands of judiciary for interpretation. Judiciary interprets and judges in all cases reached before it. The outputs are functions and correspond to the traditional legislative, executive and judicial functions. They show a bias towards American and European conceptions of government showing traditional orientation of comparative politics. Almond, however, argued that input functions are crucial in characterizing the political systems of developing countries.

These input functions constitute the ingredients of the system: who recognises, deliberates and resolves problems and issues. Spiro called this a process of flow "and interpreted it as consisting of demands and supports for action. Almond says that political socialisation takes place through the family, school, church, trade union, party and even government agencies. It also involves recruitment of people from different social groups into political parties, civil service etc. Interest articulation is the expression

of political interests and demands for action. Interest aggregation is the combining of those interests and demands which are articulated by interest groups and political parties. Political communication helps all these political functions. Political socialisation, recruitment, articulation and aggregation occur through communication.

Gabriel Almond says that political culture is dualistic, not monistic. Political systems may be represented as modern and traditional, developed and underdeveloped, industrial and agrarian. Political systems have evolved through stages of development. Structures become more differentiated as systems reach higher stages of growth. Almond divided them into primitive, traditional, transitional and modern systems. Almond's framework was further elaborated in the third phase when he, in collaboration with Powell, published *Comparative Politics - A Developmental Approach* in 1966. He now put forward the concept of conversion processes, which allow for the transformation of the demands and supports that flow into the political system. Out of that system flows extraction, regulation and distribution into society. He argued that his conception of political system deals with interdependence which does not mean harmony. He claimed that his theory was dynamic as it conceived of "developmental patterns". He connected his framework of system with his concept of political development.

A second level consists of capability functions: regulation. Extraction, distribution, and symbolic response. These activities relate to the environment. Almond said that in democratic systems, "outputs of regulation, extraction and distribution are more affected by inputs of demands from groups "and these systems therefore have "a higher responsive capability." Totalitarian systems are less responsive to demands, regulate behaviour through coercion, and extract maximum resources their people. Symbolic capability relates to the symbol flow from a particular into the informational environment i.e. its image in the community of nations.

A third level of functions is related to maintenance and adaptation of political system. They include political and recruitment. According to Almond, a theory of the political system can be based on the understanding the relations among these three levels and the relations of the functions at each level. In 1969, Almond reviewed his conceptual framework and proposed a research design "intended to draw us a little

closer to a systematic exploitation of historical experience using a causal scheme which combines system-functional analysis, aggregate quantitative analysis and rational choice analysis at appropriate points in the explanation of developmental episodes.” This approach retained his structural-functional formulation but combined it with other approaches to make it empirically more fruitful.

Criticism

Almond’s structural functionalism has been criticized on three grounds:

1. *Conservative Ideology*

Critics have found that structural functionalism is based on a deterministic, conservative and restrictive ideology. Don Martindale pointed out four defects of functionalism :the conservative ideological bias and preference for status quo; a lack of methodological clarity; an overemphasis on the role of closed systems in’ social life, and failure to deal with social change.

C. Wright Mills criticized the conservative bias in the writings of the advocates of functionalism, which was a grand theory that neither related to facts nor reached a level of theory. Barrington Moore, Alf Dahrendorf and Andrew Hacker also criticized its conservative bias.

2. *Conceptual Confusion*

J.C.Jurcie argued that “functionalism is limited by its lack of explanatory power, its satisfactoriness in explanation and the constricting effect of its assumptions, about the nature and working of social systems.” Groth’s criticism of Almond’s theory had three points against it: ambiguity in terminology, difficulties in determining political relationships, and confusion in the use of facts and values. Malamson and Kind also criticized his obsession with empirical detail detached from theory and obscurity of his languages. Hempel argued that functionalism is illogical, Sherman Roy Krupp thought that it has tendency to exaggerate the cohesiveness of systems and to obscure goals resulting in vague description and lack of analysis.

3. *Operational Limitations*

Structural functionalism has a methodology where ideal situations are often confused with the observed situations of systems. Terry N. Clark complained about the structural functional overemphasis of institutionalised political behaviour. Other critics said that “structural functionalists have not taken the enormously step of refining, operationalising and testing hypotheses.” They attributed these failings to the limitations of the writers, early stage in the evolution of the theory and the deficiencies of functionalism itself. According to Holt and Turner, Almond viewed the modern system as structurally differentiated and secular but they found limitations with this formulation. They said “it is difficult to apply on a broad basis to include both historical and contemporary cases. The formulation also tends in effect to equate the modern political system with modern Anglo- American democratic system. its definitions employ too many dimensions, and it neglects the problem of variation in the societal functions of government.”

2.5 COMPARATIVE APPROACH

This approach is helpful to study the political phenomena in one society using the data and other phenomena in other. In other words, it stressed on the comparative collection of data and its use in analyzing political phenomena across different societies on the basis of the compared political phenomena. It includes both micro and macro analysis on the one hand and the vertical and horizontal system on the other hand. Such a comparative approach is purely value free and its emphasis on interdisciplinary study. It gives greater emphasis on scientific methodology like data collection, classification of data, tabulation and analysis on the basis of available resources collected. It was used by Austrodrosky and Michelles in their studies of political parties and also by Almond, Coleman, Lipset, etc. Roy.C. Marcidis observes, “ this approach forms an integral part of the study of politics. It makes comparison more easy and realistic. It is procedural in nature and helps in framing analytical integration of political phenomena”.

2.6 DEVELOPMENT APPROACH

The most important approach to the study of political sociology today is the 'developmental approach' and it grows directly out of separation of powers theory and treats the functions of the political institutions that emerged after the broadening of suffrage and industrialization- political parties, pressure groups, and mass media etc. that affects the functioning of the political system. Such an approach looks to the political systems as whole entities shaping and being shaped by the environment. The uniqueness of this developmental approach is that it takes into account the study of political systems(in terms of functions and not structures) not only of the developed West but also of the developing non-European nations as well as the newly independent nations of Asia and Africa and tried to compare these political system in terms of the levels and patterns of systems performance on the basis of structural differentiation, functional specialization, culture secularization and subsystem autonomy.

The developmental approach has been used by political sociologists in two models viz. continuum model and stage model. In case of the former, there is the study of development which developed through various dimensions at a particular period. Whereas, in the later model, the political sociologists have concentrated their study in developments which have taken place through various stages or periods. The developmental approach have furnished with a lot of valuable clues for understanding the social process of political development. It enables political sociologists to lay the basis for prediction as well as for description and analysis.

2.7 SUMMARY

To conclude, it is to be mentioned that political sociologists are both political cum social doctors supposed to look at the ills of both politics and society, using both political and sociological lens and thus looking for the therapy. Sartori holds that 'approaches and research methods are largely decided by the kind of evidence which is available for the units; and the kind of problems with which one deals'. Being a product of behavioural revolution, political sociology approaches the study of politics from an angle different from that used by traditional political science. The blending of all these approaches may be an answer to the current perplexities surrounding the discipline of politics. In the field of political sociology, there is great potential for such

blending which can ensure a systematic and significant treatment of political life and its problems.

2.8 MODEL TEST PAPER

(A) Answer the following questions:

Q1: Discuss zero sum concept of power.

Q2: Explain the input and output functions, as given by Almond.

Q3: Write a note on Comparative method.

Q4: What is feedback loop?

(B) Tick the right option:

i. Who is associated with the structural functional approach in political sociology?

a) Almond b) Lipset c) Marx

ii. 'Modern Political Analysis' has been written by

a) Apter b) Sartori c) Dahl

iii. Who among the following is influenced by Parson?

a) Mitchell b) Marx c) Weber

2.9 SUGGESTED READINGS

- Ashraf, Ali & Sharma, L.N. 1983. *Political Sociology- A New Grammar of Politics*. Universities Press (India).
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M.A. SOCIOLOGY

M. A. Sociology

Course No. 405

Lesson -3

Unit-I

BUREAUCRACY

CONTENTS

- 3.1 Introduction
- 3.2 Bureaucracy
 - 3.2.1 Origin and Growth of Bureaucracy
- 3.3 Characteristics of Bureaucracy
- 3.4 Classification of Bureaucracy
- 3.5 Perspectives on Bureaucracy
- 3.6 Summary

OBJECTIVES

After studying this lesson you should be able to:

- define the concept of bureaucracy.
- discuss its characteristic features and classify it into different types.
- understand the viewpoint of different thinkers on bureaucracy.

3.1 INTRODUCTION

Bureaucracy is an essential part of state machinery. Now a day's it represents a type and method of organization that is not only confined to government but also extends to private business and industry. Without bureaucracy

no administration can be run properly and efficiently. Even the ordinary management of administration is not possible. Why is bureaucracy completely indispensable? Weber has stated the reason in the following words: “The decisive reason for the advance of bureaucratic organisation has always been its purely technical superiority over any other form of organisation. The fully developed bureaucratic apparatus compares with the non- mechanical modes of production. Therefore, it becomes important as a student of political sociology to comprehend the role of bureaucracy in striking a balance between the society and politics.

3.2 BUREAUCRACY

In every modern state and administration bureaucracy is practically indispensable. The etymological meaning of the term bureaucracy is the hierarchal arrangement of authority. It is derived from the French word *bureau* which means *desk*. Finner has rightly termed it as the *desk government*. Political Sociologists view bureaucracy as a pyramid of officials who conduct rationally works of an organization and a social mechanism necessary for the operation of authority. In the words of Max Weber, Bureaucracy “is a system of administration characterized by expertness, impartiality and the absence of humanity.”

R.K Merton defines it as a secondary group structure designed to carry on certain activities, which cannot be performed on the basis of primary group criteria.

According to Green, bureaucracy is “a power-wielding organisation-with a hierarchy of ranks, the statuses and functions of which are planned in advance and in which the official activities of personnel in each rank are supervised by the next higher rank upto the apex of control.”

Rosenberg has defined Bureaucracy as “that type of hierarchical organization which is designed rationally to coordinate the work of many individuals in pursuit of large scale administrative tasks.” All these definitions characterize bureaucracy as official business dependent on documentation and

technical training. Max Weber, the German Political Sociologist, is regarded as the father of the concept of bureaucracy. However, political sociology determines the scope of bureaucracy in both government and non government performance.

3.2.1 Origin and Growth of Bureaucracy

Bureaucracy is derived from the word bureau, used from the early eighteenth century in Western Europe to refer not only to a writing desk, but to an office, or a workplace, where officials worked. The original French meaning of the word bureau was the baize used to cover desks. The Greek suffix kratia or kratos means “power” or “rule.” Bureaucracy thus basically means office power or office rule, the rule of the officialdom. The term bureaucracy came into use shortly before the French Revolution of 1789 and from there spread rapidly to other countries. It is said that bureaucracy is a major trend of modern society. No doubt bureaucracy is modern in many of its respects, yet it is a thing of yesterday. Some early societies also were bureaucratically organised, for example, ancient Egypt and ancient China were ruled by governmental bureaucracies. In England the civil servants became numerous and powerful under the Norman kings who gave England a centralized administration. Bureaucracy in the middle ages was as active and vigorous as it is in the twentieth century. But there are important differences between ancient bureaucracy and modern bureaucracy. These differences are as:

Firstly, the ancient bureaucracies were limited in size and scope. The ancient society was always of a small scale. The resources were few as compared with those of modern times. The problems also were few and simple. Hence specialization of functions was carried to a very slight extent. The offices were few in number. The civil servant was much less specialized than his modern counterpart. In modern societies the resources have increased tremendously. The problems have become numerous and complex. Some of these problems have become international in character. The modern civil servant is a highly specialized person. The number of civil servants has increased manifold. The modern bureaucracy is a huge structure surrounded by countless rules and millions of files. The ancient bureaucracy controlled only a small part of man’s life. The

social life of the majority was grouped on kinship and village basis. Hence it was free from bureaucratic control. But today a large part of our life is controlled by bureaucracy. Even our personal matters like marriage and family are under the control of bureaucracy. Thus the modern bureaucracy as compared to ancient one is vast both in size and scope.

Secondly, the ancient bureaucracies were Governmental. The bureaucracy was concerned with the administration of the Government. But the modern bureaucracies are not only governmental but also economic. The capitalistic system has played a major part in the growth of bureaucracy. The industrial Revolution changed the techniques of production. It replaced factories in place of households. In factories the work was divided up into little pieces. In course of time large factories were set up. Corporations owning large plants came into being. There was mass production, division of labour and specialization. Different departments were set up to look after different aspects of production and exchange and other related matters.

The growth of corporate business organisations created an urgent need for stable, strict and calculable administration. Large scale production in modern society strongly tends to foster the development of bureaucracy. Along with governmental bureaucracies there has come into existence a wide network of economic bureaucracies. It may be noted that a socialistic form of organisation would not check the growth of economic bureaucracy rather it would create a still higher degree of bureaucratization.

3.3 CHARACTERISTICS OF BUREAUCRACY

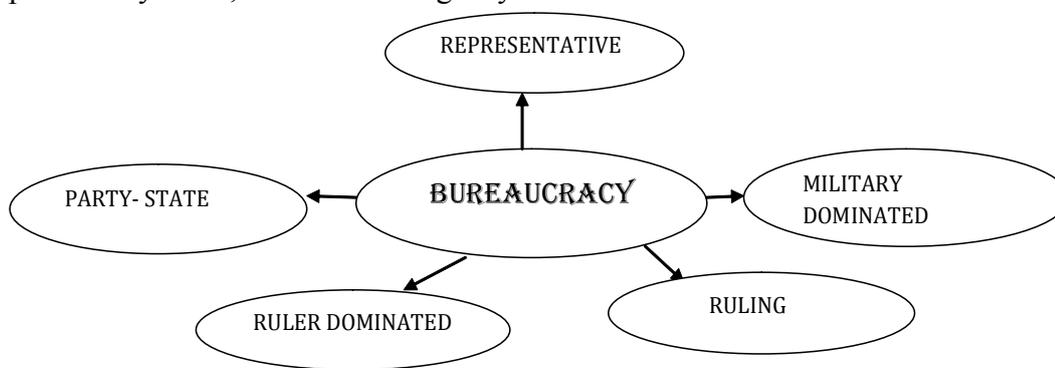
Since political sociology views bureaucracy as a social mechanism necessary for the operation of the authority it naturally enquires into the social characteristics that accounts for the growth of bureaucratization in society. Max Weber has pointed out some features of bureaucracy:

1. In bureaucracy office is arranged or ordered hierarchically like a pyramid. That is, officers hold office according to their rank. All the officers are subject to the higher authority.

2. Bureaucratic system is characterised by impersonal and written rules. The entire administration is run by impersonal authority and the authority is vested in rules. In other words, in bureaucratic system, human appeal has no importance. Laws and rules conduct the administration. All the decisions are taken on the basis of rules and their methodical application.
3. All the officials are recruited strictly on the basis of proven efficiency and potential competence. Officials are given specialist training. For the purpose of recruitment, qualifications are fixed; of course there may be provision for relaxation.
4. Each official, in bureaucracy, has special or demarcated task. That is, there is clear division of work and each official will have to strictly observe it. The tasks are -so demarcated that it involves full time employment.
5. The separation of officials from ownership of the means of administration. It means that the officials will simply conduct the administration and they cannot claim the ownership of the means of administration.
6. The officials who perform their duties competently will have security in services salaries and promotion. In other words, in bureaucracy efficiency, merit and honesty are duly rewarded. There is also the scope of recognition of seniority.

3.3 CLASSIFICATION OF BUREAUCRACY

Bureaucracies are further classified, corresponding to variations in the political systems, in the following way:



1. **Representative bureaucracies:** These are the political forces which command the support of electorate and dominate the political organs of government at a given time. It is defined by the fact that their powers and activities ultimately derive from a process of competitive party politics, and that the policies which they espouse are shaped by and adapted to the popular support which they can muster.
2. **Party-state bureaucracy:** It is a type that functions in one-party dominated political systems. Here, the potency of bureaucracy as a dominant power group is, to a large extent, affected by the transcendent role of the party which penetrates controls and dominates the whole of the bureaucratic machinery. In such a system, bureaucracy is able to enjoy that amount of power and authority which is allocated to it by the party and that too is conditioned by the party's needs and interests.
3. **Military dominated bureaucracies:** It is to be found in a system where the armed forces are the political rulers. Usually military rule emerges in the perspective of an unstable power position in the society and hence the primary objective of the rulers is to quickly legitimize their authority by means of some spectacular actions. Accordingly, bureaucracy in such a set up is totally oriented to military values.
4. **Ruler dominated bureaucracies:** It is that type which works as a personal instrument of an autocrat or a dictator who tends to use bureaucracy as a means for consolidating his personal authority and improving his image to the public eye.
5. **Ruling bureaucracies:** This type represents a system in which bureaucracy itself largely embodies the ruling element in the political system. Colonial rule often used to manifest the functioning of bureaucracy of this type where the local administration in the colonies enjoyed almost an absolute authority. Similarly, bureaucracy functioning in an Indian state where President's Rule has been imposed somewhat approximates to the type of ruling bureaucracy.

CHECK YOUR PROGRESS - I

A. Answer in one word/sentence.

1. Who termed bureaucracy as desk government?
2. Define Bureaucracy.
3. 'Bureaucracy is a power wielding organization'. Who said this?
4. When the term bureaucracy did come into being?
5. Write the main feature of ancient bureaucracy.
6. _____ system is characterized by written and formal rules.

3.4 PERSPECTIVES ON BUREAUCRACY

Different thinkers have defined and elaborate the bureaucracy in different ways. These are as under:

Max Weber's view on Bureaucracy

He is well-known for his study of bureaucratization of society, and many aspects of modern public administration go back to him. Weber described the "ideal type" bureaucracy in positive terms, considering it to be a more rational and efficient form of organization than the alternatives that preceded it, which he characterized as "charismatic domination" and "traditional domination." According to his terminology, bureaucracy is part of legal domination. However, he also emphasized that bureaucracy becomes inefficient when a decision must be adapted to an individual case. The attributes of modern bureaucracy include its impersonality, concentration of the means of administration, a leveling effect on social and economic differences, and implementation of a system of authority that is practically indestructible. Thus, bureaucracy goes beyond division of labor in a broad sense, although that is a necessary condition for the existence of bureaucratic systems. It involves precise, detailed definitions of the duties and responsibilities of each person or office. Administrative regulations determine areas of responsibility and control the allocation of tasks to each area.

He saw bureaucracy as a system of control based on rational rules, with the goal of achieving maximum efficiency:

Bureaucratic administration means fundamentally the exercise of control on the basis of knowledge. This is the feature of it which makes it specifically rational. (Weber 1947:339)

Karl Marx's views on Bureaucracy

In Karl Marx's theory of historical materialism, the historical origin of bureaucracy is to be found in four sources: religion, the formation of the state, commerce, and technology. According to Marx's analysis, the earliest bureaucracies consisted of castes of religious clergy, officials, and scribes operating various rituals, and armed functionaries specifically delegated to keep order. In the historical transition from primitive egalitarian communities to a civil society divided into social classes and estates, occurring from about 10,000 years ago, authority is increasingly centralized in, and enforced by, a state apparatus existing separately from society. But the growth of trade and commerce adds a new, distinctive dimension to bureaucracy, insofar as it requires the keeping of accounts and the processing/recording of transactions, as well as the enforcement of legal rules governing trade. A fourth source of bureaucracy inheres in the technologies of mass production, which require many standardized routines and procedures to be performed. This type of bureaucracy is nowadays often called a technocracy, which owes its power to control over specialized technical knowledge. In Marx's theory, bureaucracy rarely creates new wealth by itself, but rather controls, coordinates, and governs the production, distribution, and consumption of wealth. The bureaucracy as a social stratum derives its income from the appropriation of part of the social surplus product of human labor. Wealth is appropriated by the bureaucracy by law through fees, taxes, levies, tributes, licensing etc. Bureaucracy is therefore always a "cost" to society, but this cost may be accepted insofar as it makes social order possible, and maintains it.

Ralph Miliband on Bureaucracy

Ralph Miliband, a noted Marxist thinker, in his *The State in Capitalist Society: The Analysis of Western System of Power (1973)* has analysed

bureaucracy and its role in advanced capitalism. The Servants of the State—he has analysed the important aspects of bureaucracy that prevails in capitalist states. He has said that the political leaders of advanced capitalism have clear party colour, the bureaucrats have no such colour—they are neutral or are supposed to be neutral. Even the top leaders of the party, after coming to power, bring their men and give important posts to them. But they do not work for party — they are politically neutral. “The claim insistently made, not least by civil servants themselves, that they are politically neutral, in the sense that, their overriding, indeed their exclusive concern, is to advance the business of the state under the direction of their political masters”. The so-called fact is that civil servants or bureau-crats in capitalist states such as USA are, in their administrative functions, neutral. But Miliband does not accept this general view about bureaucracy in capitalist countries. The neutrality of bureaucrats in capitalist countries is a myth. Miliband says

“...these men do play an important part in the process of governmental decision—making, and therefore constituting a considerable force in the configuration of political power in their societies”.

Robert Merton’s views on Bureaucracy

Robert K. Merton believed society could develop alternatives to current institutions by analyzing their dysfunctions. His essay “Bureaucratic Structure and Personality” (Merton 1957) describes the “red tape” and other inefficiencies of bureaucracy. Merton suggested that, if the predominance of rational rules, and their close control of all actions, favors the reliability and predictability of the bureaucrat’s behavior, as Weber believed, it could equally lead to his lack of flexibility and his tendency to turn means into ends. Instead of serving as means to an end, these rules become ends in and of themselves:

“Such inadequacies in orientation which involve trained incapacity clearly derive from structural sources... (1) An effective bureaucracy demands reliability of response and strict devotion to regulations. (2) Such devotion to the rules leads to their transformation into absolutes; they are no longer conceived as relative to a set of purposes. (3) This interferes with ready

adaptation under special conditions not clearly envisaged by those who drew up the general rules. (4) Thus, the very elements which conduce toward efficiency in general produce inefficiency in specific instances. Full realization of the inadequacy is seldom attained by members of the group who have not divorced themselves from the meanings which the rules have for them. These rules in time become symbolic in cast, rather than strictly utilitarian.” (Merton 1957)

Merton called this phenomenon “goal displacement.” He observed that this occurred when formalistic goals become more important than the main substantive goal of an organization. Merton concluded that bureaucratic characteristics can have both beneficial and harmful effects on organization.

Robert Michels: Iron Law of Oligarchy

He was concerned about the depersonalizing effect of bureaucracy. Michels in his book *Political Parties (1911)* held the view that the formal organization of bureaucracies inevitably leads to oligarchy, under which organizations originally idealistic and democratic eventually come to be dominated by a small, self-serving group of people who achieved positions of power and responsibility. This can occur in large organizations because it becomes physically impossible for everyone to get together every time a decision has to be made. Consequently, a small group is given the responsibility of making decisions. He believed that the people in this group would become enthralled with their elite positions and more and more inclined to make decisions that protect their power rather than represent the will of the group they are supposed to serve. In effect Michels was saying that bureaucracy and democracy do not mix. Despite any protestations and promises that they would not become like all the rest, those placed in positions of responsibility and power often come to believe that they too are indispensable, and more knowledgeable than those they serve.

As time goes on, they become further removed from the rank and file.”The Iron Law of Oligarchy” suggests that organizations wishing to avoid oligarchy should take a number of precautionary steps. They should make sure that the rank and file remain active in the organization and that the leaders not be granted

absolute control of a centralized administration. As long as there are open lines of communication and shared decision making between the leaders and the rank and file, an oligarchy cannot easily develop.

CHECK YOUR PROGRESS –II

A. Answer the following questions:

1. Who said that bureaucracy is a part of legal domination?

2. Who has written the book ‘Political Parties’?

3. What is ruling bureaucracy?

4. Who gave the ‘Iron Law of Oligarchy’?

5. Which thinker talked about the dysfunctions of bureaucracy?

6. How Ralph Miliband analyses the role bureaucracy in capitalist societies?

3.6 SUMMARY

Thus, we can say that the complex structure of modern society, therefore, demands formal rules, a formal authority with designated powers, a precise delimitation of interests and benefits, a clear cut division of labour in which the function of each unit is specified in relation to the functions of all the rest—in a word, a carefully worked out organisational ‘blueprint’, that is, bureaucratization.

M.A. SOCIOLOGY

M. A. Sociology

Course No. 405

Lesson -4

Unit-I

POWER, AUTHORITY AND LEGITIMACY

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OBJECTIVES

After studying this lesson you should be able to:

- define the concept of power, authority and legitimacy.
- discuss the characteristic features and classify them into different types.
- understand the viewpoint of different thinkers on power, authority and legitimacy.
- make distinction between power and authority.

4.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter deals with explaining the concept of power, authority and legitimacy. This chapter will also enable the students to know the different features, categories and perspectives on power, authority and legitimacy. Why do we need government? What is the purpose of politics in the social structure? What would society be like without either of these institutions? Such questions needed to be look into.

4.2 POWER

Power in ordinary usage is understood as an ability, strength, or capacity. In social and political theory, however, power refers to the ability to do things and the capacity to produce effects within social interaction. In this sense, power is a type of behavior and specifically derives from the existence of social relationship and organized social interactions. Power is normally understood as the possession of control, authority, or influence over others, a relationship in which an individual or a group is able to exert influence over the minds and actions of others. Power is a key sociological concept with several different meanings and considerable disagreement surrounding them.

Max Weber defined power as ‘the probability that one actor within a social relationship will be in a position to carry out his own will despite resistance, regardless of the basis on which this probability rests’. In other words, it is the ability to control others, events, or resources; to make happen what one want to

happen in spite of obstacles, resistance, or opposition. He further writes, positions of power can 'emerge from social relations in drawing room as well as in the market, from the rostrum of lecture hall as well as the command post of a regiment, from an erotic or charitable relationship as well as from scholarly discussion or athletics'. It plays a part in family (husband and wife) and school (teacher and the taught) relationship also. Thus, for him, power is the chance of a man or a number of men to realize their own will in a communal action even against the resistance of others who are participating in the action.

Anthony Giddens sees, 'power as the ability to make a difference, to change things from what they would otherwise have been, as he puts it "transformative" capacity'. Power can be defined by saying that 'A exercises power over B when A affects B in a manner contrary to B's interests'. **Foucault's conception of power** demands that we should approach it in a micro way, seeing power in all social relationships, and working in specific ways in all kinds of particular institutional settings—whether the prison or the clinic.

Dowse and Hughes says that 'politics is about power. Politics occurs when there are differentials of power.' It means any social relationship that involves power differentials is political. **B. Russell** in his book *Political Power- A New Social Analysis (1937) and Authority and Individuals (1939)*, described the role of power and defined it as 'capacity of produce intended effects.'

R.H. Tawney in his book *Equality (1931)* defined power as the capacity of an individual or group of individuals to modify the conduct of other individuals or groups in a manner in which the former desires.'

So, power is an inherent and indispensable part of human activity and it is therefore, an important aspect of social relationship.

4.2.1 Characteristics of Power

Since Power is the capacity to affect other's behaviour, it has its own features and characteristics. It is something which cannot be measured because it is usually exercised behind the back. Though there may be legal sanctions behind the power, yet on the whole it is not exercised without extra legal sanctions.

- Political power is something which is not absolute but relative. It is relative in the sense that it can be exercised in relation to something. In other words, there must be people who should respect power. In case there is none to obey it, it is all immaterial whether power exists or not.
- Still another feature of political power is that it cannot be imaginary and unrelated to situations. Political power is given to the elites or legislators only in the hope that they will meet their unmet hopes and aspirations. In every society people have certain hopes which they feel only few can meet if they are given some power. It is in the hope of quick and satisfactory meeting of these aspirations that the power is extended and accepted.
- Power is related both to circumstances as well as position. Power of a person holding a particular position may be accepted under certain circumstances. But the same may not be accepted when the circumstances have changed. Even if the circumstances do not change, if position of the person continued to be accepted as long as circumstances and the position person do not change.
- Power is related to use as well. There may be power but that will have no meaning unless its use is effectively made. In other words power will rust, if it's no use is made. The President of India and President of the USA both have constitutional powers. In fact, in the eyes of law the former does not use these and nobody cares for his legal and constitution powers. On the other hand the latter's powers are always seriously and carefully studied all over the world because these are used in actual practice.

SOURCES OF POWER

There are three basic sources of power: force, influence and authority. These are explained below:

Force:

As defined earlier, force is the actual (physical force) or threatened (latent force) use of coercion to impose one's will on others. When leaders imprison or

even execute political dissidents, they thus apply force. Often, however, sheer force accomplishes little. Although people can be physically restrained, they cannot be made to perform complicated tasks by force alone.

Influence:

It refers to the exercise of power through the process of persuasion. It is the ability to affect the decisions and actions of others. A citizen may change his or her position after listening a stirring speech at a rally by a political leader. This is an example of influence that how the efforts to persuade people can help in changing one's opinion.

Authority:

It refers to power that has been institutionalized and is recognized by the people over whom it is exercised. It is established to make decisions and order the actions of others. It is a form of legitimate power. Legitimacy means that those subject to a government's authority consent to it.

4.2.2 FORMS OF POWER

There are different forms of power that are existing in our society.

Economic power:

For Marx, economic power is the basis of all power, including political power. It is based upon an objective relationship to the modes of production, a group's condition in the labour market, and its chances. Economic power refers to the measurement of the ability to control events by virtue of material advantage.

Social power:

It is based upon informal community opinion, family position, honour, prestige and patterns of consumption and lifestyles. Weber placed special emphasis on the importance of social power, which often takes priority over economic interests. Contemporary sociologists have also given importance to social status so much so that they sometimes seem to have underestimated the importance of political power.

Political power:

It is based upon the relationships to the legal structure, party affiliation and extensive bureaucracy. Political power is institutionalized in the form of large-scale government bureaucracies. One of the persistent ideas has been that they are controlled by elites, that is, small, select, privileged groups. Political power concerns the activities of the states which is not confined to national boundaries. The networks of political power can stretch across countries and across the globe. Political power involves the power to tax and power to distribute resources to the citizens.

Knowledge power:

To Foucault, power is intimately linked with knowledge. Power and knowledge produce one another. He saw knowledge as a means of 'keeping tabs' on people and controlling them.

Military power:

It involves the use of physical coercion. Warfare has always played a major role in politics. Modern mass military systems developed into bureaucratic organizations and significantly changed the nature of organizing and fighting wars. According to Weber, few groups in society base their power purely on force or military might.

Ideological power:

It involves power over ideas and beliefs, for example, are communism, fascism and some varieties of nationalism. These types of ideologies are frequently oppositional to dominant institutions and play an important role in the organization of devotees into sects and parties. According to Michael Mann (1986), there are two types of power, viz., distributional and collective.

- i) **Distributional power:** It is a power over others. It is the ability of individuals to get others to help them pursue their own goals. It is held by individuals.

- ii) **Collective power:** It is exercised by social groups. It may be exercised by one social group over another.

Bases of Power

Power may have different bases which differs from culture to culture and also from one political structure to another. Within a culture, certain factors such as wealth, control over the instruments of violence, skill, faith, loyalty, habit, apathy, interest and power over one issue area may often serve as a good base for extending power to other issue areas. The power base, coupled with the ability to use this power constitutes the capability for power. In addition, there must be a will or desire on part of the actor influencing to control the actions of others. Power emerges whenever, the capability of power is combined with will to affect the behaviour of others.

In every society everybody has a tendency to extend his power. The extent to which power seeking will be met with success depends on how much capability and will the power seeker possesses. Once power is acquired, the power holder tries to gain more power because of the instrumental value of power. Power, once secured, can be used to achieve a variety of ends like fame, reverence, security, respect, affection, wealth and many other values. So he, who has acquired power, will invariably try to extend it. This search for further power by one power holder may be checked by similar search by other power holder. The powerful is subdued by the more powerful. Hence power limits power. Power, however, is also limited by other factors. Sometimes, an actor's tendency to gain more powers may be limited by his physical and psychological endowments as well as by his own social moves.

In his *Modern political Analysis*, Robert A .Dahl discusses four different ways of detecting power relations in a particular situation. In the first place, one may try to measure power by necessarily relating it to an office. Here the assumption is that power operates only within a framework of formal office. But focus on formal office may often be inadequate to grasp the nature and extent of power since in many cases power does not remain in formal office, but is, instead, wielded by forces lying beyond them and managing to control the office holder

from a distance. The second technique of detecting power is to rely on well placed judges, that is, to record the observations and the impressions of those who have, had the opportunity of keeping in close touch with the formal office holder. The third method of detecting Power is to concentrate on actual decision making process. This technique enquires into the nature and level of people's participation in the actual decision making process. The fourth technique is. to weigh the activities of different participants in the decision for making and coming to a judgment about the nature and extent of power after carefully comparing these activities. In any case, while observing a power relation, one has to keep in mind three aspects of power-weight, scope and domain of political power. The weight of power means the degree of participation in the making of decisions; its scope means the values at stake and the domain of power refers to the pagans over whom power is exercised.

What then, are the visible signs of power relation? According to Robert Dahl, "A has power over B to the extent that he can get B to do something that B would not otherwise do". Here the main focus, is not on the actions and intentions of the power holder, ie. the actor exercising power, but on the enquiry as to whether the power addressee ie. the actor against whom the power is exercised, does something in opposition to his own intention. Unless there is this opposition, there cannot be a power relation. Dahl puts his thrust in this way because he considers sanctions as the most important attributes of power. However, difficulty arises if the power addressee does not agree to the directions of the power holder. Herbert Goldhamer and Edward A Shils, in their analysis of power in their book, "*Types of Power and Status*" have dealt with this problem neatly. To them, a person may be said to have power to the extent that he influences the behaviour of others in accordance with his own intentions." The difference between this definition and that of Dahl is evident. While Dahl's emphasis was on the power addressee, the emphasis of Goldhamer and Shills' is on the power holder, on his own intentions. On the basis of the criterion provided by Goldhamer and Shills', one has first, to determine the intentions of the power holder, and then see, whether the policies adopted by the power addressee follow these intentions. If they do, then the former will be regarded as having power over

latter. Thus the definition of Goldhamer and Shill's seems more attractive and influential than that of the Dahl's.'

Prof. A.K. Mukhopadhyaya have also delineated another problem which arise when the power holder does not communicate to the power addressee about his intensions. The answer goes negatively because the intensions of power holder have to be effective in order to constitute power relation. 50 it is not possible if these intensions are not communicated to the power addressee. Thus there must be some communication or contact between the power holder and the power addressee. In order to make an actor powerful, his intensions along with an act on his part to communicate these intensions are very much essential. Indeed; coercion, which is an indispensable part of power, involves this act of communication.

4.2.3 PERSPECTIVES ON POWER

Functionalist Perspective

Max Weber defines power as "the chances of a man or a number of men to realize their own will in a communal action even against the resistance of others who are participating in the action". Weber's definition of power implies that those who hold, power, do so at the expense of others. It suggests that there is a fixed amount of power and Therefore, , if some hold power, others do not. This view is known as the 'Constant sum' concept of power. Weber's definition also implies that power holder will tend to use power to further their own interests. Sociologists argue that power is used to further the sectional interests of the power holder which are in conflict with the interests of those subject to that power. To them, therefore, power is used mainly for the exploitation and oppression of some by others.

Arguing from a functionalist perspective, Talcott Parsons rejects the 'constant sum' concept of power and the view that power is employed into the furtherance of sectional interests. rather than seeing power as something which some hold at the expense of others, Parsons regards it as something possessed by the society as whole. As such, power is a 'generalized facility or resources in

the society'. In particular, it is the capacity to mobilize the resources of the society for the attainment of goals for which a general 'public' commitment has been made. In this sense, the amount of power in society is measured by the degree to which collective goals are realized. Thus, the greater the efficiency of a social system for achieving the goals defined by its members, the more power exists in the society. This view is known as the 'variable sum' concept of power because power in society is not seen as fixed or constant, rather it is variable and dynamic.

Marxian Perspective

Marxian analysis of power provides a radical alternative to Parsons' functionalist approach. It rejects the view that power is a societal resource held in trust and directed by those 'in authority for the benefit for all. Instead, power is seen, to be held by a particular group in the society at the expense of the rest of the society. This is a 'Zero-sum' concept of power because a net gain in the power of one group represents a net loss in the power of the rest of the society. The dominant group uses this power to further its own interest. These interests are in direct conflict with the interests of those subject to its power. This is radically different from the picture presented by Parsons in which rulers and ruled are pulled together for the benefit of the society as a whole, undivided by any fundamental conflict of interests.

From a Marxian perspective, the sources of power in society lies in the economic infrastructure. In all stratified society the forces of production are owned and controlled by a minority, the ruling class. The relationship to the forces of production provides the basis of its dominance. It therefore, follows that the only way to return power to people involves communal ownership of the forces of production. Since everyone will now share the same relationship to the forces of production, power will be shared by all members of society. From the Marxian perspective, the use of power to exploit others is described as coercion. It is seen as illegitimate use of power because it forces the subject class to submit to a situation which is against their interest.

4.3 AUTHORITY

Power is the disposition which makes the application of this nature of resolving the root cause of conflicts. Although force or sanctions for the resolution of social conflicts. So power, in the political sphere, tends to be stable and permanent because power involves the use of severest sanctions by actual employment or threat of employment of physical coercion, yet it is not the cause for stability of political power. Political power is stable and permanent not only because it is based on sanctions, but because it is based on one's compliance, on a belief on part of the person obeying that it is proper to obey the commands. On the other hand, political power is strengthened by legitimacy. When political power is clothed in legitimacy it is called authority in the political sphere. Authority, is therefore, a special kind of power; power, when legitimized gives rise to authority. In other words, authority is the institutionalized right to issue command employ power. Authority is present not only in the political sphere, but also in social and economic level. So authority has different dimensions-social, economic and political. In the economic dimension authority deals with superiority in matters of production, distribution and exchange. In social sphere, it means the top position in social hierarchy. In the field of management and public administration, authority has been regarded as the right to issue commands.

Definitions

Herbert Simon says, authority comes into existence when the 'subordinates give up their own freedom to choose one of the various alternatives available to them. To him, the authority relation exists only when there occur an actual change in the behaviour of the subordinates. The superior takes the decision and communicate those to the Subordinates with the expectation that they will be accepted by the subordinates so authority relation involves a two way relationship-an expectation of obedience and a willingness to obey.

Tennanbaum finds authority as an interpersonal communication between the superior and the subordinates. The subordinates grant authority to the decision maker and put themselves in the position of the former's subordination.

F. Hannah Arendt writes, “authority means power based on consent. Its hallmark is unquestioning recognition by those who are asked to obey; neither coercion nor persuasion is needed”.

Michells regards authority as “a capacity innate or acquired, for exercising ascendancy over a group.” It is a manifestation of power and implies obedience on part of those subject to it. **Frederich** defines authority as “a quality of communication that possesses the potentiality of reasoned elaboration’ A possesses authority because B regards A’s communication as authoritative. It means B recognizes A’s command as reasonable in terms of his own values.

Maclver says, “authority is often being defined as power, the power to command obedience.”

4.3.1 Aspects

Authority, in political sphere, is invariably related with political system. In other words, when power is exercised by the political system, it creates authority. So in political systems, power is always associated with the authority. But in all other social systems, very often power is found to be detached from authority. So in social sphere, there may be authority without power or power without authority. For example, a father may have authority over his rude son, but no power, similarly, a local hooligan may have power for harassing his neighbours, but no authority for that. So there may be a clear distinction between power and authority in social sphere. But in political level, both of them are integrated related with each other making one impossible without other. So in political system, it is impossible to think power without authority or authority without power. Except political level, in all other levels authority and power differs from each other. While authority means the ability to get consent, power refers to the capacity to influence the behaviour of others. People obey authority because they feel the rightness of the position of the person who exercises power. So authority is the embodiment of reason. But power, in its operation to influence others, does not possess reason while it is applied. So this means that while authority is based on the willingness of the persons to obey the commands of the power holder, power

is based on force whether it is actually employed or not to influence the behaviour of others in a desired direction.

Nature

The distinction between power and authority at the socioeconomic level and their integration at the political level gives us a lasting impression that the nature of authority operates through two theories such as formal theory and the acceptance theory.

The formal theory of authority maintains that authority is the right to issue commands. Authority flows from the superior to the subordinate, making up the organizational hierarchy. On the other hand, acceptance theory relates to the behavioural school of human relations and according to it, the successful authority depends on the acceptance of order by the subordinates. Here the subordinate tends to make room in their mind for receiving the orders of communication from their superiors and comply with them without reasoning and opposition. Orders falling within this area are invariably accepted by the subordinates, pending the rightness or wrongness of the orders. Bernard calls it as the 'zone of indifference'. For Tannenbaum, it is the 'sphere of acceptance' whereas, Simon has named it as the 'zone of acceptance'. This zone tends to increase or decrease in proportion to the ideological relationship found between the superiors and subordinates. The most important element of authority is the concept of legitimacy which means the ability to evoke or create compliance without the use of coercion or force or any form of sanctions. This is necessary to establish a durable power relationship between the superior and the subordinates. Because the power addressee or the subordinate cannot always go on submitting himself to the dictates of power holder for fear of sanctions so what is necessary then, is to create an atmosphere where the power addressee himself voluntarily agree to be abide by the orders of the power holder because he feels that the power holder has a right to issue orders.

As Prof. Mukhopadhyaya observes, "authority may be defined as the recognized right to exercise power irrespective of the sanctions the power holder is able to apply." That is to say, an actor has right to power not when there is no

bar in his trying to affect the behaviour of others, but when the latter voluntarily agree to have their position affected by the former, thereby giving him a right to compliance. Legitimacy consists in this right to compliance. And when Legitimacy is added to power, making it a right to power, authority emerges. Three characteristics of authority need to be noted:

1. Power may be a foundation of authority: power may be a foundation of authority, but authority does not rely upon the foundation of coercion. Authority can rest on pure voluntarism too or partial voluntarism in which the coerciveness of A lurks in the background, often prominently, but not directly used.
2. Authority involves a unique type of non-coercive command: Although the claim to authority may be justified by appeals to divine right, tradition, popular support, etc. A's authoritative commands do not themselves need to be justified. Hence as Peter argues that authoritative commands differ from 'moral or scientific' commands. This characteristic highlights the important role of justifications-and even their absence-in identifying sources and patterns of authority in contemporary world politics.
3. Authority is never absolute: The strength of authority is measured by the maximum divergence between A's commands and B's preferences that will lead B to voluntarily comply. At the same time, authority is never without limit. There is always some command that A could issue that B would defy.

4.3.2 TYPES OF AUTHORITY

Max Weber classifies his idea of Authority into three types:

1. **Rational –legal authority:** Under this form of authority, subordinates accept a rule or directive on the basis of its being in conformity with some higher universal principle which they regard as legitimate. It is established in law or written regulations (formally enacted norms) that determine how the society will be governed. This is the form of authority found in workplaces, government, schools, colleges and most major social institutions. Leaders derive their legal authority from the written rules and

regulations of political systems. It is this type of authority that characterizes modern bureaucratic organizations. Rational authority rests in the leader's legal right rather than in family or personal characteristics. Modern bureaucracy operates on this principle. Delegation is rational. It emanates from the political office held by an individual, where he is appointed through the prescribed procedure, such as merit based selection, and not from personal characteristics of the individual holding an office.

2. **Traditional authority:** It is the legitimate power conferred by custom, tradition or accepted practice. Traditional authority is 'hallowed with time', like that of a king, an established dynasty or a religious leader. It is based on an uncodified collective sense that it is proper and longstanding and should therefore be accepted as legitimate. In other words, subjects or subordinates accept commands of their superiors on the basis of precedents, past history or divine origin such as hereditary or dynastic rule. Under this form of authority, delegation is ad hoc and arbitrary. Traditional authority is based on the belief that the society and its values are followed by age and experience. In patriarchal societies, the authority of husbands over wives or of father over his children is obeyed because it is the accepted practice. Similarly, a king or queen is accepted as ruler of a nation simply by virtue of inheriting the crown. For the traditional leader, authority rests in custom or tradition (inherited positions), and not in personal characteristics.
3. **Charismatic Authority:** When the subordinates defer to the orders of their superior on the basis of his personal qualities and put themselves under their impact, charismatic authority occurs. Charisma is, therefore, unusual spontaneous and creative of new movements and new structures. The term 'charismatic authority' refers to the power made legitimate by the exceptional personal characteristics of the leader, such as heroism, mysticism, revelations, or magic. A charismatic leader evokes in his followers a desire for sacrifice and devotion. A charismatic leader attracts followers because they judge him or her to be particularly wise or capable.

Charisma allows a person to lead or inspire without relying on set rules or traditions. Charismatic authority is generated by the personality and the myths that surround the individual, like that of Jesus, Mahatma Gandhi, Martin Luther King, Hitler and Pandit Nehru. It may be pertinent to mention that the charismatic authority is socially bestowed and may be withdrawn when the leader is no longer regarded as extraordinary.

4.4 LEGITIMACY

To transform power into authority is the function of legitimacy. It is not only essential for establishing a durable power relationship, but also necessary because it is very much convenient and useful for a power holder as it involves the application of minimum resources. To exercise power, by means of sanctions, is quite expensive. Authority, not being necessarily dependent on the use of sanctions, avoids such large expenditure of resources. Robert Dahl has rightly observed that it is far more economical to rule by means of authority than by means of coercion. However, to establish authority relationship is not quite a easy task. It requires a lot of organized efforts on part of the power holder to get his right to power organized by the power addressee. In other words, legitimacy ends on the ability of the power holder to influence the behaviour of others. One way of establishing legitimacy is by highlighting the element of 'ideology' in the society.

Meaning & Definition

The word 'legitimacy' has been derived from the Latin word 'legitimus'. During the middle ages it was called 'legitimus' which in English language was interpreted as 'lawful'. In the modern age it was Max Weber to first enunciate the concept of 'legitimacy' as a universal concept. According to him, legitimacy is based in 'belief' and gets obedience from the people. Power is effective only if it is legitimate. Undoubtedly, power has the right to use coercion but that is not its chief element. Power should be based on legitimacy otherwise it would invite trouble and may prove ineffective.

Robert A. Dahl writes, “Leaders in a political system try to ensure that whenever governmental means are used to deal with conflict, the decisions arrived at are widely accepted not solely from fear of violence, punishment, or coercion but also from a belief that it is morally right and proper to do so. According to one usage of the term, a government is said to be ‘legitimate’ if the people to whom its orders are directed believe that the structure, procedures, acts, decisions, policies, officials, or leaders or government possess the quality of Tightness, propriety or moral goodness—the right, in short, to make binding rules.”

According to Dolf Sternberger, legitimacy is the foundation of governmental power which on the one hand makes the government conscious of its right to rule and on the other makes the governed aware of such a right.”

In the words of **Jean Beandel**. “Legitimacy can be defined as the extent to which the population accepts naturally, without questioning, the organisation to which it belongs.”

According to **David Apter**, legitimacy is related to a set of conceptions held by significant members ‘of the polity about the tightness of the political pattern, which in turn, provides the pattern with a set of properties. Legitimacy is thus, a behavioural ‘ term referring to a set of limits on government action

J.C. Pleno and R.E. Riggs define legitimacy as “the quality of being justified or willingly accepted by subordinates that convert the exercise of political power into rightful authority.”

Therefore, Legitimacy is the key concept of political power and it gives the authority only a meaning in the political system. Authority exercises the rights, sanctions, and other immunities and privileges not for authority originates in them, but owing to people’s belief in the source of the bases of their rights to exercise power. The base or source of authority is called legitimacy. Legitimacy can be distinguished from usurpation .Usurper is a/person who seizes power and tries to strengthen his position by giving his government a legitimate form. Further, even revolutions are not illegitimate because when they succeed they introduce a new principle of legitimacy which supersedes the legitimacy of the former regime.

All this implies that the leaders of the political system try to cloth their actions with the concept of legitimacy. Thus legitimacy is the basis of such governmental power as is exercised by both with a consciousness on part of the government that it has a right to govern and with the recognition by the governed with that right because they feel the actions to be lawful.

4.4.1 TYPES OF LEGITIMACY

In the context of governments, legitimacy can be classified into two broad categories such as numinous legitimacy and civil legitimacy. **Numinous legitimacy** based on the faith in the divine origin of rule. Thus here the right to obedience has a philosophical and Spiritual foundation. The people obey the authority because they think the authority to be the incarnation of divinity. On the other hand. **Civil legitimacy** exists when the system of government is based on agreement between equally autonomous constituents. Here legitimacy flows from the impersonal orders setting out rights and duties of both the govern and the governed. Thus in present day the constitution of a state, whether written or unwritten plays a vital role as the source of legitimacy.

Max Weber tried to apply the concept of legitimacy to the socio-political phenomena. He asserted that in a legitimate dominion of any type, legitimacy is based on belief of the people and it elicits obedience. He refers to three types of legitimacy as rational legal, traditional and charismatic. By **rational legitimacy**, Weber implies the belief in the legal pattern of normative rules and the rights of those elevated to the authority under such rules to issue commands. So rational legal legitimacy is inextricably related to an office issuing command. ‘ By **traditional legitimacy**, Max Weber means the patriarchal and feudal forms of dominion. Here the right of compliance is specifically related to the persons exercising authority on the belief that the person in authority possesses the tightness of the action. Thus the belief of the people here is steeped in highly traditional form which is dominated by customs and usages. By **charismatic legitimacy**, Weber means the uniqueness of the prophets, heroes and other leaders who issue commands. Here the belief of the people is based on the exceptional personality of the person exercising authority.

Friedrich talked of five types of legitimacy such as religious, philosophical, traditional, procedural and pragmatic. The concept of *religious legitimacy* go back to the times of ancient empire when the king was considered as the son of god and obedience to him was not only a political necessity but also politically expedient. This may be considered as the modern notion of numinous legitimacy. Both *philosophical and traditional legitimacy* is identical with the only difference that while the former is based on reasoning, the latter is based upon customs. In fact, traditional legitimacy implements the religious and philosophical ones.

The *procedural legitimacy* is intimately related with the procedures of action such as election, specially the democratic legitimacy of the majority. The *pragmatic legitimacy* depends on performance preferences such as success in war, prosperity, order and peace etc. There is close relationship between democracy and the performance tests because the majority preference in an election may be broadened or narrowed depending upon performances. To Dolf Stemberger, “in recent times popular elections have become so predominant criteria of legitimacy that almost every nation feels obliges to pay lip service to the institution of elections, no matter what its system of government.”

David Easton describes three types of legitimacy as under :

- (a) Ideological legitimacy:** When the source of legitimacy is the ideology prevailing in the society, it is termed as ideological legitimacy. A political system is in fact an articulated set of ideals, ends and purposes which help the members to interpret the past explain the present and provide a vision for the future. The ideology portrays the aims and states the objectives of the political system. These aims and objectives have the potential as they constitute a set of ethically infused ideals to capture the imagination of the people. They inspire men to action as they are related to their success.
- (b) Structural legitimacy:** The principles which lead the members in a particular system to accept as legitimate, contribute to the validation of structures and norms of the regime. Every system has set goals according

to which authority is exercised and political power is wielded. This basis of validation is termed as structural legitimacy.

- (c) **Personal legitimacy:** If the behaviour and personality of those at the help of affairs is of dominating importance and if the members consider these authorities as trust-worthy this is known as personal legitimacy. David Easton is of the view that a large class of leaders, regardless of any inner conviction of being called, or outer recognition as such by followers, manage to build up a belief in their legitimacy.

4.4.2 SOURCES OF LEGITIMACY

The source of legitimacy vary from person to person. Weber classified three sources of legitimacy such as the traditional, charismatic and rational-legal source. Besides Max Weber's such typology of sources, the need and feeling for justice can also be regarded as a source OF legitimacy. In fact, the ideology of the people, and not of the rulers, is the main source of legitimacy. According to Max Weber, there are three sources of legitimacy:

(i) **Tradition:**

Legitimacy may rest on an established belief in the sanction of immemorial traditions and on the need to obey leaders who exercise the authority according to the traditions.

(ii) **Exceptional Personal Qualities:**

Legitimacy may secondly be based on "devotion to the specific and exceptional sanctity, or exemplary character of an individual person."

(iii) **Legality:**

Legitimacy may rest on the belief that power is wielded in a way that is legal. What is done legally is regarded as legitimate.

According to Friedrich, the sources of legitimacy are: Religious, Philosophical and juristic, Traditional, Procedural, and Empirical.

From the above analysis it is evident that legitimacy is not a mere abstract or moral feeling. It is something related with the entire political system. It is a belief which leads the people to accept that it is morally right and proper for the officials or leaders of government to make binding rules. Legitimacy enables a ruler to govern with a minimum of political resources. It is the soul of democracy.

4.5 SUMMARY

To sum up, we can say that Political sociology deals not only with power, influence and authority, but also with legitimacy. Power, influence and authority can be effective only if they are legitimate. Legitimacy is a pre-requisite of power. The study of legitimacy as a subject for political sociology, by contrast, is comparatively recent, beginning only with the twentieth century.

4.6 EXAMINATION ORIENTED QUESTIONS

1. Define power. Discuss in detail the different perspectives on power.
2. What are the various characteristics/features of Authority?
3. Write a short note on different types of Authority.
4. Explain the different types of Legitimacy.
5. Write five points of difference between Power and Authority.

4.7 SUGGESTED READINGS

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M.A. SOCIOLOGY

M. A. Sociology

Course No. 405

Lesson -5

Unit-I

VIOLENCE

CONTENTCONTENTS

- 5.1 Introduction
- 5.2 Meaning of Violence
- 5.3 Forms of violence
- 5.4 Violence and politics in India
- 5.5 Summary
- 5.6 References

OBJECTIVES

After studying this lesson you should be able to:

- Understand the concept of violence and its relationship in political structure.
- Elaborate the various forms of violence existing in India.

5.1 INTRODUCTION

Scientific understanding of human violence is one of the most urgent tasks of our time. Given this sense of urgency, it is shocking how little we seem to know about it. In fact, even among scholars there is not even the beginning of an agreement concerning a definition of what exactly 'violence' is. Thus, it may appear to be self-evident what 'violence' is but, in reality, 'violence' is "a slippery

term which covers a huge and frequently changing range of heterogeneous physical and emotional behaviors, situations and victim-offender relationships”. The role of violence as a medium of political discourse has increased strikingly in India since Independence. Violence is a social phenomenon. For an action to be considered violent, it needs a victim or a group of victims. The interpersonal nature of violence seems to call for explanations or understandings that also are interpersonal. Rather than look inside the perpetrator for the causes of violence, social perspectives look in the social situation for factors that may explain why violence is not universal but instead varies in frequency and intensity.

5.2 MEANING OF VIOLENCE

Social scientists attempting to come to grips with the phenomenon find the concept of violence “either under, or over-defined, or both.” (Bauman, 1995). Even though two overarching assumptions seem to be that:

1. Violence is typically assumed to be motivated by hostility and the willful intent to cause harm and
2. Violence is – legally, socially, or morally – deviant human activity, it has been argued that these assumptions are based on ‘conceptual quicksand’ in which important questions about the defining attributes of violence have slipped away. The very social and policy imperatives that have driven sociological analysis of violence have molded and warped our understanding of it and spawned a conception of violence that is biased and morally charged and at the same time as it is clouded and unwieldy (Jackman, 2002: 387). Nearly all inquiries concerning the phenomenon of violence demonstrate that violence not only takes on many forms and possesses very different characteristics, but also that the current range of definitions is considerable and creates ample controversies concerning the question what violence is and how it ought to be defined.

Since there are so many different kinds of violence and since violence is studied from different actor perspectives (i.e. perpetrator, victim, third party, neutral observer), existing literature displays a wide variety of definitions based

on different theoretical and, sometimes even incommensurable domain assumptions (e.g. about human nature, social order and history). In short, the concept of ‘violence’ is notoriously difficult to define because as a phenomenon, it is multifaceted, socially constructed and highly ambivalent.

Violence is multifaceted because there are many different forms of violence, which are exhibited in a wide range of contexts. Violence can be physical (‘aggression’, ‘abuse’ or ‘assault’), but it can also be verbal (‘bullying’, ‘humiliation’ or ‘intimidation’).

It can be overt but also covert like in language and literacy, abstraction, interpretation and representation, and in the violence of ‘censure’ (Valier, 1997). Violence can be individual or collective, interpersonal or institutional, national or international, symbolic or structural. The context may be private or public and the victims may be family members, acquaintances or strangers. Based on the offender’s motive, violence may be angry, impulsive, hostile, expressive, dispute-related, instrumental, or predatory. “Some incidents occur, more or less, ‘out of the blue’, whereas others occur within some form of relationship in which conflict escalates. Some incidents are concluded in a few moments, whereas others evolve into long-term conflict relationships. Non-physical attacks can be made against the gender, race or sexuality of the victim, or – as in some of these cases – their professional integrity.” Instead of or in addition to physical injury; violence can have mental (‘psychological’), social and/or material consequences and there is seems no simple relationship between the apparent severity of a violent act and the impact it has upon the victim. Violence is socially constructed because who and what is considered as violent varies according to specific socio-cultural and historical conditions.

Violence is defined by the World Health Organization as “*the intentional use of physical force or power, threatened or actual, against oneself, another person, or against a group or community, which either results in or has a high likelihood of resulting in injury, death, psychological harm, maldevelopment, or deprivation*”, although the group acknowledges that the inclusion of “*the use of power*” in its definition expands on the

conventional understanding of the word. This definition involves intentionality with the committing of the act itself, irrespective of the outcome it produces. However, generally, anything that is excited in an injurious or damaging way may be described as violent even if not meant to be violence (by a person and against a person).

In political terms, it is used to describe *violence perpetrated by either persons or governments to achieve political goals.* Many groups and individuals believe that their political systems will never respond to their demands. As a result, they believe that violence is not only justified but also necessary in order to achieve their political objectives. Similarly, many governments around the world believe they need to use violence in order to intimidate their populace into acquiescence. At other times, governments use force in order to defend their country from outside invasion or other threats of force and to coerce other governments or conquer territory. Social groups have a number of functional requisites; certain needs must be met in order for a social group to survive. Various lists of functional requisites have appeared over the years. The following examples serve to illustrate the approach.

- **Social and political change.** Families, communities, and nations often evolve in ways that benefit some of their members and work to the disadvantage of others. Societies have created a variety of mechanisms including elections, courts, and mediation with the intent of facilitating change and eliminating injustice. But such mechanisms have their limitations. For example, courts create a need for either education or money to guarantee a fair hearing of a grievance. Violence is often explained as the only alternative for individuals and groups who do not see a nonviolent way to break out of a position of disadvantage.
- **Social stability.** Many of the mechanisms that serve the goal of social change have been created by a powerful elite with a goal of ensuring that change happens gradually and doesn't threaten their privileges. In this case, violence is seen as a natural response when a social hierarchy is threatened. The Watergate incident and the highly publicized beating of

Rodney King brought out viewpoints of this kind; many people did not doubt that official misconduct had occurred, but they considered such tactics as necessary if society was to be defended against internal disruption or external attack.

- **Socialization.** Children must be taught the expectations of their social group and must be helped to acquire the skills and understandings to take their place in the group. Violence may result when children do not acquire necessary skills to handle interpersonal relationships, to manage their own lives, and to become economically self-sufficient. Effective socialization requires more than just the presence of adults who can teach skills. Farrington (1991), for example, found deficiencies in the parenting experiences of violent adolescents; their childhood was characterized by harsh discipline, lack of nurturance, and poor supervision.
- **Stress management.** Since there can be no such thing as a stress-free society, every social group must manage stress; companionship, play, and sex are among the aspects of social life that can serve a stress management function. Linsky, Bachman, and Straus (1995) documented a connection between stress levels and levels of violence. When stress management fails, either through decreasing effectiveness of familiar approaches or through increases in stress beyond the group's capacity, it seems that violence is among the likely outcomes.
- **Conflict management.** Conflict theorists suggest that conflict is a positive force in society and that human groups must handle conflicts in productive ways. Sprey (1974) described the informal mechanisms that traditional community and family structures offered for the management of conflict. For example, in the extended/multigenerational household any conflict between intimates could be mediated by others who were not as intensely involved. Neighborhoods also offered ready access to concerned others who could assist with a family or other dispute. Lacking the support of concerned others, disputants may use violence in an attempt to achieve resolution.

- **Control.** Social control is another essential function; a society needs ways to ensure that its members do not harm each other. Violence, from this perspective, demonstrates failures in the control process. Research supports this theory: Shaw and McKay (1942) identified a high correlation between ethnic heterogeneity, low socioeconomic status, residential mobility, and delinquency. They theorized that neighborhoods lacking stable, cohesive networks of informal social control experience more problems with youth gangs and violence. Formal social control also is associated with violence; Wilson (1987) has pointed out that law enforcement is inconsistent in “ecological niches” characterized by drug sales and high crime.

Functional analysis has identified many factors that may help to explain contemporary violence. Many people consider violence to be a necessity that comes into play when the various mechanisms of society do not address social needs. High stress levels, rapid technological, social, and economic change, and conflict between social groups make sense as contributors to violence. These understandings of violence have the advantage of leading directly to action; if a society knows what is broken, it can organize attempts to fix it. On the other hand, a functionalist approach can point to so many possible areas of change that the result is essentially a “laundry list” of problems and proposed solutions. The theory does not explain how to set priorities or coordinate interventions.

5.3 FORMS OF VIOLENCE

In politics, violence varies widely in form, severity, and practice. It can take a number of forms including but not limited to those listed below. Non-action on the part of the government can also be characterized as a form of political violence.

1. **Terrorism** as a form of political violence is usually perpetrated by the weaker side of a conflict, and so may also fall under violence between a state and non-state actor. The United States Department of Defense however defines terrorism as, “the calculated use of unlawful violence or

threat of unlawful violence to inculcate fear; intended to coerce or to intimidate governments or societies in the pursuit of goals that are generally political, religious, or ideological.

2. **Genocide** is commonly defined as “the deliberate and systematic destruction, in whole or in part, of an ethnic, racial, religious, or national group”, although what constitutes enough of a “part” to qualify as genocide has been subject to much debate by legal scholars. Genocide is typically carried out with either the overt or covert support of the governments of those countries where genocidal activities take place. The Holocaust is the most cited historical example of genocide.
3. **Torture** is the act of inflicting severe pain (whether physical or psychological) as a means of punishment, revenge, forcing information or confession, or simply as an act of cruelty. Torture is prohibited under international law and the domestic laws of most countries in the 21st century. It is considered a human rights violation and is declared unacceptable by Article 5 of the UN Declaration of Human Rights.
4. A **riot** can be described as a violent disturbance by a group of individuals formed to protest perceived wrongs and/or injustice. These can range from poverty and inequality to unemployment and government oppression. They can manifest themselves in a number of ways but most commonly in the form of property damage. Riots are characterized by their lack of predictability and the anonymity of their participants. Both make it difficult for authorities to identify those participating.
5. A **civil war** is a war fought within the same state or country between organized groups. Less commonly, it can also be fought between two countries that have been created from one previously unified state. Often these conflicts involve one group wishing to take control of a region or expressing dissatisfaction with the government. There is typically a desire to overthrow the existing power or at least change some of their policies. In many cases, an outside power may intervene on behalf of one side if they share their ideology or condemn the methods/motives of their

opponents. Civil wars are usually high-intensity with sustained action, large numbers of armed and civilian casualties, and dramatic consumption of national resources.

6. **Counter-insurgency**, another form of political violence, describes a spectrum of actions taken by the recognized government of a state to contain or quell an insurgency taken up against it. There are many different doctrines, theories, and tactics espoused regarding counter-insurgency that aim to protect the authority of the government and to reduce or eliminate the supplanting authority of the insurgents. Because it may be difficult or impossible to distinguish between an insurgent, a supporter of an insurgency who is a non-combatant, and entirely uninvolved members of the population, counter-insurgency operations have often rested on a confused, relativistic, or otherwise situational distinction between insurgents and non-combatants. Counter-insurgency operations are common during war, occupation and armed rebellions.
7. **War** is a state of organized, armed, and often prolonged conflict carried on between states, nations, or other parties typified by extreme aggression, social disruption, and usually high mortality. War should be understood as an actual, intentional and widespread armed conflict between political communities, and therefore is defined as a form of political violence. Three of the ten most costly wars, in terms of loss of life, have been waged in the last century: the death toll of World War II, estimated at more than 60 million, surpasses all other war death tolls by a factor of two. It is estimated that 378,000 people died due to war each year between 1985 and 1994.
8. **Revolution** is a public seizure of the state in order to overturn the existing government and regime. Unlike a coup d'état, where elites overthrow the government, the public plays a key role in a revolution. Revolutions often, but not always, involve violence. Though revolution can bring new forms of government and economic systems, it can also result in increased state power and dictatorship. One general observation is that the greater the

violence associated with bringing down the old regime, the more likely it is that violence will continue under the new one.

5.4 VIOLENCE AND POLITICS IN INDIAN CONTEXT

In **Indian context**, it has been demonstrated very well by Gyan Pandey (Pandey 1990) that the colonial idea of the crowd in India was one of a faceless, aggressive, unfathomable, irrational compact of people in the thralls of religious passion and beyond the comprehension of colonial sociology. The explanations of riots varied from religious fanaticism gripping the great unwashed, to instigation by the habitual criminal, the badmash, or to instigation by people with political agendas—educated and respectable people who had turned into dangerous political activists. The effects were dangerous and destructive crowds that had to be dealt with through overwhelming and resolute force. In the case of communal violence during riots, the moral value of death is rather different. The killing of an individual from another community in the context of an all-out confrontation in streets and neighbourhoods is abundant with significance. The category of ‘the other’ almost invariably overshadows the identity of the individual. Riot situations suspend most parameters of appropriate behaviour, proportionality and justice. Instead, intense feelings of fear, anger and revenge take over along with forms of wild enjoyment, exhilaration, shame and guilt.

Politics has come to acquire a bad odour and generally implies unfair, underhand dealings, exploitation of the poor and the ignorant, though it need not necessarily be so. Since it generally involves the attainment of certain objectives, such as the seizure of power by all available methods, violence often becomes a part of it. Of course, violence need not be a vital or essential part of politics even in the most ill-governed country, but there is no doubt that unscrupulous politicians seldom hesitate to resort to violent methods to achieve their aims. Whenever the practitioners on the art of politics find that normal and socially acceptable methods and practices have not brought them the desired achievements, they stoop to unethical methods, including incitement of sensitive people to violence.

It is tragic reflection on civilization that with the much-publicized progress in various spheres of human activity the resort to violence has also increased. In

fact, one of the dominating factors in the postwar years is the growth of the spirit of violence. Even in India, where the apostle of peace and non-violence, Mahatma Gandhi, preached that violence is both degrading and derogatory to human beings, the menace has been increasing. Proof of this dismal phenomenon is found in the sharp increase in violent crimes in the country, including murders, stabbings and other manifestations of cruelty. The concept of “might is right” is being practiced with a callousness. That is highly disgraceful and a sorry reflection on civilization. It is poor consolation that violence has been on the increase not only in India but also all the world over, even in the most civilized countries, such as the U.S. A. and Britain. Naked, unabashed violence has even been glorified in certain continents; the number and intensity of armed clashes between various classes of people is yet another proof; and so is the increasing number of communal riots, many of which have their roots in politics. In fact, there would be no communal disturbances in the country if the spirit of non-violence were universally accepted as a guiding factor of human life.

It is indeed a sorry reflection on the state of our civilization that more politics has come to imply more violence; what is worse, violence begets violence. When one party adopts violent means to achieve its objectives, the other follows suit in the firm, though unwarranted, belief that the only answer to violence is greater violence, not peaceful overtures or non-violent satyagraha which Mahatma so earnestly advocated. Yet another tragedy of modern civilization is that politicians refute by their actions the sound principle that a State based on force and violence is built on foundations of sand. There can be no social, economic or political stability where the entire polity is based on force and violence, not on the people freely expressed and frequently affirmed (through periodic elections) support and consent. Ousters of one group by another are sometimes accompanied by force and violence, together with reprisals in various forms. Violence in politics also takes the form of coercion, which is another form of compulsion, and compulsion involves or implies the use of force or threat of force. It is not surprising in such circumstances that politics of peace is becoming uncommon, and politics of war is replacing it gradually but surely. Some of those who are very much in politics, and seldom hesitate to adopt violence as a means

to an end, quote Mahatma Gandhi and Jawaharlal Nehru. Even though moral force is more effective at times, the Mahatma conceded that in certain circumstances, the refusal to fight violence adequately might smack of cowardice. Why does India maintain a large police force and ever-expanding military forces? The State has to use force to quell riots of various types and has to be in a constant state of preparedness to meet aggression by hostile countries. Violence then becomes inescapable. Ironically, both peace and politics have become difficult to ensure without adequate preparations for fighting violence. This genuine peace in politics has become uncommon and the spirit of violence is abroad—like an infection that has seeped into all areas of human activity.

After independence, the state was suddenly a national state in the hands of a new national elite but the language of public protest prevailed. The difference was now that the police had to restrain themselves, and that the moral force of such anti-government crowds were of a different nature. Yet, the Gandhian ethos persisted and turned into maybe the most legitimate of all public actions in modern India: the anti political register that opposes the state or officialdom, or corruption, by disavowing ‘power politics’ and representing the purity of the people, as condensed in the austere and self-abnegating body of the hunger striker, or the political ascetic who invariably disavows politics and calls himself a social worker.

The increasing political violence in India during the 1980s and 1990s was clearly connected with the growth of Hindu nationalist sentiments. Of these organizations, the Shiv Sena in Western India is undoubtedly the most violent, plebeian and visible. This organization has the tiger as its symbol and its imagery revolves around strength, masculinity and the lack of fear. While it began in the 1960s as an organization defending the Maharashtra dharma and the interests of Marathi speakers in the city of Bombay, the organization has in the past decades styled itself as the ‘fighting arm’ of the Hindu community. It glorifies the *sainik*, the soldier, as someone who is in the thrall of his passions and his sense of natural justice—an elemental desire to seek justice on the part of his community, to defend his family and neighbourhood. These men, and their passions, may not be pure but their actions are purifying and cleansing acts. Although the Hindu nationalist movement has extended the logic and justification of crowd violence

to become an index of community sovereignty, the use of the crowd and its violence as a legitimate political expression of anger and sovereignty is extensive across the political spectrum in contemporary India.

Communalism is a ubiquitous feature of Indian politics. In the past, communal violence was more prevalent in the northern parts of the country than in the South. The politics of violence has been intermingled with religious and communal undercurrents in different parts of the country, fertilized by lashings of religious –political stimuli from the so called mainstream political parties. Thus, the stream of political mediation also takes place through the medium of violence, linked in some ways with communal violence, consists of the so called extremists movements in Kashmir and Punjab in the North and Nagaland and Manipur in the north-east. There are some other areas of political violence or violent politics in India as for example, regional confrontation as between Telangana and the coastal regions of Andhra Pradesh, sectarian violence as between the fundamentalists and the Nirankaris among the Sikhs and many more.

5.5 SUMMARY

Thus, violence is a kind of means used by people and government to achieve their goals. It is seen as a part of “contentious politics” or collective political struggle, which includes such things as revolutions, civil war, riots and strikes, but also more peaceful protest movements. Crime and warfare share some attributes with political violence, but political scientists do not define them as political violence. Democracies that are victims of political violence may curtail certain freedoms in order to increase security, creating what some have called a “surveillance state.” However, these moves may erode democracy and contribute to greater political violence by providing further proof that the state is conspiring to destroy its opponents.

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M.A. SOCIOLOGY

M. A. Sociology

Course No. 405

Lesson -6

Unit-I

STATE & NATION-STATE

CONTENTS

- 6.1 Introduction
- 6.2 Understanding Nation-State
- 6.3 Conceptualizing state and Nation state
- 6.4 Comparative Political Development and Nation-Building
- 6.5 Summary
- 6.6 References

OBJECTIVES

After studying this lesson you should be able to:

- understand the concept of state and nation-state.
- discuss the new modes of governance and how nation-states were created in the region continues to unfold within the nation-states.

6.1 INTRODUCTION

When we talk about the nation state, we are really talking about three separate things: the nation, the state, and the nation state. The nation state is a system of organization in which people with a common identity live inside a country with firm borders and a single government. The nation state has a dramatic

influence on the way we live our lives. It's how we identify ourselves. I'm American. I'm Russian. It also determines what language we speak, what laws we follow, and what holidays we celebrate. So, let's start the discussion by understanding the main components of nation-state.

6.2 UNDERSTANDING NATION-STATE

The nation state is a system of political, geographic, and cultural organization, and it is one of the most important parts of your life that you don't think about. The nation state is held together by its physical boundaries, its government, and the fact that the people believe they are connected to each other. The fundamental parts of the nation state are *the nation and the state*. Let's start with the state. In the broadest of terms, *the state is a body of government*. All the rules and laws, the government officials and their titles, the physical boundaries and those who define them - these make up the state. The state is what makes a country run from a political, practical standpoint. *The nation, on the other hand, is the people. The nation is created by a shared belief that the people inside a country are connected to each other.* Whether you live in Cleveland, Denver, or San Francisco, you still share a connection with other Americans. The idea that people of a nation are connected to each other is called nationalism.

Nation states must also have a shared national culture. This is often achieved through common language, history, holidays, and education. Sometimes national culture is a result of similar people living in the same area. In the United States, the colonists began developing a unique national culture, which led to them declaring war against England and creating their own government and state. On the other hand, sometimes the nation state begins as a government and later has to try and create a national culture. For example, when Mexico became independent from Spain, the country was too large and fragmented for the people to have developed a national culture. There were dozens of different identities. It took nearly a century for the Mexican government to develop a sense of 'Mexican-ness', or *Mexicandad* in Spanish. The government had to carefully, and intentionally, select the moments from history that all Mexicans could unite around.

They had to control language, education, and holidays to make sure that all Mexicans celebrated the same national culture. Sometimes this meant violent oppression of the people who weren't cooperating. However, the government knew that without a national culture, the nation state had no real power, and it would fall back into war and chaos.

Before the Nation State

There have been different kinds of states in history, other than the nation state. For example, in 15th-century Italy, the independent body of government was centered on a city. These were called city-states. City-states were based on the city, but their power extended beyond the city limits and could change depending on other powers, resources, etc. The nation state, by contrast, has a definite border where its power ends. The United States cannot enforce its laws in Canada. At one time, kingdoms and empires ruled over lots of very different people who did not see themselves as united or sharing any sort of identity. The transition from kingdoms, empires, and city-states into nation states did not happen everywhere in the world at the same time, or in the same way.

History of the nation state

Many historians debate the origins of the nation state. The historian Benedict Anderson, author of *Imagined Communities*, argued that nation states began because of print media, such as newspapers, when the rise in literacy and new technologies like the printing press between 1500 and 1600 let people talk to each other in new ways. They discussed their similarities and ideas through the press, and this meant that they had to share a common language. They began to form the early versions of national identities. Anderson's argument is still the most commonly held belief by historians. However, other scholars have also noted that the early nation states coincided with new map-making technologies from the age of exploration and discovery in the 1500s, when European merchants began sailing around the world for the first time. Better maps and technology to move people and goods changed the way that people, particularly rulers, understood boundaries and borders.

6.3 CONCEPTUALIZING STATE & NATION-STATE

What is a State?

A State is an independent, sovereign government exercising control over a certain spatially defined and bounded area, whose borders are usually clearly defined and internationally recognized by other states. States are tied to territory sovereign or state as absolute ruler over territory, has clear borders, defends and controls its territory within those borders. It is recognized by other countries (diplomatic recognition, passports, treaties, etc.) States have bureaucracies staffed by state's own personnel and has a national bureaucracy staffed by government personnel (legal system, educational system, hierarchical governmental units, etc.) States monopolize certain functions within its territory (sovereign) *and* controls legitimate use of force within its territory. It also controls money at national scale (prints currency; collects taxes) and makes rules within its territory (law, regulations, taxes, citizenship, etc.) States try to form nations within their borders (through symbols, education, 'national interest,' etc.) and controls much information within its territory.

So, what is a Nation?

A nation is a group of people who see themselves as a cohesive and coherent unit based on shared cultural or historical criteria. Nations are socially constructed units, not given by nature. Their existence, definition, and members can change dramatically based on circumstances. Nations in some ways can be thought of as "imagined communities" that are bound together by notions of unity that can pivot around religion, ethnic identity, language, cultural practice and so forth. The concept and practice of a nation works to establish who belongs and who does not (insider vs. outsider). Such conceptions often ignore political boundaries such that a single nation may "spill over" into multiple states. Furthermore, states " " nations: not every nation has a state (e.g., Kurds; Roma; Palestine). Some states many contain all or parts of multiple nations.

And what about a Nation-State ?

A Nation-State is the idea of a homogenous nation governed by its own sovereign state—where each state contains one nation. This idea is almost never achieved.

The Rise of the Nation-State

The nation-state developed fairly recently. Prior to the 1500s, in Europe, the nation-state as we know it did not exist. Back then, most people did not consider themselves part of a nation; they rarely left their village and knew little of the larger world. If anything, people were more likely to identify themselves with their region or local lord. At the same time, the rulers of states frequently had little control over their countries. Instead, local feudal lords had a great deal of power, and kings often had to depend on the goodwill of their subordinates to rule. Laws and practices varied a great deal from one part of the country to another. In the early modern era, a number of monarchs began to consolidate power by weakening the feudal nobles and allying themselves with the emerging commercial classes. This difficult process sometimes required violence. The consolidation of power also took a long time. Kings and queens worked to bring all the people of their territories under unified rule. Not surprisingly, then, the birth of the nation-state also saw the first rumblings of nationalism, as monarchs encouraged their subjects to feel loyalty toward the newly established nations. The modern, integrated nation-state became clearly established in most of Europe during the nineteenth century.

Time Frame**Major Event**

- Pre-1500s** Most people lived in small villages; they paid tithes to feudal landlords, didn't travel, and cared little for anything beyond the village.
- 1485** Henry VII wins the War of the Roses in England, begins the Tudor dynasty, and starts the development of the English nation-state.
- 1492** Spanish monarchs Ferdinand and Isabella finish taking back all of Spain from the Muslims; the era of Spain as a global power begins.
- 1547–1584** Ivan the Terrible rules Russia; he unifies the government and creates the first Russian nation-state.
- 1638–1715** Louis XIV of France creates an absolute monarchy; France emerges as the dominant power in Europe.
- 1648** Peace of Westphalia cements the legal status of the nation-state as sovereign.
- 1789** The French Revolution begins; it creates the modern French nation-state and sparks nationalism around Europe.
- 1871** Unification of Italy and Germany is complete.
- 1919** Treaty of Versailles ends World War I; it breaks up several multinational empires and creates many new nation-states.
- 1945** The United Nations forms.

Unlike the imperial states, the nation-states were bound to a territory comprising a nation. Their expansion was not for territories per se or for expanding an empire-like rule; it was for subjugating people in other territories for appropriating and expatriating the surplus back to their own nation-states. Often this process was tempered by humanistic rhetoric and the idea of a grand world civilization which the colonising states used as justification for acquiring colonies. But by the mid-1940s, when this mode of subjugation became uneconomic or impractical, they began to abandon direct rule over the territories but sought to continue the system of surplus extraction in another form. They had already established in 1944 an international order for themselves at Bretton Woods. This made it possible for the nation-states of the west to co-operate with one another by retaining their own sovereignty while establishing hegemony over the new 'nation-states' that began to appear on the world scene.

Universalized Model

The people living in the decolonized territories were given a model, an ideal universalised model of the nation-state, to follow. This model was perfected by the old nation-states of Europe through wars, bloody nationalist revolutions and colonisation. A model they had developed at great cost to themselves, was now held up to others as a cost-free way to follow. In such a transfer of political-technology, the payment of royalties was indeed involved in the form of trade and security agreements as between a patron and his client. And the royalties decreased in proportion to the increasing capacity of the decolonised people to build their own nation-states. But, under this order, the non-users of this political technology were put at a great disadvantage; they were denied any political identity. No identity other than that of a 'nation-state' was recognized in the international order. It is another matter that many users have paid and are still paying the costs but are not able to use this new political-technology to any advantage for their own people. Thus to cut the long story short, we the people of the world also became members of the United Nations, but in reality, the membership is mediated by the nation-states. The harder reality is that for many third world countries the membership is perpetually held by the ruling elites on

behalf of the states which lack legitimacy within their societies. Nonetheless, elites of these countries play the legal and decisional roles as official representatives in the international order and act as sole arbitrators of the fate of their peoples. The very logic of super-imposing a nation-state on ethnically plural societies is undermining the legitimacy of the state in many third world countries. After nearly half-a-century of 'participation' by their elites in the international order, the people have become disillusioned about the role of their elite and do not see any role for themselves as citizens of the world. They usually do not support the state that their elite represent. For them the nation is the smile of the Cheshire cat; but the cat is not there.

The story of the nation-state was quite enticing for the decolonised and peripheral populations in the non-western world. And they could only take, not reject the model. The model offered them a state for their nascent nationalism, an idea they had already imbibed during their struggle for independence. The state in this model promised not only internal order but also rapid economic growth and development for all the people within its territorial boundaries. More, it promised political coherence for ethnically divided societies, but only if they could succeed in transcending traditional group loyalties in favour of an abstract sense of community, called nation. The acceptance of this promise was made easy not only by that version of history which was handed down to them but more so by the theory which held, a la the Deutschian concept of social mobilisation, that once they set themselves on the course of state- and nation-building, a process of homogenisation would take over and dissolve the conflicting ethnic pluralities in the solvent called modernisation.' That, needless to say was another, more universal, name for the old concept of westernisation.

INTEGRATION AND FRAGMENTATION

In today's world, there are two divergent forces at work, both causing, by and large, adverse consequences for third world societies in their effort to build the modern nation-state. These are the forces of integration and fragmentation. On the one hand, there are forces driving the countries of the third world to 'integrate' into the already established system of world economy

and culture in which they can participate, but on unequal terms. On the other hand, these very forces of integration operate on the third world countries in a way that poses a challenge to the existence of these countries as sovereign nation-states and to their capabilities for wielding state power with that degree of autonomy which is required for economic development. And, indeed, insofar as these countries devote themselves to the enterprise of building a nation-state for themselves, sovereignty and decisional autonomy for economic development must remain the crucial elements in their existence. But these crucial requirements run counter to those of the established international order. Thus, the integration of third world countries into the world system can only be achieved through eroding their sovereignty and by inducing fragmentation in their societies, their economies and polities, and in their civilisational and real-life orders. The roots of such fragmentation lie in the historical process that gave rise to socio-political entities called nation-states between the 15th and the 17th centuries in Europe. They also lie in a particular form of theorization of this process in western historiography and later in the comparative theory of Development and Politics. This particular version of history and theory, as it was received by the elites of the third world, was made into an article of faith. The result was that they produced in their societies poor imitations of the European nation-state, at a much later stage in history. It is another matter that the old established nation-states of the west are now busy re-considering the concepts of sovereignty and autonomy and are proceeding to create a structure of international co-operation for themselves which may have far-reaching implications for the theory of state that they had once perfected. To put it sharply, they are in the process of discarding that theory. Meanwhile, the countries of the third world are clinging to the 19th century concept of the state in the last decades of the twentieth century. In order to get out of this bind it is, in my view, necessary for them to re-examine the received theory and history and to devise such political arrangements for themselves as are in harmony with their own histories and are also appropriate for their participation in the modern world system.

THE WESTERN MODEL

The third world states, by and large, view the problem of ethnicity as a part of the larger problem of nation-building. Obviously, the terms for defining the problem itself are derived from a model based on the western experience of handling the problem of ethnicity. This is a model theoretically derived, from a certain interpretation of the western experience of building a modern nation-state. It seeks to reconcile the centrifugal forces of ethnicity with the idea of nationhood and, in the process, it assigns a central role to the state for building a nation. In the west the project of building the nation-state got legitimised in the context of the breakdown of the imperial states-system. The idea of single nationhood coterminous with a society and super ordained by a centralised state was a product of that process. The Peace of Westphalia in 1648, in fact, put an end to several ambiguities in the status of the existing nation-states in Europe. It established the principle of territorial existence for the emerging national societies in the face of conflicting, but overlapping 'religion and denominational identities of the peoples. It established organisational primacy of the state over religion. This prevented the religious affiliations of citizens of a nation-state from asserting primacy over their national identity. It also prevented religious from continuing to be a cause of conflict between any two or more states governed by the treaties. It further prevented the religious zealots of a nation-state from espousing the cause of a minority in another nation-state which professed the same religion. In any event, the state qua state was prevented from defining 'national interest' in non-secular terms. But this did not prevent a numerically, preponderant religious community within a nation-state from acquiring cultural dominance over the other religious or denominational minorities. The cultural symbolism of nationhood was often projected in terms of the ethos and interest of the dominant ethnic community. But in no event could the dominant ethnic segment use coercion or violence directly or for that matter through the state in the process of establishing such dominance. Dominance was to be achieved through the subtle processes of politics and education, and communication.

As Max Weber conceptualised it, only the state, and no other religious or cultural organisation, could use violence as a legitimate instrument for regulating

the relationships between its individual members and groups. The decisional and autonomous centre of power in the society was thus located at one place, namely, the state.³ Whatever other centres that survived (e.g., the Church) or that emerged later (e.g., the firm and other economic organisations) derived their power and legitimacy from the state. Thus, having extricated religious identity, which had extra-territorial bases across the emergent, nation-state from national-identity, the state could address the tasks of unifying the national economy, establishing a common national market, participating in the international system of trade and commerce and extending equal citizenship rights to all its members, irrespective of their religious or denominational affiliations. Such a state was not merely the means of keeping political order within the national society, it was a carrier of the scientific and industrial revolutions under way in Europe as well as the engine of economic growth and social progress. Implicit in this idea of relationship between the state and the nation was the concept of civil society. In its framework the ethnic minorities could exist as social categories which could preserve their esoteric life-styles, their cuisines and their costumes. But they could not function as groups and communities which devised and lived by their own ideas and traditions of political rule and cultural organisations. In this conception of a civil society the minorities were indeed protected. The state extended to them special rights such that their economic and political participation in the mainstream of national life was encouraged and the impediments in the way of their exercising citizenship rights were removed. But such activities of the cultural or ethnic minorities which came in the way of the long-term project of the state, namely of homogenising ethnic and other pluralities into a nation were not tolerated. This project operated at two levels.

At the visible level, the state sought to homogenize the ethnic pluralities into a civil society, through expansion of the market and extension of citizenship to them. At the second level, which was for long not so visible but is becoming visible now, the state sought to integrate the ethnic minorities into a national society characterised by the ethos and interests of the ethnic majority. Neither succeeded in resolving the contradiction between the civil society and national society. It remained dormant for long, but it is now raising its head once again in

the west. Unlike in the new states of the third world, however, the resurgence of ethnic identities in the western nation-states in being managed through building new structures of regional integration on the one hand and by legitimising the idea of a national-economic consumer society in the place of civil or nationalist society on the other. These states, in effect, do not 'permit any political identity to its members other than that of a citizen or a consumer.

6.4 COMPARATIVE POLITICAL DEVELOPMENT AND NATION-BUILDING

A lot of discussion in the 50s and 60s on state- and nation-building in the third world was premised on the theory of comparative development and comparative politics. Such new theorisation became especially necessary in the 50s as a result of several societies, of what is today called the third world, having acquired their own independent states. At independence, their status as nation-states meant little more than membership of the United Nations. In reality, they had yet to build, as was required by the theory, a truly sovereign state and a national society out of myriad linguistic, cultural and religious pluralities operating within their newly founded states. Meanwhile, the old, established nation-states, mostly European, having freshly divested themselves of their colonies, but seasoned by the experience of the second world war, had worked out an international order for themselves. They wanted the newly emergent states to be integrated into the post-war international order. The third world societies too aspired to become nation-states of the European kind. To meet these objectives, it became necessary to package the complex and differentiated history of the European experience of building nation-states in simple formulations and checklists which the new states could follow as a guide to their future. The theoretical package offered, sought to transform the historical evolution of the nation-states into a cross-sectional view. All nation-states of the world, irrespective of their own specific histories and needs of change internal to their societies, were now reduced to a single type. The theorists then proceeded to compare and contrast them on that basis. The comparisons yielded an ideal-typical model for emulation by the third world societies. It was the model of a territorial national society with a sovereign state which competed externally with other similar entities and

established internally a cohesive political order which derived its legitimacy and stability from the national society that was generally defined in ethnic majority terms..

Political cohesion required a mobilisational approach; a cohesion achieved through other means was not good enough for the nation-state. Yet, political cohesion could not be a goal in itself. It had to be for gaining ever more political and economic power externally in the anarchic world of nation-states and internally for generating economic growth and development, even 'social progress'. Thus, the creation of a national society through political and social mobilisation became the centre-piece of the model of state- and nation-building in the third world. Mobilisation, according to the theory, was meant to prepare and push the people into new activities made available by the forces of modernisation. But given the history and the plural ethnic composition of many third world societies, mobilisation could proceed only along the existing lines of ethnicity within these societies. So nationalism found an easy base in majority ethnicism. The other ethnic communities in the society simply became 'minorities' without any claim in the national enterprise unless they could assert themselves politically. For the first time in the history of these societies, ethnic distinctions began to be perceived in terms of political antagonism by the respective ethnic groups. Inevitably, politicisation of all possible manner of ethno-linguistic, ethno-religious and tribal groups followed, each competing with the other. But at another level, they worked against the state for achieving political autonomy for themselves. At the extremes, they even sought an independent state for themselves. The task of nation-building thus became one of transforming a multi-ethnic society into a national society. It involved reordering of old equations among the ethnic groups. The state, rather than addressing itself to the creation of civil society (in which several social categories could participate in one political system), became largely a mediator of ethnic political equations.

Through a process of cajoling and coercing ethnic minorities, it sought to convert what was merely the political-cultural principle subscribed to by the ethnic majority into a universal principle for the nation as a whole. The ruling elites of many third world states quickly discovered that a common nationhood and

citizenship involved a messy process of continuous negotiations among interest groups and could not produce rapid economic growth. But they also saw that a stagnant or slowly growing economy led to ethnic and other political dissensions within their societies threatening the stability of their regimes. They, therefore, began increasingly to rely on authoritarian, even dictatorial solutions to the problem of economic growth and 'development'. By locating the state above and away from the society, they invented a new type of statism which was quite different from the centralised states of the west and different even from the socialist states. It had a pronounced clannish, military-dictatorial character.

Such states could quickly integrate into the international order but they just as quickly destroyed the civil order in their societies. Some among the third world societies persisted with political democracy and expansion of citizenship as means of building a national society. The coming of the nation state in these societies, largely through forces exogenous to them, turned their political and economic priorities upside down. In the process of working with this new state-form, these societies lost their endogeneity, and with it, their capability to cope with the problems of social change and economic transformation. Instead they became subject to forces of internal fragmentation and external subjugation. In fact, many of these societies had lost their endogeneity, i.e., their autonomy and control over the internal forces of order and change, ever since they became passive objects to be shaped, and reshaped, by the forces that arose in the west in the 15th century. In this sense, the universalisation of the nation-state in post-world war II period as the only form of political arrangement for all societies of the world became possible, because third world societies had already lost their endogeneity. Without endogeneity to fall back upon, the nation-state was the only form available to them at independence.

But they have also not done significantly better. Operating a democratic system with a weak state, they now find themselves in a vicious circle: lower growth rates and higher incidence of ethnic conflicts, both feeding on each other, and both together eroding the legitimacy of the state from within. They persist with the notion of decisional autonomy for themselves in the international order, but that order denies them full benefits of participation which should accrue to

them. At the same time, their claimed autonomy offers no immunity against the negative consequences of an integrating world economy; they get into enlarging debt-traps, deplete the resource bases of their poor by exporting primary products, become vulnerable to environmental pollution by hosting dirty industries and suffer depressed growth rates when western economies go down. This being the case, sovereignty has lost much of its meaning for the third world states. It is true that in the fast shrinking world of today the sovereignty of even the old, established nation-states is also getting eroded. But the difference is that, for the third world states, it is being lost even before it is acquired. The established states are diluting their sovereignty voluntarily in the larger interest of their peoples. The difference is of one between deprivation and satiation, between deficiency and saturation. In any event, the third world countries, in their effort to build a modern nation-state for themselves, on the basis of received history and theory seem to be on the way to losing both the worlds, their statehood and their nationhood, even before they had acquired them. The whole grand theory now stands academically discredited. But the rulers of the third world states continue to view the process of state- and nation-building in linear terms. They actively collaborate with the managers of the international order for the integration of their countries into the world system. They know that this process is leading to the fragmentation of their societies, and they still persist with the received model. This is so because it is for them the surest way of staying in power, even while their regimes are losing legitimacy from the people. The international order is not concerned with the domestic legitimacy of a state. All it requires for its expansion and integration are juridical actors called nation-states with or without legitimate political systems.

The nation-state theory sanctions the dissociation of the state from any particular kind of political system. Nation-states can have political systems ranging from the monarchic to the dictatorial, from the welfarist to the socialist. The dominant inter- national order accepts such a theory and is concerned only about the juridical status of new states when it seeks to integrate them. It does not care whether they enjoy legitimacy from their peoples. The order requires that the new states occupy assigned places and play the roles assigned to them. The first

step towards a new mode of governance is the recovery of endogeneity. This should now, and does not, mean the recreation of their past orders. But it does mean regaining the autonomy and control over the forces of order and change, internal to their societies. If they remain politically and economically insubstantial entities whose existence is always subject to the pulls and pressures emerging from the world outside them, they simply cannot effectively establish their role in the modern world. Worse still, if the ruling elites of these states are also unable to find bases of legitimacy within their own societies, they take recourse to militarisation, internal coercion and majority ethnicism as the main instruments of governance.

6.5 CONCLUSION

The model of the nation-state is proving inappropriate for most third world countries in solving their problems of ethnicity, as well as those of development. The model as they have received from western historiography and the comparative theory, has resulted in closing the options for these societies to devise the form of the state appropriate to their needs of continuity and change. They have been hitched to a process transcendental to their history, their experience and their needs. They are dealing with a state-form which is primarily an outgrowth of western state-craft, and is based on a theory of state which invalidates their own experience of governance. The idea of the state as an instrument of creating order out of chaos was alien to most of these societies. For them, order existed prior to the state; the state had only the subsidiary role of maintaining that order and generating wealth for its people. The state was under the command of the society and not the other way round. Indeed, several political orders survived and competed with one another in these societies, in the past. But they were all subject to a larger civilisational order in which governance was not defined politically as a monopoly of the state. It was viewed as a primary structure of the social order, embedded in a civilisational society.

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M.A. SOCIOLOGY

M. A. Sociology

Course No. 405

Lesson -7

Unit-II

CHANGING DEFINITION OF POLITICS & POWER IN POLITICAL SOCIOLOGY- FUNCTIONALIST ANALYSIS

CONTENTS

- 7.1 Introduction
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OBJECTIVES

After studying this lesson you should be able to:

- explain the changing definition of politics and power within in different frameworks.
- discuss the significant contribution of functionalist approach to the study of political sociology.

7.1 INTRODUCTION

Political sociology has never been easily distinguishable as a field of research from others in the discipline of sociology. In practice, the focus of political sociology has been politics at the level of nation state. With the passage of time, in order to compass the formation, contestation and transformation of identities and institutions across the social field, there has been a ‘paradigm shift’ in political sociology, away from state centered, class based models of political participation, or no participation, towards an understanding of politics as potential in all social experiences. Dowse and Hughes argue political sociologists have concerned themselves principally with the ways in which society has affected the state.

Political sociologists examined legitimacy since the nineteenth century, but issues of social identity and culture are increasingly a concern. Racial-ethnic, sexuality, life-style, religious, and other value-based cultural identity affirmations are potential sources of political division that can be triggered under certain conditions. The ways such identities evolve, get expressed, and overlap take place within political structures and involve power/dominance relations. Nation-states and other political structures try to regulate and prevent conflicts among the identities to uphold their legitimacy. This suggests reviving or adjusting Gramsci’s notion of hegemony. Repressive social control and state surveillance continue to interest political sociologists. Their attention has shifted to more subtle forms of domination and coercion, such as that captured by Bourdieu’s concept of symbolic violence or Foucault’s of governmentality. There is also a shift from treating the state apparatus as the sole site of concentrated power and domination to examining how power gets accumulated and exercised throughout numerous social institutions and relationships.

7.2 FUNCTIONALIST ANALYSIS

The functionalist perspective attempts to explain social institutions as collective means to meet individual and social needs. Functionalism proposed to build a form of authority based in functions and needs, which linked authority with needs, scientific knowledge, expertise and technology, i.e. it provided a supra territorial concept of authority. The functionalist approach excludes and

refutes the idea of state power and political influence (realist approach) in interpreting the cause for such proliferation of international organizations during the inter-war (which was characterized by nation-state conflict) and the subsequent years.

According to functionalism, international integration – the collective governance and ‘material interdependence’ between states – develops its own internal dynamic as states integrate in limited functional, technical, and/or economic areas. International agencies would meet human needs, aided by knowledge and expertise. The benefits rendered by the functional agencies would attract the loyalty of the populations and stimulate their participation and expand the area of integration. There are strong assumptions underpinning functionalism:

- 1) That the process of integration takes place within a framework of human freedom,
- 2) That knowledge and expertise are currently available to meet the needs for which the functional agencies are built.
- 3) That states will not sabotage the process.

It is sometimes called structural-functionalism because it often focuses on the ways social structures (e.g., social institutions) meet social needs. It has been under the influence of the sociologists, particularly these two, that the Structural-Functional Approach has come to be developed by political scientists, particularly by Gabriel A. Almond and his associates. In 1960, Almond and Coleman, in their work ‘The Politics of Developing Areas,’ used this approach for the study of non-Western political systems. Six years later, Almond and Bingham Powell published their work ‘Comparative Politics: A Development Approach’. Davis and Lewis are of the view that “the Structural-Functional analysis is a form of systemic analysis which looks at political systems as coherent wholes which influence and are, in turn influenced by their environments.” Each political system is characterized by ‘legitimate force’ which is the basis of all its activities. The interactions (functions) which characterize political systems take place not between individuals, but the roles individuals adopt. These are the basic units of

the Structural-Functional analysis.' That all systems have structures which can be identified and that the parts or elements of these structures perform functions within the system which have meaning only in terms of the working of the system. They are dependent on the system as an active entity for their existence, and are, in turn, linked in such a way as to be also dependent on each other for their activity. Accordingly, this analysis regards comprehensiveness, interdependence and boundaries as the three properties of the political system."

7.2.1 GABRIEL ALMOND'S FUNCTIONALIST ANALYSIS

The basic foundation of the structural functional model is rooted in the works of Gabriel Almond and G.B. Powell. They described the political system as that system of interactions to be found in all independent societies, which perform the functions of integration and adaptation, both internally and externally vis a vis other societies, by means of the employment of, or threat of employment, of more or less legitimate physical compulsion. In his book entitled *The Politics of Developing Areas* in 1950, he gives a detailed analysis of his approach. Almond relied upon Max and Talcott Parsons in the political system's actions and turned to concepts like structure and role replacing the legal vocabulary of institution, group or organization. Lastly, he introduced the concept of political culture which is embedded in a particular pattern of orientations to political action. These patterns generally extend beyond the boundaries of the political system.

He approached comparison of political systems with a structural-functional framework. System, according to him, are objects having moving parts, interacting within a setting or environment. The various structural parts of a political system are also interdependent. As such, the structural-functional differences and interdependence determine the exchange process between politics, its environment, and the importance of this process for such goals as welfare..., peace and prosperity. Furthermore, he posited that in the developed countries, the processes of government are "elaborately differentiated, discrete and easy to identify," but in simpler societies, the same processes are rarely differentiated and discrete". They occur within the context of institutional activities that are difficult to analyze because of the dynamic political behavior that occur within

them. The more “differentiated and complex the government processes, the greater the range and complexity” of the content of political process. Since content and process are “interdependent and derivative,” they thus require independent criterion for studying government.

Like David Easton, Almond was in search of a “functional theory of polity”. His field was comparative politics, which he studied as a developmental process. He sought to explain how various types of political systems change from the “traditional” to the “modern” systems. His aim was, as he says, to explain and even predict cycles of short range or long range change of the political system in response to various kinds of environmental pressures.” Almond and Powell in the structural functional analysis, further classified political systems according to the degree of structural differentiation and cultural secularization. Accordingly, three types of systems were identified:

1. *Primitive political systems*, with intermittent political structures that are neither differentiated nor integrated, but typically fluid;
2. *Traditional political systems*, with differentiated governmental structures but are not sufficiently integrated in a way that can bring it to par with modern political systems. Basically, they are totalitarian in character and have a passive or subjective political culture at worst and at best respectively; and,
3. *Modern political systems*, with differentiated political infrastructure and specialized institutions that perform integrated functions. They are fundamentally democratic and often have a participatory political culture. The modern political systems which are the concern of this study are those in which there is a specialized political infrastructure consisting of associational interest groups, political parties, and media of communication. These systems differ among themselves according to the degree of autonomy of the structure and according to the degree of differentiation and secularization.

Almond suggested that all political systems have four characteristics :

- i) All political systems have structures.
- ii) The same political functions are performed in all political systems.
- iii) All political structures are multifunctional.
- iv) All political systems-are mixed in the cultural sense.

Almond then outlined his own functional categories classifying them into inputs and outputs:

Input functions:

Political socialization and recruitment

The function of political socialisation and recruitment are performed usually by them political structure, political parties. The child is socialized by the political parties, educational institution, family, organizations, etc. And they are recruited directly to the political parties by its senior members. These two are the primary input functions performed by the structures.

Interest articulation

Interest articulation means the identification and coordination of different interests of the people by interest groups or pressure groups. Based on these interests later the demands are prepared by them for its implementation. Caste, educational, business, farmers, laborer's interest groups perform their role in society to bring out their interests.

Interest aggregation

After interest articulation, the necessary demands from the groups were communicated to the political parties for its aggregation. This process is called as lobbying. The political parties then accept or reject the various demands and formulate it in the form of a proposal for law.

Political communication

The final input function is political communication. In this function the aggregated demands or interests are communicated to the political system by the

political parties for its acceptance. Usually the people's representatives in the legislature, who are the members of different political parties, perform these functions. The political parties have the responsibility to inform the public about respective legislative proposals and they work as the channel of communication. After political communication, the output structures start to carry out their functions.

Output Functions

Rule making

Rule making is the primary output function performed by the political structure, legislature. After the political communication the political system receives necessary demands from the environment or society, and starts the conversion process, i.e., the transformation of different demands into formal rules and regulations.

Rule application

The function of implementation of the rules is done by the executive wing of the government or political system, the other political structure. Through its various Ministries and departments the executive enforces the laws prepared from the legislature.

Rule adjudication

Rule adjudication is the final output function performed by the judiciary. The laws once implemented by the executive went to the hands of judiciary for interpretation. Judiciary interprets and judges in all cases reached before it. The outputs are functions and correspond to the traditional legislative, executive and judicial functions. They show a bias towards American and European conceptions of government showing traditional orientation of comparative politics. Almond, however, argued that input functions are crucial in characterizing the political systems of developing countries.

These input functions constitute the ingredients of the system: who recognises, deliberates and resolves problems and issues. Spiro called this a

process of flow “and interpreted it as consisting of demands and supports for action .Almond says that political socialisation takes place through the family, school, church, trade union, party and even government agencies. It also involves recruitment of people from different social groups into political parties, civil service etc. Interest articulation is the expression of political interests and demands for action. Interest aggregation is the combining of those interests and demands which are articulated by interest groups and political parties. Political communication helps all these political functions. Political socialisation, recruitment, articulation and aggregation occur through communication.

Gabriel Almond says that political culture is dualistic, not monistic. Political systems may be represented as modern and traditional, developed and underdeveloped, industrial and agrarian. Political systems have evolved through stages of development. Structures become more differentiated as systems reach higher stages of growth. Almond divided them into primitive, traditional, transitional and modern systems. Almond’s framework was further elaborated in the third phase when he, in collaboration with Powell, published *Comparative Politics - A Developmental Approach* in 1966. He now put forward the concept of conversion processes, which allow for the transformation of the demands and supports that flow into the political system. Out of that system flows extraction, regulation and distribution into society. He argued that his conception of political system deals with interdependence which does not mean harmony. He claimed that his theory was dynamic as it conceived of “developmental patterns”. He connected his framework of system with his concept of political development.

A second level consists of capability functions: regulation. Extraction, distribution, and symbolic response. These activities relate to the environment. Almond said that in democratic systems, “outputs of regulation, extraction and distribution are more affected by inputs of demands from groups “and these systems therefore have “a higher responsive capability.” Totalitarian systems are less responsive to demands, regulate behaviour through coercion, and extract maximum resources their people. Symbolic capability relates to the symbol flow from a particular into the informational environment i.e. its image in the community of nations.

A third level of functions is related to maintenance and adaptation of political system. They include political and recruitment. According to Almond, a theory of the political system can be based on the understanding the relations among these three levels and the relations of the functions at each level. In 1969, Almond reviewed his conceptual framework and proposed a research design “intended to draw us a little closer to a systematic exploitation of historical experience using a causal scheme which combines system-functional analysis, aggregate quantitative analysis and rational choice analysis at appropriate points in the explanation of developmental episodes.” This approach retained his structural-functional formulation but combined it with other approaches to make it empirically more fruitful.

Criticism

Almond’s functionalism has been criticized of being ideological and conservative.

- 1) I.C. Jawie criticize that functionalism is limited as it lack explanatory power and satisfactoriness.
- 2) Sociologist Don Martindale noted four drawbacks.
 - The conservative ideological bias and preference for status quo
 - Lack of methodological clarity
 - An over emphasis on the role of closed system in social life does not amount for the processes of change
 - A failure to deal with social change
- 3) Campbell argues that functionalism is illogical, while
- 4) Mackenzie said it was based on old concepts and traditions.
- 5) C.A. Powell terms it non-operational and non -functional.
- 6) C. Wright Mill criticized it has been as ethnocentric in its emphases on stability in the light of the Anglo-American norm and political traditions.

- 7) Holt and Turner said it had operational difficulties in particular, the difficulty in refining, operationalizing and testing hypothesis. To quote, S. E. Finer, “What Almond has to say could have been said without using the system approach and it would have been said more clearly.” He referred Almond concept as “modish concept”(Modern sounding but actually not modern).

Despite these shortcomings, the Structural-Functional Approach has a great merit. In the words of Young, It is quite attractive for comparative analysis of political systems, it deals for the most part with the manageable collection of variables and it provides a set of standardised categories that can be applied successfully over widely disparate political functions.”

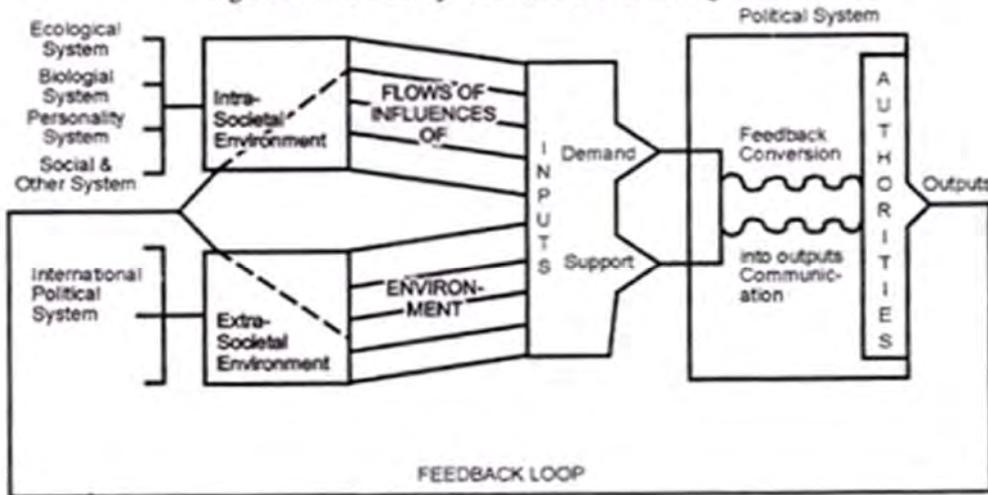
Its categories and concepts are less broad in terms of scope than those of the general systems theory, but they provide considerable richness for the purpose of orientation and data selection in their own domain.

7.2.2 DAVID EASTON’S SYSTEM’S ANALYSIS

David Easton was the first to think to analyzing politics from the point of view of system analysis in his work Political System (1953). According to Easton, political system is an interaction in any society through which authoritative and binding allocations of values are made and implemented. He selected political system as a unit of analysis and concentrated on intra system behaviour .He holds that all political systems are both open and adaptive. He studied the nature of exchanges and transactions that takes place in a closed circuit but is made because of the demands from the society or environment. Because of the supports from the environment they become authoritative. Easton’s input-output analysis is also known as the ‘flow model’. It can be regarded as a form of functionalist analysis. Young finds his framework as ‘the most inclusive systemic approach so far constructed specifically for political analysis by a political scientist’. It is a product of an original insight of a political scientist. It is neither borrowed nor smuggled from other disciplines.

Diagram 1

Dynamic Model of Easton's Political System



Easton's input consists of demands and support. The demands can be excessive in quantity, political system does not allow all the demands to enter into the system. Demands can be –

- For allocation of goods and services such as wages and working conditions, education, health, etc.
- Regulation of behaviour – public safety, control over market etc.
- Participation in the political system – right to vote , form political associations
- Communication and information regarding policies of the government

Demand cannot be satisfied without support. Support can be –

- Material support like payment of taxes.
- Obedience of laws, rules.
- Participatory support – voting, political discussion etc.
- Paying attention to government communication like ad , ceremonies, symbols, etc.

Easton's Output: Policies and decisions

- Taxation and economic policies
- Regulation of human behaviour
- Distribution of resources ; provide opportunities
- Symbolic outputs, communication of policy intent.

Feedback is communicative process which produces action in response to information about the political system. It appraises the PS of the position of its goal and the changes brought by its performance.

According to Easton, political life is “a system of behaviour embedded in an environment to the influence of which the political system itself is exposed and in turn reacts”. The environment, within which the political system exists, comprises all the social, economic, cultural, religious, ideological and other conditions, without which a political system cannot exist. In more concrete terms, it means the natural and human resources of the economy, ecological conditions, and all other material and non-material variables. They also include the international resources, influences and conditions. For instance, both Soviet Union and U.S.A. are international resources for Bharat, while for Pakistan, America is the only resource. Both the internal and external variables are not a part of the political system. According to Easton, “In the environment we have such systems as the ecology, economy, culture, personality, social structure and demography”. The limits or lines, which separate the environment from the political system, constitute its boundary. Within the boundary lies the political system, which is defined by the possibility of the exercise of legitimate force of its binding decisions. But the boundary is constantly changing, because the conditions in the environment are also constantly changing and the political system has to cope with these changes or variables. They constitute the external variables of the political system. They are the forces which shape and change the inputs some of them come from within the system itself. It may be further noted that Easton's model is based on behavioral approach to politics. As he himself said in a later article, “We have been interpreting political life as a system of behavior set in an environment and

open to the influences stemming from that environment, as well as from internal sources.”

Political process begins with the inputs. They are, broadly speaking, of three kinds: demands, supports and apathy or opposition. The government receives the demands and the supports from the domestic and foreign interests, that is, from the environment around the political system. Demands provide the raw material or information, which the system must process and the energy which the system needs. They lead to political activity. They are the signs that the people or the groups want action. They arise either in the environment (external) or within the system itself (internal).

The external or environmental sources of the demands are the major portion of the demands, shaping the variables from outside the political system. They can be expressed in all manner of ways, such as public opinion, polis, political parties, pressure groups, letters written to the governmental system, and also by means of riots, public demonstrations, and protest marches, etc. But the demands may arise internally from within the governmental system itself. They arise from such aspects and influences as the representation system, the nature of the constitution itself and the norms and procedures of the governmental system; they also arise from the values of the political culture of a political system.

Feedback’ is another important concept in Easton’s systems theory. Capacity of a political system to persist over time depends on feedback. It is a dynamic process through which information about the outputs and the environment is communicated to the system which may result in subsequent change or modification of the system. Information about demands and supports may enter the system as inputs in usual manner.

When information relating to converted inputs, or outputs comes in, then there is a kind of re-communication of information, or re-inputation of inputs already converted into outputs. By doing so, the political system gets an opportunity to modify or transform its behaviour conducive to that feedback. In this manner, it can make it more effective or persist in a better way. In the absence of feedback, it is likely to operate in the usual unresponsive manner, and lose support.

Information about environment reaching as inputs in usual manner may enter the system too late. It may reach there in a distorted form, as it happened with Indira Gandhi Government (1977) and the Shah of Iran (1979)- 'Loop' means a curve that rejoins the main line farther on. 'Feedback Loop' connotes a process wherein information is obtained; actions, reactions or responses are made on it; then to see the result, and re-collect the same; and, to be benefited by it to achieve the goal.

It includes the arrangement and linking of information channels for the aforesaid purpose. Feedback involves a continuity by linking of obtaining information, reacting, and knowing the effects further to improve upon Systems behaviour and responses. It is a 'output-information-reinputation-recommunication-reoutputation' process.

Feedback process, in this way, is concerned with input sequence, demands and support emerging out of environment, conversion processes, outputs, and feedback mechanisms. Feedback mechanisms carry effects and consequences of the outputs into the system again as inputs. They make the system dynamic, purposive, and goal-oriented. Interactions and their various forms within a system confront the problems of stress, maintenance, etc., by counter-balancing, by reducing, or by removal. But their interaction-circuits may remain incomplete or breakdown at any point, e.g., stoppage at the level of demands. A demand has to go along with the long conversion process.

Its shape, size and content may considerably change till it reaches the output-stage. Sometimes, the demand dies out by then completely. Similarly, information coming from the environment may not be considered as a 'demand' by the authorities. Ultimately, the latter have to decide whether some allocation of values should be made to meet that demand or not. But reaction or response to every such breakdown of the circuit has to be taken into consideration for further action and implementation by the system.

Easton presents the concept of 'feedback loop' as the basis of the capacity of the outputs to generate specific support. It connects the consequences of the outputs with the inflow of inputs: demands and supports. Thus, it establishes a

circulatory relationship between inputs and outputs. There is all-round impact of this dynamic process – on support, stress, survival and persistence. It completes the political circuit through its input – conversion – output – feedback process. In a political system, several feedback processes operate at various levels. But Easton relates the feedback processes pertaining to the whole political system. For analytical purposes, there are two forms of feedback:

- (i) Negative feedback – it relates to the information regarding the system and the regulation of errors; and
- (2) Goal-transforming feedback – it is concerned with the purposeful redirection of the system.

In all conditions, feedback is a regulatory demand of political systems. However, feedback itself can suffer from much pathology, regarding accuracy, responsiveness, time-lag, etc. Several mistakes can take place in the process of communication. Even delayed information can cause great harm to the survival of a political system.

The feedback loop can be analysed from several angles. From the view of system-maintenance or gaining specific support, its operation can be divided into four stages:

- (1) There are situations of feedback, which can come out of authorised direction, associate outputs, or outcomes. They all are part of the political system. But its estimation depends on its perception or observation.
- (2) There are feedback-responses which can be in the form of satisfying the demands, or positive or negative support.
- (3) In the third stage feedback-responses are communicated to the political authorities.
- (4) In the last stage, after completion of the feedback-circuit the authorities deliberate, discuss, and arrive at certain decisions. Much depends on variables like responsiveness of authorities, time-lag, availability of information-resources for decision-making, etc. Here, resources of the

system as a whole are involved. The feedback loop, in Easton's input-output analysis, interlinks authorities and its members in a manner that the former may take steps soon after they get information through the feedback.

In short, they are the significant parts of the material on which the system operates. They are also the one important source of change in the political system. Roughly speaking, out of about one lakh needs, desires, expectations, plans and projects of the people, including social groups and political parties, about one thousand become their demands. Out of about one thousand demands about one hundred become challenges or issues which influence the government decision makers. Out of one hundred issues about ten are actually converted into outputs, i.e., become laws and acts of policy.

7.2.3 William C. Mitchell

Mitchell in his work on *American Political System* offers four requisite functions that are performed by a polity. He was influenced by Talcott Parsons, and defines polity as a subsystem primarily concerned with the mobilization of resources to meet the goals of the system. He identifies four functions of the American party. In general, this analysis is applicable to any modern polity:

1. The authoritative to any modern polity,
2. The authoritative mobilization of resources to implement the goals,
3. The integration of the system, and
4. The allocation of values and costs.

7.2.4 David Apter

David Apter in his book entitled *Politics of Modernization* in 1965, tried to apply the functional model to comparative study of modernizing countries. He observed that almost all of the developing countries are populist and in a real sense mainly democratic rather than antidemocratic. Different political systems not only embody different ways of choosing but vary in their priorities. The study of political system in the newly emerging countries of the Third World led him to

include some interesting problems relating to the types and forces that have played their part in the process of rapid transformation in them. His politics of modernization seeks to analyze political system in three respects which are as follows:

1. **Nature and purpose of government:** He feels that the business of the government is to see the conditions under which it can maintain itself during the period of transition from a traditional to a modern form without losing legitimacy.
2. **Models of government:** He suggests that instead of classifying governments into broad categories of liberal-democratic and totalitarian, the modernizing governments should be placed in a third category, which he termed as “pre-democratic”. He presents three models namely, (a) mobilization system, (b) reconciliation system, and (c) modernizing autocracy.
3. **Functions of the government:** According to Apter, each system has four functions to perform which are:
 - (i) The logic of sanctions in society,
 - (ii) The providers of symbols linking the people’s past and future,
 - (iii) The responsible agents for the orderly arrangement and performance of roles in a system, and
 - (iv) The providers of criteria for deciding on membership and participation in society.

His central functional hypothesis is that, different politics employ different mixtures of coercion and information in trying to maintain authority, stability and to increase efficiency. Modernizing societies and industrial societies can utilize information only when they possess sound interpretative mechanisms.

CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

1. 'Politics of Modernization' has been authored by
a) Lipset b) Weber c) R.Dahl d) David Apter
2. Who has written 'American Political System'?
a) C.W. Mills b) Mitchell c) R.Dahl d) Dahrendrof
3. Who gave the 'Iron Law of Oligarchy'?
a) R. Michells b) MaxWeber c) R.Dahl d) Almond
4. Gabriel Almond is associated with which of the following approach of political analysis?
a) Comparative b) Behavioural c) Structural functional
d) Developmental
5. Who argued that Feedback is communicative process which produces action in response to information about the political system?
a) J. Schumpeter b) Almond c) Easton d) Max Weber

7.3 SUMMARY

To sum up, this approach 'is a means of explaining which political structures perform which basic functions in the political system and it is a tool of investigation.' The greatest strength of the Structural-Functional Approach lies in the area of pattern- maintenance and systemic regulation. Here, the essentially static elements of the approach display themselves to the best advantage." Almond's structural-functional approach has definitely helped and improved the use of Structural-Functionalism in Politics. In the words of Samuel H. Beer and Adam B. Ulam, "The survival and maintenance of a social system require that society must be having a well-functioning economic system, a legal system, a system of values and so on. In this scheme, the political system would appear as

that sub-system performing the distinctive function of making legitimate policy decisions, or to use a shorter expression, the function of goal attainment for the society of which it is a part.”

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M.A. SOCIOLOGY

M. A. Sociology

Course No. 405

Lesson -8

Unit-II

MARXIST TRADITION

CONTENTS

- 8.1 Introduction
- 8.2 Marxist Analysis of power & politics
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- 8.4 Summary
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OBJECTIVES

After studying this lesson you should be able to:

- discuss the Marxist concept of power and state.
- explain the difference between Marxist and Neo Marxist thinkers analysis of power and politics.

8.1 INTRODUCTION

In many respects it is far from evident that the state should have central place in Marxist analyses of capitalism given their overwhelming theoretical commitment to the View that it is economic relations which ultimately determine all social and political life. Marx himself, concerned primarily as he was with

capitalism as a mode of production, concentrated on the economic level and had relatively underdeveloped and tentative views on the state. Marxist approach to power focus on its relation to class domination in capitalist societies. Power is linked to class relations in economics, politics, and ideology. In capitalist social formations, the state is considered to be particularly important in securing the conditions for economic class domination. Marxists are also interested in why dominated classes seem to accept (or fail to recognize) their oppression; so they address issues of resistance and strategies to bring about radical change. Much recent Marxist analysis also aims to show how class power is dispersed throughout society, in order to avoid economic reductionism.

In fact, Adam Przeworski goes so far as to suggest that, given his theory of capitalism as a self-perpetuating economic system of production and exchange, there was no room in it for theorizing the state as contributing to its reproduction. Although this is an extreme view, based on Marx's later work, it is true that it has proved very difficult for neo-Marxists to give due weight to ideology and politics without giving up the central theoretical Marxist commitment to economic class struggle as the motor of history.

8.2 MARXIST ANALYSIS OF POWER & POLITICS

The roots of later Marxist theorizations of political power as a translation of economic power concentrated in the modern state are there already in Marx's writings. The Marxist approach has unique place in the study of politics as it is different from both rational and modern approach. The analysis is based up on economic orientation up on social and political issues. Marxian analysis is rooted in dialectical and historical materialism. According to which history progress through a conflict between two classes in which society is perpetually divided. The distribution of political power is determined by power over production. Capital confers political power, which the bourgeois class uses to legitimize and protect their property and consequent social relations. Class relations are political, and in the mature capitalist society, the state's business is that of the bourgeoisie. Moreover, the intellectual basis of state rule, the ideas justifying the use of state power and its distribution, are those of the ruling class. The intellectual social

culture is merely a superstructure resting on the relation of production, on ownership of the means of production.

He was one of the original theorists to develop a conflict perspective on how society functions. Following Marx was Ralph Dahrendorf, 19th century, post beginning of capitalism, who developed the theory further. This perspective is mostly concerned with Marx's deep structures of unseen power within the capitalist system. Karl Marx said there is a limited amount of power in society, which can only be held by one person or group at a time. Marx said these "groups" are the working and ruling classes. Under capitalism the ruling classes holds all the power and use it to exploit the working class. This is the cornerstone of Marxism. Marx believed the structure of society is determined by the nature of its economy, or its "economic base". So if the economy is capitalist, the rest of society will act under capitalist values. This is because capitalism dictates the ruling class will own the means of production, meaning they can control their workers, this is why many countries have all the power concentrated in the hands of the ruling class. Ralph Miliband said the political power in society was also held by those who control the economic base.

Marxian analysis of power rejects the view that power is a societal resource held in trust and directed by those 'in authority for the benefit for all. Instead, power is seen, to be held by a particular group in the society at the expense of the rest of the society. This is a 'Zero-sum' concept of power because a net gain in the power of Want group represents a net loss in the power of the rest of the society. The dominate group uses this power to further its own interest. These interests are indirect conflict with the interests of those subject to its power. From a Marxian perspective, the source of power in society lies in the economic infrastructure. In all stratified society the forces of production are owned and controlled by a minority, the ruling class. The relationship to the forces of production provides the basis of its dominance. It therefore, follows that the only way to return power to people involves communal ownership of the forces of production. Since everyone will now share the same relationship to the forces of production, power will be shared by all members of society. From the Marxian perspective, the use of power to exploit others is described as coercion. It is

seen as illegitimate use of power because it forces the subject class to submit to a situation which is against their interest.

Marx viewed a nation state as a collective power of which political parties rule on behalf of society by making rules and regulations in favour of the ruling class based on rational decisions and by the growing faith in science explaining reality. The nation state today however, is increasingly transformed through devolution, deregulation of public policy and globalization through the impact of multinational corporations on government power and ability to regulate economic activity. This has resulted in a shift of power from national boundaries to a global level. Marxist accounts of political class domination typically begin with the state and its direct and indirect roles in securing the conditions for economic class domination. The state is emphasized for various reasons: first, since market forces themselves cannot secure all the conditions needed for capital accumulation and are prone to market failure, there is a need for some mechanism standing outside and above the market to underwrite it and compensate for its failures; second, economic and political competition between capitals necessitates a force able to organize their collective interests and limit any damage that might occur from the one-sided pursuit of one set of capitalist interests; third, the state is needed to manage the many and varied repercussions of economic exploitation within the wider society. Marxists argue that only if the state can secure sufficient institutional integration and social cohesion will the extra-economic conditions for rational economic calculation and, a fortiori, capital accumulation be secured. This requires a sovereign state that is relatively autonomous from particular class interests and can articulate and promote a broader, national-popular interest. Where this project respects the decisive economic nucleus of the society and its capitalist character, then the state helps to secure economic as well as political class domination. This is often held to be more likely in bourgeois democratic political regimes than dictatorial regimes.

Although Marx had no fully developed theory of the state, he did discuss it in various ways throughout his writings. Here we shall follow Dunleavy and O'Leary's (1987) classification of Marx's analyses of the state into three distinct and somewhat contradictory, positions on how it contributes to the reproduction

of the capitalist system and the economic power of the bourgeoisie. All of them have been followed up in different ways by neo-Marxist theorists. There are three main Marxist approaches to the state: instrumentalist, structuralist, and 'strategic-relational'. Instrumentalists see the state mainly as a neutral tool for exercising political power: whichever class controls this tool can use it to advance its own interests. Structuralists argue that who controls the state is irrelevant because it embodies a prior bias towards capital and against the subaltern classes. And strategic-relational theorists argue that state power is a form-determined condensation of the balance of class forces in struggle.

First, on the *instrumental model*, the coercive aspect of the state is emphasized; it is seen above all as repressive of working-class resistance to exploitation. The "executive of the modern state" is "but a committee for managing the affairs of the whole bourgeoisie" (Marx, 1977: 223). On this model, economic power is quite simply translated into political power, by means of which the dominant bourgeoisie rules over subordinate classes through the liberal state. Secondly, in his later, more empirical writings, Marx suggested a different model of the state the *arbiter model* (Dunleavy and O'Leary, 1987: 210). In "The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte" he sketches the modern state in such a way as to suggest its relative autonomy from the interests of the bourgeoisie. The modern state has grown so strong that in exceptional moments, when the bourgeoisie cannot completely dominate the other classes against which it must struggle, it may become an arena for competing interests, an ostensible mediator, and may even act independently to limit the power of the bourgeoisie (Marx, 1992). However, "state power does not however in mid-air" it is only class interests that are represented at the political level and ultimately economic power will determine how state power is to be used (Marx, 1992: 237). Despite the relative autonomy of the modern state, then, economic power is translated into political power since it needs the material support of the historically ascendant class, and it therefore works ultimately to ensure the economic advantage of the bourgeoisie. Thirdly, in his mature economic work, Marx suggested a *third model of the state: the functionalist version*. On this View, developed in *Capital*, volume 3, the State is "super structural," determined entirely by changes in the

economic “base” of society. The state apparatus, government, and legal forms operate in order to optimum the conditions for capital accumulation, regardless of how directly the bourgeoisie manages state institutions and irrespective of the balance of forces in society. On this understanding of the state, political power is irrelevant; the state is but an epiphenomenon of the economic logic of the capitalist system which reproduces itself in every social and political institution to the advantage of the dominant economic class. For some time after Marx’s death, this economist model of capitalist reproduction was Marxist orthodoxy.

Criticism

- Marxism is based upon the idea that the ruling class owns the means of production. However, some critics point out that in some societies there has been a separation of ownership and control. This is where the person who owns the business hires a manager, rather than running it themselves. This questions whether the ruling class actually own and control the means of production.
- Another example of how the ruling class might not own and control the means of production is that many large companies are owned by shareholders, many of whom are working-class, so the working classes now own some of the means of production, this contradicts the Marxist perspective.
- However, John Scott argues against these two points, saying that even when ownership of a company is fragmented, one ruling class member can still have dominant control, something which the working class doesn’t have the money to be able to do.
- Marxism fails to acknowledge any of the other forms of inequality other than the class divide. For example, Marxism doesn’t talk about women’s, gays or ethnic minorities rights.

Although early Marxists gave some consideration to the role of the state in sustaining capitalism, theorists such as Kautsky and Plekhanov, concerned above all to establish Marxism as a rigorous science, worked to discover the

historical laws by which the economy developed. They therefore reduced the superstructure the political, ideological and, cultural to emanations of the economic base. Marxist approaches to power and its exercise address the following themes: (1) power and class domination; (2) the mediations among economic, political, and ideological class domination; (3) the limitations and contradictions of power that are grounded in the nature of capitalism as a system of social relations, including their spatio-temporal aspects; and (4) the role of strategy and tactics. These themes indicate the strengths and weaknesses of Marxism. First, in privileging class domination, it marginalizes other forms of social domination – patriarchal, ethnic, ‘racial’, hegemonic masculinities, inter-state, regional or territorial, etc. At best these figure as factors that over determine the forms of class domination and/or change in response to changes in class relations. Second, Marxist analyses may exaggerate the structural coherence of class domination, neglecting its disjunctures, contradictions, countervailing tendencies, etc. Notions of a unified ruling class belie the messiness of actual configurations of class power – the frictions within and across its economic, political, and ideological dimensions, the disjunctions between different scales of social organization, the contradictory nature and effects of strategies, tactics, and policies, the probability of state as well as market failures, and the capacity of subaltern forces to engage in resistance. Many empirical analyses reveal this messiness and complexity but this often goes unremarked in abstract Marxist theorizing. Third, Marxists risk reducing the limits of economic, political, and ideological power to the effect of class contradictions and thereby missing other sources of failure. Finally, whilst an emphasis on strategy and tactics is important to avoid the structuralist fallacy that capital reproduces itself quasi-automatically and without need of human action, there is a risk of voluntarism if strategy and tactics are examined without reference to specific conjunctures and broader structural contexts

8.3 CONTRIBUTION OF NEOMARXIST THINKERS

It is the neo-Marxist rejection of this simplistic economism which in recent years has led theorists to consider political power at the level of the state as relatively autonomous of economic power. The most important neo-Marxists,

here, are Antonio Gramsci and Louis Althusser because of their influence on post Marxism.

8.3.1 ANTONIO GRAMSCI

Writing in the 1920's, Gramsci was the first Marxist to theorize the ideological and political superstructures as relatively autonomous of the economic base. As such, he was a major influence on neo-Marxists such as Althusser, and later on post-Marxists. The key term for Gramsci is "hegemony," which means the way in which the dominant class gains consent for its rule through compromises and alliances with some class fractions and the disorganization of others, and also the way in which it maintains that rule in a stable social formation (Gramsci, 1971; Simon, 1982).

The idea of a 'third face of power', or 'invisible power' has its roots partly, in Marxist thinking about the pervasive power of ideology, values and beliefs in reproducing class relations and concealing contradictions (Heywood, 1994: 100). Marx recognized that economic exploitation was not the only driver behind capitalism, and that the system was reinforced by a dominance of ruling class ideas and values – leading to Engels's famous concern that 'false consciousness' would keep the working class from recognizing and rejecting their oppression. In terms, of Dunleavy and O'Leary's typology, Gramsci's is an arbiter theory of the state: the state is formed by the balance of forces achieved in the struggle for hegemony. For Gramsci, a class does not take state power, it becomes the state (Laclau and Mouffe, 1985: 69). However, Gramsci is innovative in Marxism in not thinking of the state as the institution in which politics takes place. According to Gramsci, hegemony is gained in the first place in civil society where ideology is embodied in communal forms of life in such a way that it becomes the taken-for granted common sense of the people. All relations of civil society involve issues of power and struggle, not just class relations. Gramsci is actually the first theorist of cultural politics, since he sees politics, not as confined to the level of the state, but as taking place in all social relations, representations, and institutions. Politics is more a cultural sensibility than an institutional activity.

Gramsci's thought in this respect was limited, however, by his commitment to a residual economism. Gramsci, like Althusser, saw ideology as practices which form subjects; for both thinkers, our Experience and our relationship to the world are mediated through ideology. In Gramsci's view, however, subjects are not necessarily Class subjects, but rather collective political wills which are formed by articulating ideas and values in different combinations in order to draw different groups into the hegemonic project. However, as a Marxist, Gramsci was committed to the belief that ideological struggle was grounded in class struggle; he therefore argued that there must always be a single unifying principle in every hegemonic formation and that this can only be given by a fundamental economic class.

The Italian communist Antonio Gramsci, imprisoned for much of his life by Mussolini, took this idea further in his Prison Notebooks with his widely influential notions of 'hegemony' and the 'manufacture of consent'. Gramsci saw the capitalist state as being made up of two overlapping spheres, a 'political society' (which rules through force) and a 'civil society' (which rules through consent). This is a different meaning of civil society from the 'associational' view common today, which defines civil society as a 'sector' of voluntary organizations and NGOs. Gramsci saw civil society as the public sphere where trade unions and political parties gained concessions from the bourgeois state, and the sphere in which ideas and beliefs were shaped, where bourgeois 'hegemony' was reproduced in cultural life through the media, universities and religious institutions to 'manufacture consent' and legitimacy

Gramsci identified the state in its narrow sense with the politico-judicial apparatus, the constitutional and institutional features of government, its formal decision-making procedures, and its general policies. In contrast, his studies focused more on the ways and means through which political, intellectual, and moral leadership was mediated through a complex ensemble of institutions, organizations, and forces operating within, oriented towards, or located at a distance from the state in its narrow sense. This approach is reflected in his controversial definition of the state as 'political society + civil society' and his related claims that state power in western capitalist societies rests on 'hegemony

armored by coercion'. Gramsci also defined the *state* as: '*the entire complex of practical and theoretical activities with which the ruling class not only justifies and maintains its dominance but manages to win the active consent of those over whom it rules*'. He argued that states were always based on variable combinations of force and hegemony. Gramsci did not identify force exclusively with the state (e.g., he referred to private fascist terror squads) nor did he locate hegemony exclusively within civil society (since the state also has important ethico-political functions). Overall, he argued that the capitalist state should not be seen as a basically coercive apparatus but as an institutional ensemble based with a variable mix of coercion, consent, fraud, and corruption. Moreover, rather than treating specific institutions and apparatuses as purely technical instruments of government, Gramsci examined their social bases and stressed how state power is shaped by its links to the economic system and civil society.

The political and practical implications of Gramsci's ideas were far-reaching because he warned of the limited possibilities of direct revolutionary struggle for control of the means of production; this 'war of attack' could only succeed with a prior 'war of position' in the form of struggle over ideas and beliefs, to create a new hegemony. This idea of a 'counter-hegemonic' struggle – advancing alternatives to dominant ideas of what is normal and legitimate – has had broad appeal in social and political movements. It has also contributed to the idea that 'knowledge' is a social construct that serves to legitimate social structures. Ideas and knowledge – expressed through consent rather than force – have inspired the use of explicit strategies to contest hegemonic norms of legitimacy. Gramsci's ideas have influenced popular education practices, including the adult literacy and consciousness-raising methods of Paulo Freire in his *Pedagogy of the Oppressed* (1970), liberation theology, methods of participatory action research (PAR), and many approaches to popular media, communication and cultural action.

The idea of power as 'hegemony' has also influenced debates about civil society. Critics of the way civil society is narrowly conceived in liberal democratic thought – reduced to an 'associational' domain in contrast to the state and market

– have used Gramsci’s definition to remind us that civil society can also be a public sphere of political struggle and contestation over ideas and norms. The goal of ‘civil society strengthening’ in development policy can thus be pursued either in a neo-liberal sense of building civic institutions to complement (or hold to account) states and markets, or in a Gramscian sense of building civic capacities to think differently, to challenge assumptions and norms, and to articulate new ideas and visions.

As Laclau and Mouffe (1985: 69) point out, this is not just to say that, ultimately, the economy determines politics, but also to see the economy itself as outside hegemony, as somehow naturally given and non-political. As they argue, this is economistic in so far as there is nothing for Marxists to do but identify the direction in which the economy is heading; there is no possibility of political intervention, nor even of effective class struggle, in the domain that really matters to Marxists, the economy. In their view, Gramsci limited the scope of politics in that it should be seen as fundamental to the founding, and contestation, of any social order whatsoever. Gramsci’s model is also limited in that, seeing politics as ultimately rooted, in class struggle, it cannot give sufficient weight to social movements organized around gender, race, sexual politics, the environment, and so on. However, to reject economic determinism and the centrality of the class struggle is to go beyond Marxism altogether.

8.3.2 LOUIS ALTHUSSER

Similar issues arise in the work of Louis Althusser, also an important influence on post-Marxists. Although Althusser’s project was to rescue Marxism from economism, in so far as it remains within the Marxist framework, economism cannot be avoided. Althusser maintained that the state should be seen as relatively autonomous of the economic base. However, his theory of the state is better described as “functionalist,” rather than in terms of Dunleavy and O’Leary’s arbiter model. Although he insists that political structures have their own laws of development, there is no discussion of class conflict at this level; the state is fully implicated in the logic of capitalism where it functions to reproduce the mode of production (Dunleavy and O’Leary, 1987: 255). As Althusser sees it, the state is

relatively autonomous of the economic base because, although the economy determines “in the last instance,” it does so by determining another level of the mode of production as dominant according to the specificity of the mode of production: in feudalism, religion is dominant; in capitalism, the state. Furthermore, since the capitalist mode of production requires the state to reproduce its conditions of existence, there is a reciprocal determination between the economic and political levels; the last instance of economic determination never arrives since the economy is itself formed by the political (Althusser, 1971).

His view on ideology assumes that the ideology is the greatest material power, and thus expands the traditional Marxist view that sees economy as the ultimate power of the capitalist society. The State is a “machine” of repression, which enables the ruling classes to ensure their domination over the working class. State power is maintained by “repressive structure,” the external force. However, the state power might also maintain more subtly by State Apparatus. Social reproduction can be simple or extended. It goes on in the whole social system outside production, hidden to the usual view. The productive forces must themselves be reproduced - labour power must be competent, provided with know-how and with rules, subjected to ruling ideology to employ knowledge conscientiously. This occurs outside production itself. Know-how must take place in forms of ideological subjection. Marx’s base-superstructure metaphor should be read as referring to foundations, e.g. of a house, rather than to strict determination by the economy. “Upper levels” later to be specified as ‘political’ and ‘cultural/ideological’ levels, as well as the ‘economic’ — have only a derivatory effect, but can act reciprocally back on the base - as reproduction of the base.

The State is not just a collection of repressive state apparatuses (R.S.A.s). Early Marx himself suggests this, but we should see this too as only a descriptive beginning. The issue today is State power as the centre of political class struggle. The modern State is a plurality of apparatuses, including ideological state apparatuses (I. S. A. s). These are still State apparatuses because their very “private” nature is itself decided by the State [so earlier formulations, including Gramsci’s are suspect]. They function as State apparatuses. , by ideology not by

repression, primarily, although they are interwoven with R. S. A. s. They are unified by the ruling ideology which is revealed in I. S. A. s “precisely in contradictions”. Reproduction occurs through this I. S. A. s. Any force needed is already under the control of the ruling class (including administrators.). The political conditions needed are secured via the I. S. A., via the ruling ideology. As above, this is inevitably contradictory, having to balance ruling class interests against broader interests both national and particular, and having to reconcile ruling class interests with possibly conflicting issues like nationalism, moralism and “economism”.

The basic *difference between RSA and ISA* is that

- RSA functions by violence whereas ISA functions by ideology. Nevertheless, every State Apparatus-whether repressive or ideological functions both by violence and by ideology.
- RSA functions first by repression then by ideology whereas ISA functions first by ideology then by repression.
- A plurality of ISA must exist before the existence of one RSA.
- The ruling class who hold RSAs can also easily decree ISAs. In order to hold State power for a long period, the ruling class should at the same time exercising its hegemony over and in the ISA (146).
- RSA belongs to the public domain whereas the ISA belongs to the private.
- It is easier to lay down the laws in RSA than in ISA.
- RSA is secured by its unified and centralized organization under the leadership of classes in power whereas ISA is secured in contradictory forms by the ruling ideology, the ideology of the ruling class

In so far as Althusser’s theory of the state is functionalist, it has been criticized as involving a sophisticated form of economic reductionism. The problem is that, if the economy is determining in the last instance, then whatever the form and dynamic of contingent, acrually existing capitalist states, ultimately they are irrelevant in relation to the necessity of the reproduction of capitalism itself. In

fact, the term “relative autonomy” is oxymoronic: if autonomy is relative, then ultimately it is not autonomy at all. As Paul Hirst argues, Althusser is trapped by his own question “how is it possible for capitalist social relations to exist?” since there is no general answer to this question which would not involve him in the teleological logic of functionalist explanations. Althusser is searching for the causes of an existing state of affairs which the explanation then takes to be necessary for their existence: in effect, the consequences make the causes necessary (Hirst, 1979: 43-5). The conclusion that Hirst draws from this is that, if the relative autonomy of the state is to be taken seriously, there can be no reduction of the political to the economic: the form of social classes produced as effects of politics must be analyzed as such. As we will see, Post- Marxists have subsequently taken the issue of the autonomy of the political much further than this. In fact, the most influential aspect of Althusser’s work has been the importance he gave to issues of ideology and subjectivity.

Althusser saw the state as working through the repressive institutions of the police and the army, but also through ideology embedded in State institutions for him, a mixture of public and private institutions, including those of education, the family, trade unions, and religion. Althusser saw society as a complex of structures, each with its own dynamic, linked into a totality by the ultimate determination of the economy. The function of ideology is to make individuals into subjects who will fit the positions provided by those structures. Although it is described as consisting of “representations” - ‘images’, myths, ideas or concepts” ideology does not work through the conscious mind, but in an unconscious relation to the world which is lived in social practices, such as religious rituals, political meetings, and so on (Althusser, 1971: 39-44). Althusser’s theory of ideology avoids the pitfalls of the Marxist notion of “false consciousness,” in which people are seen as dupes of the capitalist system, since he does not see ideology as consciousness at all; in his view, ideology is itself material, involving experiences lived in real social practices. However, ideology does involve a degree of mystification in that subjects necessarily live an imaginary relation to their real conditions of existence (Barrett, 1991).

Althusser's lasting influence lies in the way in which he situated ideology as a matter of practices rather than conscious ideas and beliefs and the emphasis he gave to subjectivity as a means of social control. However, the Marxist epistemology which gave him the assurance to assert that subjects systematically misrepresent reality has been rejected. Althusser maintained that Marxism is scientific because it is "open" and "counter-intuitive" where ideology is "closed," and that it draws its problems from politics and practice rather than from critical theory (Benton, 1994: 45-9). This is problematic since Marxism has invariably seemed extremely dogmatic to non-believers, and at the same time it has been driven by factional disputes. Furthermore, it is difficult to draw a distinction between science and ideology according to the "openness" of science given that, following Thomas Kuhn's (1970) extremely influential work on science, even the natural sciences are less concerned with genuinely testing theories than with confirming them. Rejection of a sharp distinction between "true" knowledge and "false" ideology, or indeed knowledge and rhetoric, or knowledge and opinion: is an important feature of the postmodern turn.

CHECK YOUR PROGRESS – I

A. Answer the following questions:

1. Who gave the 'zero sum concept of power'? _____
2. What is hegemony?

3. Which thinker has given importance to ideology and subjectivity in power relations?

4. Who has given arbiter theory of State?

5. In which model, coercive aspect of the state is emphasized?
_____ (Instrumental/Arbiter)

6. According to Marx, it is the _____ relations which ultimately determines all social and political life.

8.4 SUMMARY

The central themes of Marxist political theory are mode of production, class division, and class struggle, property relations, revolution and state as an instrument of class domination. Marxist approaches to power focus on its relation to class domination in capitalist societies. Power is linked to class relations in economics, politics, and ideology. In capitalist social formations, the state is considered to be particularly important in securing the conditions for economic class domination. Marxists are also interested in why dominated classes seem to accept (or fail to recognize) their oppression; so they address issues of resistance and strategies to bring about radical change. Much recent Marxist analysis also aims to show how class power is dispersed throughout society, in order to avoid economic reductionism. Marxism also examined the nature of rights, liberty, equality, justice and democracy but came to the conclusion that in a class divided society, they are the prerogatives of the propertied class. Marxism is often criticized for giving too much emphasis on economic factors, but the changing definition of power and politics in neo Marxist terms has brought a considerable shift by focusing on different factors and variables.

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M.A. SOCIOLOGY

M. A. Sociology

Course No. 405

Lesson -9

Unit-II

WEBERIAN TRADITION

CONTENTS

- 9.1 Introduction
- 9.2 Weber's Analysis of Power and Authority
- 9.3 Theory of State and Bureaucracy
- 9.4 Summary
- 9.5 Model Test Paper
- 9.6 Suggested Readings

OBJECTIVES

After studying this lesson you should be able to:

- understand the concept of power and authority.
- discuss the relationship between state and bureaucratic administration.

9.1 INTRODUCTION

Max Weber is probably the best-known and most influential figure in Sociological theory. Weber's work is so varied and subject to so many interpretations that it has influenced a wide array of sociological theories. He entered the field of sociology through law and remained as one among the great Sociologists of the 20th century. Weber in his life earned varied experiences as a soldier, a professor, a politician, a legal expert, as a historian as an economist

and also as a Sociologist. Weber is prolific writer whose work covers general philosophy, economics, comparative history, religious, law, bureaucracy stratification and so on.

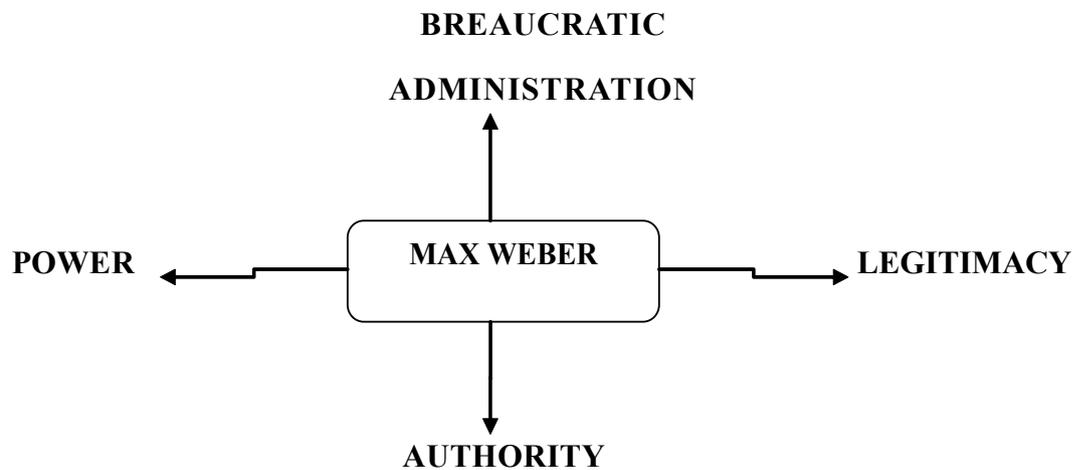
The autonomy of the political at the level of the state is central to Weber's political sociology. In fact, Weber's work stands at the beginning of a tradition of thought which is explicitly anti-Marxist on just this issue of the autonomy of the state and the importance of liberal democratic politics. As a liberal committed to the defense of individual freedom, which he saw threatened in modernity, Weber opposed his work to Marx's economic determinism. He took the concentration of the means of administration in the nation-state to be as important as the concentration of the means of production in capitalism theorized by Marx.

9.2 WEBER'S ANALYSIS OF POWER & AUTHORITY

Power and Authority

In ordinary usage, the term 'power' means strength or the capacity to control. Sociologists describe it as the ability of an individual or group to fulfill its desires and implement its decisions and ideas. It involves the ability to influence and or control the behavior of others even against their will. For Max Weber, power is an aspect of social relationship. It refers to the possibility of imposing on will upon the behavior of another person. Power is present in social interactions and creates situations of inequality since the one who has power imposes it on others. The impact of power varies from situation to situation. On the one hand, it depends on the capacity of the powerful individual to exercise power. On the other hand it depends upon the extent to which it is opposed or resisted by others. Weber says that power can be exercised in all walks of life. It is not restricted to a battle field, or to politics. It is to be observed in the market place, on the lecture platform, at a social gathering, in sports discussions and even through charity. Weber discuss two contrasting sources of power, (1) power which derived from a constellation of interests that develop in a formally free market, (2) one established system of authority that allocates the right to common and duty to obey.

As we saw above Weber defined power in such a way as to suggest that it may be present in all social relations so that politics need not be seen as confined to the single arena of the state. In fact, his definition of politics is also very broad: “[it] comprises any kind of independent leadership in action. Despite these definitions, however, Weber immediately narrowed the field of his analysis to the power and politics of the nation-state. He saw the state as the most powerful institution in modern society since it has gained the legitimate monopoly of force over a given territory, and therefore took politics to involve “striving to share power or striving to influence the distribution of power, either among states. or among groups within a state”. As David Held (1987: 150) points out, Weber’s emphasis on territoriality is crucial; the modern state is a nation-state in competitive relation to other nation-states, rather than with armed segments of its own population. Weberian sociology therefore explicitly shares the propensity of sociology in general, and including Marxism in the ways we have discussed, for taking total societies organized around nation- states as the object of its analysis.



Authority

Weber’s classic definition of the state as an entity which has a monopoly over the use of legitimate coercive power in a given territory is found at the beginning of “Politics as Vocation”. Politics, he in turn, defines as the pursuit of power over the state. Weber’s definition is the following: “The state is seen as the sole grantor of the ‘right’ to physical force. Therefore, ‘politics’ in our case

would mean the pursuit for a portion of power or for influencing the division of power whether it is between states, or between groups of people which the state encompasses.” Following this definition, Weber notes that there are three principles justifying the legitimacy of political domination of the state, and these include traditional authority, charismatic authority, and legal authority. To understand the various aspects of authority Max Weber constructed. Its ideal types in terms of three types of authority. These are traditional, rational and charismatic.

1. *Rational –legal authority*: Under this form of authority, subordinates accept a rule or directive on the basis of its being in conformity with some higher universal principle which they regard as legitimate. It is established in law or written regulations (formally enacted norms) that determine how the society will be governed. This is the form of authority found in workplaces, government, schools, colleges and most major social institutions. Leaders derive their legal authority from the written rules and regulations of political systems. It is this type of authority that characterizes modern bureaucratic organizations. Rational authority rests in the leader’s legal right rather than in family or personal characteristics. Modern bureaucracy operates on this principle. Delegation is rational. It emanates from the political office held by an individual, where he is appointed through the prescribed procedure, such as merit based selection, and not from personal characteristics of the individual holding an office. Rational authority is maintained by laws, decrees, regulation. Legal-rational authority is one that is grounded in clearly defined laws. The obedience of people is not based on the capacity of any leader but on the legitimacy and competence that procedures and laws bestow upon persons in authority. Contemporary society depends on this type of rationalization, as the complexities of its problems require the emergence of a bureaucracy that embodies order and systematization.
2. *Traditional authority*: It is the legitimate power conferred by custom, tradition or accepted practice. Traditional authority is ‘hallowed with time’, like that of a king, an established dynasty or a religious leader. It is based

on an uncodified collective sense that it is proper and longstanding and should therefore be accepted as legitimate. In other words, subjects or subordinates accept commands of their superiors on the basis of precedents, past history or divine origin such as hereditary or dynastic rule. Under this form of authority, delegation is ad hoc and arbitrary. Traditional authority is based on the belief that the society and its values are followed by age and experience. In patriarchal societies, the authority of husbands over wives or of father over his children is obeyed because it is the accepted practice. Similarly, a king or queen is accepted as ruler of a nation simply by virtue of inheriting the crown. For the traditional leader, authority rests in custom or tradition (inherited positions), and not in personal characteristics. It is based upon the belief in the sanctity of age old customs and rules. Traditional authority indicates the presence of a dominant personality. This leader is someone who depends on established tradition or order. While this leader is also a dominant personality, the prevailing order in society gives him the mandate to rule. This type of leadership, however, is reflective of everyday routine and conduct.

3. *Charismatic Authority*: When the subordinates defer to the orders of their superior on the basis of his personal qualities and put themselves under their impact, charismatic authority occurs. Charisma is, therefore, unusual spontaneous and creative of new movements and new structures. The term 'charismatic authority' refers to the power made legitimate by the exceptional personal characteristics of the leader, such as heroism, mysticism, revelations, or magic. A charismatic leader evokes in his followers a desire for sacrifice and devotion. A charismatic leader attracts followers because they judge him or her to be particularly wise or capable. Charisma allows a person to lead or inspire without relying on set rules or traditions. *Charismatic authority* is characterized by exceptional virtue possessed by or attributed to the leader by those who follow him, have confidence in him and are devoted to him. Charismatic authority points to an individual who possesses certain traits that make a leader

extraordinary. This type of leader is not only capable of but actually possesses the superior power of charisma to rally diverse and conflict-prone people behind him. His power comes from the massive trust and almost unbreakable faith people put in him. Charismatic authority is generated by the personality and the myths that surround the individual, like that of Jesus, Mahatma Gandhi, Martin Luther King, Hitler and Pandit Nehru. It may be pertinent to mention that the charismatic authority is socially bestowed and may be withdrawn when the leader is no longer regarded as extraordinary.

9.3 THEORY OF STATE AND BUREAUCRACY

Weber's theory of state is inseparably connected with bureaucracy. Bureaucracy is the most rational, efficient, powerful and hierarchical apparatus of state administration. Specialist training is badly needed, for state administration is imparted on the recruited persons to make them efficient for state administration. In *Economy and Society*, Weber calls bureaucracy the "completely indispensable". Weber has said that the advance of state towards more and more better administration and efficient organisation is closely associated with the superiority of bureaucratic organisation. In his judgment bureaucracy provides technical knowledge and finesse. In fact, the structure of the state stands on the bureaucratic organisation. He further says that with the rise of the complication of economic structure the bureaucracy becomes more indispensable because without bureaucracy the complex economic structure of society cannot be managed or administered. It is beyond the capacity of the politicians to manage the state structure without bureaucrats.

Weber pointed out that bureaucracy was the best administrative form for the rational or efficient pursuit of organizational goals (a) high degree of specialization and clearly-defined division of labor, with tasks distributed as of fiscal duties (b) hierarchical structure of authority with clearly circumscribed areas of command and responsibility, (c) establishment of a formal body of rules to govern the operation of the organization and administration based on written documents, (d) impersonal relationships between organisational members and

the clients (e) recruitment of personal based on ability and technological knowledge, (f) long term employment, promotion on the basis of seniority and merit, (h) fixed salary and separation of private and official income.

State

Weber says: A modern state is a system of administration and law which is modified by state and law and which guides the collective actions of the executive staff; the executive is regulated by statute likewise, and claims authority over members of the association (those who necessarily belong to the association by birth) but within a broader scope over all actively taking place in the territory over which it exercises domination". He describes the state as gaining its power in modernity by concentrating the means of administration in the hands of an absolute monarch, expropriating the "ownership or the means of administration," in a way similar to that described by Marx in the case of workers who are deprived of control of the means production (Weber, 1948b: 81.—2). Officials in modern, rational bureaucracies have little or no control over what they do since the rules and procedures of bureaucracies take on a life of their own, restricting the activities and decisions of those who work in them to the functions of the offices they fill. In this way, bureaucracy forms a "steel hard housing" within which most individuals in modern societies must live and work, since its effects are felt not only by those who work in administration, but also by those who are administered. According to Weber, this form of life is the price that must be paid for living in a highly complex and technically advanced society.

Elements of State

Weber in his *Economy and Society* and also in other works pointed out certain elements of state. Although he did not specially mention the word element we do it for the sake of clarity of discussion. The elements, in fact, constitute the most important parts of his definition. There are, according to Weber, three elements of state:

- Territoriality
- Violence

- Legitimacy

Though Weber has not directly mentioned the term nation-state, the term was quite alive in his mind when he spoke of territoriality. In the earlier centuries, history tells us, the states were involved in internecine warfare and this situation considerably troubled the border and territories of different states. But today the concept of nation-state is very developed and there is not so much problem about the border. Each state can claim certain border and it is more or less respected by other states. *Territoriality* is, thus, a vital element of state in the opinion of Weber.

The second element is *violence*. The state can demand allegiance from citizens and in the situation where some people are reluctant to show allegiance the state does not hesitate to use violent measures. But in the opinion of Weber's force is certainly not the normal or only means of the state". However, the force is a special means the state can use when necessity arises. He says very beautifully, "The state is a relation of men dominating men, a relation supported by means of legitimate violence". It means that the use of force or violence is backed by legitimacy, except state no other political organization is authorized to use force. Hence the force or violence is an important element of state.

The third element is *legitimacy*. Whenever the state uses violence or physical force, it is claimed that there is justifiability behind that use of force and this type of justifiability can conveniently be called legitimacy. The legitimacy is based on any of the following factors. The legitimacy may be a belief. People believe that the state has the power to use force. That is all. This belief prevents people from opposing the use of force. Legitimacy may be based on law, constitution or statute. This occurs when the authority of the state assumes power through democratic or constitutional means. "The legitimacy of the modern state is founded predominantly on legal authority that is commitment to a code of legal regulations". Institutions comprising a modern state can also be regarded as an element. These institutions are many in form and kind. They are political, economic, social, cultural etc. Some of these institutions are directly controlled by the state and some are not. But the institutions are not above the law and authority of

state. They are to act in accordance with the law and regulations made by the state. “The Weberian state is in fact a source of rationality rather than dependent upon or incidental to it. Although all institutions are coercive the state is distinguished from all others because its coercion is legitimate Legitimacy functions through bureau-cracy, the purpose of which is to give society a higher element of rationality. Max Weber tried to apply the concept of legitimacy to the social-political phenomena. He asserted that in a legitimate dominion of any type, legitimacy is based on belief of the people and it elicits obedience. He refers to three types of legitimacy as rational legal, traditional and charismatic. By **rational legitimacy**, Weber implies the belief in the legal pattern of normative rules and the rights of those elevated to the authority under such rules to issue commands. So rational legal legitimacy is inextricably related to ‘an office issuing command.’ By **traditional legitimacy**, Max Weber means the patriarchal and feudal forms of dominion. Here the right of compliance is specifically related to the persons exercising authority on the belief that the person in authority possesses the tightness of the action. Thus the belief of the people here is steeped in highly traditional form which is dominated by customs and usages. By **charismatic legitimacy**, Weber means the uniqueness of the prophets, heroes and other leaders who issue commands. Here the belief of the people is based on the exceptional personality of the person exercising authority.

Therefore, Bureaucratic administration is the only rational way of managing economically and politically differentiated societies since economic enterprises need predictability above all; without it, they cannot calculate in order to ensure profitability. This is why the socialist dream that the state will wither away once the dominant class has been deprived of its power in the ownership of the means of production is more like a nightmare for Weber: to abolish private property would increase the power of the state since there would be no countervailing power of the market, and management of the economy would come entirely under the control of bureaucrats. He does not believe bureaucracy to be an autonomous power unto itself (as Michels does) but rather it is a tool or instrument of power, argues bureaucracy and power are the manifestations of the real material forces that dominate social-economic structure of modern society, to give primacy to

analytic strength of these concepts is to study surface phenomena. With modernization of society and greater legal-rational authority, there is increasing professionalization of leadership, power becomes concentrated in bureaucracies which maintain control over vast human, material and intellectual resources – they have monopoly of expertise and have capacity to carry out or not policies of political leaders (policy administration).

Weber writes “Politics is made with the head, not with the other parts of body, nor the soul”. The most effective politician is one who can excite the emotions of the people who follow, while governing strictly with a cold hard reason the head. But this is a task normal humans cannot do, because they are vain. Weber writes, writes that vanity creates for politicians unique problems because they do indeed control the tools of legitimate violence. Common vanity, Weber writes, means that politicians are tempted to make decisions made based in emotional attachments to followers and sycophants, and not the rational reasoning needed to govern justly and effectively. Weber finds this to be a common characteristic among politicians. As a result, Weber claims, that the danger of politics is rooted in the relationship of the politician to the means of violence which are intrinsic to the state, and which will be misused by any vain politician. This is why Weber emphasizes that the practice of politics so difficult, and not a task for someone who seeks salvation for their eternal soul through the practice of peace and brotherhood. In developing these points, he makes reference to the two kingdoms doctrine of Martin Luther, and the Holy Hindu Upanishads.

Difference between Weber and Marx

Weber differed only marginally from Marx when he defined as a class a category of men who (1) “have in common a specific causal component of their life chances in so far as (2) this component is represented exclusively by economic interests in the possession of goods and opportunities for income, and (3) it is represented under the conditions of the commodity or labor market.” He was even fairly close to Marx’s view, though not necessarily to those of latter-day Marxists, when he stated that class position does not necessarily lead to class-determined economic or political action. He argued that communal class action

will emerge only if and when the “connections between the causes and the consequences of the ‘class situation’ “ become transparent; Marx would have said when a class becomes conscious of its interests, that is, of its relation, as a class, to other classes. Yet Weber’s theory of stratification differs from that of Marx in that he introduced an additional structural category, that of “status group.” Classification of men into such groups is based on their consumption patterns rather than on their place in the market or in the process of production. Weber thought Marx had overlooked the relevance of such categorization because of his exclusive attention to the productive sphere. In contrast to classes, which may or may not be communal groupings, status groups are normally communities, which are held together by notions of proper life-styles and by the social esteem and honor accorded to them by others. Linked with this are expectations of restrictions on social intercourse with those not belonging to the circle and assumed social distance toward inferiors. In this typology we again find Weber’s sociological notion of a social category as dependent on the definition that others give to social relationships. A status group can exist only to the extent that others accord its members prestige or degrading, which removes them from the rest of social actors and establishes the necessary social distance between “them” and “us.

Although Weber saw himself as a neutral social scientist, his political sociology has a normative dimension. He is concerned to analyze representative democracy as it actually works in modern societies, arguing the ideal of participatory democracy cannot be practiced in large-scale; complex societies. On the other hand, however, he is also concerned that democracy may be the only way in which the “steel-hard housing” of modern bureaucratic power can be broken. Clearly, the elite administration that must run modern societies cannot be directly accountable to the masses; this would make for inefficiency and unpredictability, especially given what Weber sees as the irrationality and ignorance of the general population. Democracy is important, nevertheless, primarily because elections provide testing grounds for charismatic leaders who are then given the mandate of the people and who can establish the goals the bureaucrats are to realize. Such leaders offer the only chance of overriding the

bureaucratic machinery (Giddens, 1972: 38~9). More, conventionally, democracy is important because, even if it only offersthe opportunity to dismiss the ineffective from office, it thereby provides a certain degree of protection for the people. Unlike Marx, Weber located power in a variety of social spaces including both economic and noneconomic contexts. For Weber, power was rooted in formalized social systems such as organizations or bureaucracies, as well as in social institutions such as religion and law.

In Weber's view, democracy is less the rule of the people than the rule of an elite which combines exceptional leaders and bureaucratic experts. Political sociologists have been inspired by Weber's view of liberal democratic politics. Elite theorists tend to see democracy as working along the lines proposed by Weber (Maish, 1995: 285); and, although the history of its intellectual development has not been thoroughly traced, there are affinities between pluralist theories and Weber's View that there are many sources of power, not just the economy, and that elites do not rule supreme but can be challenged by organized groups in the political process (Held, 1987: 187). However, it has been re-thought in ways which represent a break with this Weberian tradition. Ironically, this is because new political sociologists take seriously Weber's own view that power is extensive across the social and extend this to analyze politics beyond the nation state. “

Therefore, with regard to the analysis of power in society, Weber again introduces a pluralistic notion. Although he agrees with Marx in crucial respects, he refines and extends Marx's analytical scheme. For Marx, power is always rooted, even in only in the “last analysis,” in economic relations. Those who own the means of production exercise political power either directly or indirectly. Weber agreed that quite often, especially in the modern capitalist world, economic power is the predominant form. But he objects that “the emergence of economic power may be the consequence of power existing on other grounds.” For example, men who are able to command large-scale bureaucratic organizations may wield a great deal of economic power even though they are only salaried employees. Weber understand by power: the chance of a man, or a number of men “to realize their own will in communal action, even against the resistance of others.” He shows that the basis from which such power can be exercised may vary

considerably according to the social context, that is, historical and structural circumstance. Hence, where the source of power is located becomes for Weber an empirical question, one that cannot be answered by what he considers Marx's dogmatic emphasis on one specific source. Moreover, Weber argues, men do not only strive for power to enrich themselves. "Power, including economic power, may be valued 'for its own sake.' Very frequently the striving for power is also conditioned by the social 'honor' it entails."

CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

1. Which of the following is a characteristic of the ideal-type bureaucracy as described by Weber?
a) Specialization b) Hierarchy c) Impersonality
d) All of the above.
2. What is the name of the sociologist who stated, "sociology is a science which attempts the interpretative understanding of social action" ?
a) Emile Durkheim b) August Comte c) Max Weber
d) Talcott Parsons.
3. _____ has the control over the use of legitimate coercive power.
4. Which type of authority is based on laws, rules and regulations?

5. According to Max Weber, the legitimacy of governments in modern societies stems from:
a) charismatic authority. b) divine right. c) traditional authority
d) legal-rational authority e) political authority.

9.4 CONCLUSION

However, it may be that Weber's view of power and politics is problematic in terms of his own sociological theory. Despite his belief in democracy as a way of mitigating the power of bureaucracy; Weber was generally pessimistic, seeing the polar night of icy darkness" in which individual freedom is highly constrained by impersonal administration as a likely outcome of the development of modern societies (Weber, 1948a: 128). But this pessimism is linked to his view that the majority of the population is uninterested in and ignorant of, political matters. It is certainly the case that there is widespread apathy concerning party political matters; the proportion of the population in Western liberal democracies who use their vote is in steady decline. On the other hand, the growth of social "movements means that, if one looks at politics in the wider sense, members of society may be involved in political struggles where they see issues as having a direct impact on their lives. While we should not ignore the tendencies toward organizational atrophy that Weber identified, if we take the wider view of politics we must see individuals as much more actively engaged in remaking the social than he was able to discern from within the terms of the political sociology he founded.

9.5 MODEL TEST PAPER

1. Who viewed power is extensive across the social and extends this to analyze politics beyond the nation state. " ?
2. Define power.
3. Define Authority.
4. Name the three elements of State.
5. Explain the features of Bureaucracy.
6. Difference between Power and Authority.

9.6 SUGGESTED READINGS

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M.A. SOCIOLOGY

M. A. Sociology

Course No. 405

Lesson -10

Unit-II

ELITE AND PLURALIST THEORY

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OBJECTIVES

The main thrust of this unit is to:

- understand how power is distributed in society, how politics is socially organized, and how significant individuals, groups, organizations, and the state are.
- discuss the contribution of classical and contemporary thinkers in the development of new ways of conceptualizing the nature of power in society.

10.1 INTRODUCTION

Elite theory in political sociology was advanced in direct response to Marxism. It rejected the idea of Communist Utopia Marxism as an ideology rather than an objective analysis of society. Elite theory was first developed by two Italian Sociologist Wilfred Pareto and Gaetano Mosca. Elite theorists are concerned with the question of how and why it is that a minority must always rule over a majority, a fact which they 'see as inevitable in any society. Political elite theorists are above all concerned with the decision-makers in society, those they see as holding power as a cohesive, relatively self-conscious group. Modern elite theorists have been extremely influential in political sociology. Joseph Schumpeter, in particular, has been an important figure as a popularizer of Robert Michel's ideas on political parties and Weber's theory of democracy. He influenced the generation of sociologists and political scientists involved in the professionalization of the discipline in the 1950s, especially in the United States. According to Bottomore (1993: 28), so great was these influence that, for some time afterwards, political scientists in particular took electoral politics and voting behavior as the only worthwhile topic of study to the exclusion of the substance of political conflicts.

10.2 ORIGIN OF ELITE THEORY

The term '*Elite*' was derived from French, it means '*something excellent*'. Accordingly, the elite tend to divide society into 'excellent' and 'ordinary' people who are placed in different positions. The elite theorists believe in the theory of inequality of mankind. In other words they believe that whereas all men are equal in the eyes of God, they are not equal in the eyes of men. The Elites, therefore, are the chosen element of the people, who come to top position either by their ability or economic status, control of economic and natural resources and even physical strength. In the political sociology the concept of elite theory referred in the two broad categories: (1) the selected few, who are capable and, therefore, have the right to supreme leadership, and (2) the vast mass of people who are destined to be ruled. The term 'elite' is derived from fundamental and universal fact of social life.

Elites may be defined 'as persons who, by virtue of their strategic locations in large or otherwise pivotal organisations and movements, are able to affect political outcomes regularly and substantially. They consist not only of prestigious and 'established' leaders-top politicians, important business men, high-level civil servants, senior military officers but also, in varying degrees in different societies. Some of the theorists traced out this concept to the philosophers like Plato and Aristotle. Plato talked of the rule of a philosopher king- a person who was gifted with reason and capacity to rule. Whereas Aristotle held that some persons were fit to rule while others fit to be ruled. Elite at present consist of those persons who sit at the top of society over others by virtue of their superior qualities. It is a name given to a group emerged in every social level. In other words, Elite consists of those successful persons who rise to top in every occupation and stratum of society. The elites are, therefore, always in minority yet they take all major decisions and ensure that these are implemented. They command social respect, prestige, status, position and authority and control all the sources of distribution. Moreover each one from among the elite tries to pose that he represents the feelings of the group to which he belongs. The concept of elite is, therefore, used to describe certain fundamental features of organized social life. The basic factor is that a minority within a social collectivity-society,

state, party, occupation, business, etc.,-exercise a preponderant influence. The political Elites are, therefore, those who come to prominence in the political field by virtue of their superior qualities.

The theories of the elitist have been a dominant theme in the history of western thought since the turn of the last century in general and in the United States in the years following the world war second in particular. They have attracted the attention of the political of the political scientists and the sociologists all over the world, especially those who are interested in the studies of distribution of power, influence and decision making authority in the society. No single universally accepted elite theory has emerged as yet. These are, therefore , elite theories.

Some studies mention that there is single power elite drawn from economic class which provides leadership to other elements in the political community. Other rejects this view and favor a pluralist model where power is diffused among many interest groups competing for it. Many other theories based on a fusion of the elitist and pluralist theories. Classical texts on the elite though believe that in each society there is a single cohesive Elite group which dominate the affairs of the society and not controlled by any other group or groups. This group comprised politicians plus civil servants plus economists. In other words classical thinkers believed in the monistic view of Elitism i.e. a single elite group.

Contemporary intellectuals of elite theory, on the other hand, believe that there exist many elite groups in a society and leadership emerges because of competition among them. That is there exist a competition among members of Elite groups. In simple words they believe in the pluralistic version of Elite theory. But the common point in both of the views is that there exists a minority of people who influence decisions and control powers. It has, however, been argued that these theories are not only relevant but vital for understanding of powers structure and power processes in any country of whatever variety it might be. The core of the elitism is that in any society there is and must be a minority of the population which makes the major decisions in the society and rule over the majority. This minority, called political class or governing elite includes the wider circle of those who influence governmental decisions as well as those who formally decide politics.

This minority gains its dominant position by means beyond ordinary elections. Its influence may be due to its embodying certain social or religious values hereditary or certain personal qualities.

Theoretical interest in elites actually goes quite far back, but the work of Vilfred Pareto (1848- 1923), Gaetano Mosca (1858-1941), and Robert Michel (1876-1936) represent what has to become regarded the classics of elite theory. Their efforts were the first to address systematically the role of elites in modern societies, and their work is today collectively referred to as the “Italian School” of elite theory. As for their understanding of social elites, all three claimed that the cleavage between elites and non-elites represents the most fundamental social and political division in modern societies. Consequently, they regarded this cleavage not merely as a question of hierarchical stratification separating elites from non-elites, but also as a source of social momentum, capable of driving social conflict and profound social change.

10.3 PARETO’S THEORY OF ELITE

Vilfredo Pareto (1848-1923), an Italian sociologist, in his ‘The Mind and Society’ (1915-19) used the term ‘elite’ to indicate a superior social group, i.e. a group of people who show highest ability in their field of activity whatever its nature might be. It was a minority group which took all major decisions in society. The other part of society which fell short of this level of ability was termed as mass of the people, or masses. Masses are characterized by the lack of qualities of leadership as well as the fear from responsibility. They feel that in public life it would be safe to follow the elite.

The basic assumption is that that individuals invariably differ from one another in their basic abilities. In other words, there are biological differences which resulted in inequalities of men and thus, makes inequality inevitable in the society. Some individual are, therefore, superior in their attributes while others possesses inferior abilities. The former class of superior abilities constitutes the elite. They are known for their qualities of head and heart; capacity to initiate, execute and plan; and dominate all sections of society-social, economic and political in one way or the other. For Pareto, elite is a value free term. It includes

all those who score highest on scales measuring any social value or commodity such as power, riches, knowledge etc. but by the term elite he means the strongest, the most energetic, and most capable-for all good as well evil. Though he was mostly dealing with economic and political elites, yet he was ready to extend the use of the term to religion (the most holy); to art (the most artistic) and to ethics (the most virtuous). In other words, elite means all those who constitute the higher stratum in society. He points out that the higher stratum of the society comprised of two classes- *Governing Elite and Non-governing Elite*. Governing Elites comprise of individuals who directly or indirectly play a considerable part on government, whereas Non-governing Elites are comprised of the rest i.e. masses. Pareto is convinced that the study of historical change very largely revolves round the study of Elites. He further points out that the events and decisions among the elites have more consequences for the history of a society than events and decisions among its great masses. But he was not concerned with non-governing Elites, who might have influence on the government. In the first chapter of his book “the Rise and Fall of the Elites” Pareto mentions several laws or propositions. Out of them first two are most important. Firstly, he points out that the great parts of human actions have their origin not in logical reasoning but in sentiments. Secondly, man although impelled to act by non-logical motives yet he ties his action logically to certain principles. That he invents a posteriori in order to justify his actions. He adds that psychologically all human actions are the combinations of ‘Residues’ and ‘Derivations’. Pareto locates six residues, which means the major motivation of action.

- (1) Combination i.e. the tendency to invent and embark on adventures. In other words the quality of cunningness like that of fox.
- (2) Persistence of preservation i.e. the tendency to consolidate and make secure. In other words, to have strength, the quality to fight, force like lion.
- (3) Expressiveness i.e. tendency to make feelings manifest through symbolization.
- (4) Sociability tendency to affiliate with others.
- (5) Integration tendency to maintain a good self-images; and (6) Sex tendency to see social events in erotic terms. He is of the view that the first two residues are dominant in Elite. The main point of the discussion is that by

means of the two residues i.e. combination-the quality of cunningness of fox and preservation-the lion's like persistence or use of force, Elite keeps himself in power. But in order to rationalize or justify his actions (or use of force) he takes recourse to derivations or myths which help him to dupe the masses.

Derivations, according to him, are the ways by which actions are made to assume the appearance of logical actions. They are expressed mostly through speeches. Pareto, has however, classified derivations in the following four categories: Assertion, Appeals to authority, Appeals to sentiments or principles, Verbal proofs.

Circulation of Elites

While pointing out that "History is a graveyard of aristocracies" he has propounded his well known concept, "The Circulation of Elites". 'Circulation of Elites' may refer to a process in which individuals circulate between the elite and the non-elite strata. It may also refer to process in which one elite is replaced by other elite. Pareto, therefore, not only distinguished between elites and non-elites but also suggested the idea of a circulation of Elites in which one elite replaces another as aristocracies decay or regenerate. There might also be mobility from a non elite stratum to an elite stratum or governing class of people who rule directly or indirectly. This simply means that new men of money or power replace the old ones. He has put this idea in a phrase of Marx's dictum of history 'the history of man is the history of the continuous replacement of elites-as one ascends, another declines. Pareto account for this process. He has listed among the cause of this historical change, war and differential fertility. War tends to kill a higher proportion of elites than of the general populations. Elite must sometimes embark on inviting actions and sometime on consolidating actions. When they fail to do so, they are replace by new elites. The circulation of elites is almost always aided and accompanied by rising religious humanitarian sentiments. In such a climate, the existing elite becomes softer, milder more humane and less apt to defend its own power. If the innovators already dominate at such a stage; it spells doom for the elites. The rising elite is also subject to speech habits

justifying its drive to power (derivations) and these are also molded by the same rising religions-humanitarian sentiments. Thus, the wheel takes full turn. The elite is then established and the process can start all over again.

Pareto presents another dimension of the 'Circulation of Elite'. He regards elites as representing definite social interests. The circulation of elites, therefore, occurs with the decline of established interests and the emergence of new ones in the society. He observes, "in the beginning military, religious and commercial aristocracies and plutocracies must have constituted parts of the governing elite and sometimes have made up the whole of it'. He then mentions the rise of new elites such as industrial workers producing trade union elites.

10.4 GAETANO MOSCA'S THOERY OF ELITE

Gaetano Mosca, another Italian scholar, further developed the theory of Elite in his book "The Ruling Class" According to him it is wrong to believe that the societies are governed by majority or that majority decision or rule in any way prevails. He is of the view that every society is governed by minority either in the form of oligarchy, or aristocracy or elite. He is also of the opinion that whatever may be the form of government no state is ever governed by the masses. Similarly states are also not ruled by single individual how so ever powerful he may be, but these are always ruled by a group of people who manage to go near the centre of power or become themselves as centre of power and the others try to go near them. According to him in all societies –from societies that are very nearly developed and have barely attained the dawning's of civilization, down to the most advanced and powerful societies-two classes of people appear- a class that rules and a class that is ruled. The first class, always the less numerous, performs all political functions, monopolizes power and enjoys the advantages that power brings, whereas the second, the more numerous class, is directed and controlled by the first, in a manner that is now more or less legal, now more or less arbitrary and violent. He further adds that the second class supplies the first, in appearance at least with material means of subsistence and with the instrumentalities at least with material means of subsistence and with the

instrumentalities that are essential to the vitality of the political organism. He, therefore, refers to two political facts.

Firstly, in every political organization, there is one individual who is chief among the leaders of the ruling class under special circumstances two or three may discharge the functions of supreme control. He or they may not hold power according to law.

Secondly, in every political organism, pressures arising from the discontent of the masses that are governed, from the persons by which they are swayed, exert a certain amount of influence on the policies of the ruling, the political class.

Mosca explains the rule of the minority over the majority by the fact that the former is organized, obeys single impulse and thus its domination over the unorganized minority is inevitable. It is difficult for the majority to organize. The larger the political community, the more difficult will it be for the majority to organize itself for reaction against the minority. The ruling minorities, on the other hand, are distinguished from the masses by the qualities they possess. Either they have certain material, intellectual or even more superiority of they are the heirs of individuals who possessed such qualities. They are, therefore, most influential in the society in which they live. Mosca says that a hereditary care, after gaining a dominating defacto status turns into a de jure power holder. Like Pareto, Mosca also says that governing class justifies its actual exercise of power by resting it on some universal moral principles.

Mosca attaches a great deal of importance to what he calls the “political formula”. Mosca’s political formula is equivalent to Pareto’s “derivations”. In every society, he believes, the governing elite tries to find moral and legal basis for its being in the citadels of power and represents it as “ the logical and necessary consequence of doctrine and beliefs that are generally recognized and accepted”. The political formula may not, and generally does not, embody absolute truth. It may as well be merely a plausible myth which is accepted by the people. Mosca is not prepared to accept that it is nothing but plain and simple fraud cleverly contrived by the ruling class in order to dupe the masses into subjection. The

fact that the policies of the ruling class, even though formulated in its own interests, are covered in a moral and legal grab satisfies, according to Mosca, a definite social need and gratifies a deeply felt human requirement that man should be governed on the basis of some moral principle, and not by mere physical force it also serves as a factor in the unification of political institutions, people and civilizations. Mosca would, therefore, regard it as an instrument of moral cohesion. The political class also undergoes changes in its membership, ordinarily by the recruitment of new individual members from the lower strata of the society, sometimes by the incorporation of new social groups and occasionally by the complete replacement of the established elite by a 'counter elite' as exists in revolution.

Mosca, however, takes a modest view of the use of force and prefers change through persuasion. He, therefore, advises the governing elites to bring about gradual alteration in the political system in order to make it conform to changes in the public opinion. He was also in favour of multiplicity of social forces. He also introduced the concept of sub-elites composing civil servants, manager of industries, scientists and scholars and treats it as a vital element in the society.

10.5 ROBERT MICHEL'S IRON LAW OF OLIGARCHY

Robert Michel -an Italian sociologist and disciple of Mosca –reveals another dimension of the elite phenomenon in his work "*Political Parties-Sociological Study of Modern Democracy*". He made a deep study of the European Socialist political parties and trade union, especially German Socialist party and found them oligarchic in their power dynamics. He argues that democracy is unconceivable without organization. In a complex society people can, effectively voice demands only by joining together and forming organisations. But organisations are antithetical to democracy. Rank and file cannot take decision because issues are complex and they demand specialized knowledge which they do not possess. Decisions, are therefore, left to the executive committee and people are left with no say except to fall in line with decision of small groups. Organisations, therefore, invariably produce oligarchy. This is how he calls the

‘iron law of oligarchy’. In other words, he purposes a law governing all social organisations and calls it as “The iron law of oligarchy.”

The following two sets of factors are responsible for the phenomenon of concentration of power in the hands of ruling minority:

- (I) Organization
- (II) Psychological

In organization power drifts slowly from those who are holding it to those who are skilled and technical and this happens with the active assistance of bureaucracy. For him central principle of elitism that power gives birth to more power and those who enjoy power usually remain politically neutral unless involved as actual participant in political activities by interests people, who motivate them to act in a particular direction. Michel’s was of the opinion that flattery and oratory are two powerful weapons with the elites, who tries to win over the people by justifying their actions. Even if certain laws are passed by the legislatures to weaken their power and to keep them under control, these are not effectively implemented simply because the people show their indifference towards such laws.

Therefore, Michels took the concentration of power in the hands of elite to be a necessary outcome of complex organizations. He is responsible for the emphasis in empirical political sociology on analyzing the dynamics of party politics. His famous “iron law of oligarchy” states that, in modern societies, parties need to be highly organized and so inevitably become oligarchic, being hierarchically run by party leaders and bureaucracy such that the bulk of members are excluded from decision-making. He was critical of this process, although he saw it as tragically inevitable. As a socialist, he was disappointed that socialist parties would be unable to realize their democratic ideals, unlike Weber and Schumpeter for whom bureaucratic and hierarchical parties are the only means by which political leadership of large scale societies can emerge.

10.6 CONTRIBUTION OF CONTEMPORARY POLITICAL SOCIOLOGISTS

Empirical changes would not be sufficient, however, to create a new approach to political sociology if there were not also new theoretical tools with which to make sense of them. The contemporary political sociology had new paradigm of thinking and the focus has shifted away from how society affects the state, incorporation different dimensions of politics and society.

10.6.1 Joseph Schumpeter: ‘Capitalism, Socialism and Democracy’

Developing Michel’s thesis, Joseph Schumpeter saw democracy as nothing but competition between political parties whose elite members deal in votes, just as businessmen deal in commodities. It does not, and should not, mean rule by the people; it is rather a method for arriving at political decisions by means of a competitive Struggle for the people’s vote. Once elected, professional politicians must be allowed to rule, assisted by a strong independent bureaucracy of expert administrators, since the stability of the political system requires respect for the judgment of elected representatives.

10.6.2 C.W Mills: ‘The Power Elite (1956)’

A radical version of Weberian elite theory is the institutional elite theory proposed by C. W Mills. He does not believe in the psychological basis of elite rule but explains it in absolutely institutional terms and does not agree that the members of elite necessarily possess superior institutional traits. Rather he stressed that the structure of the institutions in a society is such that those occupying position in the institutional hierarchy are of key significance and those who are holding positions command in them hold power in the society. In other words he believes that power in a society is attached to institutions and defines the power elite. Mills argues that the American society is dominated by these power elite which are of unprecedented power. Power elite make momentous decisions without any reference to the people. It is not accountable to any one and the people are subjected to ‘instruments of psychic management and manipulation’. The power Elite skillful controls the mass media and manipulates it to make man in the mass think and act what it likes.

In Mill's view, the elitism of the US in the twentieth century is a serious hindrance to democracy rather than the factor that makes it possible and viable. As he sees it, power has become concentrated and unified in the elites of three institutions in the US: the military, the corporate, and the political; the connections between them having been strengthened by the growth of a permanent war establishment in a privatized incorporated economy since World War II. This concentration, combined with the one-way communication of the mass media as it is organized by elites, makes the ordinary citizens ignorant and rather complacent, although fitfully miserable, about the extent to which they lack control over their lives.

10.6.3 Ralph Milliband: 'The State in Capitalist Society'

Mill's argument is similar to that of Marxist elite theorists, notably Ralph Milliband, for whom the capitalist class assures its reproduction by means of the close links it enjoys with the leaders of such powerful institutions as political parties, the civil service, the media, and the military. They differ, however, in that Mill refuses to see the power elite as necessarily unified by virtue of its economic class position and social background, arguing that the shared interests and perspective of its members are the contingent product of particular historical developments. Marxists, of course, explain the unity of the elite in terms of the interests of capitalism.

However, a comparison of Milliband and Mill's studies clearly reveals the convergence of Weberian and Marxists on the issue of the relative autonomy of the state. For Milliband, like Other nee-Marxists, the state must be able to separate itself from the immediate interests of ruling-class factions if it is to be effective in ensuring the interests of capitalism in the long run (Held, 1987: 207); while for Mills, as for other Weberian, however much it is conditioned by elite decisions taken elsewhere, the political elite of the state has its own effectively.

10.7 CHANGING DEFINITION OF POLITICS & POWER

New political sociologists share with elite theorists an interest in how certain groups are excluded from the political process. In common with critical

elite theorists, they see this exclusion as a problem which prevents the realization of the ideals of democracy, rather than, like Schumpeter and Weber, the solution to the difficulties of democratic political participation in modern societies. However, once the problem is framed in different terms, it is possible to be: somewhat more optimistic about the possibilities of making the political process more inclusive. Rethinking the scope of politics also makes it possible to re think the terms of democracy. Unlike elite theory, new political sociology tends not to be so concerned with the division between executive and administrative leaders and rank and file members of organizations and institutions. In a fragmented and pluralistic society, divided along lines of gender, ethnicity, sexuality, and so on, it cannot be supposed that it is solely, or even mainly, a result of an elite's monopolization of the machinery of decision-making that social groups are excluded from power. In the terms, Michel's puts forward, for example, it might be the case ' that in a political party both the elite and the ordinary members share an interest in excluding women from decision-making. How an organization or institution is structured in terms of exclusion depends on the perspective from which it is examined, the specific historical moment, the context within which decisions are made, and the particular constructions of interest in play at that particular time and in that particular place. It is important for political sociologists to look at all these aspects, and the way in which different lines of exclusion interact with and over-determine each other, rather than assuming in advance that differences in decision-making power are the sole, or even the main, dimension of exclusion.

As Dowse and Hughes point out, it is implicit in all elite theory that the real interests of members of organizations and institutions are opposed to those of the elite. If both groups have common interests, it is not evident that elite would be anything more than a number of individuals holding the top positions in society. From a post-structuralist perspective, "interests" are always socially constructed, there is no possible appeal to the way things are which is not already steeped in assumptions, values, and beliefs. This does not mean, as Terry Eagleton (1991) mistakenly argues, that no possible claims can be made on behalf of an oppressed group. It means only that such claims cannot be grounded in an appeal

to “reality,” that interests are only “real” from a particular political perspective. On this understanding, any claim based on “real interests” is part of a political project; it cannot be seen as based on a neutral, scientific theory, in touch with the objective social world. In terms of elite theory, this means that there is no necessary objective opposition of between elite and mass. There may well be a division of labor, but it is contingent on the construction of interests within the organization or institution, not the “real” interests of its “members. Furthermore, how that opposition is constructed will also depend on the perspective from which the analysis was carried out, and its representation of those interests must itself be analyzed as political.

10.8 SUMMARY

Elite theory has tended to approach studies of democratic processes from a conservative perspective, radical and Marxist elite theorists notwithstanding. Schumpeter’s work has not only focused attention on electoral politics as if they were politics tout court, it has also led to “actually existing” democracy being taken as more or less perfect instrument of rule, with scope for only minor technical improvements. In effect, for empirical political sociologists -the charge is less valid in the case of more conceptual and normative work -a limited view of what politics involves has been strongly linked to a limited view of what democracy must be if it is to be practicable and to allow for stable government. The state centric view of power and politics held by elite theorists is linked to their understanding of mass society consisting of a passive, ignorant and apathetic population, technically incompetent to participate fully in politics, according to competitive elitists, and continually deceived as to its real interests, according to more critical versions. Once politics is seen as matter of everyday life, however, the emphasis changes completely. New political sociologists see society itself as cut across with inequities of power, any of which may be politicized and therefore become the focus of contestation. Far from being passive, social agents are seen as engaged in remaking their own identities and the institutions of their everyday lives.

10.9 PLURALIST THEORY

Unlike elite theory, pluralism tends to see citizens as actively involved in politics. This brings it closer to the concerns of new political sociology. In fact, post-structuralist political sociology has been compared to pluralism as if the two were indistinguishable. It is undoubtedly the case that they have a good deal in common. Nevertheless, pluralism also shares certain features of mainstream sociology, including, ultimately, a commitment to a state centric view of politics.⁷ As pluralists see it, politics is a matter of competing interest groups, none of which can dominate completely over any of the others since all have access to resources of different kinds. Furthermore, they see the state itself as a set of competing and conflicting institutions, rather than a monolithic entity which exerts its power over the rest of society (Smith, 1995: 211). For this reason they avoid the term, preferring to think in terms of government. Similarly, the ‘people’ in a democracy is not a unified whole with a single will to be exerted, far less an apathetic, incompetent mass which needs to be ruled by an elite. Democratic politics involves endless bargaining in order to influence government policy, which is nothing more than a compromise between the differing interest groups involved in the political process.

Some pluralists prefer to avoid the term “elite” and refer to the “active minority” (Truman) or “homo politicos” (Dahl). But they do recognize the importance of leadership groups, especially within pressure groups. Arnold Rose, the leading defender of pluralism within sociology, recognized the necessity of using terms like “elite” and “leaders” and admitted that there is a small active core in any group. However, pluralists do not accept the strict dichotomy between “elite” and “mass”; instead they argue that there is a gradation from highly active to relatively inactive members in any group. And again, they emphasize limitations placed on the elite’s freedom of action. Interest-group leaders must satisfy their constituents that they are doing a reasonable job, and they must conform to limitations on what they can do. They may resort to internal propaganda in attempts to influence their members, but the effectiveness of this is limited unless they “deliver the goods” to their supporters. If the membership becomes incensed because of some change in government policy, or because of a change in social

conditions, they may compel the leaders to take militant action. Pluralism is a theory that centers on the idea of how power is distributed. The pluralist model indicates that power is distributed among many groups. These groups may include coalitions of like-minded people, unions, professional associations and business lobbyists. The percentages of average people that make up these groups are small, so in theory, the public acts as bystanders in the pluralist model of power. The pluralists believe that:

1. Power is dispersed and fragmented.
2. Groups provide a more effective means of representation.
3. The larger the group the more influence it will have.
4. Policies are established through bargaining and compromise and tend to be fair to all in the end.

In response to their critics, pluralists have revised what has been taken as an excessively naive view of the openness of liberal democratic politics. Neo-pluralists see elites, and especially corporate elites, as having a greater degree of influence than other groups on government policy; they take it that this may not be openly and mostly exerted in the political process and that it may constrain the effective influence of other interest groups. In this respect, in neo-pluralism, there is a convergence between neo Marxism, pluralism and radical elite theory.

However, neo-pluralists do not fully endorse the presuppositions of elite theory; instead, they argue that the elite are not unified, nor is it capable of manipulating and deceiving the citizens into accepting elite rule. On the pluralist view, elites must be seen as existing only in so far as they are genuinely responsive to the interest groups they purport to serve. Neo pluralists also depart from the assumptions of neo-Marxists: although business may on occasion subvert the democratic process, this is a contingent matter: politics at the level of the State is primary and so it cannot be the case that the State is ultimately driven by the interests of any particular group, including the capitalist class. Those political sociologists who participate in the “postmodern turn “ share with pluralists an understanding of politics as central to social life and as independent of the State.

Society is seen as made up of a multiplicity of self-defining groups who do not owe their existence, nor their identity and power, to the political process at the level of the state.

Furthermore, for post-structuralists, in particular, there is no natural essence to these groups: they are seen as com structured in alliances and conflicts with others, not as based on intrinsically shared “real” interests or characteristics. In fact, there are “cross-cutting solidarities” between groups, as individuals belong to more than one depending on how they experience their political identity in different social contexts. Finally, both pluralists and post structuralists argue against totalizing conceptions of a unified society with sovereignty residing in the nation-state: the lines of division, the over-determination of political identities, and the mobilization of power and resources across the social cannot simply be added together into one unified domain with a single sovereign center. However, ultimately, pluralists share the definition of politics held by other mainstream political sociologists to which political sociologists informed by the “postmodern turn” are opposed. Pluralists are interested in the plurality of interest groups which form and reform in the social only in so far as they orient their demands to governmental institutions. Although the state is seen as little more than the” arena in which social groups engage in political conflict, it is only in so far as these conflicts takes place at the level of the state that they are ‘treated as political. By definition, for pluralists there is no politics outside the state.

This limited pluralist definition of politics is linked to a restricted definition of power which, although wider than that of other schools in traditional political sociology, nevertheless makes it impossible to see the construction and contestation of social identities as political. Although pluralists do not take the interests of the social groups, they study as given their definitions of power and politics prevent them from seeing the formation and contestation of political identities in the social field as political and lead them to focus only on the way in which individuals try to maximize their interests at the level of government. In this respect the pluralist perspective remains within the framework of the old political sociology. A theory of politics of this kind cannot begin to grasp the asymmetries of power between classes, races, and men and women which have been politicized

by the activities of new social movements since the 1960s, pluralists were, in fact, extremely surpassed by this development.

10.10 ROBERT DAHL: ‘WHO GOVERNS?’

Dahl (1956: 13) defines *power* as “a realistic . . . relationship, such as A’s capacity for acting in such a manner as to control B’s responses.” This presupposes an already constituted social actor who is in possession of power such that he or she is able to control the effects produced. In his best-known work, *Who Governs?: Democracy and Power in an American City* (1961), a study of power dynamics in New Haven, Connecticut, Dahl argued that political power in the United States is pluralistic. He thus rebutted power-elite theorists such as C. Wright Mills and Floyd Hunter, who had described the United States as a country ruled by a small group of interconnected individuals occupying key positions of power. In his study, Dahl found that while power was distributed unequally in New Haven, it was also dispersed among a number of groups in competition with each other, rather than monopolized by a single elite group.

Dahl introduced the term ‘*polyarchy*’ to characterize American politics and other political systems that are open, inclusive, and competitive (Polyarchy, 1971). The concept allowed him to make a distinction between an ideal system of democracy and institutional arrangements that approximate this ideal. Thus, polyarchies are based on the principle of representative rather than direct democracy and therefore constitute a form of minority rule, yet they are also (imperfectly) democratized systems that limit the power of elite groups through institutions such as regular and free elections.

10.11 DAVID TRUMANN: ‘THE GOVERNMENT PROCESS’

The most important statement of pluralist theory is given by Truman. David Truman, and Robert Dahl, stressed a notion of pluralism as a system of indirect democracy characterized by interest-group competition and a balance of power. Purportedly open to all citizens and overseen by enlightened elites, these groups engaged in bargaining and compromise over rational, limited ends.

According to him, group is the basic unit of political life. Man is a social animal. Groups will be formed if they interact frequently based in their similar characteristics. Interest groups are those that based on shared attitudes make certain claims, upon other groups in the society for the establishment, maintenance or enhancement of forms of behavior related to those interests. When these claims are done through or upon any of the institutions of the government, it becomes a political interest group. The governmental process can be understood if the role played by interest groups is fully recognized. The essence of politics is the controversy and conflict derived from the interest groups' activities. The competition among them will help the policy-making process. The government plays an active role in establishing the conditions for interest groups to act. Groups who are threatened will take action. One of the most important types of interest groups is the 'Association'. These are formed when a considerable number of people have similar tangent relations. The purpose of the association is to regulate the relationship of tangent groups.

CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

A) Answer in one word/ sentence:

1. Who has written the book 'Political Parties'? _____
2. The term elite is derived from _____
3. Define Elite.
4. Who talked about Governing and non governing elites?
5. Name the famous work by Mosca, wherein he gave the elite theory.
6. Pluralists believed that power is _____
7. Polyarchy means _____.

10.12 CONCLUSION

Pluralism is the most comprehensive of the three major models in political sociology. The pluralist approach to the study of politics and society is based on the assertion that power is distributed throughout society among a “plurality” of power centers. These power centers include political parties, interest groups, voters, associations, and a variety of other social actors. According to pluralism, these various centers within society compete for power. Thus, pluralism finds that power is fragmented, often changing as one group wins and another loses, and that coalitions are formed only to fall apart over time. The pluralist framework essentially views power as balanced as a result of the multitude of groups bargaining for roles in the political processes, including the policy-making process that affects the distribution of resources in society. Pluralist theory complements elite theory by drawing attention to the secondary levels of leadership, and to how the diversity which exists on this level reflects broad social divisions. Pluralist theorists do not directly deny the elitist argument a relatively small group of people at the center actually carry out day-to-day processes of governing in a society or within a smaller group. However, when pluralists descend from the broad theoretical level to deal in specifics, they often fall back on social classes as a key source of “pluralism” in society. Any society will appear pluralistic if one goes no further than to refer to the multiplicity of groups which exist without any attempt to classify them or to estimate their relative degrees of power. The very generality of the pluralist model strongly limits its usefulness in doing this.

As critics of pluralism have pointed out, the emphasis on observable effects means that they neglect ideas and the way in which the political agenda may be shaped in such a way that direct manipulation of the outcome of the political process is unnecessary. Post-structuralists would go still further to argue that the formation of the identities, capacities and concerns of social groups must itself be seen as an effect of power. This is a much more fundamental way in which the social and political is structured than by decisions taken in a centralized bureaucracy.

10.13 MODEL TEST PAPER

Answer the following questions:

1. What are governing and non governing elites?
2. Discuss the contribution of Schumpeter and Milliband in contemporary political sociology.
3. Write a short note on Pluralist theory.
4. Critically examine C.W. Mills's Elite theory.
5. How Pareto's theory of elite is different from Mosca's elite theory?
6. Explain the concept Circulation of Elites, as given by Pareto.
7. What is Iron law of Oligarchy?
8. Critically examine the contribution of pluralist theory in political sociology

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M.A. SOCIOLOGY

M. A. Sociology

Course No. 405

Lesson -11

Unit-II

DISCOURSE THEORY AND CULTURE POLITICS

CONTENTS

- 11.1 Introduction
- 11.2 Discourse theory
 - 11.2.1 Foucault's analysis of Power
 - 11.2.2 Contribution of Laclau and Mouffe
- 11.3 Culture Politics
- 11.4 Postmodern turn in Sociology
- 11.5 Conclusion
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OBJECTIVES

After studying this lesson you should be able to:

- define and elaborate how power as a discourse is significant in contemporary politics.
- understand and discuss the importance of studying culture to political sociology.

11.1 INTRODUCTION

Political sociology has never been easily distinguishable as a field of research from others in the discipline of sociology. Orum's broad definition: political sociology directs attention toward "the social circumstances of politics, that is, to how politics both is shaped by and shapes other events in societies. Instead of treating the political arena and its actors as independent from other happenings in a society, [political sociology] treats that arena as intimately related to all social institutions". Political sociologists would be interested in power as at least a potentiality in all social relations, and to have elaborated a conception of politics as an activity conducted across a range of social institutions. Over the last couple of decades, political sociology has shifted away from this focus on how society affects the state. Contemporary political sociology is concerned with cultural politics as what we might call the "politics of politics." From this perspective, what events *mean* to those who interpret and act on them is what matters. The contemporary political sociology had new paradigm of thinking and this newly emerging approach is directed at the analysis of key political issues in our contemporary world.

11.2 DISCOURSE THEORY

Discourse theory assumes that all objects and actions are meaningful, and that their meaning is conferred by historically specific systems of rules. The emergence and development of discourse theory has been stimulated by a number of perceived weaknesses in existing paradigms of social science research. However, while it rejects simplistic behavioural, rationalist and positivist approaches, it endeavors to draw critically upon Marxist, social constructivist, and interpretative models of social science research, such as those inspired by Max Weber. It thus offers novel ways to think about the relationship between social structures and political agency, the role of interests and identities in explaining social action, the interweaving of meanings and practices, and the character of social and historical change.

The single most important theoretical contribution to the new political sociology is undoubtedly Foucault's definition of power. Foucault himself has

rather a paradoxical relationship to the new political sociology: although he is the theorist whose work has been most influential in its development, and although he was actively engaged in various political activities, including campaigns for prisoner's rights and gay activism, he professed himself to be much more interested in ethics than in politics. This preference for ethics, which he saw as a matter of self creation rather than of principles of right and wrong, is related to his distaste for systematic theorizing. Foucault refused to provide us with a map of social and political institutions with which to understand contemporary politics, but his work can be used to analyze the working of power in unexpected places and unexpected ways. On this basis, it is possible to re think politics as a possibility for resisting power and transforming social practices outside the dominant institutions of the State.

We will first look at an outline of Foucault's "analytics of power," and then at the development of a more systematic theory of power and politics in the work of Laclau and Mouffe. As post-Marxists influenced by Foucault and by Gramsci, they have developed a theory of cultural politics which is very useful as a more general statement for the understanding of cultural politics at the heart of new sociology.

11.2. FOUCAULT'S ANALYSIS OF POWER

Foucault explicitly denies that he has constructed a theory of power, arguing that power must be analyzed in its operations and effects and cannot be captured in a systematic set of related concepts conceived in advance of its application. He prefers, therefore, to think in terms of, an "analytics of power" in which power is identified only in the instances of its exercise. It is, nevertheless, possible to make some general points about this "analytics." Power for Foucault is, above all, productive. His analyses are opposed to what he calls the "juridico-discursive" model in which power is seen as possessed by the state, especially the law, and is used to impose order on society. According to this theory, power involves legitimate prohibition modeled on the legal contract, according to liberals or repressive legislation and policing to preserve class domination, according to radicals. It is, at any rate, essentially negative, restrictive, and inhibitory. According

to Foucault, to think of power in this way is to miss how it works in institutions and discourses across the social field.

Foucault is concerned to analyze power in the details of social practices, at the points at which it produces effects, as a fluid, reversible, and invisible “microphysics” of power. In Foucault’s model, power is productive in the sense that it is constitutive, working to produce particular types of bodies and minds in practices which remain invisible from the point of view of the older model of power as sovereignty. Power is pluralist: it is exercised from innumerable points, rather than from a single political center, as the possession of an elite or the logic of bureaucratic institutions, and it is not governed by a single over-arching project. However, it is not that to see power as productive is to see it as good. On the contrary, in most of his work at least, Foucault’s use of the term “power” implies a critical perspective on social practices. It is productive of regulated and disciplined social relations and identities which are to be resisted.

The most general sense in which power is productive for Foucault is through knowledge. Knowledge, especially, that of the social sciences, is closely implicated in the production of docile bodies and subjected mind. *Discourse* is the term Foucault uses for these systems of quasi-scientific knowledge. Knowledge as discourse is not knowledge of the “real” world as it exists prior to that knowledge. Although it presents itself as representing objective reality, in fact, discourses construct and make “real” the objects of knowledge they “represent.” Knowledge is distinguished from other ways of apprehending the world and considered to be “knowledge” of the objective world because it is supported by practices of power. As Foucault sees it, it involves statements uttered in institutional sites in which knowledge is gained according to certain rules and procedures, by speakers who are authorized to say what counts as “truth” in that particular context. For Foucault, the analysis of discourse requires the determination of how new objects of knowledge emerge, under what discursive and non-discursive conditions, and especially, what effects of power they produce. As he puts it, “Truth is linked in a circular relation with systems of power which produces and sustains it, and to effects of power which it induces and which extend it”.

Foucault's analysis of knowledge as constitutive and implicated in power breaks, then, with the "official" view the social sciences would like to have of themselves as disinterested, neutral, and, as such, contributing to human progress. It also breaks with the radical View that knowledge produced in elite institutions is inherently mystificatory, concealing real relations of power. As Foucault sees it, it is not so much that discourses conceal power, but rather that they contribute to its exercise in the production of social relations of authority and conformity. Power produces individuals both as objects and as subjects. In *Discipline and Punish*, Foucault describes how docile bodies are produced by organizing individuals in' practices of surveillance which train comportment according to classifications of normal and abnormal. This takes place in different ways in different institutions across the social field, including the military, factories, schools, hospitals and so on.

It is in terms of the construction of subjectivity, however, that Foucault has been most influential in the new political sociology. For Foucault, subjects are always subjected, produced in discourses and practices of power which position them as speakers in possession of self-consciousness and, most importantly in the twentieth century, an unconscious that determines desire. In *The History of Sexuality, volume I*, he discusses at length the irony that in trying to liberate him or herself in therapy, the analyzed is actually subjecting him or herself to a strategy of normalization which produces the very subject who should free him or herself in this way. In positioning oneself as the "I," the subject of speech in the discourse of psychoanalysis, one is produced, and experiences oneself, as an individual with secret desires which must be uncovered in analysis if one is to be free and healthy. The self of psychoanalysis is produced, not discovered. Furthermore, the production takes place in a relationship of power in so far as the analysand's speech, thoughts, and dreams must be interpreted by the analyst, positioned as an authority by the discourse of psychoanalysis. What the case of psychoanalysis illustrates, according to Foucault, is that subjectivity itself, the very possibility of having a self of which one is aware, of saying "I" with some degree of self knowledge, is conditional on the exercise of power. It is clear that Foucault could not have identified the effects of power on the body

and on subjectivity using a totalizing theory of power. His analysis depends on examining the precise details of historically specific knowledge and practices as they operate differently in different institutions to produce constraining and subordinate identities. Nevertheless, his studies have been quite extensively criticized as tending to fall back into the negative view of power to which he is opposed, portraying it as a monolithic, unmitigated force of domination. Certainly, as previously noted, his use of the term “power” suggests a critical perspective on existing practices of subjection and objectification. In this respect, it has undoubtedly been highly effective in denaturalizing reified social construction.

Criticism

However, critics argue that if all social relations and identities are the product of power, this critical perspective is actually redundant. There are two related points here. First, it is argued that the concept of power suggests that something is overcome, or dominated, in its exercise. If, however, all human capacities are produced in power, why call it power at all? If power is productive rather than repressive, Foucault could have said that everything is socially constructed rather than that everything is produced in relations of power without losing the sense of his analysis. Secondly it is argued that, if power is productive of all capacities, it follows that individuals are nothing more than “place-fillers,” without resources to resist it: they have no capacities for autonomous self-creation or the generation of meanings and “values which they could use against the effects of power. On this understanding of Foucault’s work, far from freeing us from the limitations of seeing power as negative, he actually portrays it as absolutely repressive, allowing no possibility of resistance. These criticisms do seem to have some bearing on Foucault’s early work on power. There does seem to be an inconsistency between his theoretical commitment to an analytics of power as positive and the overwhelmingly negative tone of the historical analyses he carried out. He implies, and sometimes states blankly, that power is everywhere, as in this notorious statement from *The History of Sexuality*, volume 1: Power is everywhere; not because it embraces everything, but because it comes from everywhere . . . Power is not an institution, nor a structure, not a possession. It is the name we give to a complex strategic situation”. Critics are undoubtedly

right to point out that if power is everywhere, it becomes a metaphysical principle and loses all normative and explanatory content.

Power, Domination & Resistance

In “The Subject and Power,” Foucault discusses the relationship between power, domination, and resistance in contemporary society. He argues that, as a matter of definition, where there is power there must be resistance. He had sketched out this idea in his earlier work, but here he develops it further, arguing that power necessarily works on what he calls “free subjects.” It is only where there is the possibility of resistance, where subjects are not fully determined but may realize different possibilities from the range with which they are faced that it is meaningful to think in terms of power. Slavery does not involve a relationship of power where the slave is in chains, but rather a relation of violence. Apparently in opposition to his previous assertion that “power is everywhere” and that subjects are discursively constructed. Foucault is here committing himself to the view that the “free subject” necessarily exists prior to discourse. However, he retains the view that subjects are constructed in practices of power in so far as he maintains that subjects are subjected where they are controlled by others, and also in so far as they are tied to their own identity by conscience or self-knowledge.

Foucault links his analyses of power directly with the antagonistic struggles of social movements, arguing that one of the most important aspects of these struggles in contemporary society is the way in which they challenge subjectification. To some extent, social movements are based on the assertion of existing identities, and so on the acceptance of categorizations of normal/nor normal produced in discourses and practices of power. On the Other hand, however, they sometimes involve the refusal of existing identities: on the one hand, they assert the right to be different and they underline everything which makes individuals truly individual. On the other hand, they attack everything which separates the individual, breaks his links with others, splits up his community life, forces the individual back on himself and ties him to his own identity in a constraining way. The examples he gives are struggles against the power of men

over women, of parents over children, of psychiatry over the mentally ill, of medicine over the population and of administration over the ways in which people live. Foucault makes the point that it is in part a result of the way in which social movements resist power that it is possible to analyze it as such. Resistance is necessary to the definition of power, and it is also methodologically important to the study of power in that it brings power relations and the methods by which it is exercised into view.

Foucault also refines his analytics of power with the concepts of domination and government in his later work. In fact, according to Barry Hindess (1996), he increasingly uses domination as a term to analyze what is more commonly thought of as power, replacing the term power with government. On Hindess's reading, Foucault used more precise terms in order to distinguish between power as a feature of all human interactions and domination as a particular structure of power in which antagonisms are consolidated in hierarchical and stable relations. Power, then, is not denounced as such, the implication of the critical perspective of Foucault's earlier work. On the contrary, it now represents the potential fluidity of social relations. Since power only acts on those who may resist, and who may in turn act on others, there is always the possibility of reversals of power. In domination, however, those who are dominated have such little room for maneuver that reversals of power become impracticable, though they are never strictly speaking impossible (Foucault, 1982; Hindess, 1996). Again, the activities of social movements may be used methodologically to understand how far a particular set of social relationships should be seen as domination or as relations of power, according to the degree of freedom they enable or allow for the politics of identity.

Foucault defines "government" as "the conduct of conduct," the attempt to influence the actions of free subjects. He describes it as lying between the stable and hierarchical relations of domination and the reversible relations of power. Foucault uses the term to refer both to the government of the self and of others. Foucault's work on the ethics of the self is much more widely read than his work on governmentality as a social configuration, but the latter is also important, especially for political sociology, because it deals with the relations between society and the state which are its traditional material. Foucault sees

governmentality as a modern form of power, arising explicitly in opposition to its competitor, the Machiavellian idea of sovereignty, in early modernity. Machiavellians was concerned to maintain peace and security through the Figure of the sovereign. According to the advice set out in *The Prince*, the principal object of government is the maintenance of the sovereign's rule over the territory and subjects of the state. For its Opponents, however, this type of rule is too external to the society, and therefore too fragile, to be successful. The practices of government should rather be imminent to society itself, and exercised over "men and things" in order promote wealth and well-being. According to Foucault, governmentality was increasingly established from the eighteenth century with the development of capitalism, the emergence of the idea of "population," and a range of knowledges and techniques concerned with managing its expansion, health, and productivity (Foucault, 1991). The idea of governmentality thus develops Foucault's earlier critique of the "juridico-discursive" model of power as sovereignty. It is not that the state is irrelevant, but government through state institutions is just one aspect of the strategies of governmentality; The "conduct of conduct" is attempted in different ways in institutions and practices across the social held. In this way, Foucault's ideas on governmentality encompass his previous work on discipline and the production of docile bodies, and on the production of subjects who rely on authorities for confirmation of their "normality."

Influence of Foucault's work on Contemporary Political Sociology

The influence that Foucault's work has had on the new political sociology cannot be overestimated. His direct influence is widely acknowledged by those who work on issues in the politics of identity and difference. In particular, the problematic of anti-essentialism outlined by Foucault the refusal to take socially constructed identities as metaphysical or natural -has been taken up extensively by those working on the social construction of gender' "race," ethnicity, and sexuality. In this way, the politics of identity and difference he saw as characteristic of new social movements has become an aspect of academic work. Social and political theory is seen as a site of cultural politics in so far as it contributes to the disruption or fixity of normalized identities. Indirectly, Foucault's influence has been still more important. His ideas on governmentality, discipline, and the

interrelation of knowledge and power have directed attention toward the exercise of power in practices and the formation of identities across the social field. Once we begin to look at the world through the lenses Foucault provides for us, conventional politics at the level of the state is displaced to the periphery of vision and other forms of politics come into focus. Of course, the way in which new political sociology sees power and politics as significant in the organizations and institutions of civil society, in everyday life and interpersonal relations, and in global culture is not solely due to the influence of Foucault's work. Nevertheless, in analyzing power and government beyond the nation-state, Foucault has provided sociology with some of the tools it needs to understand new forms of politics in contemporary society.

Thus, For Foucault, power does not work only through language and symbols: it is also extended in discourse, but it is also exercised in institutional practices which he defines as non-linguistic. Foucault distinguishes between the discursive and the non-discursive: the latter includes the institutions, designated personnel and general social conditions which enable the emergence and extension of discourse. Although discourses contribute to the organization of non-discursive institutions, in Foucault's terms the two orders remain analytically distinct. Foucault's analyses of power are, then, at least as much oriented toward institutional practices as they are toward languages and symbols.

11.2.2 CONTRIBUTION OF LACLAU & MOUFFE

A version of discourse analysis explicitly focused on representations and symbols is to be found in the work of Ernesto Laclau and Chantal Mouffe. For them, Foucault's distinction between discursive and non-discursive is inconsistent and "untenable. As Laclau and Mouffe see it, if discourse is constitutive of objects, then every object is constituted in discourse and the distinction between discursive and non-discursive is either meaningless or is itself a differentiation which can only be made within discourse. This does not mean, however, that they thereby reduce everything to language understood simply as words. They argue for a view of language as always embedded in practices such that there is an indissoluble unity between language, actions, and material objects. Discourse, for Laclau and

Mouffe, includes both linguistic and non-linguistic elements. To illustrate the materiality of language in discourse they give an example used by Wittgenstein to demonstrate his very similar ideas about “language-games”:

A is building with building stones; there are blocks, pillars, slabs, and beams. B has to pass the stones, and that in the order in which A needs them. For this purpose they use a language consisting of the words “block,” “pillar,” “slab,” “beam.” A calls them out; B brings the stone which he has learnt to bring at such and such a call. (quoted in Laclau and Mouffe, 1985: 108)

The terms “block,” “pillar,” “slab,” as used in discourse are not just Words or ideas; they are the objects themselves as used in this particular discourse, or language game, of “constructing a building.” Laclau and Mouffe’s them; of discourse has been influenced by the structuralist linguist Ferdinand de Saussure. They see meaning in language as produced in a differential play of signs, rather than by representing objects in the world. There is no intrinsic link between objects and words; what joins them is the way in which words are linked together in social conventions. In fact, without language we would be unable to identify objects and concepts with any degree of consistency. Language does not simply name the world; it makes sense of it and orders it for us. Jonathan Culler gives a good example of Saussure’s analysis of language as a “system of differences without positive terms.” He asks us to imagine teaching a non-English Speaker what the word “brown” means. To show him or her nothing but brown objects would be useless; he or she would have to learn to distinguish brown from other colors. The word “brown” does not simply label objects that are already given; it constructs “brown” things as different from gray, orange, red, and so on. Furthermore, it is entirely possible to imagine a world in which such “brown” things were not distinguished at all. They are only meaningful for us because we have learned to recognize them in this way.

However, Laclau and Mouffe are post-structuralists. They accept Derrida’s view that the structure of language Saussure described is not stable and fixed, but is rather decentred and unstable, continually in process. Derrida extends

Saussure's understanding of language as a system of differences, arguing that, in so far as meaning depends on the possibility of being different from itself, it can never be finally fixed. He uses the neologism *différance* as one way of naming the instability of meaning. According to Derrida, a word as a mark on paper or a sound means nothing except in relation to what went before and what will come after it, both in space and time. Meaning is always different from itself, and also deferred in time; hence *différance* which means both "to differ" and "to defer". Because the meaning of a word depends on its difference from and similarity to Others, it can never actually be present in the sign itself, whether written or spoken. It is always indeterminate, though the extent of this indeterminacy is itself a political matter (Derrida, 1996). In Laclau and Mouffe's theory, indeterminacy of meaning is what makes politics both possible and necessary. Politics involves the contestation of meanings which have been relatively fixed in previous political projects, their re-articulation in new chains of meaning, and the attempt to persuade others of their validity, to fix them in relatively determinate meanings in which they become part of the "grammar" of everyday life. To give an example, the term "man" has quite different meanings in the discourses of communists and neo-liberals, radical feminists and born-again Christians, aid organizations and anthropologists. In each case, the meaning depends on its relationship to other signs; for example, "women" or "God." Furthermore, although it can never be established definitively in any case, the success of the discourse depends on the acceptance of the validity of these meanings.

Although the term "power" does not feature in Laclau and Mouffe's theory as centrally as it does in Foucault's later work, for them power is the power to define, and to impose this definition in the face of that which denies it. It involves the manipulation of symbols, with all that implies according to Laclau and Mouffe's theory of discourse for effects in the material world. It is evident that politics here is not an activity restricted to the conventional political institutions of the state. On the contrary, the re-drawing of the state's boundaries, scope, tasks, and capacities may itself be seen as an example of politics in this sense. It is, of course, necessary to distinguish politics from social life more generally, if the two are not to be simply conflated. However, Laclau does so, not in terms of different

realms of society, but in terms of modes of activity. Politics involves opening up the possibilities repressed in the construction of taken-for-granted and apparently “objective” social identities and relation.

In fact, Laclau and Mouffe’s ideal of radical democracy involves the continual politicization and re-politicization of the social, as well as the institution of more egalitarian and progressive identities and relations. This is an optimistic, even a naive ideal. Certainly, the idea of politics as a matter of everyday life is very different from theories of democracy as dependent on an apathetic mass, or Marxist theories of capitalism as tolerated because of the delusion of the workers. As we will see, however, the idea that if it is not quite the case that everything is political, everything is at least potentially political is central to the new political sociology.

11.3 CULTURE POLITICS & NEW POLITICAL SOCIOLOGY

Contemporary political sociology is also concerned with cultural politics in a wider sense: what is made “political” is not simply confined to what takes place within government, political parties, and the state. The perspective of cultural politics also helps us make sense of how the meanings of social relations and identities are consistently challenged wherever they are framed as unjust, exclusionary, and destructive of the capacities of individuals and groups. “Politicization” across the social field has not typically been the subject matter of political sociology until fairly recently. Contemporary Political Sociology discussed economic, political, and cultural globalization means that what the state is and does is now itself in question. Though action taken in the “name of the state” is often very effective, and with the “war on terror” following 9/11, state violence has become more visible in some respects, state action must now almost invariably take into account institutions, processes, and actors in relation to which states were previously considered sovereign and autonomous. At the same time, the class formations around which national political parties were organized have become fragmented and the political concerns associated with class – based political parties problematized. The fragmentation and pluralization of values and lifestyles, with the growth of the mass media and consumerism and the decline of

stable occupations and communities, all mean that previously taken - for - granted social identities have become politicized.

Although Laclau and Mouffe use the term “discourse” rather than culture, their model of politics is best understood as a model of cultural politics. It is cultural where “culture” is understood in the widest possible sense, as “the signifying system through which necessarily (though among other means) a social order is communicated reproduced, experienced and explored”. This definition includes the more commonly used conception of culture as “the works and practices of intellectuals, and especially artistic activity “and also the still, narrower understanding of popular and media culture. The advantage of thinking in terms of cultural politics is that Laclau and Mauffe’s model may be linked more easily to the developments in political sociology with which we are concerned in this chapter, which have not all been elaborated in the post-structuralist terms of discourse theory.

Culture in this widest sense may itself be seen in two rather different ways. In the work of Laclau and Mouffe, discourse is implicated in all social practices, institutions, and identities, including those more conventionally demarcated as economic, social, or political. In other words, for Laclau and Mouffe, “everything is cultural “and, since social reality itself is of the order of discourse, it has always been the case that the social order was constructed, contested, and reproduced through culture. As others see it, however, the significance of culture in this sense is historically specific. This view is particularly associated with the idea that we are now moving into a new era that of “post modernity”. Whereas in modernity culture occupied a separate sphere of society as high art, in post modernity there has been an expansion of culture into other realms of society. At the economic level, there has been a commodification of culture, and, at the same time, the economy itself is increasingly dependent on culture in the form of advertising, leisure and service industries, and niche marketing according to lifestyle. At the political level, politicians perform to their audiences through the media, and, in the social realm, distinctions depend to an even greater extent than before on the display of cultural credentials, rather than on economic or political power. On this basis, Krishan Kumar suggests that sociologists of post

modernity should adopt an anthropological definition of culture as “a whole way of thinking, feeling and acting”. This seems misguided, however, in so far as it suggests that there is a single unified culture when, according to theorists of post modernity, postmodern culture is better characterized as fragmented, indeterminate, and unstable.

Culture in the widest sense is seen in two alternative ways, then, as the practices constituting social reality itself or as what was previously a separate sphere of society which has now entered every aspects of social life. Whichever view is taken to be correct, whether the divisions sociology made previously between different realms of society are seen as themselves cultural constructions, on a par with other classifications in discourse, or whether the expansion of culture is seen as a new phenomenon which blurs the distinctions between what were previously separate and distinct domains in reality, cultural politics now takes on an unprecedented importance. This importance is reflected in what is now frequently referred to as the “postmodern turn” in sociology.

11.4 A POSTMODERN TURN IN SOCIOLOGY

The relation between sociology and postmodernism is complicated. In recent years, there have been a great number of books linking social theory and postmodernism, including two with the title *The Postmodern Turn*. It is undoubtedly the case that many of the features linked with postmodernism, and initially developed more fully in philosophy, are now taken up in sociology. In order for this to be possible, however, postmodern themes have had to be reworked in ways which make them more compatible with sociology as a discipline. As a result, sociologists are unlikely to think of themselves as postmodernists, even if their work may be identified with the “postmodern turn.” At the same time, sociology itself has changed, becoming more concerned with culture and interpretation, so that it is possible to identify the work of those sociologists who explicitly reject postmodernism with the “postmodern turn.” The work of a sociologist like Anthony Giddens has more in common with postmodernism, despite his opposition to it, than with classical positivist sociology.

As a kind of ideal-type, five important themes of the ‘postmodern turn’ in new political sociology may be identified. We have looked at most of these themes already in the work of Foucault and Laclau and Mouffe. Like many of those associated with postmodernism, Foucault and Laclau and Mouffe do not themselves use the term, preferring the label “post-structuralists.” Here we will use “post-structuralism” and “postmodernism” interchangeably, bearing in mind, however, that while the former pertains exclusively to thought; the latter also includes wider cultural changes of the type associated with post modernity as a new social formation. The postmodern turn in new political sociology involves the following features:

- (1) **Anti-epistemology:** a concern with studying representations ~ as such rather than what they are supposed to refer to; skepticism concerning the ultimate foundations of truth and value; an interest in how claims are constructed rather than whether or not they are “true.” (Discourse theory, as developed in the work of Foucault and Laclau and Mouffe is anti-epistemological. It is not that discourse theorists are unconcerned with knowledge or “truthful is rather that they are interested in the social construction of knowledge claims and how these are bound up with the exercise of power? ‘ Although there are differences, a similar concern with the social effects of knowledge claims is also a feature of the sociology of reflexivity of Giddens, Beck, and Lash and Urry. In this work, conflicting expert knowledge are seen as opening up spaces for individuals to use knowledge claims to create their own identities and lifestyles. Again, the “truth” of the knowledge is of no importance; the object of study is how knowledge is used socially and politically rather than whether it is true or false. Sociology is concerned with mapping “real” identities and structures so that those who participate in it have to convince colleagues of the validity of their investigations. It is not necessary, however, to engage in epistemology in order to do so; what is necessary is to accept that there is no “God’s eye View” from which the ultimate foundations of knowledge could be ascertained and to give good reasons for accepting a certain understanding of the world. The postmodern validation of

knowledge is social, involving the exchange of words, rather than a solitary, scholarly search for the truth of things. It is, however, no less a validation.

- (2) **Concern with the indeterminacy of meaning** as a resource for constructing identities and structures. We have already looked at this theme in Laclau and Mouffe's work, as it has been influenced by Jacques Derrida. (Foucault, as we have seen, is less concerned with meaning and more with the use to which discourse is put in disciplinary institutions.) It is perhaps worth emphasizing, however, that although post-structuralists tend to see meaning as fluid and ambiguous, they do not therefore hold the view that everything is unstructured and chaotic. For Derrida, as for Laclau and Mouffe indeterminacy of meaning provides the conditions of possibility for politics, the attempt to achieve a relative fixity and stability of social life. It is this relative stabilization that is the work of cultural politics. Interpretative sociology has long been interested in the question of how social meanings are made and secured in forms of social solidarity. Zygmunt Bauman actually refers to this type of sociology as "postmodern sociology; he sees it as mimicking postmodern culture in its abandoning of objectivity and its attention to "language games" and the "fragility and brittleness of social reality" (Bauman, 1982: 39-42). In this respect, sociology may be seen to have taken a "postmodern turn" as a result of the growing interest of sociologists in culture and the interpretation of meaning some time before postmodernism was a term of art in the discipline.
- (3) **Decentering society:** a view of social structures as constructed in ongoing processes taking place in time and space, rather than causally determined; there is no central institution (for example, the state), nor meaning (for example, "truth") around which every aspect of social life is organized in a fixed position. As we have seen, this is very much a theme of Foucault's work. Power is seen as working in different ways in different institutions rather than as concentrated in, or generated by, the state. Derrida sees structures as produced in ongoing chains of meaning. They

could only be fixed in time and space if there were a central meaning which itself remained uncontaminated by *différance*; a “transcendental signifier,” like “God,” which was certain. Structures for Derrida, as for Laclau and Mouffe, are precariously sustained by the relative fixity of meaning achieved in particular contexts through the use of persuasion or force. A fully constituted Structure is, however, an impossibility; a finished totality is never achieved (Derrida, 1978). In fact, the “structuring of structures” as a process which is always relative to social context is a theme of post-structuralist theory in comparison with structuralism. For structuralists like Althusser and Saussure, structures involve closed totalities in which the relations between the parts making up the whole are fixed. In Althusser’s case, the complex of structures which make up society are determined as a totality “in the last instance” by the economy. In Saussure’s work, fixity is more problematic, but ultimately and against some of his other pronouncements concerning meaning he sees it as secured by the intentions of language users. For post-structuralists, such a notion of structure is a reified construct, a product of the prejudices of modern reason which dictates that the truth is found by uncovering the essence of a thing behind the appearance of flux. Influenced by Nietzsche, post structuralists see life as never-finished process, always “becoming” rather than “being.”

At the same time, in sociology there has largely been a turning away from the idea of societies as self-enclosed systems (the revival of “systems theory” notwithstanding). While structuralist functionalists saw society as endlessly reproducing itself, and Marxists saw it as driven with contradictions that would eventually destroy it, since the 1970s sociologists have increasingly taken the view that society should be seen rather as consisting of localized structures sustained in face-to-face interaction and always susceptible to disruption and change. Again, Giddens’s work, influenced by Goffman and Garfinkel, is exemplary of this theme. In fact, although Giddens does not use the term “culture,” his extremely influential structuration theory the basis of his sociology of

reflexivity posits a model of social reproduction which is very close to the model of cultural politics articulated in Laclau and Mouffe's work. Structures are created, sustained, and remade in more or less conscious social action while, at the same time, social action is itself constrained by existing distributions of resources and ways of making sense of the world. If we see culture as the signifying structures in which rules are laid down and the distribution of resources normalized and legitimated, for Giddens, it is in culture that social life is reproduced and re-worked.

- (4) **Anti-essentialism:** Identities and structures are seen as socially constructed and historically contingent. Again, we have already looked at this point in some detail in the work of Foucault and Laclau and Mouffe. As we have seen, Foucault's work on sexuality has been particularly influential in relation to anti-essentialism. His historical studies show how the naturalized identities of both "normal heterosexuality" and "abnormal perversions" have been constructed in institutions and discourses across society since the end of the eighteenth century. Foucault's work has been particularly influential in those areas of sociology in which "identity politics" within universities have been the key to setting the terms of study: gender studies, "queer theory," and, to a lesser extent, in the area of ethnicity and "race." In all these fields, there have been debates over the extent to which identity is "natural" or socially constructed. There are now many sociologists working on these topics who take Foucault's view that identities are socially constructed and an object of cultural politics rather than a given "fact of life" which society must somehow administer.

In contrast, for post-structuralists, this sovereign individual is itself called into question; it is seen as having no essential attributes since it is a historically and culturally specific construction of discourse. It is, therefore, also a site of cultural politics. Any construction of what it is to be a subject is seen as privileging certain "ideal" type characteristics and therefore as potentially exclusionary of those who do not typify its specific traits, and repressive of lived experiences and possibilities that do not conform to it. An obvious example here is the way in which women

have long been seen as irrational in comparison with men. While it is possible simply to challenge this by “proving” that women are as rational as men or, indeed, even more rational post-structuralists would see this as unlikely to be effective if it did not also challenge the terms within which the assertion had come to be seen as true and valid. From a post-structuralist perspective, it would be necessary also to contest the constellation of forces which supported the “knowledge” that masculine reason is superior, the authorities which upheld it, however covertly, and the relations with other discourses and institutions which sustained it. This is not possible where rational subjectivity is seen as the essence of what it is to be a human individual, rather than a historically and culturally specific social construction.

- (5) **Given the multiplicity of perspectives** from which social life is (and may validly) be seen, there are no universal values and truths to which all members of society subscribe. Associated particularly with the ideas of Jean-Francois Lyotard in *The Postmodern Condition*, some version of this view is increasingly adhered to even by those sociologists hostile to postmodernism. According to Lyotard, contemporary social life is marked by the loss of faith in the modern meta-narrative of the progress of reason toward a better society. The over-arching legitimation of modernity in the name of the Enlightenment values of scientific truth and social liberation is now seen as nothing more than a myth or Story with pretensions to encompassing the totality of human experience. He himself does not regret that meta-narratives are finished. On the contrary, he sees them as “terroristic” because of the way they re-describe everything in their own terms, often inappropriately. For Lyotard, in the postmodern condition all social life is made up of nothing but stories, with a historically and geographically Specific local validity, which are productive of the social positions subjectivities, practices, and objects they relate They embody in themselves the rules of pragmatic competence, “knowing how to Speak” “knowing how to listen,” and “know-how.” His principal example of these local narratives, which he calls “language-games,” is that of the Cashinahua

of South America who always begin their stories with the phrase “Here is the story of, as I’ve always heard it told; “in this way, the narration itself legitimates the authority of the storyteller. He sees the end of metanarratives in a positive light since it announces the possibility that the specificity of local narratives will be respected and imaginative invention from within them encouraged, rather than a standardized account being imposed on all. The pretensions of the Enlightenment project to universal moral values, underpinned by the universal truth claims of modern science, are themselves to be seen simply as narratives like any others; they no longer have the power to marginalize and tie-legitimize others in the name of their supposed universality. While Lyotard’s analysis is endorsed by many, it is his optimistic reading of the situation that is generally found to be problematic. Sociologists and others find it difficult to accept a relativism of value which suggests that it is unacceptable to make moral judgments concerning any practices outside one’s own “language-game,” however cruel or repressive one might find them to be. In fact, the association of postmodernism with such relativism seems to be the main reason why no one, including Foucault, Derrida, Laclau and Mouffe and Lyotard (despite the title of his best-known book) is willing to adopt or accept the label. Baudrillard’s analyses of contemporary capitalism have been influential in new political sociology. However, his thesis tends to be seen as exaggerated and therefore as exemplary of the “performative contradiction” of post modernism: he claims to do what is impossible on his own account since he proposes an account of the real world while claiming that it no longer exists. In this respect, he actually goes much further than other post-structuralists. In his polemic *Forget Foucault*, Baudrillard argues that Foucault’s account of power is limited, since “it is still turned toward a reality principle and a very Strong truth principle”. In his view, Foucault fails to recognize that the production of sex he has so meticulously analyzed through the operations of power is no longer real, but hyper-real in such forms as pornographic videos, computer games and -eventually virtual reality machines.

Similarly, Baudrillard's version of post modernism tends to be rejected as nihilist. According to Baudrillard, it is not worth taking a moral position, nor engaging in politics, because communication and human interaction has "imploded" into "the masses." In contemporary society, people are only concerned with what is presented to them as a media Spectacle; they do not express themselves, nor do they reflect. Indeed, since there is no longer any reality, there is nothing on which to reflect. This is not, however, the view taken by most of those associated with post-modernism, nor by sociologists within the "postmodern turn." In fact, Baudrillard's assertions are at odds with the way in which social life is understood as increasingly politicized in the new political sociology. This brings us to the second type of postmodernism identified by Best and Kellner: "Oppositional postmodernism." It is this type which has been most influential in sociology. Best and Kellner identify it with the influence of social movements which has led to the questioning of Marxism and the reduction of all oppression to the economic class struggle, to interest in the Foucauldian analytics of power as operational in multiple sites and strategies, and in the normalization of identities in culture and everyday life. It is this form of oppositional postmodernism which has contributed to the new political sociology and the model of cultural politics with which we shall be concerned in this chapter.

"Oppositional postmodernism" also raises problems of relativism, but in a different way from "ludic" postmodernism. Oppositional postmodernists see the "end of meta-narratives" in a relatively positive light. Feminists, queer theorists, theorists of hybrid identities, and others all see opportunities for greater pluralism and equality opened up by the displacement of the dominance of western reason. The problem of value relativism arises in relation to the post structuralist thought on which oppositional postmodernism is built in two main ways. First, it is seen as undermining the grounds for "moral values and political commitment. From a post-structuralist perspective, there is no "objective" way of deciding between conflicting points of view; it all depends on the perspective from which such a conflict is approached. Secondly, post-structuralism is deconstructive: it is above all concerned to break down what are taken to be essential identities and necessary logical connections in contingent and accidental juxtapositions of elements. It

shows the strategies of normalization and exclusion in what is taken for granted as natural and what is supposed to be universally “right.”

CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Answer the following questions:

1. For Foucault, power is productive through _____
2. Who argued that ‘where there is power, there must be resistance’?
3. Laclau & Mouffe’s theory has been influenced by _____
4. Define Discursive and Non discursive elements.
5. Discourse, for Laclau & Mouffe, includes _____ & _____ elements.
6. Who talked about language- games? _____
7. What is Anti-epistemology and Anti-essentialism?
8. Who held the view that social order is constructed, contested and reproduced through culture? _____

11.5 CONCLUSION

To conclude, we can say that there has been a paradigm shift in political sociology away from state - centered, class - based models of political participation, or non - participation, toward an understanding of politics as a potentiality of all social experience. The invention of new modes of democracy is already underway in the activities of social movements, the use and extension of international human rights, and attempts at global governance. For political sociologists, it is important to take a critical view ‘of the democratization that is actually taking place in order to identify potentials for new forms of solidarity in which difference will genuinely be respected. It is in this sense that contemporary political sociology is concerned with cultural politics, understood in the broadest possible sense as the contestation and transformation of social identities and structures of contemporary political sociology and explains why the concept of “cultural politics” is so useful to understanding “politics of politics” today.

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M.A. SOCIOLOGY

M. A. Sociology

Course No. 405

Lesson -12

Unit-III

STATE AND CIVIL SOCIETY

CONTENTS

- 12.1 Introduction
- 12.2 Concept of civil society
- 12.3 Relationship between State and Civil Society
- 12.4 Civil Society and Democracy
- 12.5 Summary
- 12.6 Model Test Paper
- 12.7 Suggested Readings

OBJECTIVES

After studying this lesson you should be able to:

- understand the concept of state and civil society.
- discuss the relationship between the state and civil society.

12.1 INTRODUCTION

The origin of the idea of civil society in social and political theory may be traced to the writings of Thomas Hobbes. Hobbes used the term 'civitas' or 'commonwealth' to refer to a society which was formed by individuals living in a 'state of nature' to overcome the untenable situation prevailing there-a pre-social,

prepolitical condition where self-preservation was the responsibility of each individual who was governed by considerations of self-interest. There was, of course, the law of nature, but each individual interpreted it to suit his best interests. This resulted in the law of the jungle where everybody was unto himself. To put an end to this situation, people entered into a covenant by which they agreed to renounce their individual rights of seeking self-preservation at each other's expense, and to appoint a sovereign to fulfill that objective.

12.2 CONCEPT OF CIVIL SOCIETY

Hobbes believed that concepts like law and justice will have meaning only if they tested on the people's mandate. The creation of the society and government results from both the capacity and obligation of each individual to seek peace conceived as physical security. The distinctive process of defining the principles by which society is to be governed, and the terms of governance may be considered as contributing to civil society. Hobbes assumed that political authority was at least hypothetically dispensable, that is, it was possible not to have a state. But, he needed a concept to describe the remaining institutions of society: the family Structure, economic relationships, religious institutions, etc. Civil society is the framework within which these institutions function. **Hobbes (1688)** recognized that this is a purely analytical concept, because he believed that neither civil society nor political authority can exist for long independently of each other.

John Locke's (1689) conception of civil society, like that of Hobbes, implies the imputation of a common substantive purpose to society, protection of property, broadly defined and the establishment of that purpose by common consent. It is the principle of consent that for Locke links the purposes of society and those of the government. Locke makes a clear distinction between 'society' and 'civil society'. Though he wafts between the terms 'commonwealth' and 'civil society' to describe the first of the accords that people have made to come out of the state of nature, he is clear that both these involve an activity distinct from living simply under government, on the one hand, and operating within society, on the other. That distinctive activity is one of defining the purposes of society

itself, and the foundations, purposes and Structures of government. Civil society not only differs from society per se but also defines the nature and principles of political life from which government itself results. **Montesquieu (1749)** treats civil society as in equilibrium with the government. According to him, its main functions are to protect individual liberty and to preserve the virtues of moderation, trust and reason in government. In this sense, the values that civil society seeks to preserve are dependent on its capacity to stamp those values on the government it seeks to restrain. Montesquieu defines civil society in terms of a singular role of defining those virtues by which government is to be guided. He does not presume that civil society is logically or historically prior to polity, but treats both of them as coeval. He confirms both the norm-setting function of the government and the importance of preserving the congruence between these norms and the working bases of government. Government and civil society are in continuous interaction, each shaping and reshaping the other.

Hegel's (1793) portrayal of civil society was fresh and sharp. Concentrating on its economic aspect, he positions civil society between family and state. According to him, civil or bourgeois society is the realm of individuals who have left the unity of the family to enter into economic competition. It is the arena of particular needs, self-interests and divisiveness with a potential for self-destruction. He used the concept of the civil society to demonstrate the superiority of the state, which as the embodiment of society's general interest stands above particular interests as in civil society. The state comes into being because civil society is not in itself sufficient, and it does for civil society what it cannot do for itself. As such, even though civil society gave rise to the state, it is inevitable that the state would supersede civil society and would co-opt it for its own advantage.

Marx criticizes Hegel's idea that the state would use civil society as a means of strengthening itself. The situation, he avers, is just the opposite. Man assumed that the state is a product of civil society and, as such, is amenable to it. Civil society represents a step forward from feudal to bourgeois society. Previously individuals were part of many different societies such as guilds and estates. As these partial societies broke down civil society arose, in which the individual became all important signifying the struggle of each against all. The state is the

requirement of civil society and it is limited by its characteristics. The fragmented, contractual nature of civil society, with its property relations, necessitates a type of politics that does not reflect any conflict with civil society, but is abstracted from it. The fragmentation and misery of civil society escape the control of the State, which is limited to formal, negative activities, and is rendered impotent by the conflict which is the essence of economic life. The conflict is among individuals, on the one hand, and between the state and society, on the other. The objectives of the State are geared to the needs of the economy animated by depraved and egotistic individuals. Marx thus argues that the essence of the modern state is to be found in the characteristics of the civil society-in its economic relations. He argues that for ending the conflict of civil society and for releasing the full potential of the human being, both the civil society and its product, the political society, must be abolished.

Gramsci's contribution to the concept of civil society has two distinct aspects that are not explicit in either Hegel or Marx. They are (1) interpenetration of political and economic society, or the state and civil society, and (2) an identifiable autonomy of civil society which gives it a distinct space for operation and development. Unlike Marx, Gramsci argues that civil society is not simply a sphere of selfish and egotistic individual needs, but of organisations representing broader community interests which have the potential of rational self-regulation and free-darn. Indeed, civil society is presented as a trench system able to resist the 'incursions' of economic crises and to protect the state. *According to Gramsci, the concept of state includes elements of civil society.* The state, narrowly conceived as government, is protected by hegemony in civil society, while the hegemony of the dominant class; fortified by the coercive state apparatus. Law is envisaged as including custom and habit, and the ethical role of law will exert pressure on civil society to function in harmony with the state without coercion or sanctions. This, again, blurs the distinction between the state and civil society. Hence, attempts to establish lines of demarcation between civil society and the state will have only methodological significance.

However, Gramsci admitted the superior power of the state and cautioned against any attempts at equation or identification of the two. As a counterpoise

to Marx's concept of withering away of the state, Gramsci envisages the fuller development of the self-regulating attributes of civil society, which reduces the sphere of the state. In his analysis of civil society, Gramsci was very close to Hegel, who anticipated the rise of corporate interests in civil society and the role of bureaucracy and the legal system in regularizing civil society and connecting it with the state. Gramsci, however, notes that Hegel and Marx did not have the experience of modern mass organisations (business and non-business) which have made state-civil society relationship very subtle and complicated. This has, to some extent, distorted their explanations of state-civil society relationship.

Gellner defines civil society as 'a set of diverse non-governmental institutions which is strong enough to counterbalance the state and while not preventing the State from fulfilling its role of the keeper of peace and arbitrator between major interests can nevertheless prevent the state from dominating and atomizing the rest of the society'. Ginner views civil society as 'a historically evolved sphere of individual rights, freedom and voluntary associations whose politically undisturbed competition with each other in the pursuit of their respective private concerns, interests, preferences and intentions is guaranteed by a public institution called the state'. According to Mouzelis, 'civil society refers to all social groups or institutions which in conditions of modernity lie between primordial kinship groups or institutions on the one hand and State groups and institutions on the other'. 'Conditions of modernity' refer to social settings where not only are the public and private spheres clearly differentiated, but there is also a large-scale mobilization of the population and its autonomous or heteronymous inclusion into the natural economic, political and cultural areas.

12.3 RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN STATE AND CIVIL SOCIETY

Civil society is a civil association. Here, society or community is viewed as a service organization which enjoys autonomy, both from the polity and the economic. In its extreme form, the theory of civil society is becoming a non-state or even an anti-state variety of liberalism. The role of civil society is becoming important in the wake of participatory democratic theory. Some groups in the

civil society are demanding increasing public access to justice and greater transparency in decisions taken by the various organs of government. Here, the issues of the rule of law and good governance entailing citizens' right to information also become important. All this has brought the community and civil society to the center stage displacing the state in some conventional spheres of its activity. Political Theory in the era of globalization will have to address itself to the phenomenon of autonomous market, shrinking state and assertive civil society. Increasing public interest Litigation (PIL) has driven various organs of government to the wall in many respects. For example, Narmada Bachao Andolan being spearheaded by Medha Patekar and Arundhati Roy, Chipko Movement of Sunder Lal Bahuguna, the people's Union for civil Liberties, Lok Satta, Association for Democratic Reform and Transparency International are all directed at keeping the various organs of government in reasonable limits. NGOs are emerging as a countervailing power vis-à-vis the state. The seriousness of the problem of global warming, green house gases, and ozone hole are today matters of concern of all government – democratic and authoritarian.

The relationship between civil society and the state has always been subject of insightful discussion. Both Hobbes and Locke considered the state as the creation of civil society for protecting the life and property of citizens. While championing the sovereignty of the state, Hobbes did not deny the ruler's obligation to assure civil society rights. Locke considered civil society as having inalienable rights over the state. From the time of Hegel onwards, the complementarity of the two institutions came to be accepted. Hegel, however, thought that the superiority of the state will eventually reduce civil society to the level of an instrument of state power. Marx held the view that civil society represented the interest of the bourgeoisie as revealed through the state; as such, both are instruments of oppression. Gramsci disputed this point and said that both State and civil society were created around reciprocal rights and obligations, and that one cannot exist without the other. More important, civil society provided the normative base for the state. The modern approach to the issue is more pragmatic than theoretical, this is for several reasons:

In recent times the concept of state has undergone considerable change. The major shift has been from the formalistic-mechanical to the empirical-behavioural aspects of the state. Sociologists no more use the term state as the embodiment of coercive power and sovereignty, but as a system having several parts and operating within the larger social system. The state operates through its various elements-executive, legislature, judiciary, bureaucracy, the army, and, in a democracy, political parties. The uniqueness of the political system vis-a-vis the social system is that 'a is the prime mover, energizer and regulator of the latter. Viewed in this perspective, the interdependence of the state and civil society becomes apparent. An effective state is central to the functioning of an effective civil society. However, a vibrant civil society requires not just an effective state but also a political order that is liberal and democratic, a state which enforces the rule of law and safeguards the fundamental freedom of its citizens. There is also the need for the state to incorporate welfare provisions. Only these qualities of the state will enable civil society organisations to coexist and enter into healthy competition with one another.

The state's relationship with civil society is the key issue in political sociology. This chapter explores how the three most important theoretical positions of political sociology have analyzed this relationship. Marxism, elite theory and pluralism have developed through a dialogue with liberalism, so this article therefore begins with a brief overview of the liberal perspective on the state-civil society relationship. For liberals, the state is a necessary evil that serves civil society, and which is accountable to citizens through political representation. The state's functions are primarily to maintain internal social order and to protect civil society from external threats to its security. The state is often portrayed by liberals as a neutral arbiter between conflicting interests. It is not dominated by any section of society, but instead pursues policies that maximise individual liberty. Although some liberals allow for a more developed state role in such areas as welfare provision, all liberals prioritise a clear separation between state and civil society. This is contrasted with totalitarian regimes, such as Nazi Germany or the USSR, where the division between state and civil society is dissolved and the state, representing a sectional interest, suppresses alternative sites of power. In

liberal societies, it is argued, the state is a site of formal equality between all citizens. Civil society, in contrast, is characterised by free-dom, social diversity and competition in the market place, which results in material inequalities. Such competition, it is contended, promotes general prosperity through the encouragement of individual innovation.

This benefits the whole of society by improving the general performance of the economy. Within civil society individuals are free to pursue their own desires, as long as this does not encroach upon the liberty of others. Liberals argue for equality of opportunity and meritocracy, and liberalism is an agency-based theory in that levels of economic success are seen as proportionate to the level of an individual's effort.

12.4 CIVIL SOCIETY AND DEMOCRACY

Modern democratic states are characterized by a plurality of incompatible religious and non-religious, liberal and non-liberal. Within a democratic society, none of these beliefs is affirmed by all the citizens and the plurality of views concerning the nature of good life is a permanent feature of such Societies. Pluralists hold that a multiplicity of cultures can coexist within the boundaries of one political order, and that having a specific ethnic or linguistic identity is not a barrier to integration. The civil society being different from the state implies an arena in which people can realize their self interest, develop their personality and learn the value of group action by depending on others for their welfare. Civil society prepares the people to participate in state functioning and thus, it provides a solid base of citizenship. Civil society can be described as something private as contrasted to the state and as something public when contrasted to the family. Though it is an aspect of the modern state and is subject to its control, yet it is autonomous and voluntarily organised. Charles Taylor characterised it as a commercial society that includes both economic associations as well as the domain of non-economic voluntary associations. Gellner observed that "civil society is that set of diverse non-governmental institutions which is strong enough to counterbalance the state and, while not preventing the state from fulfilling its role

of keeper of the peace and arbitrator between major interests, can nevertheless prevent it from dominating atomizing the rest of society.”

In a multicultural society social integration is established by shared liberal political values. Civil society will provide the arena for finding a common ground, and integrative and collaborative modes of action. In fact, civil society mediates between government and the private sector, and helps conflicting institutions and belief systems to evolve mutually acceptable formulae for operation. In this sense, civil society also helps to resolve the contradictions that a democratic state may generate or encounter in the course of its operation. The values of civil society are those of political participation and state accountability. Thus, it provides the necessary basis for participation in formal political institutions. The institutions of civil society are associational. It advocates pluralism and is opposed to totalitarianism. When state becomes an authoritarian political institution, its authority is to be challenged by the civil society.

Within the civil society, individuals enjoy enforceable rights of free expression, freedom to form associations, formulation of opinions and freedom to dissent. Civil society is a vital pre-condition for the existence of democracy. For this reason, authoritarian states attempt to stifle civil society. The existence of civil society does not mean that it always challenges the state authority. Thomas Paine argued that the power of the state must be restricted in favor of the civil society as individuals are having a natural propensity for society which exists before the formation of the states.

Role of Civil society

Civil society plays an important role in building and maintaining the democracy. Civil society movements can significantly influence the government policies as well as social attitude. It must perform some roles to maintain and strengthen the democracy. They are :

- To empower citizens: Civil society empowers the citizens about their rights and duties and the necessity of them. It also encourages the traditionally excluded groups such as women, dalits and minorities to utilize their rights and the access to power.

- To keep state power in check : Civil society checks the political abuses and violations of law. An empowered civil society will be able to hold the state accountable in case of abuse of political power.
- To mitigate political conflicts : Conflicts are not very uncommon in the democratic institutions constituting wide range of interests. A well established civil society mitigates the main differences and will help state in ensuring that the best interests are addressed.
- To promote the democratic attributes : Civil society promotes the democratic attributes amongst its citizens such as tolerance, willingness to compromise and respect for the conflicting views.
- To provide opportunities for political parties : It allows political parties and other organizations to represent their interests. This improves the quality of democracy.
- To support political & economic reforms : Without the support of public and the legislature, political and economic reforms cannot succeed. Civil society performs this role and paves way for reforms.
- To train new political leaders : If the state fails to represent the society's best interests and if its interests are narrow and stagnant, civil society helps in identifying and training the new political leaders to revitalize their government.
- Election monitoring : In many states, non-partisan volunteer organisations monitored elections to check the legitimacy of the process and the result. This enhances public trust in the government.

By doing its duties, civil society can represent citizen interests while forming policies and can make their society more democratic. However, state should give fundamental liberties to its citizens, because civil society can function well in the democratic institutions rather than in dictatorial countries.

Civil Society and Globalization

In recent years the structure of civil society vis-a-vis the state is being redefined in the context of globalization, which is increasingly challenging the nation state. The role of the nation State in sponsoring autonomous organisations and helping them compete with one another in a healthy manner, and its equally important role of preserving a liberal democratic socio-political order, are being threatened by international government organisations (IGOs) and multi- and transnational NGOs. These organisations, with their huge resources, have free access to the nation states and are in a position to dictate terms to CSOs. International agencies like the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT) and World Trade Organization (WTO), and even the World Bank, are blaming many countries in the Third World for their inability to observe the rules of the game of globalization and are pressing governments to share the burden of national development with local NGOS. In normal conditions this should augur well for CSOs, but not so under the canopy of globalization. In the context of the declining freedom of the nation states over their economic (and, through it, their political) operations, the resource-hungry CSOs could be easily tamed by the big donors.

Civil Society and the Indian Scenario

India has a comparatively well developed civil society, and some of its CSOs have made commendable contribution both to the cause of democracy and to national development. However, the socio-political space in which the CSOs are operating does not seem to be conducive to a healthy growth of civil society. As noted earlier, there are several prerequisites for the civil society to function effectively. Considering the conditions prevailing in India, these may be reformulated as follows:

1. A political system with a neutral state and a liberal democratic set-up: Toleration of opposing ideologies and groups, respect for the rule of law, and protection of the fundamental freedom of the citizens are basic to this system.

2. An economic system guaranteeing economic justice to all citizens: Welfare provisions, and meeting the minimum needs of the citizens are a sine qua non of this system.
3. A sociocultural system based on universalistic values: Affective neutrality must have precedence over affectivity orientation of the citizenry;

The performance of the civil society in India will be conditioned by the extent to which these prerequisites are met in India, the state declares itself to be secular and democratic, and where the citizen's right to equality before the law is enshrined in the Constitution. However, this equality is negated in several cases by the State's inability to make uniform laws for all citizens, especially women and other weaker sections of society. The dalits, for example, do not feel that they receive equal protection of the law. Even where protective laws exist, they are not enforced impartially. In several instances (for example, the Shah Bano case), the state has failed to enforce the constitutionally guaranteed fundamental rights or judicial verdicts.

State personnel, especially the police have failed to protect the citizen from privately perpetrated violence or they themselves have engaged in violation of citizenship rights. "It countless cases before the Human Rights Commission are a proof of this. There is a widespread feeling that different sections of the people are differently protected by the state, and the rule of law applies neither to some but nor to all. Autonomous spheres of power have emerged inflicting injustice to the weaker groups in society. The bureaucratic set-up has proliferated in all spheres of CSOs making it difficult for them to engage in their legitimate fields of activity. The widespread illiteracy of the people, especially among women, has stood in the way of citizens knowing about their fundamental rights, and in CSOs performing their advocacy role effectively.

The economic system, in spite of several welfare provisions in the Constitution and several welfare programmes being implemented, continue to be skewed as regards economic justice. Around one-third of the population lives below the poverty-line and suffer from privations of all sorts. The presence of sharp economic disparities and inherited social inequalities have stood in the

way of the poor masses enjoying the benefits of many of its welfare schemes, especially in the areas of education and health, which are the gateways to good life. This has also detracted CSOs in their advocacy role, and as a consequence, they are unequally placed vis-a-vis other organizations and the State in terms of power, resources and bargaining capacity. The socio-cultural values in India are lacking in many qualities that promote the growth of a healthy democracy and effective civil society. Social behavior in several areas is guided by particularistic values, and this has often led to conflict and confrontation. Many CSOs are governed by narrow ethnic, regional, communal and linguistic considerations. The essential contradiction of such an approach infiltrates the democratic process and weakens the democratic apparatus. This has also undermined the capacity of civil society to buttress the state and to complement the latter's functions. The vicious circle formed by the process of a non-liberal, non-neutral State distorting the democratic process and undermining civil society will make the development of a civil society of the Western type a remote possibility in India.

12.5 SUMMARY

To sum up, we can say that civil society as distinguished from political and economic relationships, and is frequently referred to as the "third sector." The activities of civil society — above all volunteer organizations and cooperative endeavors in the private-social sector, all of which are succinctly known as the "third sector," to distinguish from the State and the market — represent the most appropriate ways to develop the social dimension of the person, who finds in these activities the necessary space to express himself fully. The progressive expansion of social initiatives beyond the State- controlled sphere creates new areas for the active presence and direct action of citizens, integrating the functions of the State. This important phenomenon has often come about largely through informal means and has given rise to new and positive ways of exercising personal rights, which have brought about a qualitative enrichment of democratic life. Because civil society proceeds with relative autonomy, it does need some ordering. Hence, civil society needs a political community, a political order, ultimate formalized into a State.

12.6 MODEL TEST PAPER

(A) Answer the following questions:

- Q1: Discuss in detail the relationship between state and civil society.
- Q2: Explain the significant role of civil society in Indian context in promoting good governance.
- Q3: Describe the structure of state and civil society in the context of globalization?
- Q4: Write a short note on Gramsci's view on civil society.
- Q5: How Thomas Hobbes define Civil society?

(B) Tick the right option:

- i. Who originated the concept of civil society?
a) Gramsci b) Hobbes c) Hegel
- ii. According to _____, the state is protected by hegemony in civil society.
a) Hegel b) Locke c) Gramsci
- iii. Who is the author of the book 'State and Civil Society'?
a) P.Blau b) Neera Chandoke c) Kothari

12.8 SUGGESTED READINGS

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M.A. SOCIOLOGY

M. A. Sociology

Course No. 405

Lesson -13

Unit-III

DEMOCRATIC AND TOTALITARIAN SYSTEMS

CONTENT

- 13.1 Introduction
- 13.2 Meaning of Democratic System
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OBJECTIVES

The main thrust of this unit is to understand the:

- meaning of democratic and totalitarian system.
- features and forms of democratic and totalitarian system.
- points of difference between these two forms of government.

13.1 INTRODUCTION

The governance of nations differs significantly based on who has power. Sociology is the study of human social behavior, human development, organizations, and institutions. In order to better understand those institutions and how humans are organized, it is important to understand how societies are governed. This lesson will discuss and differentiate between the forms of government.

13.2 DEMOCRATIC SYSTEM

Democracy as a political system, i.e., as a form of government, has become politically the most fashionable one today. It is often said to be the best and the most civilized form of political system. Still, as Burns says, "Democracy is a word with many meanings and some emotional colour." He further says, "Few words have been more loosely and variously defined than democracy. It has almost literally meant all things to all men." The term democracy is derived from two Greek words *demos* which means the people and *kratia* which means the power. "Literally, therefore, democracy is regarded as that government 'where the power is vested in the people'".

Definition of Democracy

Abraham Lincoln has said that democracy is a "government of the people by the people and for the people. *Gettell* defines democracy as-"that form of government in which the mass of the population possesses the right to share in the exercise of sovereign power".

MacIver writes : “Democracy is, not a way of governing whether by majority or otherwise but primarily a way of determining who shall govern and broadly, to what ends”.

Sardar Panikkar, a noted Indian Historian writes: “Democracy is in fact, not merely a form of government, it is a complex of social, economic and political factors, affecting the relationship of the state of the individual, guaranteeing essential freedoms, personal liberty, freedom of expression of organisation and of governing activities”.

Democracy is the name of government of people. Eligible candidates are elected through a free and fair election process and after that they become eligible to hold the public office according to term specified in constitution or law. Democracy is the most acceptable principle of governance in most of the countries. No one is allowed in this system to come into power without passing through a proper channel that is general election system. All the citizens are equal according to law. There is no concept of centralization of power and authorities in democracy. Representative government is the other word that is used for the democratic government. It is purely the anti-shape of authoritarianism where the selected politicians of the public set the all public and private behavior in the country. It is the government system of the modern day world that at first replaced the traditional monarch and caliph system. Today the constitutional democracy is one of the powerful ways of government along with dictatorship that is still popular in various part of the country. There are many disadvantages of democracy that are regarding citizen representation, high participation by the public and likewise many other facilities and options for the general public. But at the same time democracy has been criticizing for promoting the red carpet, delay in important public decisions and no system of accountability. The brutal truth about democracy is that the 51% ruled over the rest of 49%. Political minorities are oppressed by the majority. In democracy, it is believed that public will account for the politicians in the upcoming election and for the same reason most of the politicians in the democratic government never present them in front of judiciary. Democracy is based on the three fundamental principles of upward control, political equality and social norms.

13.2.1 Features of Democratic system

The basic features can be listed here.—

- Democracy guarantees all individuals the right to speak, criticize and disagree with others. It stands on the spirit of tolerance and allows people to have diverse views, ideas and ideologies.
- It believes in the methods of persuasion and peace.
- It is opposed to the use of coercive methods or to the threat of power,
- It upholds the dignity of the human personality.
- It guarantees fundamental rights to its citizens like the right to freedom of speech, press, peaceful assembly, to contest the elections, constitutional remedies, etc.
- It is built on the foundations of Liberty, Equality and Fraternity,
- In democracy sovereignty rests With the people.
- It is a rule by the majority with full safeguards for the rights of the minorities.
- It is a government by the representatives of the people who are elected on the basis of universal adult franchise,
- It functions strictly according to the provision of the constitution, written or unwritten, which has been accepted by the people.
- It gives adequate opportunities to all and assures every one full justice.
- Though it is a rule by majority, it aims at the welfare of all.
- It provides for a Change in government according to constitutional provision.

13.2.2 Forms of Democratic system

- (1) **Direct Democracy:** Direct democracy is also known as pure democracy and simple democracy. A direct democracy is one in which the people

themselves take direct part in the affairs of the state, in passing laws and in executing them. Here, people exercise power directly. This kind of democracy can exist and function only in small states with limited population, where all the people can conveniently assemble at a given place and pass laws. This kind of democracy existed in the ancient city-states of Greece. But it survives in some of the small Cantons in Switzerland. It cannot be put into practice in the modern complex societies.

- (2) **Indirect or Representative Democracy:** Modern states are generally very large in size and population. Hence direct democracy cannot function in these states. Modern democracy is mostly indirect or a representative democracy. In an indirect democracy, the government is run by the representatives who are elected periodically by the people. J.S. Mill defines indirect democracy as one in which “the whole people or some numerous portions of them, exercise the governing power through deputies periodically elected by them.” The people judge the representatives by their deeds. If they are found to be efficient they are re-elected, otherwise, new members are elected. Still, the people do not have direct control over the representatives, when once they are elected. They may fail to perform their duties properly. Some states have introduced various ‘direct democratic checks’ like Referendum, Recall, etc. In India, U.S.A., UK, France, Japan, Austria there is indirect democracy.

13.2.3 Advantages of Democracy

- a) Democracy gives importance to human liberty and equality. It protects the fundamental rights of the people and safeguards their life. Democracy treats all the citizens as equal before the law.
- b) Democratic government is a responsible government. The party which is in power has the fear of the Opposition parties and hence is very careful in its functioning.
- c) Here, due weightage is given to the opinions and valuable suggestions of intellectuals, statesmen, scholars, etc.

- d) The Democratic government gives political education to the people through the political parties. The political parties hence play a vital role in democracy.
- e) Democracy provides for peaceful change. Elections are held periodically and people can vote to power the party which they like. Government can be changed through the constitutional methods in a peaceful manner. It averts bloodshed, 'wars and revolutions. '
- f) Democracy is a government by consent and criticism, debates and discussions. Hence policies and programmes are undertaken only after obtaining the consent and cooperation of the people or their representatives.
- g) Democracy is not based on force or violence, it believes in peaceful methods, in non-violence, co-operation and persuasion.
- h) In democracy, people are supreme and the rulers are only their elected representatives. Hence the rulers are responsible and answerable to the governed.

Disadvantages

- a) Though democracy assures equality to all it ignores the natural and inborn inequalities. Providing equal opportunities to unequal people can only perpetuate inequalities.
- b) There is no guarantee that a democratic government works efficiently. The possibility of a democratic government being dominated by unscrupulous and dishonest legislators cannot be ruled out.
- c) Democracy gives more importance to quantity rather than to the quality. Sometimes the ruling party rejects the valuable suggestions of the opposition by its brute majority.
- d) The political parties instead of serving the people become tyrannical in the nature. They may give wrong versions of the issues and confuse and mislead the people. They may politicalize even the non-political issues.

- e) Democracy is criticized as a costly government. It results in high expenses and wastes in the form of salaries and allowances to the legislators and ministers and also in the form of elections.
- f) Democracy is a slow and a time-consuming process. Hence it becomes difficult for the government to deal effectively with emergencies and crises. Democracy, necessarily entails delay.
- g) Democracy is often denounced as inefficient and corrupt. Money plays a vital role here. In a democratic nation like India votes are purchased and legislators bribed;
- h) Democracy gives scope for politicians to become prosperous. As Lord Bryce has pointed out, it contributes to “the tendency to make politics a gainful profession”.

13.3 THE TOTALITARIAN SYSTEM

The totalitarian system is one of the rivals of the democratic system. It is a system in which the total power is vested in one individual or party. It is popularly known as dictatorship. It is opposite to democracy. While democracy upholds liberty, dictatorship, suppresses it. As F. Neumann says: “By dictatorship we understand the rule of a person or a group of persons who arrogate to themselves and monopolize power in the state, exercising it without restraint”. A dictator dictates terms, i.e., as he orders and rules as he pleases. He passes laws to strengthen his own hands. There are no restraints on his own hands. There are no restraints on his authority. He ruthlessly suppresses Opposition. If democracy is based on consent, dictatorship is based on force.

The Ways of Dictatorship or Totalitarianism

Dictatorship makes its sheer will the sole justification of its authority. Its own being is the only answer it permits. It ignores community. It has no abiding rules, no fundamental laws. Its own law is always that of the hour. There is no law or basis of law beneath it. No law has any higher status than his mere decree. There is no social ground on which his pronouncement of justice rests. Dictatorship comes into being when the social order is shaken or broken, in the time of crisis

when men forsake their traditions. It comes in the time of desperate conflict when men are willing to sacrifice if only the strong man restores to them assurance and order. In such times they abandon the accepted standards of legality. The anti-thesis between dictatorship and legality has been recognized since the days of the Greek city-states.

The coming of dictatorship is usually abrupt. It represents a sharp break from tradition. A crisis occurs. The old legality cannot be restored and the people are unready for the alternative of democracy. Because, it requires a process of maturation. The contentions between the classes or between religious or other groups may be too irreconcilable for orderly settlement. Such a situation sows the seeds of dictatorship. During one crisis in England, when a severe break with the tradition occurred, there appeared its only dictator, Oliver Cromwell, in France, during the historic revolution there came the dictatorship of Robespierre and soon after the Revolution, of Napoleon Bonaparte. Every dictatorship maintains power by unconstitutional means. It elevates the executive above, the legislative, it makes its decree, its law; it insists on political orthodoxy, it suppresses unfavorable opinions. It exalts the state. It builds its own organisations which markedly differ from those of the community associations. It can invent no constitutional device for succession to dictatorial power.

Dictatorship or autocracy is a governance system in which one powerful person or group of few powerful persons rule on the entire nation without any permission by law. Dictator rule on the entire nation up to his death or will whichever is earlier. He is the central place of the government and has all the authorities and powers regarding decisions making. In fact, dictator is itself the law and others are bound to follow the same. Expression of opinion, freedom and liberties are sacrificed in dictatorship. In dictatorship countries, most of the dictators have military background. There are various forms of dictatorship and the despotism is the most common one that means the rule by a single entity with absolute authority and power. The ruling entity can be either individual like autocracy or can be a group like an oligarchy. It is purely the system of authoritarianism where the selected politicians of the public set the all public and private behavior in the country.

Dictatorship can be further sub-classified into military dictatorship, civil-military dictatorship, one party state system, personalist or hybrid government system. Despite the fact that democratic system of government is gradually increasing in the country still the many countries like to adopt the system of dictatorial government. The main advantages of dictatorship are not having red tape system, very low crime rate, employment opportunities and quick regression. But at the same time there are dozens of disadvantages of dictatorship as well that are in addition to restriction over freedom of choices, selection and expression. It is also the brutal side of the dictatorship that most of the wars were imposed during the eras of dictators like Stalin, Hitler, Mao Zedong, etc. It is likely to collapse and moreover, the countries with constitutional democracy reluctant to make relationship with country having dictatorial form of government.

13.3.1 Features of Totalitarianism System

- a) **Totalitarian Power.** In a totalitarian system the government assumes complete power and covers all aspects of the individual's life. The state is glorified. Mussolini of Italy said: "All with the state, none outside the state, and none against the state".
- b) **One Man Rule.** One man or a minority group assumes supreme authority. This person or group is not responsible "to the people over whom control is exercised".
- c) **One Party Rule.** The party to which the dictator belongs exercises ruthless control over the state. Opposition is simply crushed. In Russia, for example, there is only one party The Communist Party.
- d) **No Civil, Political and Economic Liberty.** The totalitarian denies individual liberty, it abridges or abrogates fundamental rights. Virtually, people become the slaves of the state. Individual becomes the means and the state, the end.
- e) **Based on Fear and Force.** Since the dictator is always doubtful about his position, he adopts violent and coercive methods to suppress opposition. He deals with the opposition with an iron hand.

- f) **Militant Nationalism.** The totalitarianism often stands for the purity of race, language, literature and culture. It often breeds militant or aggressive nationalism. .
- g) **Absence of Free and Independent Press.** In a totalitarian system free expression of public opinion is crushed. It controls in countless ways the mass media of propaganda, including the radio and the Press. The Press cannot be free, frank, and independent.

13.3.2 Types of Dictatorship

Modern dictatorship can be classified into three main types:

- (i) **The Fascist and the Nazi Dictatorship,** e.g., Italy and Germany-before World War II,
- (ii) **Communist Dictatorship** e.g., Soviet Russia and China, and
- (iii) **Military Dictatorship,** e. g., Indonesia, Pakistan, Egypt, Bangladesh, Iran, Iraq. Between 1919-4939 dictatorship rose in Italy, Germany, Spain, Turkey, Soviet Russia and other countries. After the end of World War II, it rose in China, Indonesia, Pakistan, Burma, Sudan, Egypt, Iraq and other countries.

13.3.3 Advantages of Totalitarian System

- a) Totalitarian systems are often claimed as regimes of strong men who get things done". They are regarded as more efficient and strong.
- b) The dictatorship brings unity. One man rule or one party rule does not give room for divergent views. On the other hand it welds people together as one unit.
- c) Dictatorship is known for its simplicity. Decisions are taken promptly and immediately and unnecessary delay is avoided.
- d) Dictatorship is economical also. It avoids wastes and unnecessary expenses.

- e) Dictatorship as a form of government is stable also. Since it suppresses all opposition it is easy for the government to function without disturbances.
- f) Dictatorship is better suited to meet emergencies. It can effectively and efficiently meet with and face any crisis or challenge.
- g) A dictatorial government can achieve progress in a short period. Progress, here means the material progress. Communist China and Russia, for example, have achieved progress in a relatively short period.
- h) A dictatorial government gives importance to army. Hence it builds up military strength to meet any challenge or threat from outside.

Disadvantages

- a) The greatest demerit of dictatorship is that it does not grant freedom and fundamental rights to the people.
- b) Dictatorship is based on force and fear. Dictators create terror and horror in the minds of the people. Hitler and Mussolini, for example, terrorized people into submission.
- c) Dictatorship makes the people its slaves. It buries their sense of self-prestige and self-respect.
- d) A government which is based on force cannot last long. Hence, dictatorship may not last for a long time.
- e) The dictatorial government suppresses the freedom of the people. This may damage the creativity and adventurous spirit of the people.
- f) Dictatorship glorifies the state and goes to the extent of sacrificing the interests of the individual in the name of the state.
- g) Dictatorship does not prescribe peaceful means of changing the government. In ambitious men and groups will be preparing grounds to seize the reins of administration into their hands by violent method.

- h) Dictatorship is opposed to world peace, because, dictators believe that wars are necessary for the nations. It builds its military strength more for waging wars than for self reliance.

13.4 DIFFERENCE

Democracy and totalitarianism are diametrically opposed forms of government. Whereas democracy institutionalizes the political ideals of equal rights, popular participation and civic control, totalitarianism enshrines the idea that the will of the leader is law, that the power of the state must be total and that enemies of the people must be liquidated. Historically, although totalitarianism has depended on its capacity to mobilize huge masses of people, it has nevertheless been a form of dictatorship, since there are no guarantees for individual rights or for the masses to participate in the political process. Two political regime, “democracy” and “dictatorship” stand in contrast to each other as both are entirely different from each others. The differences mostly arise on the methodology adopted for government and perception of people about these two governance system. With the commencement of 19th century, “constitutional democracy” and “dictatorship” emerged as a two system of governance. In democracy eligible candidates are elected through a free and fair election process and after that they become eligible to hold the public office according to term specified in constitution or law while dictatorship or autocracy is a governance system in which one powerful person or group of few powerful persons rule on the entire nation without any permission by law.

In the words of Charles Bukowski , The difference between a democracy and a dictatorship is that in a democracy you vote first and take orders later; in a dictatorship you don't have to waste your time voting.

Accordingh to Niels Bohr, The best weapon of a dictatorship is secrecy, but the best weapon of a democracy should be the weapon of openness

In the viewpoint of Plato, Dictatorship naturally arises out of democracy, and the most aggravated form of tyranny and slavery out of the most extreme liberty.

Comparison between Totalitarian System and Democracy:

13.5 SUMMARY

	Totalitarian System	Democracy
Definition	It is one person ruling the entire nation.	It is defined as the government by the people.
Characteristic	Dictator chooses what is right for the people.	People choose what is good for them.
Power	It lies in the hands of the dictator.	It lies in the hand of the people.
Governance	This governance dominates the people.	This governance allows people to be free.
Laws	Law is created by the dictator, with no say of the people.	People can create, change and enact the laws.
Freedom	Personal freedom and liberties are sacrificed.	Freedom is respected.
Justice	Due to lack of laws, justice is not done with people.	Justice is met with, due to proper laws.
Rights	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• People have no voice.• Controls the life of people.	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• People have freedom of speech.• People are free to live as they wish.

To sum up, one can say that a democratic society is one in which the spirit of equality and fraternity prevails. It is a society of free, equal, active and intelligent citizens, each man choosing his own way of life himself and willing that others should theirs. A Totalitarian system is a form of government in which a dictator has complete power. A dictator is the head of the system. Democracy can be defined as the government of the people. It is formed by the people, for the people and of the people. Democracy and Dictatorship are two types of governance over a nation. Both show difference in terms of their methodology and perception. There are lots of salient differences between the two notions. It is just about the distribution of power and who holds it. Thus, Democracy and Totalitarianism are two concepts that differ from each other to a great extent.

13.6 MODEL TEST PAPER/EXAMINATION ORIENTED QUESTIONS

- Q1: What is Democratic system ?
- Q2: Write a short note on Totalitarian system.
- Q3: Differentiate between Democracy and Totalitarianism.
- Q4: Name different forms of democratic system.

13.7 REFERENCES

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M.A. SOCIOLOGY

M. A. Sociology

Course No. 405

Lesson -14

Unit-III

POLITICAL SOCIALIZATION

CONTENTS

- 14.1 Introduction
- 14.2 Meaning of Political Socialization
- 14.3 Types and Agencies of Political Socialization
- 14.4 Function/Importance/Role of Political Socialization
- 14.5 Summary
- 14.6 Model Test Paper
- 14.7 Suggested Readings

OBJECTIVES

The main thrust of this unit is to understand the:

- meaning of political socialization.
- different types and agencies related to political socialization.
- importance of political socialization in the social structure.

14.1 INTRODUCTION

Political Socialization is one of the key concepts in contemporary political analysis. It is primarily a psychological concept which deals with orientation of individuals towards political objects. As it is a process by which political cultures are maintained and changed,

it plays a vital role in the study of political sociology. It is an important means of inter-generational and intercontinental transmission of culture. It is the way a society transmits its political culture from generation to generation and from one continent to another. This process helps society to achieve cohesion through a shared understanding of values, norms and symbols. It also helps in the process of establishment and development of attitudes and beliefs about political system. It may encourage loyalty to the nation, the fostering of particular values, and may increase either support for or alienation from the system. It is a process, however, not confined to the impressionable years of childhood but one that continues throughout life

While studying a political culture one would naturally like to enquire as to how this political culture comes to be what it is, that is, how do people develop their political beliefs and attitudes and how, further, this set of beliefs and orientations is continued from one generation to another. The process by which political culture is shaped at the individual level and, at the community level is passed on from one generation to generation is called political socialization. The need for the study of the subject political socialization specially felt by the newly emerging countries to instill among their citizens the support for the political community, the regime and the occupants of political roles.

14.2 MEANING OF POLITICAL SOCIALIZATION

Political socialization is a lifelong process by which individuals learn political attitudes and behaviors. It is part of broader socialization process whereby an individual becomes a member of a particular society and takes on its values and behaviors. Social and cultural conditions mediate political socialization. Political socialization is defined as the process by which individuals acquire beliefs, values and habits of thought and action related to government, politics, and society. It goes beyond the learning ‘facts’ about how the world operates in practice, instead involving the development of a ‘worldview’ of how people and institutions ideally should operate.

Gabriel A. Almond and G.B. Powell defines political socialization “is the process by which political cultures are maintained and changed. Through the performance of this function individuals are inducted into the political culture, their orientations towards political objects are formed.”

According to Robert Sigel “It is the gradual learning of the norms, attitudes and behavior acceptable to an on-going political system.”

Fred I. Greenstein defines political socialization as “all political learning, formal and in-formal, deliberate and unplanned at every stage of the life cycle including not only explicitly political learning but also nominally non-political learning that affects political behaviour, such as, learning of politically relevant social attitude and the acquisition of politically relevant personality characteristics”. The end product of political socialization is, therefore, a set of attitudes cognitions, value standards and feeling – towards the political system, its various roles, and role incumbents. It also includes knowledge of values and feelings affecting the inputs of demands and claims the authoritative output.

Political socialization is, however, different from socialization. Socialization, being sociological concept, is that process by which individuals learn to conform to the norms of the group and social beings establish wider and profounder relationship with one another. Whereas political socialization deals with economic and political structures of the society. It, therefore, includes all those processes by which people acquire political orientation and pattern of behavior. Roberts Sigel also points out that political socialization is the gradual learning of norms, attitudes and behaviors acceptable to on-going political system. While explaining the concept Wallaby points out that political socialization is a process by which people acquire political values not simply during active political participation but even before engaging themselves in political activities.

Political socialization, therefore, includes all formal, informal, deliberate, unplanned learning at every stage of life. Political socialization which means learning of political attitudes and social preferences is crucial to stable government. The concept of socialization related to learning, at the same time it also distinguished from mere learning. Learning as much not always have a social relevance. For example, we all learn that the earth moves and the sun does not, but this learning is no part of the process of socialization. Political socialization is a lifelong process by which people form their ideas about politics and acquire political values. The family, educational system, peer groups, and the mass media all play a role. While family and school are important early in life, what our peers think and what we read in the newspaper and see on television have more influence on our political attitudes as adults. A person understand his various obligations and roles not through any conscious

effort by the ordinary course of interaction with his family and secondary groups. Learning is the result of short term actions and experience by the people. On the other hand socialization is life long process. It begins from the cradle and continues till his death. Political socialisation is, of course, a matter of learnt behaviour, but not necessarily a conscious process. Thus, Political socialisation is the process by which the ethos and behaviour of apolitical system is communicated from one generation to another generation. Therefore, political socialization is a continuous unconscious process.

14.3 TYPES AND AGENCIES OF POLITICAL SOCIALIZATION

Almond and Powell has classified Political socialization into two types, namely Direct or Manifest socialization and Indirect or Latent socialization.

1. Direct or Manifest Socialization

Direct or manifest socialization refers to the process in which the content of the transmitted information, values or feelings is clearly political. Thus an individual, under the influence of his family, teachers or other some agencies learn explicitly about the pattern and functions of the government, the views of political party or gets convinced of the superiority of particular ideology. The objects of his orientations being specifically political, these are instances of direct or manifest political socialization. It is manifest when it involves the explicit communication of information, values or feelings toward political objects. In other words Political socialization is manifest when certain values or feelings or feelings towards political system are put into the minds of others directly, clearly and manifestly. It includes the process of formal instruction given in schools or colleges about the political objects.

Manifest socialization operates through imitation, anticipatory behavior, political education or political experiences. Imitation being important way of learning, naturally, is a vital component of political socialization. Thus a rural migrant to an urban area may deliberately imitate political orientations of the urbanites just because by means of this imitation he may wish to make himself acceptable to his new associations. Or, a child may unconsciously imitate the party preferences of his parents. Again political socialization may start through the anticipatory behaviour.

Thus a student with a political ambition already begin to prepare himself for political offices even before he reaches the level of legal competence for these offices; in anticipation of holding an office he may develop mannerisms and styles associated with this office. Political socialization comes through direct political education. Instructions in politics are given by the family; the school, the government and other political agencies and also by various groups and organizations. Manifest socialization may also result from political experiences. An individual's political ideas and beliefs are, no doubt, substantially shaped by his observations of and experiences in political process. His ideas mature through his continue interactions with political personalities, structures and events.

2. **Indirect or Latent Socialization**

Political socialization is latent when attitude to non-political things becomes as attitude towards political things. In other words, latent political socialization is the transmission of non political attitudes which affect attitudes toward analogous roles and objects in political system. For example, the attitude of submission to the authority of the father in a family makes us to submit to the authority in one political system. It is deep rooted and usually it works unnoticed and more or less automatically. Latent political socialization, therefore, involves many of the most fundamental characteristics of the general culture, which may, in turn, have great effect on the political sphere. As is clear by the nomenclature, this type of political socialization is indirect and non-manifest. This does not mean that it is always happening involuntarily. The will of the persons is also important in it. It works in following three modes:

- (i) **Transference:** In this type of indirect and non-manifest political socialization, the values and thoughts of a person or persons are transferred to other person or persons. For example, the child submitting before the tyrant authority in the family adopts surrendering attitudes to the government also. On the other hand, in democratic families, the children also develop democratic attitudes towards the political authority.
- (ii) **Apprenticeship:** This includes learning of the habits and behavior favorable to political activities. This learning is due to reward and punishment in the

political field. In it the person's own experience and not direct imitation of anyone is important. Non-political activities are learnt by them. For example, the experience of the family, the school and the job helps in learning activities favorable to many political actions.

- (iii) **Generalisation:** This of the indirect non-manifest political socialisation work for generalization to reach from social values to political aims. The followers of the skeptical philosophy of life are skeptical not only of the society but also the government. The fatalist India philosophy of lie encourages surrender to the government.

There are also some other types of socialization related to politics:

- Particularistic;
 - Universalistic;
 - Affective;
 - Instrumental;
 - Specific
 - Diffuse;
- *Particularistic Socialization* is that process in which individual is taught only one and not more than one role. He does not learn anything about other roles. i.e., socializing an individual into Particularistic values only.
 - In *universalistic socialization* cosmopolitan outlook is developed. One, therefore, learns several roles.
 - In *affective socialization* there is stress on emotional values and loyalties, viz. pride in one's political system, loyalty to the one's country, respect for ruler etc.
 - In *instrumental socialization* the emphasis is on pragmatic bargaining and calculating strategies i.e., the brief that a political system should be supported not for all times, but as long as one derives benefits from it.

- In *specific socialization*, specific attitude and values are imparted by specific political structures.
- There is *diffused socialization* where there is learning about vague things such as religion, politics, economy, society etc. It is found in such societies in which there is no differentiation between state and society.

AGENCIES OF POLITICAL SOCIALISATION

Political socialisation is the process by which political culture is transmitted in a given society. It occurs at both the individual and community level, and it extends beyond the acquisition of political culture to encompass the learning of more sophisticated political ideas and orientations. Political socialisation is a lifelong process and variety of individuals and institutions contribute to its shaping effect. For example, individuals are politically socialized by such groups as their family, peers, and social class. Furthermore, they are socialized by existing laws, media, religion, education, their own gender, and more. Basically, the process is never ending and the factors which shape it are all encompassing. Those groups and institutions which contribute to the process of political socialization are known as the agents of socialization. Political socialization first happens at home with a child's family, especially with parents. Dinner table discussions, comments about elections and off-hand statements regarding laws help define a young child's political socialization. Older children develop more political socialization skills at school by seeing and learning about the process. Class officers, American history classes and school elections teach children about the logistics of politics by putting theories into action.

Peer groups during teenage years affect someone's political socialization because a teen may vote a certain way because everyone else does. High school elections for homecoming and student councils may shape someone's political opinion. As adults, mass media forms the basis for political socialization. Evening news broadcasts, online news sources and live debates enhance a voter's political views. The previous methods of political socialization may affect the choices of which mass media a voter may subscribe to as an adult.

Agents of Political Socialization



They are divided into primary agents and secondary agents of political socialisation. The *primary agents of socialization* are those that directly develop specific political orientations. Family, peer groups, educational institutions etc. come under the category of primary socializing agents. Whereas the secondary agents of socialization tend to be less personal and involved in the process of socialization in more indirect manner. Mass media, political parties, voluntary organizations, government etc. comes under the category of secondary socializing agents.

Some of the important agents of political socialization are:

- Family
- Peer groups
- Educational Institutions
- Secondary groups
- Mass Media
- Political Party

FAMILY

Family plays a key role in transmitting political culture from one generation to the next. Much of an individual's political personality is shaped at home in the first ten or fifteen years of his life. The most of political personality of a person is determined in the family, years before his actual participation in politics. The father symbolizes authority in the family and the child's attitude towards authority in adult life. Large scale researchers in U.S.A have confirmed that more than three-fourth children of a generation follow political values of the parents through the social and economic environments of the two generations may be widely different. The importance of the family in political socialization may be due to

several reasons. In the first place, family holds a crucial position in the life of the child. The child needs family love and approval, he draws from it his material requirements and is also given a status by the family.

As a result, he follows the familial political beliefs and attitudes just as readily accepts the parental version of what is right and wrong, what is good and bad, what is proper and improper. Secondly, children have a natural tendency of imitating their parents. The mother and father present ideal patterns of behaviour for the daughter and son respectively. With the increase of the age the importance of the parents diminishes and the child learns a lot from outside the family. But the influence of the parents is never completely wiped off from the mind, this is at least true about the less educated and less intelligent persons. Thirdly, members of a family usually live in the same environment. All the family is influenced by the same neighbours and neighbourhood, by the same friends, and the same economic forces of area and father's occupation. The family members read the same news papers, attend to the same radio and TV programmes, listen to the same preacher and other local opinion leaders, gather the same gossip and hear the same stories. So, all the members of the family should naturally carry similar political ideas, values and behavior due to residing in the same environment.

PEER GROUPS

Besides family, there may be other groups in a society which like family, are based on primary relationships and yet differ from family in their structure and in the character of their interrelationships. Childhood play groups, friendship cliques, small work groups, brothers and sisters, married couples are some of the examples of these groups which are known as peer groups. The parent-child relationships are always hierarchic and each family contains at least two separate generations. In such conditions members of a family—the child and the parent—naturally claim to enjoy the same status. Peer groups on the other hand, comprise members about the same age. Hence, peer groups can afford to be non-hierarchic and their members can manage to enjoy an equal status in their relation with each other. This equality is characteristic of equal age, equal functions and equal economic status. This does not mean that peer groups have no leaders, but these leaders do not enjoy authority, characteristic of the parents in the family. Just as in the socialization of the child influence of the family is maximum, similarly the adolescent is influenced by the peer

group and friend circle. In this age he needs explanation of political changes and participates in them. He attains political experience due to socialization in the upper group. This requires complex and impersonal relationships not found in the family. The family and the peer groups however, do not conflict but cooperate.

The importance of peer groups in political socialisation is the fact that interactions of members of upper group are spontaneous and not formal. The members naturally influence each other. They have most intimate and emotional relationships leading to socialization as it is in the case of family. However, the societies in which the control of the family upon the individual is comprehensive and durable exhibit little and less durable contribution of the peer group.

EDUCATIONAL INSTITUTIONS

As a person grows older and begins undertaking his formal education, the educational institutions- schools, colleges and universities- start working as another important agent of socialization. Schools, in fact, are close rivals to the family as the major agent of the political socialization. Indeed, one of the main reasons why modern governments set up schools or helps in founding them is that governments find in it an excellent medium through which they can hope to grow values highly congenial for their operation. The schools socialize both directly and indirectly. Direct socialization takes place when the school curriculum, much as it is invariably imbued with nationalistic values, teaches about a country's past, its heroes and traditions and glorifies the achievements of the state, thereby helping the students develop a sense of pride about and a feeling of loyalty to their country and their governmental system. The teachers also help in this process. The students are taught to surrender before the authority in the name of discipline in the school, a phenomenon helpful in later civic life. It goes without saying that repression in the political field will be possible only as much as will be the strictness of discipline in educational institutions. On the other hand, if the students are allowed to oppose the orders of the authorities, they do not shirk from the criticism of government in due course. College and university education, for some students, may bring in new values and the formation of more radical political attitudes.

SECONDARY GROUPS

Secondary groups also work as an agent of political socialisation, however varies with the nature of societies. The more highly developed and complex society is, the greater will be the number of secondary groups and more important role they will play in the process of socialization. As the complexity and development increases in society so does increase the value of secondary groups. It is possible to identify three types of secondary groups which socialize politically in different ways. Firstly, there may be secondary groups with a distinctly political character. Political parties and political youth groups fall in this category. They are established clearly for the purpose of disseminating political values, mobilizing political action and recruiting the political leaders. A second type represents those groups which are instituted for non-political purposes, but which are found to carry on political education and mobilisation along with their other activities. A labour union, students union illustrates these types. These groups aim at collective bargain in their particular field. But even these groups are led by the leaders following particular political ideologies. Some of them even active members of particular political party. They impart political education their followers and take part in active politics from time to time. The third type of secondary groups does not have any political character, nor do they ever try to impart political education to their members. But mere participation in their routine affairs gives their members opportunities to develop orientations that have political relevance.

MASS MEDIA

Radio, television, newspaper, and other forms of mass media also provide information about political happenings. That is why manipulation of media is often resorted to in different countries to influence, and change the political orientation of citizens. A controlled system of mass media, can, therefore, be a powerful force, in shaping political beliefs, and also can provide bases of support as important to a totalitarian status its police forces. It is necessary to remember that mass media in most cases are not the actual originator of the messages they transmit. These messages, in fact, originate at the level of governmental officials and political leaders, secondary groups, etc. and the mass media just channelize these messages to the people. Viewed from this angle, mass media, strictly speaking, are not themselves an agent of political socialisation. Further, the mass media messages go through go through what Klapper calls a “two-step flow”. That is, mass

media do not generally influence the people directly. The messages they transmit, at the first instance, reach a smaller number of “opinion leaders” like parents, teachers, community activities, etc., who then retransmit these messages to those over whom they have influence. Mass media reinforce the already established orientations. Traditionally, family and teachers served as the most influential agents of political socialization because they are some of the first groups with which we come into contact. However, there’s a growing belief that the media is beginning to displace these traditional agents as we spend more time in front of computers and the television. As a result, it’s become easier for political messages to reach a greater number of people. Additionally, young people can use the Internet to research information that either validates or negates the dominant opinions they are exposed to in their face-to-face interactions. For example, if a child grows up in a largely conservative home whose members don’t believe in the merits of gun control, that child no longer has to take those opinions at face value.

POLITICAL PARTIES

The political party is an important instrument through which people get a regular opportunity to be involved in political actions of the society. It is by way of this involvement that people are politically socialized by the political party. The political party may either reinforce the established political culture or may bring in significant changes in the pattern of existing political culture. Indeed, when a nation is aiming at radical social and political changes the political party may serve as a very useful agency for effectively disseminating ideas congruent with this change and thus may play a very great role in the process of political socialisation. The government plays a role in political socialization in a variety of ways. It determines the policies and curricula, including what books students may read, for public schools. The government also regulates the media, which affects what we see and hear. In the United States, broadcast television programs cannot contain nudity or profane language, and the government also mandates a certain amount of “family-friendly” programming per week. These choices have a subtle effect on viewers: We learn that bad language is inappropriate and that family is an essential part of American life and therefore American political culture. Similarly, governments frequently stage parades and celebrations to commemorate important events and people in history.

14.4 FUNCTIONS/IMPORTANCE OF POLITICAL SOCIALISATION

1. **Maintaining Political Culture:** This function is performed by communicating political culture from one generation to another generation. Under stable conditions this is an important function. But since the political field, is generally disturbed, the political socialisation does not act for maintaining political culture.
2. **Modification of Political Culture:** An important function of political socialisation is the modification of political culture. This aspect is clear from its relationships to change.
3. **Creating Political Culture:** With the establishment of new political system every society needs the creation of political culture. This function is performed by the process of political socialization.
4. **Continuity and Change:** Political socialization works in the directions of both continuity and change. In it change and modification is a permanent feature. In it change and modification is a permanent feature. However this change too has stability. Sometimes this process is fast and sometimes slow. Clear result in the political field may be seen by too fast or too slow political socialisation. This is also influence the policy of the state. In some states the government clearly makes efforts in this direction while in other states it is not so.
5. **Foundation of present pattern of political system:** In open societies there are sufficient opportunities for difference of opinion and opposition. On the other hand, the totalitarian states do not accept difference of opinion and opposition. They are continually propagating in their favour. On the other hand, in democratic societies it is not so difficult to maintain traditions. Therefore, political socialisation can be imposed strictly according to the rigidity of the social systems.

14.5 SUMMARY

Political socialisation is, thus, a relatively new area of study, but they performs functions which are vital to the political system no less than to the individuals. This is when even a totalitarian regime is keen to monopolize the socialization process so that people develop positive attitudes towards it however, deplorable it may be from the larger

humanistic stand point. But the study of political socialisation, like political culture, has special and vital significance for the third world countries where the political culture is in flux and change and is yet to take a definite shape. The great issues of politics in the emerging nations such as political stability, political development and change can be much more meaningfully studied and discussed with the help of the concepts like political culture and political socialization.

14.6 MODEL TEST PAPER

(A) Answer the following questions:

- Q1: What do you understand by political socialization?
Q2: Family acts as main agent of political socialization. Discuss
Q3: Write a note on direct political Socialization
Q4: Name the secondary agencies of socialization.

(B) Tick the right option:

- i. The process in which individual is taught only one and not more than one role is called _____ socialization.
a) Instrumental b) Particularistic c) Manifest
- ii. _____ is a vital component of political socialization.
a) Imitation b) Diffusion c) Appreciation
- iii. Who defined political socialization as the process by which political cultures are maintained and changed?
a) Dahl b) Almond & Powell c) Kothari

14.7 SUGGESTED READINGS

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M.A. SOCIOLOGY

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Course No. 405

Lesson -15

Unit-III

POLITICAL PARTIES, PRESUURE & INTEREST GROUPS

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- 15.1 Introduction
- 15.2 Meaning of Political party
- 15.3 Importance/Functions of Political parties
- 15.4 Structure of Political party
- 15.5 Classification of political parties
- 15.6 Political Parties in India: Their Evolution and Growth
- 15.7 Model Test Paper
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- 15.9 Meaning of Pressure and Interest groups
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- 15.12 Difference
 - 15.12.1 Pressure and interest groups
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- 15.13 Conclusion
- 15.14 References

OBJECTIVES

After studying this lesson you should be able to:

- define the meaning of political party and how it differs from other social groups.
- discuss its characteristic features and classify it into different types.
- understand the structure and importance of political parties.
- understand the meaning of pressure group and how it differs from other social groups.
- elaborate the various categories, development and role of pressure groups in our society.

15.1 INTRODUCTION

The social life is made up of many organized groups some of which enjoy a special attention in Political Sociology because of their direct bearing on the political process. Since Political Sociology views politics as essentially a matter of conflict and its settlement it is only natural that political parties being an important instrument for channelising, disciplining and harmonizing conflicting interests in a society will be a subject of abiding concern to a political sociologist.

15.2 MEANING OF POLITICAL PARTY

Besides, the operation of political power and authority-which happens to be the central theme around which has grown much of the content of Political sociology-cannot be fully understood -without a proper assessment of the role of the political party, that is, indeed, one of the few reliable means for satisfying one's queries about how the aspirants after power compete for it, how the actual powerholders come to acquire power and how, further, power, after it is formally acquired, flows through the institutional channel. With regard to political parties, the political sociologist's focus is, however, different from that of a political scientist. While the political scientist views the political party as nothing but a political institution having immense relevance to the question about the formation

and working of government in a modern state, the political sociologist, in addition, looks upon the *party as essentially a social group, as, what Max Weber has called, “an associative type of social relationship, membership in which rests on formally free recruitment”*. Gabriel Almond defined political party as *the socialized aggregation structure of modern societies*. In the words of Bruke, *“a party is a body of men for promoting their joint endeavors the national interest, upon some particular principle in which they are all agreed.”* It is a social group because, firstly, it embodies a system of interdependent activity and interpersonal relationships. Secondly, it operates in terms of goal-oriented coordinated actions in as far as it demands from its members a rational direction of their behaviour towards commonly acknowledged goals. The range of this interdependent activity and the type of goals it is directed to, of course, varies depending on the social and political environment because, after all, political parties are nothing but a structural response to the patterns of social and political needs of a society.

Yet a political party is different from other social groups like families, churches and business firms; it has some special features that distinguish it from the latter. One such feature is to be found in the pattern of the goal a political party strives for the primary goal of a political party is to secure political power and to hold it either singly or in cooperation with other political parties. It is this goal of attaining political power that distinguishes a political party from other social groups. In other words, the political party is a “type of social group, primarily concerned with social control as exercised through the government”. Often a party seeks to attain this political goal against the background of a common ideological belief shared by its members and in such a case this ideological perspective becomes another salient feature of the party that distinguishes it from other social groups. Again, unlike other social groups, a political party is very much a clientele-oriented organization. That is to say, a party is always keen on catching as much clientele as possible and hence it tries to remain as far open as possible to its potential members and leaders.

Thus of all the social groups, the political party is the most preamble and adaptive organisation. The party, however, is not only keen on expanding its

clientele for the sake of its own power aspirations; it as well brings advantage to the latter. Since the party is a clientele-oriented organization, it naturally accommodates different types of sector-economic interests. Further, a political party is always marked by a hierarchical structure. There is, however, a specialty in this hierarchy in as far as it does not give rise to highly centralized control and keep power strictly confined among the members placed at the top of this hierarchy. Actually, the fact that a political party is, by nature, adaptive and that it has to accommodate heterogeneous interests forces it to diffuse power and devolve responsibility up to the local structural strata.

15.3 FUNCTIONS OF POLITICAL PARTY

The distinctiveness of the political party as a social group, however, will be more evident when we take note of its important functions.

- A political party performs a wide range of functions, an important among which is what is known as *aggregation of interests*. A political party, as we have seen, is a multi-interest group that represents diverse interests of the society. But what is more important, it harmonizes these interests with each other, bridges thus the antagonisms between the different groups of society and thereby seeks to produce a consensus among as many groups as possible. Thus, sectional interests, once they are brought within the fold of the party, no longer remain sectional, geographical diversities under the purview of the party tend to be blurred and it is just for this that a party is able to arrive at a consistent and clear-cut policy. Once the diverse interests are thus made to converge within the frame work of the party the political process is made much simplified and there emerges order and, therefore, stability in it. Political parties thus act as a very effective mediator in settling disagreements in society in a peaceful and institutional manner.
- Another important function of the party is to ensure a *two-way communication process* between government and the people. It is mainly through the parties that the government is constantly kept informed about

the general demands of society, about the interests and attitudes of the people in relation to the governing process. Similarly, it is through the parties that people get their political information. The parties organise and articulate public opinion in order to bring this opinion to bear on governmental decisions, they educate and instruct the people on public issues and simplify and clarify issue alternatives. The party activity in this regard, however, is not left confined merely within election times; it, in fact, goes on continuously and thus the party becomes an important agency of political participation.

- *Political recruitment* is another important function of the political party. In a democracy political elites are recruited mainly through political parties; leaders of government are normally the leaders of political parties. In a one-party system, Of course, this function of the political party assumes greater dimensions since in such a system political party happens to provide the only avenue to political power. The general patterns of party recruitment may, however, be classified as: hegemonic and turn-over. In hegemonic recruitment pattern the same party or the same coalition of parties hold governmental power over a long period of time. In the turn over,type, on the contrary, there is a more frequent change in the party that rules or the party that dominates a coalition. Thus, recruitment is more permanent in the hegemonic pattern than in the turn-over pattern. India provides a good example of the hegemonic recruitment while the turn-over recruitment is well illustrated by the British politics.
- Fourthly, the party plays a very significant role in the *process of political socialization* in a country. We have already seen that the party is a very important instrument for ensuring political involvement of the people. It is in course of extending the opportunities of this political involvement to the people that the party socializes them. The political socialization performed by political parties may, however, assume two distinct forms. The party may either reinforce the existing political culture or it may try to alter the established political culture pattern by germinating new attitudes and beliefs.

- The reinforcement of the existing political culture by the political party may not necessarily contribute to the stability of the political system; sometimes, it may have a dysfunctional effect on the political system. Thus when parties represent strong traditional and ethnic subcultures and seek to reinforce the same they, in effect, tend to produce a divisive particularism that may seriously affect the stability of the political system. Some of the Indian political parties with strong regional and communal leanings aptly illustrate this point. Again, it is hardly likely that in a socioeconomic setup quite stable and orderly the political parties will ever try to initiate new political culture or be successful in such an attempt since in such a situation very few still be attracted by the signs of a new wind of change in the atmosphere of established beliefs. When, however, the social economic conditions are in a state of hurt and disruption the Party's role in effecting changes in the existing political culture is likely to be more honoured. Indeed, a people confronted with conditions of radical, social, economic and political changes will lean more favorably to a party that disseminates a culture congenial to these changes. Thus in developing societies that engaged in the work of radical social and political transformation the party's function of socializing the people by means at initiating changes in the political culture assumes a special experience.

However, the affectivity with which a political party can carry on political socialisation activities depends, to a large extent, on the internal structure of the party as well as on the pattern of social and political environment. And this is what makes it evident that although, on the basis of one's knowledge about the functions of the political party, parties may appear to be an independent variable they are actually a dependent variable too. And the best way to understand the political party as a dependent variable is to consider its structures and their possible determinants.

15.4 STRUCTURE OF POLITICAL PARTIES

Maurice Duverger in his *Political Parties* speaks of four possible structures of parties which are *the caucus, the branch, the cell and the militia*.

1. *Acaucus*, more like a committee, comprises a small number of members and, least interested in its own further expansion, it does not indulge in any propaganda for extending its recruitment. It is actually a closed group, semi-permanent by nature, that intensifies its activities only during election times and remains almost inactive at other times. Its numerical weakness, however, should not be taken as a measure of its power which may, indeed, be very great because of the great influence and power of the few persons who happen to be its members. In a word, the caucus is a small group of wellknown persons whose personal influence and capacity count more than their number. The American parties are, in essence, nothing but caucuses. Fundamentally, they are all electoral machines constituted by a team of experts in winning votes and of professional politicians.
2. While the caucus is a union of some notables chosen only because of their individual qualities and local influences *the branch appeals* to the masses. Unlike the caucus, the branch is not a closed group and unlike the former it is not only interested in quality but also in quantity. Thus, the branch is always keen on recruiting as many members as possible. Its political activities are not merely confined to election times; they are, in fact, carried on continuously. Since the branch represents a group much larger than the caucus its internal organization is more perfect than that of the latter. Thug unlike in the caucus, the hierarchy of the branch is more definite and the division of duties in it is more precise. Moreover, the branch is more unified than the caucus. The branches and constituency organisations are firmly integrated into the well articulated larger party organization that lacks the intense localism and parochialism which are so much a characteristic of the caucus. The continental Socialist parties provide typical examples of the branch.
3. The *cell*, which is a typical invention of the revolutionary communist parties, is a much smaller group than the branch and, unlike the latter, its basis is not geographical but only occupational; it unites all party members who work at the same place. There can thus be factory, workshop, shop, police and administration cells, the geographical area where the members

actually live being made no criterion for it. Since a cell comprises members who have the same occupation and who, therefore, meet daily in their work here there is constant contact among the members and hence the party solidarity is naturally stronger. This common occupational basis of the members further strengthens their solidarity in as far as the members, being in the same occupation, share the same fate. The cell works on the basis of an exclusive use of vertical links. In caucus and branch there are, generally, various formal and informal channels of contact among the local units. In the cell-structured party, on the other hand, the individual cell has no contact with other cells, but only with the higher echelons of the party. The cell is perfectly suited to clandestine actions which naturally, are not possible in case of the branch. The secret activities of the cell are more widely political and more demanding on the individual than the branch parties and the cell-structured parties usually give scant importance to winning elections. Indeed, “the choice of the cell as the basis of organisation entails a profound change in the very concept of a political party. Instead of a body intended for the winning of votes, for grouping the representatives, and for maintaining contact between them and their electors, the political party becomes an instrument of agitation, of propaganda, of discipline, and, if necessary, of clandestine action, for which elections and parliamentary debates are only one of several means of action, and a secondary means at that.”

4. The *militia* is more like a kind of private army whose members are recruited on military lines and are subjected to the discipline and training that one usually comes across in a military organisation. The structure of the militia very much resembles the military hierarchical structure. Its members are organised in army-like squads, companies, battalions and so on. The militia is more disinterested in electoral and parliamentary activities than the cells since it is basically an instrument for overthrowing a democratic regime and not for strengthening it. Just as the cell is a communist invention, so the militia is a fascist creation. Hitler's Storm

Troopers and Mussolini's fascist militia provide examples of the militia structure.

Different factors conditioning the structure of a political party

The structure of a political party is, however, conditioned by a number of variables. If the ideology a party upholds fits in well with the temper of the political system in the context of which the party works, it will naturally evolve a kind of structure on the basis of which it can carry on a style of activity contributory to the health of the political system. If, on the contrary, the party ideology is antagonistic to the values underlying the existing political system, the party in anticipation of a hostile treatment at the hands of political authority will evolve a kind of structure that may enable it to carry on its activity to face all possible repression and persecution.

Similarly the structure of a party is responsive to the general governmental structure. The structure of a party will, of course differ depending on whether the government is unitary or: federal or, again, Whether it is parliamentary or presidential since a party will normally try to capture political power which happens to be its primary goal-without affecting the general political framework of the country. The socioeconomic conditions are another important variable. The level of economic development very much influences the competitive conditions of political life which, on their part, leave a perceptible impact on the structure of the party. Again, a party will respond differently to urban and rural societies and, accordingly, will have different structures. Thirdly, political culture is a very important determinant of the party structure. If the political culture of a society is imbued with liberal democratic values, a party will hardly be able to work on the basis of an undemocratic structure. Lastly, a country's political history also leaves its impact on the party structure. Political parties, after all, emerge at a particular juncture of history to combat specific historical situations and hence the historical factor cannot be overlooked while enquiring into the determinants of party structure. The present structure of the Congress party of India cannot be fully understood unless one takes into account the colonial conditions in which it emerged.'

15.5 CLASSIFICATION

Parties may be classified not only on the basis of their structure but also in terms of other criteria. A very frequently used criterion is *the number of parties* in the party system. Thus, there can be *the single-party system, the two-party system and the multi-party system*. Within each of these categories, however, there may be further variations. There may be the authoritarian one-party system that represents a single, monolithic, ideologically oriented but non-totalitarian party. Franco's Spain, Nkrumah's Ghana and Diem's South Vietnam provide examples of this type. Again, there may be the pluralistic one party system which is characterised by a single party that is Pluralistic in organisation, less ideological in outlook, and absorptive rather than ruthlessly destructive in its relations with other groups. Mexico's Republican Party, over most of the years since the Mexican Revolution, would illustrate this type. Thirdly, there may be the totalitarian one-party system where state power is monopolised by a monolithic party which, representing a dominant ideology, ruthlessly controls all aspects of social, economic and political activity. China, the Soviet Union, Vietnam, North Korea and several of the East European states provide examples of this type.

Two-party system may further be classified into distinct two-party system to be found in Britain, Australia and West Germany and indistinct two-party system as illustrated by the United States. In the former the parties are more centralized and ideology-based; they have a hierarchical structure and their activities are not merely confined to election times. In the latter the parties are not really mass parties; they give less emphasis on ideologies and are more interested in winning elections. “

Multi-party system may also be classified into working multi-party system and unstable multi-party system as represented respectively by Norway and Sweden, on the one hand, and by France and Italy, on the other. In the former the parties behave more on the pattern of the distinct two-party system, hardly affecting the workability of government while in the latter multiplicity of parties leads to a frequent change in government, altering thus the stability of the governmental order. Sometimes, within the framework of a multiparty system,

there emerges what is known as dominant party system. In a dominant party system, in course of the working of the multiparty system, one party emerges much stronger than all the other parties and institutionally establishes its dominance in the political system. The Congress party of India with its continuous dominance over the Indian political scene provides an Ideal illustration of this type.

On *the basis of the rigidity of party doctrines*, parties may further be classified as *pragmatic and ideological*. The pragmatic parties are more programmatic and less ideological; they are also broker-bargaining parties in as far as they seek to accommodate as many groups as possible in order to win an electoral majority. The American parties are clearly of this type. The Congress party of India also very much comes under this Category. The ideological parties are more doctrinaire-dogmatic; they avoid political bargaining and compromise and, naturally, are intolerant of any form of political opposition. The Chinese and Russian Communist parties are of this type. In between these two types there may be a third type represented by a generally flexible and broker-bargaining party which is keen on getting as many supporters as possible, but which, at the same time, limits its appeal by representing only certain groups of voters or embracing certain doctrines. The United Malays National Organization of Malaysia illustrates this type.

The variations in the party system are only indicative of the fact that different societies may have different modes of candid-management. In most cases, the mode of this candid management, on its part, is found to be dependent on the type of socio-economic environment in the context of which these conflicts emerge. A developed industrial society essentially thrives on division of labour and specialisation of occupational activities which naturally give birth to too many diverse interests. In the face of these diverse interests an industrial society manages to survive just because all these interests are threaded together in terms of coordinated social actions. Thus, an industrial society works and, indeed, works well just because, forced by the objective needs, it manages to arrive at a consensus an agreement that the paramount goal is decidedly to increase economic productivity at any cost and thus to keep the society going and that for the sake of this goal the diversity of social interests must never be led to a point

of open belligerence among them. It is for this reason that in a widened industrial society one comes across either a bi-party system: or a multi-party system since it is impossible for a single party to represent the myriad interests of such a society. Moreover, since such a society functions in the context of a general consensus the competition among the political parties never leads them to an irreconcilable hostility that may endanger the ability of the political system. In such a society, the homogenizing effect of urbanization that accompanies industrialization and an effective network of communications which is also an important feature of the industrial society, further facilitate the process of conflict-management.

When, on the contrary, the society is industrially backward and, therefore, is not, like an industrial society, constrained by circumstances to achieve a consensus, when, further, it is more subjected to the traditional particularistic and parochial forces it is likely to be marked by a bitter clash of interests. In such a society we many political parties representing various sectional interests are likely to take the political competition in a spirit of hostility, thereby seriously affecting the stability of the political system. Sometimes, the resulting disorder may be so frustrating that it may corrode the ability of the parties to compete effectively for political power and in the midst of this confusion and disorder a particular political party may suddenly assume unusual strength, ultimately bringing in a dominant party system or a pluralistic one-party system. Recent experiences of most at the Afro-Asian states simply illustrate this point.

It is, however, worth-noting that the correlation between socioeconomic variables and party development cannot be so easily established in case of the totalitarian one-party system. The totalitarian one-party system certainly belies the thesis that increasing diversity of interests generated by an industrial society and the general social climate of consensus also brought in by all needs of an industrial society necessitate the growth of more than one party that does not, in any way, affect the stability of the political order. This exception with regard to the totalitarian one-party system can perhaps be explained by the fact that a totalitarian system is more interested in evolving a uniformity of interests than in working out a synthesis between the conflicting interests and this is sought to be

secured by harnessing the society towards a rigid uniformity by bringing it under the strictest control of the state. Indeed, the political party in this system works as the most important agency for wielding this political control over the whole of society. In other words, the party here is more used as an effective instrument for bringing in the desired social change. And this is what reveals that a political party is not only a reflection of the socio-economic forces, but it as well may condition the character of a society. Although this is more evident in totalitarian systems, in liberal democratic systems too this function of the party may often be noticed. Thus the effective working of a bi-party system within a democratic political framework may make a society a great believer in the art of compromise and peaceful negotiations and abhorrent of violence and ultra radical ideas and activities.

Duverger in his book *Political parties* said that a party is a community with political structure. He classifies party into *Externally created and Internally created parties*. The externally created political parties are more centralized, coherent and more disciplined. The development of internally created parties starts at the base. Since local committees create a central body to coordinate their activities, they naturally see to it that they maintain their autonomy and grant limited powers to the central body.

15.6 POLITICAL PARTIES IN INDIA: THEIR EVOLUTION AND GROWTH

The establishment of Indian National Congress in 1885 in India is generally considered as the beginning of the formation of parties. To begin with, the Indian National Congress which led national movement was an umbrella organization representing interests of all sections of society. The formative phase of the Indian National Congress was dominated by the Moderates like Dada Bhai Naoroji, Surendra Nath Banerjee, Gopal Krishna Gokhale and others as well as the extremists like ‘Lal-Bal-Pal’ – referring to Lala Lajpat Rai, Bal Gangadhar Tilak and Bipin Chandra Pal. After the First World War, the Indian National Congress steered the path of India’s independence under the leadership of Mahatma

Gandhi. There also emerged some other political parties during this period like the Muslim League, the Communist Party of India, the Hindu Mahasabha, etc.

After independence in 1947, the Indian National Congress transferred itself into a political party in the sense of contesting elections and forming government. It remained a dominant political party up to 1967, as it continued to win elections held in 1952, 1957, 1962 and 1967 at the Centre as well as in almost all the States. This period is known as ‘one party dominant system’ in view of the Congress winning majorities whereas the large number of other political parties contesting elections winning only few seats. Since 1967 the party system in India has been in constant flux. In 1971 although the Congress won a majority in the Lok Sabha, in many states various other political parties formed governments mostly in coalitions. After 1977, it appeared that India had moved towards a ‘two party system’ – the two parties being the Indian National Congress and the Janata Party. But it was only for a very short period. The Janata Party which was in fact a coalition of various factions like the Congress O, the Jana Sangh, the Socialists, the Bharatiya Lok Dal, and the Congress for Democracy split into different factions. The Janata split once again gave advantage to the Congress which returned to power at the Centre in 1980 and remained there until 1989. However, the Congress has not been able to regain its dominant position ever since 1989. Indian party system witnesses a coalition system of government from 1989 onwards. Since 1999 two broad coalitions have come up – one, known as the National Democratic Alliance (NDA), led by the Bharatiya Janata Party, and the second, known as the United Progressive Alliance (UPA), led by the Congress Party. At present in India in fact there is a multi-party system as very large number of parties participates in political process.

15.7 MODEL TEST PAPER

(A) Answer the following questions:

Q1: What do you understand by political party ?

Q2: In what ways political parties differ from other social groups ?

Q3: Write a short note on Multi-party system.

Q4: Name some national political parties existing in India.

(B) Answer in one word/ sentence :

- i) Political party is a _____group.
- ii) _____ is the rule by few people.
- iii) Chinese and Russian Communist parties are less pragmatic but more_____
- iv) BJP has accepted _____as its political ideology.
- v) CPI stands for_____.
- vi) The Congress party was founded in the year_____.

15.8 SUMMARY

In the words of Schumpeter, a party is a group whose members propose to act in concert in the competitive struggle for political power. Thus, political party is the most adaptive organization, which is not only a reflection of the socio economic forces, but it as well any condition the characteristics of society.

PRESSURE AND INTEREST GROUPS

15.9 MEANING OF PRESSURE & INTEREST GROUPS

Some of these activities, you might have observed, are carried by organized groups like Students Union, Farmers Union, Trade Union, Business Association, Teachers' Associations, etc. In general, these groups try to press upon the government for formulation of policies or enactment of laws according to their interests. Yet, they themselves do not contest elections. Therefore, you will agree that they are not political parties. Then what are these? In any country, especially a democratic one, there are large number of organized groups which, directly or indirectly influence politics and government. The members of such organized groups are united in respect of some specific interests that they tend to advance. For example, the workers of a factory are organized in what is called the trade union to promote their interests. Similarly, there are other organized

groups. These are called pressure groups or interest groups. What are these pressure groups or interest groups? How do they differ from each other? What role do they play in the political system of our country? Let us discuss.

Groups play a direct role in political life. People organize social movements, interest groups and pressure groups in order to influence the government. Ethnic and racial groups, religious and linguistic minority groups have also acted collectively to influence governmental decisions.. If the political party is a significant social group having a great deal of relevance to the functioning of the modern political process, so is, indeed, the pressure group. The emergence of pressure groups is to be explained by almost the same social conditions that account for the growth of political parties. A mature society with its increasing specialization and differentiation gives rise to a host of needs and interests that, for their effective channeling to the political process, necessitate the growth of a great number of secondary associations. Political parties and pressure groups are the two most important types of these much needed secondary structures.

A pressure group can be described as an organized group that does not put up candidates for election, but seeks to influence government policy or legislation. They can also be described as ‘interest groups’, ‘lobby groups’ or ‘protest groups’. A pressure group is an organized social group whose members share common attitudes, beliefs or interests and which seeks to influence public “policies in the light of these attitudes or interests without ever trying to take over any responsibility for government. This formal definition indicates not only what a pressure group is but also what it is not. Thus, in a society there may be groups which, although important in politics, do have so much hazy organizations that their members often fail to recognize themselves for what they are-as the Clap ham Sect and the Benthamites in British politics and the ‘Pro-changers’ and ‘No-changers’ in Indian politics-which cannot be called pressure groups just because they lack specified formal organizations.

A pressure group can be understood as an association of persons with a common economic interest who try to influence governmental decisions. These pressure groups also known as interest groups pursue their political goals through

lobbying- the process by which individuals and groups communicate with public officials in order to influence decisions of government. They also distribute persuasive literature and launch public campaigns to build grass -root support for their political objectives. According to Functionalists, such groups play a constructive role in decision-making. They prepare the ground for the orderly political participation. Conflict theorists on the other hand argue that although a few organizations work on behalf of the poor and disadvantaged most of the pressure groups represent the vested interests of the business leaders, the lobbies of multinational companies, rich professionals and political leaders. They further assert that these powerful lobbies discourage political participation by the individual citizens. The pressure groups have greater say in democracy than in the totalitarian setup.

INTUC is an organization that can be described both as a pressure group and an interest group. Generally, interest groups and pressure groups are considered synonyms, but they are actually not. Interest groups are organized groups of people which seek to promote their specific interests. Their characteristics are: (a) they are well-organized, (b) they have certain common interests, (c) the interest that unites the members is specific and particular, (d) the members of such organized groups seek to attain, protect and promote their interests for which they are united. A pressure group, on the other hand, is an interest group which exerts pressure on the government or the decision-makers for the fulfillment of their interests.

Similarly, groups having a very limited dealing with the organization of the state cannot be called pressure groups. There may, again, be others which are legally, no doubt, organized groups but which, however, are so constituted that it is difficult to be sure about whom their real members are; these also cannot be called pressure groups. Thus, I.C.I. and the City of Manchester are in a legal sense organized groups, and they are certainly entities which exercise influence on government, but here the gap between formal and informal organization is so wide that we shall never get outside the lawyer's world if we start from the Articles and Memorandum of Association or from the Charter of Incorporation with the relevant Acts." Thus, a social group may be called a pressure group

only when (i) it has a clearly identifiable formal structure, (ii) its members are linked to each other in terms of their common attitude or interest and (iii) it seeks to influence the process of public decision making.

15.10 EMERGENCE AND FEATURES OF PRESSURE GROUPS

The pressure group is not a novel political phenomenon currently evident in the political process of modern societies. It is, indeed, as old as the political party and, in certain instances, must have been older than the political party since in some countries, at least, political parties have originated as pressure groups which, in course of time, have got converted into political parties. Thus, in Britain, the formation of Labour Party in 1906 was preceded by the formation in 1900 of the Labour Representation Committee which was technically a pressure group. Similarly, in India the Indian National Congress, as it was founded in 1885, was more a pressure group which took quite a number of years to assume the form of a full-fledged political party. Yet, pressure group has only recently been a matter of academic enquiry. Indeed, political scientists, much as they were over-occupied with the study of political parties, persistently ignored pressure groups until Political Sociology emerged with its shift in emphasis and brought pressure groups within the scope of its enquiry. Thus, the study of pressure groups is only a twentieth century development. It was initiated by the group approach to politics introduced by Arthur F. Bentley in his *The Process of Government* published in 1908—a tradition reinforced later by David B. Truman in his 'The Governmental Process' published in 1951. *The term 'pressure group', however, was used neither by Bentley nor by Truman. It was, perhaps, used, for the first time, by Peter Odegard in his book Pressure Politics: The Story of the Anti-Saloon League published in 1928.* The term pressure group, however, was detested for long for its pejorative connotations. Only very recently one watches a tendency among some political sociologists to bear with the bad flavor of the word 'pressure'. This has been possible mainly because of the recent academic discovery that in modern society there are different types of groups, quite distinct from political parties, that continue influencing the political process and the only convenient way of studying these groups together is to bring them all under pressure group as the umbrella term..

Pressure groups play a vital role. They seek to promote, discuss, debate and mobilize public opinion on major public issues. In this process, they educate people and widen their vision, enhance their democratic participation and raise and articulate various issues. These groups try to bring changes in public policy. To achieve their objectives and goals, the pressure groups employ various techniques and methods. These include appeals, petitions, demonstrations, picketing, lobbying, and processions. They also write in the media, distribute pamphlets, issue press releases, organize discussions and debates, put up posters and chant slogans. They may carry out satyagraha, that is, a non-violent protest. At times, pressure groups resort to strikes in order to pressurize the legislators, the executive officials, the decision-makers.

15.11 CATEGORIES OF PRESSURE GROUPS

Pressure groups can broadly be divided in two categories—the *attitude groups* and the *interest groups*. An attitude group is formed on the basis of its members sharing some common attitudes or values. Here the members drawn from diverse interests are linked together by their common attitude or values. The C.N.D., the R.S.P.C.A., the Calcutta Beautification Society are some of the examples of the attitude group. The members of an attitude group share a common attitude. In that sense an interest group is, no doubt, an attitude group; but, then, it is something more than that in as far as members reach this attitudinal unity by virtue of the fact that they all represent the same interest. Thus, the Automobile Association of Eastern India, the Jute Manufacturers Association, the West Bengal College and University Teachers Association are all examples of the interest group.

The basic difference between the attitude group and the interest group lies in the fact that while the former is to be known by its subjective base the latter has very much an objective base. And it is because of this that it is not easy to determine the potential membership of an attitude group as it is difficult to make certain, for instance, who are the people in a society detesting cruelty to animals or wishing to ban nuclear weapons. In case of interest groups, however, one does not face such a difficulty since there can be little doubt about the fact that

all the university and college teachers of West Bengal are the potential members of the W.B.C.U.T.A. Further, interest groups tend to be more permanent than the attitude groups. Once an attitude group is successful in having achieved its goal of influencing governmental policies it is likely to disband or at least remain inactive in relation to the political process. But since the interest group is ever keen on flourishing its interest, it is likely to remain a permanent group seeking to influence, now and then, the governmental decisions. And this explains why the interest group will generally be more powerful than the attitude group.

Categories of Interest groups

It is possible, after Almond and Powell, to divide *interest groups* into *four basic categories*. Thus, there may be- *anomic interest groups* primarily interested in actions like riots, demonstrations, assassinations, etc. Anomic interest groups are usually the products of high tension and discontent in a society caused by the non-growth of explicitly organized groups set to the goal of articulating various interests of a society or by the utter failure of organized groups in their function of interest articulation just because they are denied adequate opportunities for performing this function. Many of the newly independent Afro Asian countries characterized by a rigidly centralized political order and a political culture hostile to pluralisation of political power have provided an ideal playground for anemic interest groups. Sometimes, even in a developed society where the organized groups enjoy a pluralist climate congenial to their effective functioning, anomic interest groups may suddenly come into being just because the organized pressure groups feeling rather unsure about the efficacy of their usual techniques, for a change, take to unconventional or violent means.

Secondly, in a society one may come across what are called *nonassociational interest groups* like the kinship and lineage groups, the ethnic, regional, and status and class groups. They are so called because they do not have a clearly delimited formal structure, nor an organized procedure of action and, further, being cast interests carrying on virtues continuously, they, at best, try to have only an intermittent articulation of interests. Thus, when an informal delegation from a certain ethnic group puts up some proposals to the Prime

Minister of India for giving it certain reliefs, or, say, when some news' paper editors in a meeting at the Press Club make certain requests to a bureaucrat regarding the policy on government advertisements in newspapers, we find the non-associational interest groups in action. However, the more and more a society is developed, the more and more will it affect the growth of non-associational interest groups. Because in a developed society the group competition is naturally very high and in the face of this stiff competition among highly organized groups it is difficult for a non-associational interest group to survive and operate. This is why, in most cases, in modern societies non-associational interest groups, in course of time, are forced to abandon their original character by developing organization and procedure and thus cease to be non-associational any longer.

Thirdly, there may be *institutional interest groups* that grow within the framework of formal institutions like political parties, legislatures, armies, bureaucracies, etc. The institutional interest group is, actually a group within a group that, no doubt, works toward the declared goal of the parent body and accepts whatever responsibility is entrusted on it by the latter, but, at the same time, it develops a distinct interest, systematically works for its articulation and tries to strengthen the base of its operation by whatever use it can make of the institutional position it enjoys by remaining within the parent organization. Thus within a party there may evolve a party clique that may articulate its particular interest in the midst of the general function of interest aggregation to which the party as a whole is committed. Similarly, there may be legislative blocs, officer cliques, skill groups-all trying to influence the legislature, lobby with administrative organs or persuade the people through the mass media for winning the latter's support for their demands. In modern societies institutional interest groups are found to hold a very powerful position. It is more so in underdeveloped societies whose political culture is usually less favorable for wider group activities at the general social plane.

Lastly, there may be *associational interest groups* by which are meant the clearly identifiable and viable interest groups of a society. They have a formal specialized structure, a full time professional staff and an organized and orderly procedure. The particular interests they represent are clearly discernible and

because of the systematic and consistent methods they employ for articulating their respective interests these types of interest groups are found to be quite powerful in their capacity to influence governmental decisions. Moreover, the more and more associational interest groups develop in a society, the more and more they tend to block the growth and Operation of other types of interest groups which, in effect, further enhances their strength. Trade unions, organisations of businessmen or industrialists, ethnic associations, Civic groups, etc. are some of the examples of associational interest groups.

15.12 DIFFERENCE

A pressure group operates in an environment dominated also by other groups and by the governmental institutions. The type of this environment is an important determinant of its strategy and tactics. While the objective of a pressure group may converge with that of some groups it may also face a conflict of interests in relation to some others. Again, the governmental institutions representing the decision-makers who actually are the target of a pressure group's activity may have either an attitude of hostility or of sympathy to a particular pressure group, making it for the latter either difficult or easy to convince the former that the demands it is placing deserve attention or response. Thirdly, political parties are also an important part of the environment. Weaker parties make wide room for pressure group activity while the' position is just the reverse when the parties are very strong. Moreover, a strong party may force a pressure group to spend a lot of its resources for influencing the former; in some cases, a strong party may succeed in bringing a pressure group under its control and direction. Lastly, the people and their political culture are also an important element in the environment that a pressure group can hardly disregard.

As in India, the political culture of a people may make them abhorrent of the particularism of the pressure groups and hence cynical about group activities or, as in France, people may have greater faith in direct action and violent agitations than in the less spectacular, cool bargaining usually resorted to by pressure groups or, again, as in the USA, People may have much political tolerance for pressure group activities. Like in other democratic countries, in India too there are many

interest/pressure groups. These are of various kinds. There are pressure groups based on traditional social structure. There are groups like AryaPratinidhiSabha, Sanathan Dharma Sabha, Parsee Anjuman, and Anglo-Indian Christian Association. Then, there are the caste groups such as the Brahmin Sabha, the Nair society, and the language groups (such as the Tamil Sangh, the Anjuman-e-Terraqi-e-Urdu). You may find other types of interest groups which may include bodies such as the Federation of the Indian Chambers of Commerce and Industry (FICCI) or those related to workers and peasants like All India Trade Union Congress, BharatiyaMazdoorSangh, the KisanSabha, etc.

15.12.1 PRESSURE AND INTEREST GROUPS

It is important to make a distinction between an interest group and a pressure group. Interest groups may exist without even exerting pressure on the government or the decision-makers. A group that does not exert pressure to influence or pressurize the authorities in order to achieve the desired objects, is not called a pressure group. An interest group that exerts pressure on the government to achieve its goals is called a pressure group. All pressure groups are interest groups while all interest groups may not be pressure groups. The following differences between the two groups are significant:

Interest Group	Pressure Group
Formally organized	strictly structured
Interest-oriented	Pressure-focused
May or may not influence	Must influence the policies of government
Softer in outlook	Harsher in attitude
More or less protective	Protective and promotive

15.12.2 PRESSURE GROUPS & POLITICAL PARTIES

It is important to understand that the pressure groups are different from political parties. The distinction between the two can be stated as under:

- Pressure groups are not primarily political in nature. For example, although RashtriyaSwayamakSangh (RSS) supports the BharatiyaJanata Party, it is, by and large, a cultural organization. The political parties are basically political.
- Pressure groups do not seek direct power; they only influence those who are in power for moulding decisions in their favor. The political parties seek power to form the government.
- Pressure groups do not contest elections; they only support political parties of their choice. Political parties nominate candidates, contest elections, and participate in election campaigns.
- Pressure groups do not necessarily have political ideologies. Political parties are always wedded to their ideologies. For example, the Congress party is wedded to the ideologies of socialism, secularism and democracy; the Communists advocate the interests of workers, peasants and other weaker sections.

- **CHECK YOUR PROGRESS**

(A) Answer the following questions:

Q1: What is a pressure group?

Q2: In what ways political parties differ from other pressure groups?

Q3: Define Associational and Institutional Interest groups.

Q4: Name some pressure groups that are existing in India.

(B) Answer in one word/ sentence:

i) The term Pressure group was used for the first time by_____

ii) _____groups have a formal specialized structure.

iii) A _____ can be understood as an association of persons with a common economic interest who try to influence governmental decisions.

- iv) INTUC stands for _____.
- v) Anomic Interest groups are interested in _____.

The interests of the pressure groups are usually specific and particular, whereas the political parties have policies and programmes with national and international ramifications.

15.13 CONCLUSION

Thus, a pressure group refers to an interest group which tries to safeguard and promotes the interests of its members. It is not a political group seeking to capture political power though it may have a political character of its own. Political parties and pressure groups are dependent upon one another. Interest groups find the parties an important method of gaining access to those in public authority, and the parties need the support of groups to elect and maintain themselves in power. Political parties have a prime function of accommodating the demands of the private interests into the larger public interests. In spite of their limitations and defects, they have become an essential part of the modern democratic process.

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M.A. SOCIOLOGY

M. A. Sociology

Course No. 405

Lesson -16

Unit-IV

THE POWER STRUCTURE

- 16.1 Introduction**
- 16.2 Characteristics of Power**
- 16.3 Forms of Power**
- 16.4 Bases of Power**
- 16.5 Perspectives on Power**
- 16.6 The Weak Strong State**
- 16.7 Political Domination and Social Power**
- 16.8 Demand Polity and Command Polity**
- 16.9 Conclusion**
- 16.10 Model Test Paper**

Objectives

The main thrust of this chapter is to:

- Define the concept of power
- Understand the different perspectives on power.
- Understand the political domination and social power.
- Define the demand polity and command polity.

16.1 Introduction

Power in ordinary usage is understood as an ability, strength, or capacity. In social and political theory, however, power refers to the ability to do things and the capacity to produce effects within social interaction. In this sense, power is a type of behavior and specifically derives from the existence of social relationship and organized social interactions. Power is normally understood as the possession of control, authority, or influence over others, a relationship in which an individual or a group is able to exert influence over the minds and actions of others. Power is a key sociological concept with several different meanings and considerable disagreement surrounding them.

Max Weber defined power as ‘the probability that one actor within a social relationship will be in a position to carry out his own will despite resistance, regardless of the basis on which this probability rests’. In other words, it is the ability to control others, events, or resources; to make happen what one want to happen in spite of obstacles, resistance, or opposition. He further writes, positions of power can ‘emerge from social relations in drawing room as well as in the market, from the rostrum of lecture hall as well as the command post of a regiment, from an erotic or charitable relationship as well as from scholarly discussion or athletics’. It plays a part in family (husband and wife) and school (teacher and the taught) relationship also. Thus, for him, power is the chance of a man or a number of men to realize their own will in a communal action even against the resistance of others who are participating in the action.

Dowse and Hughes says that ‘politics is about power. Politics occurs when there are differentials of power.’ It means any social relationship that involves power differentials is political’

So, power is an inherent and indispensable part of human activity and it is therefore, an important aspect of social relationship.

16.2 Characteristics of Power

Since Power is the capacity to affect other’s behaviour, it has its own features and characteristics. It is something which cannot be measured because

it is usually exercised behind the back. Though there may be legal sanctions behind the power, yet on the whole it is not exercised without extra legal sanctions.

- Political power is not absolute but relative. It is relative in the sense that it can be exercised in relation to something. In other words, there must be people who should respect power. In case there is none to obey it, it is all immaterial whether power exists or not.
- Still another feature of political power is that it cannot be imaginary and unrelated to situations. Political power is given to the elites or legislators only in the hope that they will meet their unmet hopes and aspirations. In every society people have certain hopes which they feel only few can meet if they are given some power. It is in the hope of quick and satisfactory meeting of these aspirations that the power is extended and accepted.
- Power is related both to circumstances as well as position. Power of a person holding a particular position may be accepted under certain circumstances. But the same may not be accepted when the circumstances have changed. Even if the circumstances do not change, if position of the person continued to be accepted as long as circumstances and the position person do not change.
- Power is related to use as well. There may be power but that will have no meaning unless its use is effectively made. In other words power will rust, if it's no use is made. The President of India and President of the USA both have constitutional powers. In fact, in the eyes of law the former does not use these and nobody cares for his legal and constitutional powers. On the other hand the latter's powers are always seriously and carefully studied all over the world because these are used in actual practice.

16.3 Forms of Power

For Marx, economic power is the basis of all power, including political power. It is based upon an objective relationship to the modes of production, a group's condition in the labour market, and its chances. Economic

power refers to the measurement of the ability to control events by virtue of material advantage.

It is based upon informal community opinion, family position, honour, prestige and patterns of consumption and lifestyles. Weber placed special emphasis on the importance of social power, which often takes priority over economic interests. Contemporary sociologists have also given importance to social status so much so that they sometimes seem to have underestimated the importance of political power.

It is based upon the relationships to the legal structure, party affiliation and extensive bureaucracy. Political power is institutionalized in the form of large-scale government bureaucracies. One of the persistent ideas has been that they are controlled by elites, that is, small, select, privileged groups. Political power concerns the activities of the states which is not confined to national boundaries. The networks of political power can stretch across countries and across the globe. Political power involves the power to tax and power to distribute resources to the citizens.

16.4 Bases of Power

Power may have different bases which differ from culture to culture and also from one political structure to another. Within a culture, certain factors such as wealth, control over the instruments of violence, skill, faith, loyalty, habit, apathy, interest and power over one issue area may often serve as a good base for extending power to other issue areas. The power base, coupled with the ability to use this power constitutes the capability for power. In addition, there must be a will or desire on part of the actor influencing to control the actions of others. Power emerges whenever, the capability of power is combined with will to affect the behaviour of others.

In every society everybody has a tendency to extend his power. The extent to which power seeking will be met with success depends on how much capability and will the power seeker possesses. Once power is acquired, the power holder tries to gain more power because of the instrumental value of power. Power,

once secured, can be used to achieve a variety of ends like fame, reverence, security, respect, affection, wealth and many other values. So he, who has acquired power, will invariably try to extend it. This search for further power by one power holder may be checked by similar search by other power holder. The powerful is subdued by the more powerful. Hence power limits power. Power, however, is also limited by other factors. Sometimes, an actor's tendency to gain more powers may be limited by his physical and psychological endowments as well as by his own social moves.

In his *Modern political Analysis*, Robert A. Dahl discusses four different ways of detecting power relations in a particular situation. In the first place, one may try to measure power by necessarily relating it to an office. Here the assumption is that power operates only within a framework of formal office. But focus on formal office may often be inadequate to grasp the nature and extent of power since in many cases power does not remain in formal office, but is, instead, wielded by forces lying beyond them and managing to control the office holder from a distance. The second technique of detecting power is to rely on well placed judges, that is, to record the observations and the impressions of those who have, had the opportunity of keeping in close touch with the formal office holder. The third method of detecting Power is to concentrate on actual decision making process. This technique enquires into the nature and level of people's participation in the actual decision making process. The fourth technique is, to weigh the activities of different participants in the decision making and coming to a judgement about the nature and extent of power after carefully comparing these activities. In any case, while observing a power relation, one has to keep in mind three aspects of power-weight, scope and domain of political power. The weight of power means the degree of participation in the making of decisions; its scope means the values at stake and the domain of power refers to the persons over whom power is exercised.

What then, are the visible signs of power relation? According to Robert Dahl, "A has power over B to the extent that he can get B to do something that B would not otherwise do". Here the main focus, is not on the actions and intentions

of the power holder, ie. the actor exercising power, but on the enquiry as to whether the power addressee ie. the actor against whom the power is exercised, does something in opposition to his own intension. Unless there is this opposition, there cannot be a power relation. Dahl puts his thrust in this way because he considers sanctions as the most important attributes of power. However, difficulty arises if the power addressee does not agree to the directions of the power holder. Herbert Goldhamer and Edward A Shins, in their analysis of power in their book, "*Types of Power and Status*" have dealt with this problem neatly. To them, a person may be said to have power to the extent that he influences the behaviour of others in accordance with his own intensions." The difference between this definition and that of Dahl is evident. While Dahl's emphasis was on the power addressee, the emphasis of Goldhamer and Shills' is on the power holder, on his own intensions. On the basis of the criterion provided by Goldhamer and Shills', one has first, to determine the intensions of the power holder, and then see, whether the policies adopted by the power addressee follow these intensions. If they do, then the former will be regarded as having power over latter. Thus the definition of Goldhamer and Shill's seems more attractive and influential than that of the Dahl's. '

Prof. A.K. Mukhopadhyaya have also delineated another problem which arise when the power holder does not communicate to the power addressee about his intensions. The answer goes negatively because the intensions of power holder have to be effective in order to constitute power relation. 50 it is not possible if these intensions are not communicated to the power addressee. Thus there must be some communication or contact between the power holder and the power addressee. In order to make an actor powerful, his intensions along with an act on his part to communicate these intensions are very much essential. Indeed; coercion, which is an indispensable part of power, involves this act of communication.

16.5 Perspectives on Power

Functionalist Perspective

Max Weber defines power as “the chances of a man or a number of men to realize their own will in a communal action even against the resistance of others who are participating in the action”. Weber’s definition of power implies that those who hold, power, do so at the expense of others. It suggests that there is a fixed amount of power and Therefore, , if some hold power, others do not. This view is known as the ‘Constant sum’ concept of power. Weber’s definition also implies that power holder will tend to use power to further their own interests. Sociologists argue that power is used to further the sectional interests of the power holder which are in conflict with the interests of those subject to that power. To them, therefore, power is used mainly for the exploitation and oppression of some by others.

Arguing from a functionalist perspective, Talcott Parsons rejects the ‘constant sum’ concept of power and the view that power is employed into the furtherance of sectional interests. rather than seeing power as something which some hold at the expense of others, Parsons regards it as something possessed by the society as whole. As such, power is a ‘generalized facility or resources in the society’. In particular, it is the capacity to mobilize the resources of the society for the attainment of goals for which a general ‘public’ commitment has been made. In this sense, the amount of power in society is measured by the degree to which collective goals are realized. Thus, the greater the efficiency of a social system for achieving the goals defined by its members, the more power exists in the society. This view is known as the ‘variable sum’ concept of power because power in society is not seen as fixed or constant, rather it is variable and dynamic.

Marxian Perspective

Marxian analysis of power provides a radical alternative to Parsons’ functionalist approach. It rejects the view that power is a societal resource held in trust and directed by those ‘in authority for the benefit for all. Instead, power is seen, to be held by a particular group in the society at the expense of the rest

of the society. This is a 'Zero-sum' concept of power because a net gain in the power of Want group represents a net loss in the power of the rest of the society. The dominate group uses this power to further its own interest. These interests are indirect conflict with the interests of those subject to its power. This is radically different from the picture presented by Parsons in which rules and ruled are pulled together for the benefit of the society as a whole, undivided by any fundamental conflict of interests.

From a Marxian perspective, the sources of power in society lie in the economic infrastructure. In all stratified society the forces of production are owned and controlled by a minority, the ruling class. The relationship to the forces of production provides the basis of its dominance. It therefore, follows that the only way to return power to people involves communal ownership of the forces of production. Since everyone will now share the same relationship to the forces of production, power will be shared by all members of society. From the Marxian perspective, the use of power to exploit others is described as coercion. It is seen as illegitimate use of power because it forces the subject class to submit to a situation which is against their interest.

The emergence of the modern state has been a key issue in studying the dynamic relations of power and domination. It is the state that has been the historical pre-condition for the development of the modern capitalist enterprise in India. During the post-independence period, social scientists were interested in understanding the Indian culture and tradition, and the 'village' was seen as a major entry point. Studies on the changing social structure in a rural context, in the wake of policies formed by the independent state, drew significant attention. With the formation of nation states and new political institutions, new centers of power emerged, with the community changing caste relations, and vice versa. With the end of the British period, new social and political processes began sprawling; the national leadership tried to give a new direction to the country. As the process of modernization was initiated, the Indian polity underwent several shifts. The bureaucratic state machinery was established. Thus, speaking from the perspective of classical elite theories, these were the times when the new 'power elite' came into existence. Within the major debates among social sciences

in India, the 'elite' remains an under-researched category within the context of persisting social inequalities. In the sociological literature, various models have been developed to capture the power structure of Indian society. Many studies have emphasized applying Marxist approaches to understand the inequalities and class differentiation in India. In contrast, other studies have analyzed the structures of domination and power through the framework of caste. There have been volumes of empirical works on the emergence of rural-landed elites after Indian independence, and the formation of political elites from an erstwhile nationalist leadership of anti-colonial struggle, but there are very few empirical works which deal with urban elites in the context of globalization. While these approaches to study the power structure have their own relevance, they don't deal with 'elite' structures in terms of their formation, history and transformation over the period of time. The traditional way to conceptualize 'political elites' in India has been in terms of key actors in the 'political structure', i.e., mainly comprised of political leaders and high government officials. Thus, social scientists focused on understanding the emerging power structure and empirical works were done to understand the political elite in rural contexts. Andre Beteille's study of *Caste, Class and Power* (1969), using a Weberian framework, mentions shifting notions of power, with the village community power structure revolving around Brahmins and Non-Brahmins and politics providing avenues for social mobility. It tells how this interplay of these axes creates a form of stratification. Sharma (1976), illustrates that the rural elite drew their power from the interconnections between land ownership and local caste equations. Empirical works have shown how after independence, more than caste dominance, it was the complex interrelation of caste, class and political power that emerged as the major factor for deciding power. The organization called Congress can be seen in the first such system, which provided the initial political elites of India during the colonial rule and postcolonial period. It was dominated by upper-caste Hindus and encapsulated various ideological hues within it, from right to left. Its hegemony was sometimes challenged by communists as well as anti-untouchability and anti-caste movements. M. N. Srinivas (1959) has argued that this should be understood in terms of caste relations. Hence, the category of a 'dominant caste', which comprises mainly the middle castes that are numerically powerful and hold

economic and political power, becomes important in explaining the power structure as well social stratification. In other words, the political elites that came mainly from the upper and middle castes, who owned some land, were economically well-off. It is this elite group that, after independence, turned to party politics and started participating in Lok Sabha and Assembly elections. Arora (1973) showed that members of the political cabinet were highly educated persons, post-graduates who studied from foreign universities. And in terms of occupational distribution, law profession was the dominant one, apart from medical, teaching and engineering, etc. In a way, they furthered and strengthened (converting their social capital to the political field) their social position, via political authority. Hence, the emergence of political elites after independence can be seen in two ways: first, as 'high officials', who were part of the modern administration system, and were then (recruited) selected through system of exams and scientific training (the civil service known as Indian Administrative Service, IAS). The second form of this elite group was the emergence of 'nationalist political leaders'. As mentioned earlier, it was the 'Congress Party', that included these new elites who had the power to influence the direction of the change in modern society. In other words, the 'political elite' of independent India was one such elite that had the capacity to shape the political processes as well as the direction of economic developments. The elite were created out of two different forms of social organizations, i.e., from 'political organization' and 'state apparatus'. Similarly, the initial policy provisions set up by political elites make it very clear how political elites held a broad consensus with the Indian capitalist class and, thus, the provision of legal rights in the constitution and ruling regarding corporate behavior. The policies of the state had impacts on the structure of elites. For instance, the policy of land reforms and struggles around agricultural prices had transformed the feudal-landed elite into a new elite of rich and big farmers during the 'green revolution' period (Jodhka, 2006). This change had significant consequences for Indian politics, as during the 1970s and 1980s, this 'new rural elite' mobilized large numbers of farmers and thus the emergence of farmer's movements related to the 'price question' in India. In the northwest (Uttar Pradesh), these big farmers formed organizations, such Bharatiya Kisan Union (BKU), and were primarily led by dominant agrarian Jats. Hence, this was

the rise of strong personalities from rural India, such as Chaudhary Charan Singh, Mahendra Singh Tikait, Lalu Prasad Yadav and many others in national politics. These changes in the rural context posed the important question of how democracy has strengthened the power of landed elites. Moreover, the decline of rural elites reflects the change in the relation between democracy and pro-business policies of the state, on the one hand, and the changing power structure of urban India on the other. With the establishment of the modern Indian state, new avenues were opened up as the key centers of power. Hence, as mentioned earlier, the emergence of political elites after independence has been explained in two ways: first, as 'high officials' who were part of the modern administration system and were recruited through a system of exams and scientific training, the civil service known as Indian Administrative Service (IAS), and second as political leaders emerging out of a national movement against colonial rule. Similarly, Rudolph and Rudolph (1987) have discussed in detail the formation of the Indian state. According to them, it also marks a shift to a 'demand politics' in the wake of rural elites' dominance postgreen revolution. The review of existing scholarship on domination and power structure shows that the political structure of post-independence India had a more homogenous outlook and constitution, whilst post-1990s it has shown trends toward diversification. Thus, in the increasing differentiation within the political structure can be understood within the context of electoral practices, emergence of regional political parties, changes in rural power structure with important events (such as land reforms, green revolution and affirmative action policies) and with the initiation of the process of globalization.

In the studies of the power structure one is liable to get diverted with works on the role of parties, their alignments and with the personalities involved in them. The most significant contributors in sociology and anthropology on the Indian power structure include among them notable political scientists. Paul Brass, Francine Frankel and Rajni Kothari. There are various works that have contributed to understand the power structure from a sociological perspective.

16.6 The Weak Strong State

India has a “weak-strong state” and the Indian economy has its ‘rich-poor quality’. Private capitalism in India depends on the state for its profits as well as for its security - a kind of ‘dharmashala model’. Private capital does not have a strong public voice and after the demise of Swatantra Party there is no clear party which clearly and unabashedly advocates the interests of private capital.

The centrality of the state figures again when discussing the reasons as to why confessional politics of the Hindu Variety have not taken over the state despite an 80 percent Hindu majority in the country. To challenge this would be a formidable task especially in view of the fact that the founding myth of the Indian nation State is Secularism and it exerts a powerful influence in the ideological realm even today. In addition to this founding myth, India has, the Rudolphs argue, many significant minorities like the Muslims. Seventeen percent of the population is not Hindu and even within Hinduism there are the so-called untouchables who roughly constitute about 15 percent of the population. This makes the challenge of confessional Hindu politics feeble when seen in the national context. This is why centrist parties are usually preferred when the people go to cast their votes in national elections.

16.7 Political Domination and Social Power

Frankel and M.S.A. Rao have together edited a two volume work entitled ‘Dominance and State Power’. Basing herself on the assumption that India is a religious society. Frankel argues that British rule in India opened the door to educated shudras and untouchables who had hitherto been bound by the order of the religious hierarchy. But the traditional order too entrenched to be displaced completely. The Backward classes too find their own identity as separate from the other scheduled castes. Frankel argues, ‘All of these factors taken together help explain why despite growing economic differentiation region, religion, caste cluster or tribal group remained the primary identity through which economic discontent was articulated’.

Mobilizations based on caste are quite different from mobilizations based on religion because in each case a different set of people is being mobilized. It is not as if a certain number of people stand aside separately and discretely as religious groups and certain others as caste groups. There is for instance the Hindu religion and there are different castes within it. The important issue then is why is it that at certain times castes become active and at certain other times religion?

Zoya Hasan argues that there are certain very definite limits to caste mobilizations 'because of the perpetual struggle over the distribution of benefit to various castes and classes'. Hasan's argument seems to be that caste consolidation does not take place because of cultural affinity, but rather because of economic interests. Statistically, there is a correlation between caste membership and economic or class location. This is the motive force that pits Yadav, Kurmi or Jat labourers against landless labourers who often belong to other castes.

Subrata Mitra's field study of political choice in an orissa village is different and innovative. The argument here seems to be that the tendency to form caste associations seems to be a somewhat trend in political campaigns. Benefit maximization and obligation are two competing norms. Though the transition is from obligation norm to benefit norm, the working out of the modalities for carrying out this norm has fallen on the caste association like formations. This does not mean that traditional obligations along caste and feudal lines are not operating any longer, but in order to maximize one's benefits competitive caste associations have come into being. But caste associations have one principal drawback - they lack flexibility.

As Kothari said, "the dominant party model has started to give way to a more differentiated structure of party competition'. In particular scholars were now focusing on the wearing down of institutional authority. Of course, the emergency of 1975 played a major role in this, but even after the democratic process was resumed, the problems of governance and systemic strains in the political structure continued.

In Brass's opinion, ideological compulsions are not among the important factors of the Indian polity. The distinctive features of this polity have been the following:

- The importance of those who control land and own it.
- Caste
- Links between state power wielders and those who control resources.

These links are not identical but arise because the government is so powerful that it not only has control over resources and people, but can also, through the bureaucracy and the police constantly threaten and harass citizens who in turn think of ways of protecting themselves from such governmental excesses.

16.8 Demand Polity and Command Polity

In this connection we need to examine, the relationship between the pressures that are being exerted from the outside on the political system and how the system responds to these pressures. Rudolph and Rudolph in the Pursuit of Lakshmi prefer to take a more analytical view on this theme which is indeed helpful when we see political institutions and events from a more general perspective.

The Rudolph bring to bear the twin concepts of demand polity and command polity in their analysis of Indian politics. These terms are related to the better known economic terms, namely demand economy and command economy.

In a demand polity the 'Voters, citizens are sovereign' and the polity is oriented towards short term goals; towards competitive processes for determining policies and public interest eg. voting, deliberation and bargaining and towards the provision of private goods. It is constrained and directed by the imperatives of electoral victory and by pluralist and class influence on public choice'.

In a command polity the extractive and allocative decisions reflect the preferences of the elected and appointed officials who choose and implement

policies. They favour, repress, license, or co-opt classes, interests, communities and elites.

But in order to be legitimate these polities, both demand and command have to demonstrate their efficacy, though in each case this is done differently. “Legitimacy in demand politics depends on the state’s capacity to provide short run equitable treatment of citizens demands. Legitimacy in command politics depends on the credibility of the state’s call for equitable sacrifice to achieve future benefits and avoid social costs.

The Rudolphs have divided India into four different phases. The first phase is characterized by the year 1952-63 when a democratic regime/command politics mix dominated (basically the Nehru years). In the second phase from 1964-65 to 1974-75 democratic regime/demand politics combined to characterize the Indira Gandhi years prior to the emergency. During the emergency years for 1975-77 it was the authoritarian regime/ command politics duplex that was dominant. During this period food production increased and so did industrial production, over and above the fact that fewer man days were lost. In the opinion of Rudolph and Rudolph all of these were the effects of an authoritarian regime. But there was a return to the democratic regime in 1977 and thus we find in the fourth phase from 1977 to 1984 an admixture of demand and command elements.

16.9 Conclusion

A power structure is an overall system of influence relationships between any individual and every other individual within any selected group of people. A description of a power structure would capture the way in which power or authority is distributed between people within groups such as a government, nation, institution, organization, or a society. A power structure may be formal and intentionally constructed to maximize values like fairness or efficiency, as in a hierarchical organisation wherein every entity, except one, is subordinate to a single other entity.

16.10 Model Test Paper

Answer the following questions:

1. Explain the perspectives on power in detail.
2. What is demand polity and command Polity.
3. Critically examine the concept of Political Domination .

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M.A. SOCIOLOGY

M. A. Sociology

Course No. 405

Lesson -17

Unit-IV

THE CRISIS OF GOVERNANCE

- 17.1 Introduction
- 17.2 India's Problem of Governability.
- 17.3 Conclusion
- 17.4 Model Test Paper

Objectives

The basic thrust of this chapter is to study:

- explain India's growing problems of governability
- To understand the electoral competition and mobilization.

17.1 Introduction

The interaction between demand and command politics may be useful in analyzing the increasing competition between rival political claimants in contemporary India. As James Manor said: "India has become increasingly democratic and increasingly difficult to govern".

Sooner or later all developing countries become difficult to govern and over the past two decades India has been moving in that direction. This trend contrasts with the situation during the 1950s and 1960s, when India was widely regarded as one of the few stable democracies in the non-western world.

India is still, of course, a functioning democracy, but increasingly it is not well governed. The evidence of eroding political order is everywhere. Personal rule has replaced party rule at all levels--- —— national, state and district. Below the rulers, the entrenched civil and police services have been politicized. Various social groups have pressed new and ever more diverse political demands in demonstrations that often have led to violence. The omnipresent but feeble state, in turn, has vacillated; its responses have varied over a wide range: indifference, sporadic concessions and repression. Such vacillation has fueled further opposition. The ineffectiveness of repression, moreover, has highlighted the breakdown of the civil machinery intended to enforce the law and maintain order. In order to protect themselves, citizens in some parts of the country have begun organizing private armies. The growing political violence has periodically brought the armed forces into India's political arena, whereas the armed forces once were considered apolitical.

... Was this outcome inevitable? India had long been considered something of a political exception... What happened? What went wrong?...

17.2 India's Problem of Governability

The political arrangements in the early phase [of the post-independence era] were clearly dominated by an educated, nationalist elite. The business class was also politically influential, and the landed and caste elites were slowly brought into the ruling coalition. The new rulers enjoyed widely perceived legitimacy, in part because of the nationalist legacy and in part because the traditional patterns of authority in society, such as the caste structure in the villages, were still largely intact. The caste structure in villages, were still largely intact. The dominant political elites, moreover, practised a reconciliatory approach toward the competing elites, while professing the hope that they would be able to bring the poor and the oppressed masses into the mainstream of India's modernizing political economy. The legitimacy formula that the Congress Party had designed was clearly expressed in its proposed strategy for economic development: a marriage between nationalism and democratic socialism. The party's five-year

plans accordingly stressed a mixed economy model of development that sought economic growth, self-sufficiency, and a modicum of wealth redistribution.

These were euphoric times in India, as new beginnings often are. Although many difficult problems confronted the new government, both leaders and followers had considerable confidence in the state's capacity to deal with these problems. The Indian state sought to guide development while standing above the society; it also simultaneously expressed the preferences of important social groups and thus was widely deemed legitimate. Over the past two decades, however, or since about 1967, much has changed. Most important, the state's capacity to govern (i.e., the capacity simultaneously to promote development and to accommodate diverse interests) has declined. Along with this decline, order and authority have been eroding. Since the mid- sixties the surface manifestation of this process has been widespread activism outside of the established political channels that often has led to violence, a problem compounded by the state's growing incapacity to deal with the pressing problems of law and order, corruption, and poverty. Below the surface lies an important cause of these political problems: disintegration of India's major political institutions, especially the decline of its premier political entity, the Congress Party.

Below the established state elites, the vertical patterns of fealty in India's civil society have been eroding. Members of higher castes and other 'big men' have gradually lost their Capacity to influence the political behavior of those below them in the socio-economic hierarchy. As a result, new social groups have entered the political arena and pressed new demands upon the state. Without dominant party and other conflict-resolving institutions, democratic accommodation of such demands has been difficult. Without established law-and-order institutions, moreover, the agitation and violence that have resulted from these demands have been difficult to control. The result has been a dramatic increase in political violence in India. The state has had to increase its reliance on military and paramilitary forces. Thus, the current political situation features an outpouring of diverse new social demands, ad hoc and vacillating responses

by the state, and a growing sense that order and authority- and perhaps even democracy— may be disintegrating in India.

The qualitative difference between political turmoil today and unstable rule in the past suggests that the political problems of today are, at least in part, the results of the ‘developmental successes’ of the past few decades. India’s Congress Party was the for the new nation-state. Having performed that crucial role, the party has now withered away. Other institutions came into being during that same time period: a functioning national-market, national transportation and communication networks, an emerging but relatively strong indigenous capitalism, and moderately cohesive armed forces. These are the key rudiments of a nation-state that should ensure the existence of India as a viable political unit. Along with these developments, however, another set of changes: an increased division of labour, the spread of Commerce, and diffusion of both national and democratic values. These changes have reduced the isolation of one local community from another. Moreover, because the state has been heavily involved in all of these changes, the growing ineffectiveness of the state is likely to have wide repercussions.

The breakdown of political order in contemporary India puts into the future capacity of the Indian state to govern. The crucial question to the issue of eroding authority is these: How will India be ruled in future—as a democracy, or by other means? If as a democracy, what type of democracy? Who within the state— which individuals, parties, and socio-economic groups – will exercise power? And finally, how effective is the state likely to be in solving India’s pressing problems? The issue of governability in the contemporary context thus concerns the state’s capacity simultaneously to accommodate disparate interests and promote development.

The irony of India’s politico-economic situation is tragic: the state is highly centralized and omnipresent, but the leverage of its leaders to initiate meaningful change has diminished. The main reason for this development is that authority has seldom run deep, and the authority structures have in recent years fallen into disrepair. As a result, state authorities have little ability to persuade the people

to support government initiatives - to build consensus. Coercion as a strategy of policy implementation is not in the cards, at least not at this time. Thus, major initiatives often face a dead end. It has become a vicious cycle: weakness in the authority structures makes it difficult to solve precisely those problems whose solutions could strengthen authority. The bulk of political energy is spent fighting one bushfire after another, guided by the central concern of how to hang on to power.

The roots of the decay in the national authority structures are to be found in a dilemma that consistently plagued Indira Gandhi: how to maintain her hold on power while either fending off or accommodating the growing demands of power blocs in the polity. Democratic incorporation of such diverse new demands often would have meant a downward transfer of power. Indira Gandhi perceived — not without some justification — that such moves would weaken the Centre and thus both national integrity and the state's capacity to steer economic development. As a consequence, she adopted a recalcitrant stance. Instead of accommodation power challengers, which might not have been easy in any case, she sought to block their access to power by undermining democratic institutions. Cancellations of elections within Congress Party, appointment of loyal but weak chief ministers in the states, and personalization of general elections were all part of the ruling strategy.

The paradox is that the very strategy that enabled Indira Gandhi to hold on to power also undermined the possibility of using that power for constructive ends. Having reduced the significance of important institutions, she found that when she (and, later, her successor, Rajiv Gandhi) needed institutional support to implement desired goals, such support was not available. Personal control over a highly interventionist state has been maintained, but the interventionist arm of that state has gone limp; the trends centralization and powerlessness have run in tandem.

During the first two decades after Independence, democratic institutions were introduced into India. With the advantage of hindsight, some have questioned the solidity of those early foundations. The view adopted here is rather that the

beginnings of democracy were well founded and held out considerable promise. Over the past two decades, however, India's institutional capacity to deal with conflict and initiate solutions to pressing problems has declined. The issue now is what factors can help explain this 'dependent variable', namely, the declining capacity to govern?

At a proximate level of causation, four interrelated factors can be identified as independent variables in the empirical analysis: the changing role of the political elite, weak and ineffective political organizations, mobilization of previously passive groups for electoral competition, and growing conflict between contending social groups, including the conflict between the haves and the have-nots. How each of these conditions can influence the problems of governability can now be briefly summarized.

As democratic factionalism and other types of power conflicts have multiplied within India, the leaders often have found their hold on power fiercely challenged. Many of them, including Indira and Rajiv Gandhi, characteristically have reacted in ways that have tended to preserve their power. One important method for preserving power has been populism: to establish direct contact between the leader and masses and to undermine those impersonal rules and institutions designed to facilitate orderly challenges. Making direct promises that will affect as large a segment of population as possible can enable a leader to mobilize broad electoral support. The destruction of institutional constraints will leave more matters to the leaders' personal discretion, enabling the leader to promote those who are loyal, while shunting aside anyone who is a potential challenger with an independent political base.

This process has undermined the possibility of establishing a system of impersonal authority based on the procedural rationality of democracy. As traditional sources of authority have declined and the development of rational, legal bases of authority has and been thwarted, personal rule has come to prevail. Personalization of power can, of course, be either a cause or a consequence of weak institutional rule. What is clear in the case of India over the last two decades is that, on balance, the nation's powerful leaders — especially Indira and Rajiv Gandhi, but

also important regional leaders like M.G. Ramachandran and N.T. Rama Rao — have worked more to increase their personal power than to strengthen governmental institutions.

In addition to the detrimental role of its leaders, India's economic scarcities and heterogeneous social structure have made it difficult to strengthen political organizations. Whatever the causative factors... weak political organizations have also contributed significantly to the growing problems of governability. Weak political parties, for example, have ceased functioning as arenas for accommodation and resolution of conflict. In a social situation where most traditional modes of resolving of conflicts are eroding and the political system allows, even encourages, as-sociation for the pursuit of group interests, which can lead to conflict, an absence of strong political parties leaves a serious authority vacuum. Unresolved conflicts often are fought out on the streets. Ineffectiveness of other institutions, such as the police force, further contributes to growing civil disorder. That is why the Indian state in recent years has increasingly resorted to its last line of defense — the armed forces.

Electoral competition has mobilized many formerly passive socio-economic groups and brought them into the political arena. On balance, this is a desirable outcome in a democracy. But given the state's limited capacities for redistribution of wealth and the intensity with which electoral support has been courted, these mobilized and dissatisfied groups have further contributed to the growing political turmoil. A major example of this phenomenon is the growing caste conflict between the 'backward' and the 'forward' castes. Leaders in state after state have utilized 'reservations' — the Indian version of affirmative action— as means to gain the electoral support of numerically significant backward castes. Higher castes, feeling that their interests are threatened, have resisted these moves. Once set in motion, how-ever, those who have been mobilized have been difficult to satisfy or control. Conflict has often been the result.

A similar pattern has unfolded as competing elites have sought to mobilize ethnic groups who share language, religion, or race. The groups vary: the Maharashtrians in Belgaum; the Sikhs in Punjab; Hindu versus Moslems in various

parts of the country; the Gurkhas in West Bengal. These mobilizations follow identifiable patterns. Leaders manipulate primordial attachments so as to gain access to the state. If they are accommodated, the conflict often recedes. Accommodation, however, is not always possible. Moreover, those in positions to make concessions sometimes have not made timely concessions, in order to protect their own political interests. Such recalcitrance has only further encouraged the leaders of ethnic and religious groups to use violence and agitation as means of accomplishing their political goals.

Quite independent of such mobilization aimed at influencing political competition, the general process of economic and social change has shaken people out of their traditional social niches. Changing roles have created a growing awareness of the individual's position in society. Long-established inequalities and beliefs about the legitimacy of these inequalities are thus increasingly under challenge. Members of lower socio-economic classes have begun associating themselves so as to challenge what they perceive to be unjust domination and exploitation. Privileged groups have also begun to counter organize. Conflicts along traditional cleavages of caste and community have been around for quite some time, but what is new is the changing character and intensity of such conflicts. In states like Bihar, for example, one barely has to scratch the surface to discover that such group conflicts- often fought out by private armies - increasingly involve economic issues. Traditional conflict is thus evolving into new types of conflicts, and increasingly the theme is class conflict.

These four related variables - the changing role of the political elite, weak political organizations, the mobilization of new groups for electoral reasons, and growing social unrest, including class conflict — direct attention to the interactions between the states and social forces that help explain India's growing problems of governability. These variables are treated here as independent variables only insofar as one is not fully reducible to another. It will be clear to readers that these variables are fairly proximate to the phenomena being explained. Moreover they 'feed into' each other in cause-and-effect relationships. In order to avoid circular reasoning, therefore, one must carefully analyse how, over time, they

influence one another and how they affect the dependent variable of interest: India's growing problems of governability.

The overall picture of political change in India that these four variables help delineate is one in which ruling institutions have weakened and power challenges have multiplied. If we 'collapse' these four causal variables into broader analytical categories and move one step farther to a 'deeper' level of causation, it is eminently clear that in the general explanation developed here, political variables play roles as significant as those of socio-economic forces, if not more significant. Both the dislocative impact of economic development and growing class conflict have contributed to India's problems of governability. Neither of these socio-economic variables, however, has been decisive. The forces that also have been significant are best thought of collectively as political forces: the roles of leaders, the impact of weak political institutions, and, most important, mobilization of new groups for purposes of winning power and securing access to the state's resources. None of these political forces is fully reducible to explanation by the underlying socio-economic conditions. The explanation of the state's declining capacity to govern developed here is thus distinguished from both 'developmental' and 'Marxist' positions. While taking those positions into account, the explanation proposed here emphasizes the 'autonomous' significance of political structures and processes.

Numerous nuances and details of how political variables contribute to problems of governability will emerge due course. So will the distinctive normative implications of this state- society focus. Suffice it to note at the outset that the additional emphasis on 'political causes' of 'political change' in a case that of India should not be surprising. Only a part of this emphasis results from an analytical recasting of the available evidence. For the rest, the empirical materials are simply distinctive. In comparison with earlier historical cases of western European 'modernization' from which both developmental and Marxist arguments originate, the role of the state looms much larger in India's development. Thus, the significance of political forces often can be traced back to this dominant role of the state in socio-economic change.

In a situation like that of India, the state not only is the agent of political order but also is responsible for socio-economic development. India's highly interventionist state controls many of the 'free floating' economic resources in a very poor society. Access to the power of the state is bitterly contested, not only for the political ends of exercising power and influencing policy but also as a source of livelihood and rapid upward mobility. The struggle for state power in these circumstances becomes simultaneously a struggle to influence people's life-chances. Thus, the conventional distinctions between the state and the market, or between the public and private spheres of activity, are not clear- in the case of India.

Moreover, bureaucracy has been organized as an electoral democracy for nearly...[five] decades, the belief that the state is controllable has spread wide and deep. Competing political elites are willing to utilize any sets of appealing symbols and available means—including violent means—for political mobilization aimed at bolstering their electoral chances. Even before the arrival of democracy, the character of premodern Indian society had been highly fragmented, and an interventionist democratic state has facilitated rapid political mobilization of various castes, classes and religious and language groups. Add to this the roles of powerful economic actors such as business groups and the landowning peasantry, who depend heavily on state resources and thus wish to block access by others, and a picture emerges of a state that is both centralized and interventionist but that finds it increasingly difficult to accommodate conflicting demands and thus to govern.

One unsettling conclusion of this study is that India's democracy has itself contributed to over politicization of the Indian polity. The prescription that follows this argument, however, definitely is not that democracy should be curtailed in India. This study is primarily analytical, aimed at exploring the causes of India's increasing political turmoil. To the extent that it has any clear normative and prescriptive implications, they are... fairly general: strengthening party organizations and bringing the state's capacities in line with its commitments are two crucial long-term actions needed for improving the quality of India's democratic government.

What aspects of India's political structure have made that country increasingly difficult to govern? The 'deeper structures' are often in the background in a process-oriented analysis. Without reference to them, however, important questions remain unanswered. Why should the Indian state attract so much attention from social groups? What enables a leader to play such a profound role in the Indian polity? Why should political mobilization result not in new organized political initiatives but in chaos? It is now important to move one level of causation deeper and focus sharply on the political structures that have conditioned political change in India.

The Indian state is highly interventionist, and whether one approves of this or deplors it, it is an important organizational feature in contemporary India that is not likely to change soon. An interventionist state at low levels of economic development, moreover, is a feature that India shares with many Third World countries, but in contrast with past experiments in capitalist economic development, especially those in the Anglo-American context. Two important political implications at that state-society macro-characteristic have been evident throughout this analysis, but have not always been recognized in the literature.

First, an interventionist state in the early stages of development has difficulty establishing a separation between the public and private spheres in social life. That has many consequences. The most important from the standpoint of a study of governability is that an interventionist state cannot claim that distributive problems are social and not political problems. The coexistence of political equality with considerable economic inequality facilitated the establishment of proto-democracies in parts of nineteenth-century Europe. The interventionist welfare state developed only under resource-abundant, mature capitalism. In an Indian type of situation, however, a highly interventionist state is inherent to the overall design of state-led development. That tends to politicize all forms of societal cleavages - old versus new, social, and economic. Thus, the accumulating distributive claims on the state partly reflect the state's attempt to penetrate and reorganize socio-economic life.

Second, an interventionist developing state typically controls a substantial proportion of a poor economy. Thus, many of the free-floating economic resources are controlled by politicians and bureaucrats. Who should have access to those resources? Unlike situations involving the products of private endeavor, legitimacy of claims on public resources is not easy to establish. Given the scarcities in a poor economy, moreover, the competitive energies of the many individuals and groups seeking economic improvements tend to get focused on the state. Thus, competition over the state's resources often results in intense conflict, contributing to the problems of governability.

Another major characteristic of India's political structure is India's democracy. On balance, periodic elections and the existence of basic civil liberties are among India's most prized political possessions. Certain specific features of Indian democracy, however, have also contributed to India's growing problems of governability. India's democracy has been democracy from above. For most of its existence, it has been more of a gift from the elite to the masses than something the masses have secured for themselves. There is no doubt that the longer democracy is practiced, the more difficult it becomes for the elite to take away basic democratic rights. Nevertheless, a tremendous concentration of power in the hands of a few leaders is an undeniable feature of India's democracy. Leaders may not be able to turn democracy on and off, but Indira Gandhi came close.

That concentration of power cannot simply be wished away. It is part of the overall design by which the leaders have made democracy a gift to the society. One recurring consequence of that design is that whenever the ruling elite are threatened, further centralization of power is a readily available alternative. Because centralization of power in individuals nearly always emasculates fragile institutions - strong institutions do constrain the power of individuals - there is a built-in incentive in India for leaders to undertake periodic deinstitutionalization. As long as a democracy remains more a gift that a society's leaders give to its people and less an established framework that dwarfs the leaders, only exceptional leaders are likely to resist the tendency to maintain personal power at the expense of institutional development.

An elite-dominated democracy has also structured the patterns of political mobilization. Leaders have mobilized socioeconomic groups more as power resources in intra-elite struggles and less to satisfy group aspirations. That pattern of elite led mobilization is distinguishable from the more conventional concept of social mobilization that supposedly accompanies industrialization, urbanization, literacy and so forth. Whereas social mobilization is generally produced by economic development and modernization, elite-led mobilization often reflects patterns of intra-elite conflict thus Indira Gandhi discovered India's poor when she was pressed politically by other members of the Congress elite. Devraj Urs and Karpooori Thakur similarly discovered the backward castes when they desperately needed to establish new ruling coalitions. The Akalis began stressing issues of Sikh nationalism only when thrown out of power. The suggestion here is not that such patterns of mobilization are bad or wrong; they are the stuff of democracy. What is wrong here is the disregard for the consequences of such mobilizations.

Finally, the last important characteristic of India's political structure that needs to be noted is the weakness of India's political parties. That organizational viability of Congress has declined. Most other parties have failed to fill the organizational vacuum. Because party organization has been treated as an intermediate variable in this study, both the causes and the consequences of organizational weakness need to be spelled out briefly in general terms.

17.3 Conclusion

The diversity of India's social structure naturally militates against the development of cohesive national parties. Because regional parties have not done much better, however, one suspects that factors other than cultural diversity are also at work. One hypothesis that fits the Indian materials is that strong parties—parties with well-developed political identification, programmatic goals and organization—develop mainly as vehicles for gaining power. Conversely, leaders who acquire power because of the personal appeal have little incentive to encourage the development of parties from above; on contrary, parties as institutions often constrain the individual discretion and personalistic power of

charismatic leaders. Thus, well-developed parties often emerge from below rather than from above.

17.4 Model Test Paper

Answer the following questions:

1. What is electoral democracy ?
2. Discuss India's problem of governability.

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M.A. SOCIOLOGY

M. A. Sociology

Course No. 405

Lesson -18

Unit-IV

ETHNICITY AND POLITICS

18.1 Introduction:

18.2 Nation-States as Original Combinations

18.3 Linguistic, Nativist and Regional Politics

18.4 Objectives

18.5 Independence and the Hindu-Muslim Divide

18.6 Factors Responsible for Inflamed Ethnicity in India

18.7 Conclusion

18.8 Model Test Paper

Objectives

After studying the lesson, you should be able to:

- Define the concept of ethnicity and politics.
- Discuss the linguistic, nativist and regional politics.
- Understand the concept of independence and the Hindu-Muslim divide and
- Critical factors responsible for inflamed ethnicity in India.

Introduction

India is a plural society. It is characterized by a large diversity in its population with multitudes of castes and several religious, linguistic, cultural and racial groups living here. Because of intense competition for scarce economic resources and the heightened consciousness among people of different groups to preserve their age-old cultures, India has always been vulnerable to assertions of ethnic identities. This chapter will also give us the clear understanding of the role of ethnicity in politics.

Even though four decades have passed since India became independent, this has not yet stilled the doubts in the minds of many regarding her future as a viable nation-state. Every now and again commentaries on the Indian political situation are awash with speculations as to how long Indian unity will hold. These speculations are inspired by western notions of the Nation-State where ideology, Language, religion and political sovereignty have conterminous boundaries. Notwithstanding the fact that such notions disregard the historical processes by which some nationalities were subsumed by more powerful nationalities in the making of modern western nation states, the belief that language and religion, in their pristine form, are the twin ballasts of nation-states is almost universal.

India, very self-consciously, rejected this understanding of the nation-state. From the early decades of this century when a cogent national independence movement began to take shape in the subcontinent, it was clear to the Indian nationalists that liberation from colonial domination must necessarily be all Indian in charter. There were certain contrary tendencies in the political condition of India in those times, many of which were assiduously encouraged by the British rulers. One such tendency was in the shape of the Muslim league which argued that only religion could be the basis of an enduring nation-state. Hindu nationalist organizations which believed in an identical formulation indirectly helped the British to rationalize their administrative decision to undermine secular nationalist parties, such as the Indian National Congress, which had from 1920 onwards been the most dominant representative of the nationalist urge in the subcontinent.

The acceptance of cultural and linguistic differences is no superficial acquiescence but is the enduring basis on which Indian politics is played out. In the following pages we hope to test this proposition against empirical instances where cultural chauvinism (or should one say, passions?) of one form or another have loomed large on the political space of India since Independence.

18.2 NATION-STATES AS ORIGINAL COMBINATIONS

But before we begin on this exercise we believe it will be useful to quickly recall some of the peculiarities that characterize India which, we are convinced, make the Indian experience as a modern nation-state not only different from the western model, but also different from the experiences of other newly liberated nation states all over the world.

It is not as if the Indian subcontinent was unified for the first time under British Imperial rule. The boundaries of the Mauryan Empire which flourished from the fifth century BC to first century BC were also confined largely to the limits of the subcontinent. This was true of the Gupta Empire which came five centuries later, and of the more recent medieval Mughal Empire, especially during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries... Are the high mountains in the north and the great waters in the south responsible for India's uniqueness? Or should the responsibility be placed at the door of the caste system whose peculiarity characterizes Indian society and culture? Does one also have to factor in the fact that places of education and religious centres all over the subcontinent were esteemed and revered by different regional and linguistic groups over the length and breadth of India? What will however be difficult to controvert is that India existed as a cultural and social entity, in spite of all its internal variations, even before it became a modern political entity.

Apropos of the above we should also like to distance ourselves from the issue which Benedict Anderson raises in his impressive work entitled *Imagined Communities*. According to Anderson colonial administrative boundaries with localized centres of higher learning provided a kind of ready-made map for the newly emerging nation states. The division of India between British India and the Princely states did not however hold back in any appreciable manner the unified

formation of the Indian nation-state... If nation-states are imagined communities then the only way to do justice to this conceptualization is if one were not to impose formats along which such imaginings must necessarily take place. Nor should one be tempted to consider the historical depth of post-colonial countries as one limited to the colonial experience alone. The Indian case should at least make this much clear...

18.3 THE TEST CASES: LINGUISTIC, NATIVIST AND REGIONAL POLITICS

There have been three great occasions in India's short history after independence which has darkened the optimists sunny projections. The first erupted soon after independence when the demand for unilingual states (or provinces) engulfed large areas of the subcontinent. The second followed soon after when the 'natives' of these unilingual states demanded that economic opportunities in their states be reserved preponderantly for them. The third great occasion is a contemporary one. It demands greater regional autonomy for the states in economic matters. Superficially viewed these three instances can be seen as manifestations of an original and unquenchable, primordial sentiment which the structure of the Indian nation-state cannot contain. The political centre is viewed as coercive for it forcibly endorses centripetal pressures to draw in culturally separate and obdurate masses in various stages of recalcitrance. According to this line of reasoning, the linguistic, the nativistic and the more contemporary regional movements, are all expressions of an original and restless cultural disaffection in the breast of different 'nationalities' forced to cohabit in the Indian nation-state.

It would be more revealing, however, if one were to separate these three kinds of movements on the basis of their central demands, their constraints and the nexuses they activate. Such an exercise is rarely, if ever, undertaken. This would eliminate the instinctive appeal of the superficial similarities between the three kinds of political mobilizations. These ostensible similarities persuasively argue for the merger of the three different mobilizations into one such that the

last is visualized as a fuller efflorescence of the first. In our opinion this does an injustice to the realities of the situation...

In the case of linguistic movements, i.e., those movements demanding a unilingual state, it was the reiteration of primordial identity on the basis of language that bound the partisans into a coherent political group and signified them as 'natives' ... But soon after the major demands for linguistic states had been met on a national scale. India witnessed the emergence of 'nativistic' movements. The protagonists of these agitations claimed that the gift of the tongue was not enough; it had to be supplemented by tangible economic opportunities...

In the case of regional movements, the third case, language and nativism *per se* were not the crucial condensing factors. The demands were now primarily economic and were specific to the region, and the fact that the region also happened to be preponderantly populated by members of one linguistic group did not vitally alter the secular character of their charter.

18.4 OBJECTIVES

It is important to establish the separate identities of nativist, linguistic and regional mobilizations because the respective careers of the three markedly differ from one another. This difference is also accentuated to a significant extent by the way in which the Centre and other national parties interact with them. It is only by concentrating on this web of interaction, even if it is to amass aggressive generalities, that the distinctions between the three kinds of mobilization and organizations can be validated. Moreover, if our earlier contention that such political occurrences are not inimical to the political unity of India (nor to the notion of a political Center) is to hold, then it is just these types of objective factors that need to be focused on as they not only reflect the constraints of sub national movements and their respective organizations, but also reflect the conditions of their origin.

Finally, this paper has been prompted by a somewhat paradoxical observation. It appears that as these movements progress from primordial to secular economic demands, the Centre seems to progressively become more

and more maladroit. In other words, it would seem that the Centre and the Indian Union seem more at home and comfortable with ethnic based movements than with those generated by secular economic demands.

18.5 INDEPENDENCE AND THE HINDU-MUSLIM DIVIDE

Independent India inherited a great many things from its colonial past. Among them was the fear, a persistent undertow that the cultural diversity of the subcontinent would soon see to the fragmentation of the Indian state. Immediately a grand fact, viz., the partition of the subcontinent into India and Pakistan, took place as if to concretize these apprehensions. A moment's reflection will, however, tell us that the partition was not a necessary (or logical) outcome of the Indian national movement.

The stated objective of the participants in the national movement, including the communists, was not the division of India between Hindus and Muslims, but political independence from the British in the subcontinent. As a matter of fact every time the Hindu-Muslim divide surfaced politically it constituted a set back for the national movement and weakened its viable bargaining power. The demand for division on pure religious grounds was not the logical culmination of the national movement, but grew on its fringes, preying on inconsistencies in the 'eventist' articulation of the nationalist ideology and on the situationalist contretemps in which the national parties and their leaders were often placed.

Partition could not have been an ideal setting for all these Hindu nationalists to make India a Hindu state. The point is that this did not happen for which reason the Nehru-Gandhi secular vision of India won the day. This however, would not have been possible unless centrifugal forces detrimental to the unity of India as a political unit had not been politically overwhelmed during the years of the nationalist movement. This too is an aspect of India's 'original' combination. Hence the first instance of political separation was not an outcome of the given diversity of Indian society, but grew predaciously at the margin of the nationalist movement on leavings thoughtfully thrown its way by deliberate administrative decisions.

LINGUISTIC MOVEMENTS

In the mid fifties the demand for unilingual states enveloped the whole country, necessitating the formation of the States Reorganization Commission. All national parties including local branches of the Congress participated in these movements, sometimes contrary to the stated positions of the Congress at the Centre. While it is true that the majority of participants were explicitly parochial and even primordial in their outlook, the leaders of the movements were not portrayed simply as regional heroes, but as nationalists who had the interests of the nation uppermost. They were thorough patriots and it was their patriotic duty towards India to demand unilingual states.

The demand for unilingual states was not seen either by its partisans or by the Congress at the Centre as anti-India or anti-national. This is because the Congress in the twenties had explicitly proclaimed, as part of its charter that once independence was won India would be administratively demarcated on linguistic lines. It was felt that provincial boundaries thus delineated would enhance greater participation at the lower levels and help in rooting democracy deep in Indian soil. This is why national parties had little ideological reluctance to enter the agitation for linguistic states.

The other reason why national parties could participate wholly in these linguistic movements was because the demand that each state should be linguistically demarcated could be carried out without damaging the linguistic rights of any other major linguistic community in the country.

The linguistic movements also demonstrate that they were not antagonistic to the Centre, and were if anything, hostile to the neighboring states, not because of their opposition to the formation of linguistic states elsewhere, but because of rival territorial claims... But at no stage was the political unity of India even questioned, nor as we have tried to demonstrate, were the organizations that were set in motion by linguistic movements, and propagated their cause, even remotely separatist or anti-federal in character.

NATIVIST MOVEMENTS

But before the sixties were over, and well after linguistic divisions had been accepted as basis for the formation of states in the Indian Union, another movement began. The 'sons of the soil' began to demand that they be given the major, if not the sole, right to work on the soil of their linguistic states and reap the economic benefits therein without interference from people belonging to other linguistic communities. The demand was economic but was mediated through specific linguistic identities. The national parties could not lumber up to take advantage of this groundswell and organizations explicitly local and nativistic in their nomenclature and orientation emerged. They began haltingly and unambitiously, but before many could look back to redefine their positions they were swept to the top on a staggering wave of popular sympathy.

The Shiv Sena of the sixties and seventies and the Assam movement, which culminated in 1985, may be considered to belong to this genre. In both cases the enemy is within, the 'aliens', who by careful manipulation deny the native sons of the soil the benefits of economic advancement that their native state offers. These movements thus carry with their economic demands a vital linguistic element, and it is on the basis of discrimination on linguistic grounds that the economic demands are sought to be worked out... The major enemies of such movements are not other states so much as the linguistic groups from these other states who are seen as threats by the natives... Only some states are singled out as particularly offensive and never is the whole country held responsible. In fact, nativist movements acknowledge that it is only through the machinery at the centre that their grievances can be redressed... In other words, if the Centre at all becomes the enemy it is not a generic one, and the hostility shown towards it occurs on the rebound.

Neither were the Congress and the other national parties, with the exception of the communists, averse to arriving at agreements with these nativist forces. This was of course difficult in the first flush of these movements because the nativist forces chose other linguistic groups in the country as their targets. Thus, no national party could align with them without risking its political bases

elsewhere in the country. Gradually the Shiv Sena in Bombay shifted its attention away from the South Indians and concentrated instead on the Communists... The Assam movement too moved away by 1980 from being anti-Bengali to becoming hostile to the Muslim migrants from Bangladesh...

National parties and national politics surely had a role to play in altering the principal focus of these nativist movements. However, the major beneficiaries were the nativist forces who won a measure of national legitimacy which was essential for their continued survival. This also sheltered them from a full scale attack by the Government's coercive apparatuses, a fate reserved for all oppositionist elements who can be successfully portrayed as anti-national by the ruling party. Additionally, it was now legitimate for national parties including the Congress to openly negotiate with the Shiv Sena or with the All Assam Students Union (AASU). The right wing Bharatiya Janata Party supported the major demands of the AASU and all non-communist parties nationwide, including the Congress, have from time to time come to adjustments with the Shiv Sena in Bombay...

REGIONAL MOVEMENTS

Unlike nativist movements and their somewhat shaky transformation into political parties, regional movements give rise to stable party formations. The Akali Dal, the DMK and the Telegu Desam are convincing examples of this.

Over time the Centre learns to treat them as it would to any opposition group, but in the initial stage it views the emergence of regional parties with great alarm as they are not only stable political contenders, but also because the growth of such parties, and their subsequent viability, are consequent upon their being single-mindedly nurtured on hostility towards the Congress at the Centre. So unlike the other two movements, viz., the linguistic movement and the nativist movement, the regional movement is manifestly against the government at the Centre first and foremost. Consequently the development of regional party formations indicates the attenuation of political support for the party in power at the Centre. The Centre's response to such regional parties is not equivocal as it sees such parties as clear political rivals.

The opposition parties which are national in character may react to the emergence of regional parties variously. Usually, however, they seek some kind of political understanding with the regional organizations hoping thereby to share their mass support and weaken the party in power at the Centre which, in the long run, they believe, is the main obstacle to their coming to power at the national level. This also aids the regional party for it enhances its degree of credibility which is very crucial in its fledging years.

Unlike the case with nativist parties, when the opposition parties support such regional organizations they do not necessarily endanger their bases in other states. An important feature of regional parties is that they have no essential quarrel with other states, they have a bone to pick only with the Centre. If they do attack any one state in particular, it is usually a peripheral issue, and then too the Centre is seen as the provocateur egging that province on into taking a hostile stand.

The appeal of these regional movements is limited to the boundaries of particular states (or provinces). The Akali Dal, the Telegu Desam, the Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam, as their very nomenclatures suggest are limited to Punjab, Andhra Pradesh and Tamil Nadu respectively. By virtue of circumscribing their areas of influence in this fashion these parties can never hope to capture power at the Centre on their own. This however does not deter them from playing politics at the national level by aligning with other regional and national parties. This is true of all known regional parties in India today.

It needs also to be acknowledged that none of these regional parties have ever publicly or actively disowned a particular section of the population belonging to their state (or province)

It should not be forgotten that during this phase of Akali agitation in Punjab the Centre was quite responsive to many of the ethnic aspects of the Akali demands, but never to the secular and economic aspects....

The primary and most important aim of national parties is to win power at the Centre. They thus find it difficult to identify themselves exclusively with the

demands of a particular state. As long as the demands from several states overlap or coincide there is no major difficulty. But when people in specific states demand specific considerations from the Centre, the national parties find themselves unable to sponsor such demands. If they did and could, regional politics in the form of regional parties would probably not have become so dominant in the first place.

But does this mean that with the emergence of such regional parties the Centre is likely to collapse? Or, to put it more sharply, will regional movements place the future of India as a political union in serious jeopardy?

In this context one has to pay attention to two further features that characterize the relationship between regional parties and the Centre. Firstly, the one supreme fact that many rob a regional party of its significance as a regional when they are opposed to the party in power at the Centre. Moreover, they get additional justification when the Centre, i.e. the party controlling it, is strong and cannot be easily dislodged. If the Centre is itself unstable much of the motivation behind regional parties is lost.

We would like to go further and state that as the structural properties of the Indian union are put under severe tension by economic and secular regional demands, the government at the Centre tries to convert regional and secular issues to ethnic and cultural ones. The Punjab case is a pointer to this.

Nowhere in the much disputed Akali Dal resolution (the so called Anandpur Sahib Resolution of 1978) did the Akali Dal demand the dissolution of India. More than nine-tenths of the resolution is concerned with secular and economic issues.

Minoritizing or ethnicizing politics is a tool which the centre is resorting to increasingly. It may be argued that if the government in power paid attention to the specific nature of economic demands coming up from different regions it would disadvantage the class coalition on which it survives. Or one might also add that redress of economic grievances is no easy task at all. Such an effort would never be fully successful and the structural properties of the Indian State would be tested to exhaustion.

Each nation-state is constructed differently. There are unique and original features that go into the making of the sentiments and structures of nation-states. But as all nation-states are 'constructed' there is a certain self-consciousness that must accompany all imaginings of the nation-state, Indian or Western. This essay has argued, through the three test cases of linguistic, nativist and regional politics, that for any mobilization to function in the political mainstream of India it must deliberately stay in line with this self-conscious sentiment that upholds the sanctity of the Indian nation-state. This argument runs parallel to the empirical and substantive demonstration that cultural differences have never empirically threatened or in authenticated the viability of the Indian Union.

Ethnicity as such does not appear to have fulfilled all conditions of becoming a standardised concept yet, since the meaning it conveys even now is more or less society specific and to a major extent depends upon overall social and political orientation of the concern society. The same as a concept is also found to have been attributed with different meanings in the context of a mononational state and multi-cultural agglomerate bound by a system of authority or in majority-minority situations. In a state having bio-cultural homogeneity nationality in contemporary sense is generally assumed to be singular. Under such a situation, ethnicity ordinarily attracts mere academic interest and hardly possesses a source of problem unless the state has Colonies having multiple nationalities to administer. Experience of multi-cultured states are bound to be considerably different in this respect as often they are viewed with the manifest aberration of heterogeneity.

Thus, the phenomenon of ethnicity is the expressive aspect of ethnic identities: it involves consolidation, mobilisation, goal setting and goal attainment. Ethnicity is thus a nebulous concept; it is confusing and complex. Originally an archaic word ethnicity has been given new meanings. Despite its ambiguities and shifting emphasis, ethnicity presents a heady cocktail potent in its effect and unsettling to the established order of things. It is part sentiment, pan ideology, and part agenda. Ethnic ideologies have been practiced from time immemorial. Two widely known ideologies of this kind are Nazism and apartheid. These ideologies emphasize domination subordination relationships; the subordinate

groups are denied social and economic equality as well as freedom in equal measure. Approaches to nationalism, assimilation and cultural pluralist¹¹ have an implicit ideological content. The nationalist mainstream seeks to absorb sub- and micro-nationalism; assimilation, aims at the homogenisation of all groups, relegating ethnic identities to a merely symbolic status; and in the third the prevailing cultural situation is sought to be stabilised, while consciously abiding the erosion of any of the cultures. Ethnicity may be attributed to several causes. It may be a response to the cultural arrogance of the dominated group in a country. Some ethnic groups may resent being dominated and exploited by the group in power. Prejudice and discrimination which need not be real-may consolidate feelings of ethnicity. Ethnic groups may fear the erosion of their cultures and identities. When the economy is retarded and development unequal, some groups may organise on ethnic platforms to fight their battles for equity and distributive justice.

India also bears witness to the fact that the precipitation and intensification of ethnic conflicts by cultural diversity is not a unilinear or irreversible process. Ethnic conflicts have been resolved and reduced, but also re-created. The conflict arising out of the demand for the Tamil language and land during the early 1960s was resolved, although potential tension between Tamil and the declared (but not imposed) national language, Hindi, still exists. The initial thrust of ethnic conflict in Assam, which was directed against the influx of foreigners, experienced some respite in the mid-1980s, although now it has reemerged in violent form under the leadership of the Bodos and ULFA (United Liberation Front of Assam) groups. Similarly, some of the tribal insurgencies in the North-East have also been politically contained.

These varying patterns of conflict formation and containment (including resolution) are likely to persist in the future. For instance, a communal and fundamentalist conflict such as the clash between a temple (Hindu) and a mosque (Muslim) in Ayodhya seems to have lost its militancy and violent thrust after climaxing in 1990-91. At the same time there are signs of new conflict formations among some of the hitherto neglected tribes. The movements of Tribals in the Jharkand region (Bihar) and of Nepalis in Darjeeling and Sikkim over the language issue, have become sufficiently politicized and militant to create flashpoints.

The inconsistent and reversible processes of ethnic conflicts can be understood in the context of India's developmental dynamics, which have been releasing simultaneously the impulses of both conflict formation and containment. Both the alienation and integration of ethnic groups have been going on side by side, a process which describes as "Disintegration and Reintegration."

Looking at the politics of ethnicity in South Asia with reference to developmental dynamics, either of the two trends can be emphasized. The reality is that both these views are tenable since one "does not preclude the other. It is this dual character of social development which prompts David Washbrook to say that "the politics of ethnicity have been remarkably ineffective in directing the course of modern Indian history, although many may seriously question this categorical assertion.

An ethnic group is a group of people united on the basis of some shared experience or some common physical or socio-cultural attributes. For e.g. race, culture, language, religion, region, nationality, heritage etc. Yinger defines ethnic group as a segment of a larger society which is seen by others to be different in some combination of the following characteristics – language, religion, race and ancestral homeland with its related culture; the members of the ethnic group also perceive themselves in that way and they participate in shared activities built around their (real or mythical) common origin or culture. Weber defines ethnic groups as those groups which entertain a subjective belief in their common descent because of similarities of physical types or customs or both. This subjective belief is important for the propagation of group formation. Furthermore, it does not matter whether or not an objective blood relation exists. Ethnicity involves a feeling of consciousness among the members of an ethnic group of the existence of such shared characteristics. It also involves the process of mobilization of people along some common point of reference for presenting a united front to articulate their socio-economic or political interests. Ethnicity, thus, involves the process of interaction between two or more groups.. Each ethnic group draws a boundary to identify its own members and to distinguish the "we" group from other ethnic groups. Geertz argues that ethnicity is based on the primordial ties of blood, race, language, religion or tradition and such attachments seem to flow

from a sense of natural affinity than from social interaction. However, many sociologists do not agree with Geertz's views on ethnicity that it is based on primordial loyalty and is immutable. Ethnicity is a dynamic and fluid concept. Its basis is not pre-determined but keeps on changing depending on the circumstances existing at a particular time. A person's identity is multi-faced and keeps on flitting from one to another depending on the circumstances. For instance, ethnicity based on religion at one time may give way to another like region or language whenever there is a change of interest or circumstances. Another important concept is that of ethno-nationalism. Ethno-nationalism is on rise in recent years due to large-scale trans-national migrations in the current era of unprecedented globalization.. Whereas civic or territorial conceptions of the nation regard it as a community of shared culture, common laws and territorial citizenship, ethnic concepts of the nation focus on the genealogy of its members, however fictive; on popular mobilization of the folk; on native history and customs; and on the vernacular culture.

18.6 Factors Responsible for Inflamed Ethnicity in India

Lopsided economic development of the country because of which some groups feel that they have been marginalised and completely left behind in the process of development. This makes them highly susceptible to the politics of ethnicity. Representative parliamentary democracy in India where different ethnic groups (castes, religious groups, linguistic groups etc.) compete for political power by stressing on horizontal solidarity and consolidation of shared interests. Increasing politicization of caste and religion. Caste and religious identities are often whipped up by political leaders to mobilize people for their vested interests and petty political mileages. Fear among minorities (both linguistic and religious) that they might get assimilated into the dominant culture leading to the dilution of their cultural heritage. Hence, there is an increasing stress on ethnic identity to forge horizontal solidarity. Such feelings have also increased because of the process of globalization and cultural homogenization occurring everywhere. Cultural globalization is even causing the Hindu majority to assert itself and is spawning Hindu revivalism in India. Intense feeling of alienation among the tribes of India because of faulty development policies, leading to forced displacement

from their age-old inhabited land and forest, reducing them to abject poverty and destitute.

Beteille (2001) says “The practice of untouchability is reprehensible and must be condemned...but that does not mean we begin to regard it as a racial discrimination...Every social group cannot be regarded as a race simply because we want to protect it from prejudice and discrimination. Within the broader frame of ethnicity, to Beteille, caste has a rather ambiguous position. The caste system may be viewed as a particular case of ethnic differentiation. Whether racial differences exist between castes or not, they are often differentiated from each other culturally, in their diet, dress and rituals. The boundaries between castes are also maintained by the rules of endogamy. However, in a caste system, different groups are all integrated within a hierarchical order.

18.7 Conclusion

Ethnic groups are not necessarily arranged in a hierarchy and they are not always integrated within a unitary system. However, it cannot be gainsaid that parliamentary democracy in India and the implementation of caste based reservation in jobs and in educational institutions have led to a heightened consciousness among different castes of shared socio-economic and political interests and a feeling among the members of a caste as belonging to one group. Caste has become an easy tool in the hands of the politicians to mobilize people. This is evident from the emergence of various caste based political parties in India such as the Bahujan Samaj Party (a Dalit based party) in the state of Uttar Pradesh or Rashtriya Janta Dal (a party of intermediate castes) in the state of Bihar. The increasing awareness of the caste groups sharing a common interest and, hence, some shared sociocultural attributes and the stress on horizontal solidarity has led the modern transformations of caste to ethnicization. Commenting on caste-based ethnicity, Rudolph and Rudolph hold that in a representative democracy like India, numerical strength is of great significance. It is in the interests of all castes to come together. That is why there is a spurt in caste associations and caste federations. Rudolph and Rudolph call these associations “paracommunities”. These paracommunities enable caste members

to come together and pursue social mobility and economic gains and political power collectively.

18.8 Model Test Paper

Answer the following questions:

1. Explain the concept of ethnicity.
2. Critically examine the factors responsible for inflamed ethnicity in India.

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M.A. SOCIOLOGY

M. A. Sociology

Course No. 405

Lesson -19

Unit-IV

REGIONALISM AND LANGUAGE

- 19.1 Introduction**
- 19.2 Regionalism**
- 19.3 Language**
- 19.4 Regional demands**
 - 19.4.1 Institutional Demands**
 - 19.4.2 Economic Demands**
 - 19.4.3 Cultural Demands**
- 19.5 Development of Regionalism**
- 19.6 Causes for growth for Regionalism and Linguistic conflicts**
- 19.7 Causes for the Growth of Regionalism**
- 19.8 Regionalism: Suggestive Measures**
- 19.9 Conclusion**
- 19.10 Model Test Paper**

Objectives

After studying this lesson, you should be able to

- understand the concept of regionalism and language.
- Discuss the important characteristics of regionalism and language.
- Causes for the growth of regional and linguistic conflicts.
- Also suggested the measures for regionalism.

19.1 Introduction

Expression ownership on attachment with ones region and with the people inhabiting in a specific region, which is apparent in their common conduct, views and beliefs, is called as regionalism. Regionalism may be due to geographical differences, historical isolation, political interests, psychological prejudices and predilections, linguistic chauvinism and cultural differences. This chapter will enable you to understand region as a social system with distinct identity, language, culture and tradition.

19.2 Regionalism

Regionalism refers to the tendency by which the inhabitants of a particular region provide special privileges to members of their own group as against those common from other regions. It is a parochialistic tendency that comes in the way of national integration. Regionalism has developed among certain tribal belts only due to culture contract. In an attempt to avoid exploitation by outsiders and to maintain socio-cultural identity, self-respect and individuality, some tribal groups have opted for regionalism. In a way it reveals the increasing awareness and the rising aspirations of tribal groups.

An important example of regionalism among Indian tribes is the Jharkhand Movement which is asked for an entirely separate tribal region. The tribal cultural zone of Jharkhand is the aggregate of the culture of different tribes such as the Munda, Oroan, Ho, Santhal and several others. Several factors such as common threat from external common political and economic aspirations, common leaders

and involvement in the movements launched by them to fight the forces of exploitation and dehumanization are responsible for inter-tribal unity, cooperation and ultimately, regionalism.

The Jharkhand region has been a separate administrative unit. Ethnically the Adivasis of the region are segregated from the people of North Bihar and the region is also different, a full-fledged state. While the remaining two, i.e., Arunachal Pradesh and Mizoram and Union Territories. About three quarters of this region are rugged hilly terrain formed mainly by ranges derived from the mountain walls of the Himalayas. The remaining one-quarter is accounted for by the plains of Brahmaputra and Bark rivers in Assam and Imphal in Manipur.

Nation and Nationalism have become an integral part of the people's psyche today. The historiography of nationalism suggests the ancient origins of a nation-state. The past traditions of a nation have been articulated in terms of history, culture, language, folklore, territory or religion to demonstrate its antiquity and continuity. In these historical interpretations the nation subsumed the state. Hegel's famous definition, "nations may have had a long history before they finally reach their destination, that of forming themselves into states" became the basis for all subsequent analyses. A similar formulation appeared in the writings of Eunist Gellner: "It is nationalism which engenders nations and not the other way round". Religion and language are two key forces that have shaped and fashioned the patterns of state and nation in the developing world.

19.3 Language

One of the major elements in nationality formation is linguistic allegiance. Language is the demiurge of nationalism and it acts also as a vehicle of expansion. It is believed that each nation is a linguistic entity. It was emphasised that 'Mankind instinctively takes language as the badge of nationality'. The speakers of the same language develop a common bond and share a 'common store of social memories: language establishes a link with the 'glorious past'. No society links to map this link as it is taken to be great and grand. It is because of this that 'the mother tongue became almost sacred, the mysterious vehicle of all national endeavours'.

The idea that language signifies nationality and nationality signifies language is modern. Language does not automatically become the basis for making political distinctions. When language acquires institutional importance in some major domains of nationality-law, polity and economy - it may assume political significance. Thus, the link between language and nationality cannot be taken as natural or God-given, based exclusively on people's faith and belief.

The entire relationship between language and nationality has become more complex and demanding with the coming of modern nationalism. With the increasing importance of the mass media, the standardization of language became a necessity because ideas of the people were now expressed through newspapers, periodicals and pamphlets. Similarly, the expansion of the modern organised courts made the choice of language a matter of more popular concern. The extension of market relations and the development of mass education further boosted the interest in the use of specific languages. Thus, language gains relevance not only as a repository of national culture and reminiscences, as a storehouse of myths but also as a matter of political, economic, legal and educational interest.

Fishman says: 'The ideological pinnacle of language nationalism is not reached until language is clearly pictured as more crucial than the other symbols and expressions of nationality'.

Language became merely a representation or an emblem in the nationalist phase which was put to use by nationalist activities to accomplish their goals. For this reason, the supremacy of language from the perspective of nationalist ideology can be attributed only by comparing it with other collective symbols. Some commentators argue that language is more important than territory for defining nation. For, language provides the most immediate link among people and helps to establish well-defined boundaries. In fact, the boundaries between languages are clearer and lasting. It was this issue that prompted Davies to state 'A people without a language of its own is only half a nation. A nation should guard its language more than its territories - 'tis a surer barrier, a more important frontier than fortress or river'.

The linguistic identity of a nation may remain intact even if its state boundaries are lost. A state may be geographically or politically divided but its language does not break its promise. A nation remains intact if it maintains its distinctive linguistic traditions.

Language was a critical issue in the national struggles of these new states - Asia and Africa as it acted as a symbol of identity and distinction which in turn provided access to their own cultural tradition. However, these newly liberated nations were multilingual in majority of cases. But one common feature in these developing nationalisms was the role of languages introduced by the colonial masters on the one hand and conscious standardization of the major vernacular languages on the other. Under such circumstances, several patterns of language diversity have emerged in these nation states. Language is thus not only a primary element in nationality formation but remains a significant issue even in the process of national building.

India is a nation sharply divided along linguistic lines. A large number of linguistic regions have begun to compete with each other to impair the sense of national identity. The demand for a reorganization of provinces on a linguistic basis has a linkage with the struggle for Indian Independence. The Indian National Congress had ever since 1921 started supporting 'the idea of the creation in British India of administrative units based on linguistic homogeneity'.

The major regional languages used in different regions of the country are classified into two broad categories:

- **Sanskrit based languages** important among them being Hindi, Bengali, Gujarati and Marathi.
- **Dravidian languages** that is Tamil, Telugu, Kannada and Malayalam.

Although Sanskrit had influenced and contributed towards the development of most of the Indian languages, nonetheless each of these languages has its distinct character with its own script and grammar. Hindi being the major language in several states, emerged as a strong contender for acquiring the status of official language.

With regard to the language of education there is almost universal agreement on the use of the mother tongue as the medium of instruction at the primary level and the three-language formula at the secondary level. India has been able to balance the conflicting forces unleashed by the political mobilizations for language.

Apart from language, region is another important variable relevant to the idea of nation. A region is a geographical unit characterised by a particular biological cycle and an ecological equilibrium.

Two broad facets of region are:

- The Physical
- The Social

The first has existed since the beginning of time, the second has acquired its shape through thousands of years of human history. The socio-economic region fulfilled the natural tendency of man to settle in groups and to form local nuclei of settlements which in their turn strongly enhanced social and regional coherence and centralised regional life around focal points of settlement.

A region is located between a community and a nation-state. Although the geographical distinctiveness is a significant determinant of a region, its entity does not always possess formal physical boundaries. The latter may be identified in cultural, linguistic, economic and administrative terms. However, these specific domains may coincide in some cases and may not in some others. Example cultural and linguistic confines may transcend the political and administrative boundaries. The Hindi region in India provides a ready reference in these regard. Thus regions may lack formal boundaries identifiable in physical terms. That is why some analysts consider 'region as a mental construction', 'a reservoir of energy' whose 'origin lies in the nature but whose development depends on man'.

Closely related to the concept of region is the idea of regionalism. The latter has been conveniently used to explicate the tendency of various regions of a country to assign primacy to the region as a value in comparison to the country

as a whole. This tendency may be concretely expressed in terms of language, culture, economy or polity. Accordingly, regionalism represents the regional idea in action as an ideology or as a movement. Paul Brass, for instance, defines regionalism in the Indian context as: patterns of politics in the states that are best explained primarily in terms of conflicts and issue that arise within the states rather than in the national political arena and that deviate in easily discernible ways, such as in political party formations and voting patterns from national trends.

The people of different ethno-linguistic groups located in various regions have lived together harmoniously in a nation-state and strengthened each other with mutual advantage. Thus, regionalism is neither a risk factor nor a hazard to the integrity of states. In a situation of multi-regional national identities there are several regions which are not only relatively small in size but possess distinct cultural, linguistic particularisms. There is a constant fear for the loss of culture, language, tradition and even religion among the smaller groups.

19.4 Regional demands articulated in India may be broadly considered under three headings

19.4.1 Institutional Demands

These have been primarily raised in the context of reorganization of states, provisions for the devolution of power to these states, constitutional safeguards for different 'special' regions, the greater degree of administrative, political and financial autonomy to the units and so forth. No doubt these institutional provisions seem to have been made initially to accommodate regional demands but in actual practice the nation-state has used them as instruments to assimilate the regional political elites into the Indian State. In most of the cases new provisions were made under heavy regional pressures created by the organised regional political parties and groups. Example once the linguistic reorganization of states passed through the first phase, the subsequent compulsion led to the bifurcation of Bombay into Maharashtra and Gujarat of Punjab into Punjab and Haryana.

19.4.2 Economic Demands

These have arisen out of a context of uneven development, or better still regional disparities in development, more particularly under development of peripheral regions. Even a passing reference to the situation obtaining in the north-eastern region of the country will adequately illustrate this point. The primary objective of the developmental policy is to utilise the natural resources of the region, with scant regard for its impact on the socio-economic life of the indigenous people. Such a strategy has led to destabilisation of the socio-economic life of the locals. Moreover, the developmental programmes entail emphasis on the growth of linkages with national and global markets, commercialisation of indigenous designs and skills, competitive use of land and forests and far-reaching changes in the patterns of land ownership and property relations.

19.4.3 Cultural Demands

The cultural dimension of regional demands is equally significant and centres around issues of linguistic and cultural identity. The language and its associated features are the symbols more easily available to ethno-nationalist organisations for constructing an ethnic identity. In addition to language, the shared socio-cultural experiences in terms of a whole series of traditions, art forms, behavioural patterns and images are articulated to promote regional awareness.

In fact, these three major issues—institutional, economic and cultural—form part of regional demands in India today in most cases. But the nature of articulation of the demands is not uniform in all such regions. It varies, depending on the specificities of the social structure and the historical conditions and so also the character of regional movements. In some cases it may take the shape of constitutional or democratic struggles, in some others it may assume a direct secessionist form. As long as regional-cultural identities insist on their right to preserve and develop their language, tradition and ways of life, the problem remains manageable but when they assert their economic and political rights the system faces stresses and strains.

There are various aspects that unite people living in a particular region. A region is characterized by a common language, culture, demographic composition, and geographical features, social, historical and political backgrounds. Hence a person tends to be very loyal to a distinct region more than to the country. Regionalism implies excessive loyalty to one's region or state that tends to pose a danger to national unity. There are differences between the natural resources, endowments and even the levels of development of various regions. These inequalities are actually intensified by politicians who for their vested interests have directed resources for development of certain states and not others. Within states certain regions are favoured while others are neglected. These regional imbalances fuelled by political motivations are responsible for regional conflicts in India. Regional conflicts have assumed extreme forms from time to time whether it be the demand for autonomy, river disputes or boundary disputes; Separatist agitations – The Kashmir debate has been raging for several decades now. The people of Kashmir always live in a state of fear as internal fundamentalist threats and cross border terrorism seems to have become a daily reality for them. Telangana's demands in Andhra Pradesh, anti- Hindi stance as well as demand for state-hood by Tamil Nadu have done irreparable damage to the national identity. Jharkhand, Chhattisgarh and Uttaranchal were states created because of the inter-state disparities.

1. Inter-state river water disputes – the Cauvery and Krishna river water issue between Karnataka, Tamil Nadu and Kerala have led to blood shed in the recent past. Punjab and Haryana have clashed over the issue of Ravi- Beas waters.
2. Border disputes - For ex. Belgaum which lies on the border of Karnataka and Maharashtra has a large Marathi speaking population and was caught in a linguistic conflict with Karnataka.

19.5 Development of Regionalism

1. Efforts should be made by the Central and State governments to promote national unity and solidarity.

2. States should be willing to co-operate with each other to resolve their disputes in the larger interest of the nation. Cultural, Sports and literary exchanges between states should be encouraged to foster regional co-operation.
3. Fiscal and other incentives must be given to industrialists and businesses for setting up their plants and operations in backward areas to further their development. Eg. Subsidies and tax exemptions.
4. Special Area Development programmes should be undertaken in tribal, hilly and desert regions for their growth.
5. There should be well coordinated planning between the Centre and states for fair allocation of funds for regional development.
6. There should be just and equitable distribution of natural resources.

19.6 Causes for growth for Regionalism and Linguistic conflicts

The causes of regional disputes basically lay in the inter-state disparities and are briefly explained as follows:

1. There are inter-state disparities in the per capita incomes of various states. Certain states like Maharashtra, Punjab, Gujarat enjoy higher levels of Per Capita Income while the BIMARU states i.e. Bihar, Madhya Pradesh and Orissa have low levels of PCI. The gap in purchasing power creates discontent.
2. There are disparities in degree of urbanization of states. A higher level of urbanization implies higher industrial development and therefore greater economic, social and political progress.
3. Disparities in Agricultural production brought about by erratic Rainfall in some and heavy monsoons as well as sufficient irrigation facilities in other regions imply a huge gap in their annual produce and hence farmers in Punjab are richer to those in Rajasthan.

4. The industrial growth across states differs widely leading to better employment opportunities and greater economic progress of certain states over others.
5. The cities and town ships in developed states have far more and sophisticated infrastructural facilities compared to states lagging in development. The states with a rich historical background may look down upon other states which tend to stir regional conflicts. Furthermore there are prejudices and stereotypes that increase the interstate divide. Linguistic Conflicts & Regional conflicts As we have already seen earlier, India is a multi-lingual country. It is a nation of 29 states and 7 union territories whereas many as 1652 languages are spoken .The states in India were created based on linguistic barriers and hence an integral part of the state's identity. The First Official Language Commission was appointed by the Government of India. On its recommendation English, the principal official language, was to be replaced by Hindi, the subsidiary official language after 1965. However when the Commission's report was published in 1958, it created disappointment and unrest among the southern states of the country. They were opposed to Hindi being imposed on them as the official language and preferred the use of English. To contain possible outbreak of riots, the then Prime minister Pandit. J. Nehru, pacified the angered states in the Lok Sabha saying Hindi would not be imposed on the non-Hindi speaking states and that English would continue to be an associate language for an indefinite period. Later when the Official Language Bill was passed in the Parliament in 1963 and Hindi adopted as the principal official language of the union in 1965, anti- Hindi riots erupted in South India and W. Bengal against the Hindi speaking. The agitation became strong with Tamil Nadu asking for statehood and several of these states threatening withdrawal of political support to the Congress in the Parliament. Finally to control the situation from going out of hand, the Central Government agreed to reform the Act and made a statutory guarantee to the non-Hindi speaking states that English would not be replaced by Hindi for any official purposes. However as a reaction to

this move, anti-English riots broke out in Delhi and other parts of North India and turned violent against the English speaking. It spurred retaliation in the south. Besides the Hindi vs English riots, other states have also experienced linguistic conflicts .for.eg. U.P., Maharashtra had disputes with Goa and Belgaum. Goa wished to assume two official languages .viz. Konkani and Marathi, whereas the Belgaum Municipal Corporation clashed with the Karnataka government when it wanted to adopt Marathi and not Kannada as its official state language. Effects of Regionalism and Linguistic Conflicts As of today the Union of India has adopted a Bi-lingual policy, where English and Hindi are both adopted by the government for official purposes and for use in Parliament. The Official Language Amendment Act 1968 has made provisions to control linguistic riots in the future. The Act allows optional use of Hindi or the State Official Language in addition to English. States, which have not adopted Hindi as their official language can continue with the use of English for communication between the Union and the State. Between States where either State may not accept Hindi, any communication has to be accompanied with its translation in English. States may adopt their regional language as their official language and use it as a medium of instruction in higher education. Candidates appearing for competitive examinations of the U.P.S.C. are given the freedom to write in their own regional language. Efforts are taken to promote use of Hindi among non-Hindi speaking people.

19.7 Causes for the Growth of Regionalism

1. Regionalism made its appearance as a reaction against the efforts of the national government to impose a particular ideology, language or cultural pattern on all people and groups. Thus the States of South have resisted imposition of Hindi as official language because they feared this would lead to dominance of the North. Similarly, in Assam anti-foreigner movement was launched by the Assamese to preserve their own culture.

2. Continuous neglect of an area or region by the ruling parties and concentration of administrative and political power has given rise to demand for decentralization of authority and bifurcate of unilingual states. On occasions sons of soil theory has been put forth to promote the interests of neglected groups or areas of the state.
3. The desire of the various units of the Indian federal system to maintain their sub cultural regions and greater degree of self-government has promoted regionalism and given rise to demand for greater autonomy.
4. The desire of regional elites to capture power has also led to rise of regionalism. It is well known that political parties like DMK, AIADMK, Akali Dal, Telugu Desam Asom Gana Parishad etc., have encouraged regionalism to capture power.
5. The interaction between the forces of modernisation and mass participation has also largely contributed to the growth of regionalism in India. As the country is still away from realising the goal of a nation state, the various groups have failed to identify their group interests with national interests, hence the feeling of regionalism has persisted.
6. The growing awareness among the people of backward areas that they are being discriminated against has also promoted feeling of regionalism. The local political leaders have fully exploited this factor and tried to feed the people with the idea that the Central Government was deliberately trying to maintain regional imbalances by neglecting social and economic development of certain areas.

Though the regional parties operate within very limited area and pursue only limited objective, they have played significant role both in the State as well as national politics. The regional political parties formed governments in several states and tried to give concrete shape to their policies and programmes. Some of the important regional parties which formed governments in various states include DMK and AIADMK in Tamil Nadu; National Conference in Jammu and Kashmir, Telugu Desam in Andhra Pradesh, Asom Gana Parishad in Assam;

Maharasthrwadi Gomantak Party in Goa; Mizo National Front in Mizoram; Sikkim Sangram Parishad in Sikkim; All Party Hill Leaders Conference in Meghalaya and Indian National Lok Dal (INLD) in Haryana. Some of the regional parties were also partners in the coalition governments formed in several States after the fourth general elections of 1967. At the Centre also, of late the Regional Parties have been able to play critical role in helping formation of Congress government. DMK, a regional party, supported Mrs. Indira Gandhi's government after split in the party in 1969 and enabled her to carry on government despite loss of majority in the Parliament. Telugu Desam was the pillar of strength for the United Front and later the National Democratic Alliance. The representatives of the regional parties focus the attention of the Parliament on issues in their region and try to influence the policies of the Government to promote their own interests. But probably the greatest service rendered by the regional political parties is that they have focused the attention of the people in remote areas on various political and economic issues and contributed to their political awakening. Above all, the regional parties have been able to impress on the national political parties that they cannot put up with their attitude of indifference towards regional problems and have compelled them to take keen interest in the resolution of their problems. In short it can be said that the regional political parties have not only profoundly influenced the regional politics but also left tremendous impact on the national politics.

19.8 Regionalism: Suggestive Measures

- (a) **Geographical factor:** The territorial orientation based on geographical boundaries relate to the inhabitants of a particular region which are symbolic, at least in the Indian context. This is more so because of the linguistic distribution along geographical boundaries. The topographic and climatic variations along with differences in the settlement pattern induce in people the concept of regionalism.
- (b) **Historical and cultural factors:** In the Indian scenario, the historical and cultural factors assume greater significance. The historical and cultural components interpret regionalism by way of cultural heritage, folklore,

myths, symbolism and historical traditions. People of a particular cultural group also derive inspirations from the noble deeds and glorious achievements of the local heroes. Nevertheless, there are sudden political and economic realities which can be covered under the gamut of historical and cultural factors.

- (c) **Caste and religion:** When caste is combined with language conflicts or religious fundamentalism, it breeds regional feeling. It leads to dogmatism, orthodoxy and obscurantism.
- (d) **Economic factors:** Uneven development in many parts of the country may be construed as the prime reason of regionalism and separatism. There are certain regions in the country where industries and factories have been concentrated, educational and health facilities are adequately provided, communication network has been developed, rapid agricultural development has been made possible. But there are also certain areas where the worth of independence is yet to be realized in terms of socioeconomic development. This disparity has caused the feeling of relative deprivation among the inhabitants of economically neglected regions. It has manifested itself in the demand for separate states such as Bodoland, Jharkhand, Uttarakhand, Chhatisgarh, Telangana, and so on.
- (e) **Politico-administrative factors:** Political parties, especially the regional political parties as well as local leaders, exploit the regional sentiments, regional deprivation and convert them to solidify their factional support bases. They give place to the regional problems in their election manifesto and promise for political and regional development.

Suggestive Measures

- (i) Doing away with regional imbalance
- (ii) Check on regional political parties
- (iii) Top priority to the economic development of deprived zones
- (iv) Restructuring of the society

- (v) Acculturation
- (vi) Developed means of transport and communication
- (vii) Proper education
- (viii) Appeal through mass media

Regionalism has been an important aspect of Indian politics. Sometimes, it has posed threat to the unity of the country. Hence it is necessary to take steps to reduce such tendencies. Some such measures can be

- (a) To promote even development of the hitherto neglected areas so that they feel a part of the national mainstream.
- (b) The central government must not interfere in the affairs of the State unless it is unavoidable for national interest.
- (c) Problems of people must be solved in a peaceful and constitutional manner. Politicians must not be allowed to misuse the issue of regional demands.
- (d) Except for issues of national importance, the states should be given freedom to run their own affairs.
- (e) Changes are necessary in the Central-State relations in favour of the states, and for introducing a system of national education that would help people to overcome regional feelings and develop an attachment towards the nation.

19.9 Conclusion

To sum up we can say, that diversity is undoubtedly strength of our democracy. Indians have so much to differ and divide themselves, but thread of democracy is common among different regions, communities, religion and cultures.

19.10 Model Test Paper

(A) Answer the following questions:

1. Define regionalism.
2. Define linguistic diversity.
3. Discuss the suggestive measures for regionalism.

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M.A. SOCIOLOGY

M. A. Sociology

Course No. 405

Lesson -20

Unit-IV

THE MAKING OF INDIAN NATION AND NATIONAL IDENTITY

20.1 Introduction

20.2 The Indian Vision

20.3 Development of Printing and Creation of Vernacular Languages

20.4 Relationship between National Identity and Culture

20.5 Common Symbols and Rituals

20.6 Conclusion

20.7 Model Test Paper

Objectives

The main thrust of this chapter is to:

- Understand the concepts of nation building and national identity.
- Understand the Indian vision by different political sociologists.
- Understand the relationship between national identity and culture.

20.1 Introduction

Nation-building refers to the process of constructing a national identity using the power of the state. This process aims at unification of the people or peoples within the state so that it remains politically stable and viable in the long

run. This chapter will give us the detailed view point of different thinkers on nation building and making of national identity.

Nation-building in independent India may be analysed and understood with reference to our historical passage from a colony of a western imperial state to an independent post-colonial society which emerged after decolonization through national struggle for freedom. Most of the post-colonial societies came into being after the end of the Second World War (1939-1945). These post-colonial countries of the modern world system are coordinated by the imperatives of national building and state-reformation. They strive simultaneously for evolving unified political authority of state and the political and cultural identity of a nation. These efforts are guided by the process of decolonization. All post-colonial societies including India have a colonial heritage. The colonial heritage affects the process of decolonization as well as the relationship between the imperatives of state reformation and nation-building. The colonial heritage is also a factor in the determination of post-colonial relations and linkages between the given country and other constituents of the modern world system.

There are two essential aspects of changes in a society during its transition from colonial to post-colonial status. The experiences changes in:

- i) the type of state (from colonial to national)
- ii) in the organizing principles of power arrangement (from empire building to national building).

There are several orientations in the social sciences about understanding and analysing social changes at the nation-state level. They may be differentiated on the basis of their degree of emphasis upon:

- a) Internal or external factors.
- b) Process of evolution or diffusion.
- c) Directional attributes of the social process i.e. linear vs. non-linear (cyclical, spiral, multidirectional, etc.) and
- d) Structural or Cultural

20.2 The Indian Vision

According to Prof. Bipan Chandra free India has been largely guided by the vision of Swaraj that generations of freedom fighters held. The Indian National movement was one of the neatest mass movements in world history. Moreover, especially after 1919, it was consciously built around the basic notion that the common people had to play an active role in their own liberation. They were to be the subjects and not the objects of history. He asserts that:

- a) representative democracy, and
- b) democratic nation building, were the essential features of the “vision of Swaraj”.

A ‘nation’ according to usual English dictionary meaning, is large number of people of mainly common descent, language, history, etc. usually inhabiting a territory bounded by defined limits and forming a society under one government.

The post-colonial state and society in India had to move beyond this cultural-historical framework through the process of nation-building. Our constitutional values, planning process, multi-party political system and centrality of people’s interest in the affairs of the nation were significant measures in this endeavour.

There are many levels of collective identities in our society. The process of nation-building addresses each one of them in order to promote an integrative holistic perception among all the citizens of India. It has to ensure their satisfaction as well as togetherness in the context of defining nationhood. It has to avoid discrimination and deprivation and promote representation and participation in the affairs of state and civil society.

Language and caste-based distinctions have been appropriately attended in the constitutional framework of India.

The caste-distinction of Indian identity has been subjected to metamorphosis in three stages :

- i) religious
- ii) class
- iii) gender and
- iv) regional aspects

Indian women are among the most responsive sections of our nation in terms of the processes of democratic nation-building. But they are still a deprived and underprivileged gender. The Indian women need 'clean and green' politics to contribute towards nation building in effective ways.

In regional terms, India is still divided between developed and deprived regions at

- a) the country level, and
- b) within each province of the nation-state

A huge area of the nation is called "BIMARU states". It includes Bihar, Madhya Pradesh, Rajasthan, Orissa and Uttar Pradesh. They hold 48 percent of our people in conditions of subhuman existence due to bad resource management, wrong model of development, political corruption and inefficient state craft. The condition of North Eastern Europe is similarly discouraging, which is emerging as a zone of centripetal nationalism.

Thus money-muscle nexus, gender discrimination, caste-class nexus, democratic communalism and centrifugal nationalism and internal colonialisms are the major issues before the nation-builders of India after 50 years of freedom.

Thus the nation is moving away from the Nehruvian model without any specific alternative. It is a situation of change towards globalization for creating new capacities to meet the challenges of nation-building.

The compulsion for conceptualizing on Indian nation was largely the outcome of British colonial presence and its articulations. In the pre-Independence period, the use of the term 'nation' for India was applicable to colonial India, which consisted by present day India, Pakistan and Bangladesh. The British were

attuned to the European situation in which people belonging to one civilization were not only divided on the bases of language, religion and denomination, but were also involved in protracted wars and continuous violence to establish nations and states. The colonial administrators did not view the Indian subcontinent as one nation.

Broadly speaking, one can identify subcontinent.

- Ancient civilisational entity
- Composite culture
- Political entity
- Religious entity
- Geographical/territorial entity with a specific cultural ethos.
- A collection of linguistic entities.
- A unity of great and little nations

The first three of these are specifically pre-partition conceptualisations. The fourth initiated the impulse of partition, achieved that objective and has continued to provide a source of legitimacy. The fifth, sixth and seventh conceptualisations largely belong to the post-partition period.

The attempt to conceptualise India as an ancient civilization gave emphasis to the wholeness of India due to its geography and preponderantly Hindu Culture. If geography had been the basis of constituting nations, there would have been only a handful of them in the world and quite a few would have not emerged at all. The reference to Hindu Culture the element which provides the essential unity implies that

- that the time-referent is prior to Muslim and British intervention.
- that the contributions of the Muslims and the British are completely ignored and they are treated as Muslims and

- that religion is a necessary element in the conceptualization of nation and national identity.

The reference to the 'urge for political unification' implies that a nation is a united political entity, compressing cultural multiplicity.

Generally Speaking

- Several nations or states co-exist within a civilisational region.
- Natural geography and religion are both not necessary conditions for a nation to emerge and exist.
- A nation is essentially a cultural entity and it is not natural for a nation to establish its own state.

Those who describe India as a composite culture emphasize the fusion of Hinduism and Islam, as against the distinctiveness of Hindu culture. This fusion is a product of conflict and synthesis, although an ancient tendency is believed to have intensified with the Muslim conquest. The Muslim Conquest provides the cut-off point in Indian history to those describing India as a composite culture. In contrast, those who describe India as an ancient Hindu culture and civilization consider the Aryans to be its original inhabitants, with the Aryan 'advent' marking the beginning of Indian history. For both pre-Aryan culture did not exist, or if it did, it was a 'low culture' contributing nothing to 'Indian Culture'. Thus, this conceptualization ignores the pre and non-Aryan peoples - the Dravidians, scheduled castes and scheduled tribes - who together constitute nearly 50% of the population of India. If Hinduism provides the essential content of Indian nationalism, as per the first of the seven modes of conceptualising India, then according to the second mode it is the fusion of Hinduism and Islam that provides content to Indian nationalism.

The Indian nation came to be viewed as a political entity, state and nation became interchangeable. In characterizing the Indian nation as a fusion of Hindu and Muslim cultures the reference was to a civilisational entity, a vast continent inhabited by one-fourth of humanity. The 'nation' -to-be conceived as a community

of would-be-citizens, the thrust of the anti-colonial struggle was to transform subject into citizens.

The third religious collectivity in India that defines itself as a nation is the Sikhs. The demand for a separate Sikh 'nation' was first articulated in 1946, but a majority of the Sikhs preferred to stay with India. Sikh demands were feasible because in the Indian Punjab, where they are concentrated, the Sikhs constituted a mere 33 percent.

Article 351 reads: It shall be the duty of the union to promote the spread of the Hindi language, to develop it so that it may serve as a medium of expression for all elements of the composite culture of India.

As of today 22 languages are listed in the constitution as national languages. In fact, most Indian nations have renounced the idea of having their own sovereign states.

Broadly speaking, there are three factors which helped in the creation of a national identity:

20.3 Development of Printing and Creation of Vernacular Languages:

National consciousness is derived from shared values, traditions and memories within a particular culture which is thought and spoken in a particular language. When the state manages to impose a culture and language, it is nationalism which engenders nations. If the state is successful, it manages to develop a part from political, a combination of several relationships such as economic, territorial, religious, linguistic and cultural. It is this state which creates a nation.

20.4 Relationship between National Identity and Culture:

Identity is an interpretation of the self that establishes what and where a person is both socially and psychologically. Identity exists in societies which define and organise them. Nation represents one of these communities national identity is its product. The different criteria of identity are:

Continuity over time and differentiation. While continuity lies in the historical roots, differentiation stems from the consciousness of forming a community with a shared culture. National identity gives strength and resilience to individuals to identify with identify which transcends them. The process of identification with the elements of a specific culture favours the creation of solidarity bonds among the members of a given community and allows them to imagine the community they belong to as separate and distinct from others.

20.5 Common Symbols and Rituals:

In the creation of a national identity a powerful role is played by symbols and rituals. Nation is a community which has similarities with in itself and differences from others. The consciousness of forming a community is created through the use of symbols and repetition of rituals that gives strength to the individual members of the community. Symbols like flag have the power to evoke particular memories or feelings. This helps in the ability of nationalism to bind together from different cultural levels and social backgrounds. Symbols mask the difference and highlight commonality creating a sense for group. Through rituals, individuals are able to feel an emotion of unusual intensity that springs from their identification with the entity - the nation - which is above them and of which they are a part.

The crisis of the system of nation-state has been the subject of much research over the past fifteen years. Arjun Appadurai sees this crisis mainly as the result of two combined forces: mass migration and the electronic revolution in the mass media. The combination of these two forces is contributing to the creation of a new postnational imagination, “new diasporic public spheres transcending the boundaries of nation-state,” exemplified by transnational ethnic and/or religious movements, multicultural cities and societies, and local insurgencies with global links (the Kurds, the Sikhs, the Tamils, etc.). The issue of national identity is at the heart of the debate about the role of the newly emerging economic powers of Asia. India is one of the most populous countries of the world; it is facing unprecedented rates of growth, but also increasing problems in terms of access to and management of natural resources, the urban/rural divide,

pollution, growth of nationalism and ethno-religious conflicts, and social inequalities and rampant corruption. The “anthropological” definition of nations as “imagined political communities”¹⁰ by Benedict Anderson is quite close to this demystifying approach. Anderson does not regard nation states as mere fabrications out of nothing. His emphasis on print capitalism as a site for coalescing ideas about nationalism and as a vector for their propagation exalts the role of the creators of the nation: those who had the education to imagine the new communities, according to the historical conditions and their own class-interest, as well as the economic means and the power to spread the product of their imagination—in Gramscian terminology, the elite, or the intellectuals of the dominant class. Gandhi had a very personal view of Indian identity, based on the Hindu religion and its alleged inclusive nature, as well as on Christian and Islam morality, devotional religion (Bhakti), and elements of the rural culture.⁴⁰ It must also be noted that his views about Hinduism and its relationship with different religions evolved gradually and became more and more complex, following the itinerary of the struggle for independence and the increasing Hindu-Muslim hostility. His Hinduism became less dogmatic and ritualistic with an even stronger reference to the final authority of moral conscience and rational thought.

In terms of diversity India can be described as one of the most complex societies. In fact it is the most diverse, most complex, most persistent and most authentic plural society in the world. India’s plural character is apparent in practically every major aspect of its collective life, be its social systems, economic formations, cultural patterns; or language dialect groupings, religious communities, castes, sub-castes and sects; or local variations of commonly prevalent mythologies and commonly revered deities; or ethnic identities, regional alignments and sub regional attachments; or diversities of history marked by moments of triumphs and tragedies and differences in heroes and villains, and in the rich tapestry of folk lore, folk dance, music, cuisine, crafts and artifacts of life. Of course within this vastness of diversity and medley of religious caste and linguistic groups the sense of belonging to a minority, as Myron Wiener puts it, depends upon where one lives, how much power and status one has, and one’s sense of community threat. It is not only religious groups who regard themselves as

minorities. Caste, tribal, linguistic as well as religious groups can be self-defined minorities for any one or for a number of reasons: they have a distinct group of identity that they fear is eroding; they either regard themselves as socially and economically subordinate to others; or they believe that they suffer from discrimination, either from others in the society or from the state itself. It is also important to note that in India social and cultural inequalities defined in terms of caste, tribal or religious identity overlap strongly with economic and material inequalities. Members of the scheduled castes, for instances, are not only targets of caste prejudice, untouchability and violence by higher castes, they are also victims of exploitation and oppression that takes very real, material forms. They constitute the poorest sections of Indian society, with per capita incomes well below the national average. Indeed the scheduled castes and scheduled tribes are the worst off in terms of most social indicators e.g. literacy rate, gender disparities, infant mortality, and so forth. Likewise a comparison of Hindus and Muslims in respect to social indicators shows a larger proportion of Muslims than of Hindus to be subsisting below the poverty line. Muslims also register lower literacy rates, lower work participation rates, lower rates of access to electricity and piped water and so on. Indeed with the exception of the scheduled castes and scheduled tribes, they are poorest of all inscriptively- defined population groups. Of course, it must be added that the same is not true of other religious minorities; Christians, for instance, register a literacy rate of 81% considerably higher than the national average, while Sikhs are on the whole much more prosperous than other minorities.

During the British colonial rule, particularly, there were both fission and fusion. The British created a national market and unified the various nationalities by building a centralized state structure. The historical civilization administrative unity under colonialism also generated sentiments of an all Indian nationalism among the masses, especially in the wake of the national movement. It is no exaggeration to support that the “India consciousness, as we understand it today civilized for the first time during the national liberation movement.” In this context, T.K.Oommen suggests that “national” is a political and not a cultural reference in India. And yet, the Indian freedom movement was totalistic in its orientation.

Above all, it was the common enemy in the form of colonialism and the struggle against it which provided new unifying bonds to the Indian people. The very existence of foreign rule that oppressed all the Indian people irrespective of their social class, caste, religion and language acts as a unifying factor. However, in the absence of a full-fledged development of different regions and their economies, cultures and languages, nationalities (along regional, economical, cultural and linguistic lines) also started emerging, particularly during and after the second half of the nineteenth century. A sense of distinct identity and an urge for a separate compact territorial unit had begun to take root and grow among several linguistic groups. The factors that contributed to this trend included: adoption, under British rule, of local languages as a medium of instruction in schools so that people instructed in common medium began to see themselves as a single entity distinct from people using a different medium, the availability of newspapers, literature and other reading materials and use of regional Indian languages: concepts and modes of thought imported from Western Europe where the nation-state had become the predominant form of state organization. As far as Indian nationalism is concerned since the 19th century, one can discern two distinctive and contrasting strands. One may be characterized as ethno nationalism or Hindu nationalism, which is premised on a conflation of nationalism and ethnicity, particularly religious revivalism. The other is based on shared political discourse, as reflected in equality, citizenship and fundamental rights. The nation however, was increasingly being imagined in Hindu terms. The language of political discourse, the symbols and tropes through which the collective was represented, and the sites of political mobilization, all invoked the culture of the majority population. From Aurobindo to Tilak, Bankim Chandra Chattopdhaya to Swami Vivekananda the most influential social and political leaders were concerned with the fate and health of Hinduism. They alluded to Hindu Rashtra and sought to energize the subjugated people by making the grandeur of the ancient Hindu civilization. The Indian National Congress, however, maintained that it was its primary duty as well as its fundamental policy to protect the religious, linguistic, cultural and other rights of minorities in India so as to assure for, in any scheme of the government to which the Congress would be a party, the widest scope for

their development and their participation in the fullest measure in the 7 political, economic and cultural life of nation. In the resolution on fundamental rights at the Karachi Congress in 1930, looking forward to a free India, Nehru incorporated clauses providing that every citizen should enjoy freedom of conscience and the right to freely to profess and practice any religion, subject to public order and morality, that all citizens were equal before the law, irrespective of religion, creed, caste or sect that no disability would be attached to citizens on basis of these reasons in regard to public employment and in the exercise of any trade or calling, and that the state should observe neutrality in regard to all religions. His understanding of communal question in India, however, was basically Marxist. For him, therefore, poverty, backwardness, caste, religion and region were all viewed as different faces of the same retrograde phenomenon, which could be transcended only by the alliance of science, reason and economic development.

Bipin Chandra, in his paper “The making of the Indian nation”, underlines the fact that in India, nation and nationalism were “a movement against colonialism.” “Nation is a process of becoming.” In India, the formation of the nation and the struggle for its emancipation are simultaneous. He is rightly critical of the Marxist’s view which treats “nation, a bourgeois construct and sees nationalism as an inherently negative ideology, because it is basically a bourgeois class ideology.” He pleads for such kind of nationalism to permeate the Indian milieu, the essence of democracy, social justice, equity and equality so that India can get “an honourable place in the comity of nations.”

“Religious nationalities” are “imagined communities” argues T. K. Oommen, cautiously in his exhaustive paper on “Religion and nationalism in India”. Religious nationalism as a project is bound to fail, he predicts. He highlights empirically that “religious nationalism carries with it, the seeds of religious fundamentalism.” He convincingly concludes that “religious nationalism is not sustainable in a fast democratizing world.”

C. V. Venugopal, in his paper on “Role of asceticism in nation- building”, explains how in India, ascetics have contributed to nation-building. He analyses the pre-modern patterns of asceticism, the Bhakti movements, the reformist

movements of the 19th century and the modern nation-builders. He highlights how Jainism and Buddhism had set in motion a series of political, social and cultural changes in India, but they declined due to “internal schisms and political instability.”

In his paper “Muslim identity in North India: A perspective from the Hindi regional novel”, R.K. Jain examines the depiction of “communal self-identity of the Shia Muslims” settled in the Eastern Uttar Pradesh as depicted in a Hindi novel, *Adha Gaon* by late Rahi Masoom Raza.

Dipankar Gupta, in his paper on “Secularization and minoritization”, distinguishes secularism as a process and an ideology. Both the concepts must be separated. He concludes that “only by protecting the dignity of the individual as a citizen, one can mitigate the harshness of minoritisation when it takes place.” Hence, he urges secularists to re-examine this issue from another perspective.

Dilating on secularism with nation-building “in our post- colonial world”, Rudolf C. Heredia laments that secularism is “mired in controversy.” The criticism levelled against secularism by the conservative right and the counter-culture radicals are analysed by him in his paper on “Secularism and nation-building”. The writer pleads for “an open-ended but value committed dialogue” between the followers of various faiths and traditions in an heretical response to meet the demands of modernity and secularism. A critical reappraisal of Gandhiji is of great value.

Where does excessive zeal for secularisation lead to? Progressives fail to realise “the emancipatory potential of religion.” This is explained by Avijit Pathak, in his paper “Religious articulations in a secular world, how to tune religion to coexist with secularism?” This leads him to examine theoretical and philosophical questions related to science, modernity and secularism.

Ramjee Singh, in his paper on “Gandhiji’s dynamic strategies of nation-building”, pinpoints how the true process of nation- building in India has been cultural rather than political. Gandhiji’s method of nation-building is holistic, practical, and of great relevance for today’s India.

On “Models of nation-building and images of women”, Maitrayee Chaudhuri categorically asserts that without the ebullient participation of Indian women, the nation cannot be shaped successfully. The author of this paper focusses on “two models of development of the nation and two different images of nation’s women.”

Cultural variables in the development process are explored by this writer. She deals with the question of media’s critical role within the larger corpus of cultural beliefs and the images of women projected in advertisements. She concludes, citing advertisement patterns in newspapers, that the emphasis on the right of women “to consume”, is being focussed.

In her paper on “Women and nation-building towards a manifesto”, Ranjana Kumari pleads that the feminist perspective in politics must become functional reality which must exclude money, the mafia and the manipulation by power brokers.

Dilating on “Semiology of Dalit consciousness: a North Indian experience”, Badri Narayan Tiwari attempts to study identified areas of Eastern U.P. and Bihar’s Bhogpuri society to evaluate the consciousness and the culture of the Dalit society on the basis of their “cultural logic”. He detects that the driving force behind lower caste consciousness is to get recognition within the ambit of great tradition.

H. N. Singh, in his paper on “Impact of nation-building at the grassroots” probes how planned changes attempted by community development programmes and Panchayati Raj institutions have registered progress in villages in India. He selects one dobhi block of Eastern Uttar Pradesh and concludes that the basic traditional hierarchical patterns still predominate. And, traditional patterns of culture are in conflict with economic forces.

Dealing with “Cultural identities and the Indian political system”, K. Francis highlights ethnicity denoting common ties of culture, race and nationality. Race, culture, language, realism and religion are essential parts of the national culture complex. “Primordial collectives” refer to ethnic groups. In India, a true democratic system must sustain and understand all the cultural identities and formulate policy measures. The cultural entities must strengthen national unity.

Anand Kumar, in his paper on “Nation-building in India, search for new institutional framework”, explains how India is moving away from “the Nehruvian model without any specific alternative.” He asks: “Can we make moves which will get India closer to participatory democratic order instead of the present political arrangement with declining representation and legitimacy?”

J. S. Gandhi analyses the nature of Sikh politics in recent years and the functioning of the Akali Dal party in his paper on “Ethnicity, power and future of national integration: a case study of a North Indian community”. He feels that the BJP and the Akalis, governing Punjab, does not mean an all-time solution to the problem of political instability.

Shyamanand Singh, in his paper “From feudalism to parliamentary democracy in Rajasthan”, examines transition of politics in Rajasthan from feudalism to parliamentary democracy since 1947. Nandu Ram, in his paper on “Dalit movements in India: a macro sociological analysis” examines various forms of Dalit movements over a period of time. He feels that it is very difficult to say what shape these movements will take in future.

On “Ambedkar and national reconstruction”, S. K. Thorat analyses the social force in India from early 1920s to early 1950s. He concludes that Ambedkar’s analysis of Hindu social and religious order led him to believe that the roots of untouchability and social discrimination are linked with Hindu social and religious order.”

20.5 Conclusion

It means, nationalism has a double face which results from the way in which these emotions are either transformed into a peaceful and democratic movement seeking the recognition and development of one’s nation above others and eradicate the differences. India’s destiny is to remain national, federal and multi-cultural.

20.6 Model Test Paper

Answer the following questions:

1. Explain the relationship between national identity and culture.
2. Discuss the concept of “Swaraj”.

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M.A. SOCIOLOGY

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Course No. 405

Lesson -21

Unit-IV

CASTE AND POLITICS

21.1 Introduction

21.2 Aspects of Caste

21.3 Political Dimensions of Caste

21.4 Role of Caste in Politics.

21.4.1 Emergence of Elite on Caste Basis.

21.4.2 Effect of Caste on Voting Behaviour.

21.4.3 Use of Caste Support by Political Elite.

21.4.4 Mobilization of Castes by Political Parties.

21.5 People's Perception on the use of Caste in Politics.

21.6 Politicization of Castes.

21.7 Elite Theory

21.8 Power of the Unorganised Masses.

21.9 Voting Behaviour

21.10 Political Participation.

21.11 Conclusion

21.12 Model Test Paper

Objectives

After studying the lesson, you should be able to:

- Define the concept of caste and politics.
- Discuss the different dimensions of caste and classify them into different types.
- Understand the detailed viewpoint of different thinkers on caste and politics.
- Also make a clear association between caste and politics.

21.1 Introduction

Caste and politics are interrelated. The relationship between caste and politics may be analyzed at two levels:

- How caste affects politics
- How politics influences caste

The first aspect may be further examined at various levels in terms of interest of castes in politics, political knowledge and political awareness of castes, identification of castes with political parties; influence of castes on political affairs; actual participation of castes in politics.

The effect of politics on caste may be perceived as to how politics is used by a caste in rising social scale or achieving its goal. This has been described as the process of politicization of caste.

Rajni Kothari has studied relationship between caste and politics as a relationship for the specific purpose of organizing public activity. He did this in two ways:

- By examining the nature of relationship between caste and politics.
- By examining the type of changes that have taken place in the political system as a result of the involvement of caste organizations.

21.2 Aspects of Caste

Caste according to Kothari has three aspects:

- **Secular** (which refers to relevance of caste in politics in terms of the relations within and between castes).
- **Integrative** (which refers to castes being relevant to politics through differentiation and integration).
- **Ideological** (which is heightened by its value structure. This is where gestures for cultural mobility, such as sanskritization, westernization and secularization assume or disguise political overtones in their manifestation).

The use of caste in politics may be analyzed in two different stages:

- The first stage involved high castes like Reddi (in Andhra Pradesh), Pattidars (in Gujarat), lingayats (in Karnataka), Rajputs and Jats (in Rajasthan) and Kayasthas (in Bihar).
- The second stage involved lower castes and masses.

In the first stage, only three components of caste were involved:

- The power structure
- Distribution of economic benefits
- Caste consciousness

The second stage involves other components like:

- Pattern-client loyalties
- Caste associations and so forth

In first stage, three sub-stages are there:

- In the first sub stage, the struggle for power and for benefits was at first limited to the entrenched castes, that is, those which exercise preponderant influence economically and politically but not necessarily numerically.

- In the second sub stage, ascendant castes, that are unsatisfied castes wanting higher roles, also started competing for power.
- In the third sub-stage, there was not only competition between entrenched and ascendant castes but also within these castes. This may be described as the stage of caste fragmentation or factionalism.

Anil Bhatt has analyzed the relationship between caste and politics in terms of the following four factors:

- **Political Interest:** The high status castes have higher level of political interest as compared to low status castes.
- **Political Awareness:** With regards to the awareness of political changes and major political problems in the nation, it is found that low caste people have a low level of awareness and high caste people have a high level of awareness.
- **Identification with Political Parties:** As regards identification with political parties, there is practically no relationship between caste status and partisanship. Persons of low status castes are almost as likely to support political parties as of the high status castes.
- **Political Influence:** M.N. Srinivas at one time had stated that ‘dominant castes’ (with high ritual status, numerical strength, level of education and high land-ownership and income) control economic, social and political power in rural India. His observation was that high status castes are not necessarily influential castes in India’s villages. Middle and low castes also dominate in many villages. In fact, low castes are found to be influential in as many villages as the Brahmins or Rajputs or other high castes. Thus, high caste status is not necessarily a basis for influence in village affairs.

21.3 Political Dimensions of Caste:

There are three aspects which explain the political dimensions of caste.

Secular Dimension

Caste as a stratification system distances are rigidly maintained through endogamy, pollution and the legitimacy of rituals, caste as a system of conflict and interaction has received sparse attention. Traditionally there were two aspects to the secular organization of caste.

- The governmental aspect (caste and village councils and arbitration procedures).
- The political aspect (intracaste and intercaste alignments and cleavages). Religion, occupation and territory provided the bases for secular mobility.

Integration Dimension

The caste system not only determines the individual's social station on the basis of the group to which he is born but also differentiates and assigns occupational and economic roles. It thus gives a place to every individual from the highest to the lowest and makes for a high degree of identification and integration.

Dimension of Consciousness

Caste has several meanings, refers to Varna at one level and to other meanings of segmentations at other levels. By shifting from one referent to another, it demonstrates the basic continuity between the various referents-doctrinal, ritual, economic and occupational and associational - political. At the same time by being different things at different points in social interactions, it provides for immense flexibility and produces tension management and assimilative capabilities. Both the functions like jajmani system of role differentiation and system of hierarchical determination are now performed by new elements in the secular setting of society.

21.4 Role of Caste in Politics

21.4.1 Emergence of Elite on Caste Basis:

Along with many factors like personality characteristics, support of the members of the political party, social situation and the social issues round which the leadership emerges, caste too continues to be determinant of 'political elite' status in our society. Some studies have been conducted on political elite in India by scholars like Sirsikar, Sachchidanand, Ahiya etc. all of which have pointed out that in the emergence of elites, higher castes followed by middle castes have always an extraordinary advantage over the lower castes. Even in conflicts between rival elites, leaders of both groups try to get the support of their caste members, using the traditional techniques. significantly, no one feels that the use of such techniques is anti-democratic and anti-secular in character.

21.4.2 Effect of caste on voting behaviour:

Voting provides a periodic opportunity to individuals, castes and other groups to participate in politics. It is therefore, considered only an elementary act of political participation. According to Lindzey Gardner the important factors which affect individual's voting behaviour are:

- Campaigning
- Issues at election time (like inflation, corruption, combating terrorism, family planning etc.)
- Loyalty to party
- Mass media (not at campaigning time but in other times)
- Primary groups (family, caste, work group)
- Voter's social characteristics (education, sex, age, religion, class).
- Voter's personality variables (intelligence, values, drives etc.)
- Voter's predisposition

21.4.3 Use of caste support by political elite:

‘Caste thinking’ is deeply rooted in political elites and political parties. A Brahmin leader of a party will have less trust and confidence in non-Brahmin members. He will always depend upon the members of his own caste in seeking their advice and cooperation. Leaders are mostly surrounded by their caste members. It has been pointed out that even Pandit Nehru preferred to surround himself with Kauls, Saprus and Nehrus.

21.4.4 Mobilization of castes by political parties:

Andre Beteille has discussed on the basis of his study of castes in Tamil Nadu in 1970s the problem of how caste enters into politics. Beteille has suggested that two kinds of changes seems to be taking place in the relation between caste and politics: one power shifts from the caste system itself to differentiated structures of power like political parties, panchayats etc.

21.5 People’s perceptions on the use of caste in politics:

Rajni Kothari while analyzing the problem of relationship between caste and politics has referred to three different approaches of three types of people.

- First, he refers to those people who lament over the role which caste plays in politics and think that politics should be free of caste and casteism.
- The second type of people are those who think that political relationships are projections of social relationships and have no independent capacity to influence the social relationships.
- The third type of people are those who proclaim the autonomy of either caste or politics or both.

21.6 Politicization of castes or use of politics by castes in social mobility:

Several castes have used politics in their attempt to better their condition or to achieve their goals. Use of politics or political means, according to Eleanor Zelliot covers recurring governmental benefits and representation on legislative and political bodies. Some examples which may be given in this connection are:

Mahars of Maharashtra, Kshatriyas of Gujarat, Nadars of Tamil Nadu and Reddys and Kammas of Andhra Pradesh.

It may be concluded that in the present times, not only caste affects politics but by achieving the political power and caste solidarity, a caste succeeds in achieving a high social, economic and political position in the society. On the one hand, the involvement of caste organizations brings changes in the political system and on the other hand, the castes-even low in status - are enabled in pursuing their collective goals.

Political modernization in India

Almost all the political systems have set before themselves the goal of modernization. The political trends in India since independence have largely been a series of reconciliations with demands articulated by regional interest groups: linguistic formation of states in the political realm, emphasis on mixed economy in the sphere of economic policy, secularism and neutrality in international relationship are all reflections of the predominantly reconciliatory pattern of political modernization in India. The same pattern is true in case of traditional institutions role in politics, caste associations, kin groups and ethnic solidarities have adapted themselves to the need of a modern democratic political culture successfully. Due to the impact of modern forces certain changes have been witnessed in the political sphere of society. Regulation of court laws, establishment of village panchayats and local autonomy has changed the traditional Indian political system. In villages there is decline of caste panchayats and their functions are being transferred to courts.

On the other hand caste is developing on political lines. There is change in the pattern of leadership. This leadership is now available to low income groups as well. The predominance of all India parties indicates the extent to which political unity is firmly established. Regional differences of culture and language have found political expression in debates on the number and delimitation of states. It is evident from various sources that intellectuals in a broad sense have dominated political life in India since independence and that active participation in politics by the mass of the population such as occurred in the independence movement has

recently begun to revive on a limited scale with the emergence of peasant movements in some states. Students are the principal source of recruitment to the political work and this shows prevalence of factionalism in the major parties. Some studies have found the prevalence of factionalism to be characteristic of the traditional village culture itself. The reservation of seats for scheduled castes and tribes has led to emergence of parties catering exclusively this section of society. In recent years they have made huge gains both in term of vote share and role in the national politics. There are conflicts between traditional social arrangements, caste system and religion and new relationships brought out by economic growth.

21.7 Elite Theory

Elite theory developed in part as a reaction to Marxism. It rejected the Marxian idea that a classless society having an egalitarian structure could be realized after class struggle in every society. It regards Marxism as an ideology rather than an objective analysis of social systems. According to Elite theory man can never be liberated from the subjugation of an elite structure. The term Elite refers to those who excel. The classical elite theorists identify the governing elite in terms of superior personal qualities of those who exercise power. However, later versions of elite theory place less emphasis on the personal qualities of the powerful and more on the institutional framework of the society.

They argued that the hierarchical organization of social institutions allows a minority to monopolize power. Another criticism of the elite theories against the Marxian view of distribution of power is that the ruling class too large and amorphous a group to be able to effectively wield power. In their view power is always exercised by a small cohesive group of the elite. Elite theory argues that all societies are divided into two main groups a ruling minority and the ruled. This situation is inevitable. If the proletarian revolution occurs it will merely result in the replacement of one ruling elite by another. Classical elite theory was propounded by Pareto and Mosca.

21.8 Power of the unorganized Masses

Power refers to the ability of an individual or a group to attain its objectives in spite of the opposition from other individuals or groups. According to Weber Party is the basis of access to power. Party is an associative type of organizational structure built around a common interest. It may be a class based interest, a status based interest or ethnicity based interest, or any other type of interest. The ability of the individuals acting to attain their interest is very limited. Quite often they might act at cross purposes and reduce each other's chances of attaining their goals. On the other hand the organizational structure of the party helps in channelizing their energies towards the common goal. Thus enhancing their ability to attain that goal or in other words in enhancing their power.

Karl Marx had stated that class-in-itself will not be successful in bringing out change in capitalist system. Only when it is transformed into class for itself it shall be able to fight for the interest of the proletariat and capture power for the proletariat class. The members of the working class should acquire an awareness of common interest and also an organizational structure should come into existence to pursue those interests. Thus according to Marx unorganized masses would remain powerless.

In modern industrial societies with the increasing fragmentation of the working class the possibility of the workers becoming a class for itself has disappeared and accordingly have disappeared the chances of workers being able to capture power for themselves through revolution. Thus so long as the masses remain unorganized either due to the lack of awareness of common interests or due to the diversity of interests they will not be able to exercise power. However sometimes under special circumstances the masses may come to share a sense of deprivation and leadership and ideology and an organizational structure may also come into existence.

In such situations mass movements may develop and the masses may acquire power. The various backward class movements like Dravidian movement in Tamil Nadu, Mahar movement illustrate as how the growth of organization enables

masses to exercise power. On the other hand most of the agricultural labour in India remains unorganized and are therefore unable to achieve their legitimate interests. The barriers of caste, ethnicity, language and religion continue to act as hindrances to the growth of any viable organization. However being deprived of legitimate access to power sometimes the unorganized masses may acquire short lived power through illegitimate means. In case of mob violence based on common grievance the unorganized masses may develop a short-lived spontaneous organizational structure of a mob and may give expression to their sense of frustration through violent and destructive activities.

21.9 Voting Behaviour

Elections and voting are an indispensable part of the democratic political system. One of the major tasks of the political parties is to contest elections. They select such candidates who have greater chances of winning. Candidates who have greater influence on voters and who have greater vote-catching capacity are an asset to any political party.

Voting like a party system is the means to select the representatives of people who perform the functions of a government in a democracy. Through the process of voting an unpopular government can be removed from the power by the people. The opposition can also bring down a party in power through a vote of no confidence in the Assembly or Parliament. The voting has its own pattern. Generally educated and educated electorate feels more involved. The rural and illiterate lower classes are somewhat apathetic to it.

Some people follow the tradition and vote for the same party. Election system, campaigning and voting depends upon the political culture. Modern democracies have introduced universal adult franchise. The right to vote has been conferred on all the citizens without any kind of discrimination. In India also all the citizens irrespective of their caste, color, creed, religion, region or sex are given the right to vote. The right to vote is a fundamental right guaranteed by the constitutional law of the country.

21.10 Political Participation

Political participation is necessary ingredient of every political system. All political systems encouraged political participation through varying degrees. By involving the people in the matters of state, political participation fosters stability and order by reinforcing the legitimacy of political authority. People living in a particular society participate in the political system, which they develop. There are many forms of participation and democracy in the form of government that encourages maximum participation in governmental processes. Participation does not mean more exercise of political rights like franchise, by the people.

It means their active involvement, which in a real manner influences the decision-making activity of the government. Democratic theory considers citizens as rational, independent, and interested political persons capable of expressing their opinion regarding the persons aspiring for holding offices and also competent in electing some persons who deal with the policies of government in a way conducive to the interest of the mass. "Perhaps the most pervasive participation is simply living in a democratic community and where all government action and policy are publicized in press, radio, and television. In this situation those in position of authority must conduct themselves in such a fashion as to appear to the sensible people.

Thus the great public in a democracy serves a sort of sounding board for public policy deliberations and discussion. Thus even a passive participation is a constructive part of democratic process." The most obvious way of political participation in democracy is voting. Other ways include such behaviors as reading or listening or watching the mass media of communications, taking part in political discussions, listening to political speeches, attending party meetings, giving contribution to political parties, writing petitions or letters to public officials or newspaper editors, trying to influence the voters, contesting the election for office etc. Lipset has pointed out that high-level participation cannot always be treated as good for democracy. It may indicate the decline of social cohesion and breakdown of democratic process. "A principle problem for a theory of democratic system is under what conditions a society can have sufficient

participation to maintain the democratic system without introducing sources of cleavage which will determine cohesion”.

Some other political theorists are of the opinion that when majority of the people in a society are contended, participation is small. This should be taken as a favorable rather than unfavorable sign because it indicates stability and consensus within the society and also absence of broad cleavages.

Depending on the intensity and degree of participation Lester Milbraith has categorized political participation in three forms:

- Gladiators represent that small number of party activists, whose active association with political parties keeps them engaged in series of direct party activities like holding party offices, fighting the election as candidates.
- Transitional activities include attending party meetings party spectators or party sympathizers making contributions to the party fund and maintaining contacts with public officials or party personnel.
- Spectator activities on the other hand include voting, influencing others to vote in a particular way, joining political discussions or exposing oneself to the political stimuli.

The activist and reflective roles of politics in society can also lead to a conflict between politics and society. While keeping in mind the complexity of the relationship between politics and society, it may be stated that the politics of transitional societies reveals more complexities than the politics of polarized ones. In all transitional societies the social structure, institutions, relationships, roles and identities are in a state of flux and the new and emerging social categories and linkage are involved in a continuous struggle with established social norms and relations. The relationship between politics and society can't be neatly observed if the society has reached a stage of polarization rather than in a society where numerous levels of relationship are involved in a struggle between the old and the new. The framework of analysis applicable to Indian society has to grapple with the stage of transition and the specificities and complexities of the relationship

between society and politics in the context of change. India is attempting reconciliation between a modern democratic political systems with a social system which has its firm foundations in ancient culture. Many ancient social structures are persisting. In one sense, the modern democratic political system has been superimposed on people who are greatly attached to their past and the dynamics of contemporary Indian society derives from a struggle or conflict between an emerging democratic politics on the one hand and the loyalties of people rooted in the Indian past on the other. Another important dimension of contemporary Indian society is that its material foundations are changing: India is building a capitalist society. The logic of growth of capitalism¹ In India is that the rural economy is becoming commercialized, commodities are produced for the market, surpluses are generated in the rural economy on capitalist lines, and in many regions capitalist framing has emerged. To be sure, this economic transformation in the feudal and semi-feudal rural economy has many regional variations and diversities and the levels of development are uneven, but the Abstract: India has operated an open democratic political system based on universal adult franchise. Elections have been held at regular intervals, and political parties have competed and participated openly in electoral politics. The actual operation of the democratic process in India has brought into sharp focus the complexity of the relationship between politics and society. The framework of politics in any democratic society is characterized by the general and specific features of the interaction between politics and the social structure. The general feature of politics in all democratic societies is that it intervenes to influence society and that it also reflects the social reality. This interventionist and reflects the social reality. This interventionist and reflective character of politics cannot, however, be taken for granted. It has been empirically observed that instead of playing an activist role in society, politics become passive and reflective of social forces. Since the capitalist development in India has been slow, many remnants of the past persist, and these make Indian society multi-structural. Pre-capitalist formations are found co-existing with capitalist social formations. A specific feature of the development of contemporary Indian society is that all basic changes have been initiated by the Indian state. The Indian State is the agency of change in society, and for performing such a

Central role the State seeks its legitimacy through the democratic verdict of the people. Politics in India is a Pre-eminent factor in societal changes, and this is what is responsible for the complexity of the interactions between politics and society. Further, large masses of the people suffer from social and economic discriminations, and they look to the State functionaries for protection and they look to the State functionaries for protection and survival while those who belong to the vulnerable strata of society seek protection from the state, the privileged and powerful seek to control state institutions and resources for protection and promotion of their material interests. The essence of the struggle in India: who can control State power through the democratic verdict of the people? Thus political parties and elections have assumed great importance in India because State power can be controlled only through democratically legitimized methods. The social structure in India is to a large extent based on the caste-system. Due to western education, Caste bonds began to weaken India. Rapid means of transport and communication introduced by the British in India brought the people of different parts of the country into contact with each other. Later on, the British Government discovered that one caste could be played against another. Therefore, they followed the policy of divided and rule and set one caste against the other.

21.11 Conclusion

Though Indian Constitution abolishes Caste system but every political party tries to use caste for country, therefore the Indian National Congress decided to do away with the caste-system in India, when the Constitution was being framed. The untouchability was abolished in all shapes and forms. Separate Electorate was also abolished and the Indian Constitution was based on justice, equality, liberty and fraternity. The Constitution, however, made special reservations and safeguards for certain Castes and Classes. Though these safeguards were made for a certain period only in order to enable them to rise to a higher standard but they continued to be extended as no political party wanted to lose their support, whose numerical strength is very large. Therefore, the caste has penetrated deep into the Indian society. In India, democracy was introduced according to the new Constitution. Soon every party began to view with one another to get maximum votes in the election and capture power. Therefore, the

Scheduled Caste and Scheduled tribes whose status in the society hierarchy was very low became conscious of their tremendous strength. Every Party wanted to ride to power by getting their votes. Even while distributing the tickets and formation of ministries, Caste considerations were given the uppermost consideration. Generally, the party ticket was given to that candidates belong to the same caste, and then only the voters do not succumb to this temptation. They then vote on the basis of the party or the nearness to the candidates. This clearly shows that caste in modern India is still playing a dominant role. Therefore, Prof. Srinivas has correctly said that the caste “is so tacitly and so completely accepted.

21.12 Model Test Paper

(A) Answer the following questions:

- Q1. Define caste.
Q2 Define Political Participation.
Q3. Examine the role of the caste in politics.

(B) Tick the right option:

1. Which aspect according to Kothari is not the aspect of caste?
(a) Secular (b) Integrative (c) Ideological (d) Divisive
2. Who has given the concept of ‘voting bank’?
(a) Rajni Kothari (b) M. N. Srinivas (c) Andre Beteille
3. Reddys are the dominant caste of :
(a) Andhra Pradesh (b) Tamil Nadu (c) Odisha

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Course No. 405

Lesson -22

Unit-IV

COMMUNALISM IN INDIA

22.1 Introduction

22.2 Main Characteristics of Communalism

22.3 Causes of Communalism

22.3.1 Historical Causes

22.3.2 Economic Causes

22.3.3 Psychological Reasons

22.3.4 Politico-Religious Reasons

22.3.5 Cultural Reasons

22.4 Consequences of Communalism

22.5 Suggestions to Control and Eradicate Communalism

22.6 Conclusion.

22.7 Model Test Paper

Objectives

After understanding the lesson, you should be able to:

- Define the concept of communalism.
- Discuss the main characteristics and causes of communalism in India.

- Consequences of communalism and suggestions to control and eradicate communalism.

22.1 Introduction

Communalism is today the most serious threat facing the Indian people and India as a nation. Communalism is based on the assumption that Indian society is divided into religious communities whose interests not only differ but are even opposed to each other. Communalism starts with the belief that in India people can be organized and grouped together for secular, that is, economic and political as also social and cultural purposes only around their religious identities. This chapter will give us the conceptual understanding on communalism.

Communalism that prevailed in India from the end of the 19th century till 1936. It may be described as liberal communalism. However, while the liberal communists argued that Hindus, Muslims, Christians and Sikhs have some different and divergent secular interests; which may be adjusted through pressure and negotiations, they also held that these religious communities also had many more common secular interests and objectives which made them part of a common nation. Today, the Akali Dal, the Muslim League in Kerala and Tamil Nadu and some of the Christian political groups in Kerala from the liberal communalists.

After 1937 communalism entered a phase that may be described as extreme or Fascist communal based on lies, hatred and violence. The extreme communalists argued that not only were the interests of Hindus and Muslims divergent; they were mutually antagonistic and therefore irreconcilable. One religious group was incited to hate another religious group. And so the phase of mutual hatred and malice and separatism on religious grounds began.

Most communal riots prior to 1947 were rooted in the 'divide and rule' policy of the British colonial rule. But after the partition of the country, sections of the Indian elite from both the communities are also to be blamed for the problem. Communal violence in independent India has been caused by many factors. Some general factors are : First the class divisions of our society and the backwardness of our economy has resulted in uneven development of the economy. It is the

upper classes of the less-developed communities that have enjoyed the fruits of limited growth and hence it is they who have also enjoyed political power. Over a period of time some sections among this elite developed a sense of rivalry vis-à-vis their counterparts in other communities. In order to draw support from the masses of their own community, these leaders have often encouraged communal feelings to strengthen their political support. Thus, the traditional beliefs of the society are perpetuated to the advantage of the elites. When they, many among common people, feel insecure because of some adverse circumstances, they often tend to rely on religion, which make them vulnerable to political manipulation to inflame communal passions, sometimes leading to violence. Communal violence also increases because communal parties carry on religious propaganda in an offensive manner, thereby creating ill-will among the members of the various communities. The political parties in India which adopt a communal attitude should be blamed for encouraging communal feelings which often cause communal violence. Apart from these general factors, some specific local causes also account for communal violence in India. First, because the power of smugglers and criminal gangs, local rivalries of different communities often leads to such violence. Large cities are also prone to periodic communal riots because of the power of smugglers and criminal gangs. The communal violence after the demolition of the Babri Masjid in 1993 is an example. Secondly, communal riots occur in towns which have a history of communal riots. Aligarh and Hyderabad, among other cities, suffer from this trend. Presence of a large proportion of religious minorities increases political rivalry between the upper strata of both these communities who often appeal to their communal identity to gain support. Whatever may be the cause of communal violence, whenever it occurs, it immediately attracts attention of the nation. In our society class identities still remain submerged under caste and communal identities. With economic problems becoming important, the ruling elite of our country manages to convert economic problems like poverty unemployment, price rise etc. into caste and communal ones. People should be careful not to be influenced by such tactics. Economic problems of the people, like-poverty and unemployment must be resolved in the country before the problem of communal violence can be totally eliminated.

Communalism is basically an ideology. By ideology means a belief system or inter-related assumption through which polity or society are viewed. Communalism, on other words, a way of looking at politics and society and politics organised around that ideology. In a democracy, it is not easy to ban communal parties and groups even if it is provided in the constitution since they do not overtly or openly claim to be communal but are covertly communal.

With one advent of British Imperialism, Communalism in India entered its political phase. The English entered India as a trading company to carry an commerce. It was in 1600 AD that Queen Elizabeth granted a charter to the 'Society of Adventures' which later on was constituted into the East India Company, under the title of 'Governor and Company of Merchants of London Trading into the East Indies'.

The entire political life of the British in India that ended on 15th August, 1947, can be easily divided into two distinct rules:

- The Rule of the 'East India Company'
- The Rule of the 'British Crown'

The Rule of the East India Company, came to an end with the proclamation of Queen Victoria.

"Exploitation and Counterpoise", have been the key-note of British rule in India both before and after Queen Victoria's proclamation.

The old viceroy Shayista Khan, called them, 'a company of base, quarrelling people and foul dealers'. English lived and ruled India in a way they liked the best and the ends they though fit. The secret of their ascendancy lies not only in their unscrupulous and subtle plunder and exploitation of the indigenous population. It also lies in their subtle application of the Imperialistic policy of 'counterpoise'.

Imperialism likes to "divide and rule". Fortunately for the British in India there was a vast and fertile field of mutually adjusted divisions which needed but little effort to get disturbed. British diplomacy in India did not fail here. The

shrewd policy of 'counterpoise' brought them every success. The entire social, political and economic life of India, once the, "brightest jewel in Britain's imperial crown", was totally disintegrated, so much so, that each man was set as a 'counterpoise' against the other.

'Counterpoise' can be seen in every move of the British. Giving of weight to one party and diminishing the influences of another, has continued all through with a shameless dexterity and uncanny simplicity. In this respect, the policy of 'Divide and Rule' helped them much. English kept India divided into two parts.

- Indian India
- British India

Both as a 'counterpoise' to each other.

'Power' is to politics, what profit is to economics. Having lost Power to the British. Indian politics now switched its energies to regain the same lost power. It was a queer struggle between the forces of imperialist autocracy and a chained India struggling for people's democracy. The three parties to it were the Hindus, the Muslims and the British.

In this tug of war for the acquisition of political power there were involved certain 'problematic questions', that invite an immediate clarification.

- The first is, "From whom did the British snatch political power? From Muslims or from the Hindus?"
- The second is, "Having matched once, shall they give it back? If so to whom and in what way?"

It was not the Muslims but the Hindus who were robbed of their political ascendancy, as will also be evident from a confidential minute, of Sir J.B. Lyall, written in 1887. He has talked of three things.

- It was Hindus and not Muslims from whom the political power passed on to the British.

- In framing any Government policy, Hindus and Muslims alone mattered the most, being the only important sections of the indigenous population.
- That while dealing with natives, 'Balance' i.e. counterpoise should be the chief guiding principle.

It becomes clear that in this triangular tussle for the acquisition of political power, the British had no love either for the Hindus or for the Muslims. They loved their own empire. They loved their own strategy of exploitation and 'counterpoise'. They blantly refused to make India their home.

During the British rule, India saw an unceasing struggle for political power between three communities.

- The disunited Hindu who in an age of advancing democracy being a majority community and thus, being a natural successor to the power.
- The United Muslim, who bereaved by the downfall of Mughal Empire lived in frustration, terribly fretful about his place in any political setup in the future.
- The dividing English, who unwilling to make India their home, but anxious all the same to govern etc.

This struggle for political supremacy made every community extremely conscious of its own existence and future. It also made them cautious and suspicious of every other community that happened to be equally cautious and suspicious a competitor. As a matter of fact, this struggle dragged the entire country into a mire and wiped off every hope for a happy and harmonious existence among people. It was so, because the tussle was not between the Hindus and the Muslims alone. It was a general conflict between various 'communities, classes and interest'; who all sought some sort of social safety, economic stability and political security.

Naturally, therefore, we observe that the indigenous population reacted against the British masters in two different ways. One was the national resentment towards the foreign rule. The second was the communal approach directed

towards the greater consolidation by each 'community, class and interest'. This is what has been vaguely described as nationalism and communalism trying to fan each other'. To put it more correctly, we can say that 'the patronage of communal activities had grown side by side with the growth of national sentiment in India'.

No one can deny that there were no communal distinctions in India before the arrival of British. No one can deny either that, the communal quarrels and that too, between the Hindus and the Muslims were not therefore the British came. In fact, some sort of social tension and antagonism did exist in India much earlier. The fact is that there can exist no society without some sort of conflict or some sort of decay. Yet, nature has its curious way of healing all the conflicts. Human forces are stronger than the forces of destruction. Every conflict is followed by cooperation among the warring elements. If this were not true, humanity could not have served to this day.

Thus, we find that the impact of British rule did not help in a normal evolution of the various sections of the indigenous population. On the contrary, it disturbed the state of communal equilibrium in the country by 'initiating a new succession of change'. It was to ensure the safety of their Raj that they caused disintegration of the village community and poisoned the life of the city. They snapped the ancient threads that wove the people together and created one class as an offset to another, they made the people conscious on a sectarian plane and turned India into a boiling, cauldron of seething discontent making the life of an average Indian 'poor, frustrated and dark.

In ancient times, India was united and no such communal feelings were there. People lived peacefully together, there was acceptance for each other's culture and tradition. For example, Ashoka followed religious tolerance and focussed mainly on Dhamma.

In Medieval period, we have examples such as- Akbar, who was epitome of secular practices and believed in propagating such values by abolishing Jajhiya tax and starting of Din-I- ilahi and Ibadat Khana. Same acceptance for different cultures and tradition was practiced in several kingdoms throughout India, because of which there was peace and harmony, barring few sectarian rulers like

Aurangzeb, who was least tolerant for other religious practices. But, such motives were guided purely for their personal greed of power and wealth.

Such rulers and actions by them like- imposing taxes on religious practises of other community, destructing temples, forced conversions, killing of Sikh guru, etc. were instrumental in deepening and establishing the feeling of communal differences in India. But, these incidents were not common as, huge majority of Indians were rural and were aloof from such influences and so people coexisted peacefully. Though, they were very rigid in practising their own rituals and practise, but it never became barrier in the peaceful coexistence. Overall, the Hindus and Muslims in those days, had common economic and political interests.

Communalism in India is result of the emergence of modern politics, which has its roots in **partition of Bengal in 1905** and feature of separate electorate under **Government of India Act, 1909**. Later, British government also appeased various communities through **Communal award in 1932**, which faced strong resistance from Gandhi ji and others. All these acts were done by the British government to appease Muslims and other communities, for their own political needs. This feeling of communalism has deepened since then, fragmenting the Indian society.

Communalism was one of the byproducts of colonialism of the colonial character of the Indian economy of colonial under development and in recent years of the failure and in capacity of capitalism to develop the economy and society. Colonialism provided the social structure which produced communalism and in which it could grow. This was particularly true of the impact of colonialism on the middle classes, which were, in particular, torn by fears, jealousies and frustration.

Communalism stands for the feeling of hatred, notice and animosity among various religious or communities which disregard the benefits of other religious groups or communities for their sake. In Indian subcontinent communism means conflict between groups of people professing either different religion, speaking different languages or belonging to distinct cultures.

22.2 Main Characteristics of Communalism

- Communalism considers a particular religious community separate from the rest of the community.
- It believes that not only religious but also secular interests of that community are separate from similar interests of other communities.
- Communalism believes that the specific interests of the community can be promoted by maintaining its separate identity and organizing it separately for the promotion of those interests.
- Communal interests always superimpose themselves on the national interests.
- Communalism breeds mutual distrust and disharmony among the communities. It adopts an attitude of hostility towards other religious communities.
- Communalism treats some citizens not as citizens but as members of some specific religious community.
- Communalism makes a particular religious community to impose its religious views and social norms on the members of other religious communities also. It denies freedom to the members of other religious communities and the right to have their own religious views and social norms. The freedom in religious and social matters is also denied to them.
- Communalism fails to separate religion from politics. It tries to conduct government on the basis of religious dogmas.
- Communalism leads to the abuse of power. It seeks to impose the social and religious norms of the community on other communities by several means including force, fraud, economic and other allurements and even assistance from foreign powers.
- In its extreme form, communalism claims nationhood for the community concerned and seeks to raise it to a status of sovereign state.

22.3 Causes of Communalism

On the basis of an analysis of several hundreds of communal riots and struggles that took place in India in the past 100 years. Anthropologists, Historians, Political Scientists in general have identified major causes of communalism viz, Historical, geographical, psychological, cultural and miscellaneous causes.

22.3.1 Historical Causes

Historians have traced the origin of communal politics to the British times and the demand of separate Muslim country further consolidated the differences between the communities.

The process of unification was subdued to the process of Segregation. The bitter experiences of the partition further increased the cleavages between different communities and the spirit of tolerance that had characterized various communities gradually waned.

22.3.2 Economic Reasons

Several studies have isolated the Economic reasons as crucial for communal violence.

- (i) The Muslims are not an economically prosperous group. An overwhelming majority of Muslims ate at the lowest step of the economic ladder. They are susceptible to exploitation by vested interests.
- (ii) The level of entrepreneurship is not high in the Muslims as such there differences in economic achievements between Hindus and Muslims. These differences are ignited by political ideological and segregation factors. The first major riot after Independence was caused by intense competition between Hindu and Muslim Beedi workers in Jabalpur in 1962.
- (iii) The center for research in rural and Industrial development Chandigarh pointed out with regain to communal sturrings in Jaipur increasing religiosity, communication issues like the Urdu language and the upcoming Arabic institute. Competition for jobs and the mere absence of Muslims

from the non-household industries provide sufficient conditions for communal riots.

22.3.3 Psychological Reasons

The psychological conditions such as tendency of Hindu Muslim discord prejudice, hatred malice etc. create communal tensions.

- (i) The partition of the Indian sub-continent on the basis of the ill conceived 2 nation theory not only led to the biggest known uprooting of humanity in history but created a psychological distance between Hindus and Muslims.
- (ii) The formation of 2 Muslim nations in succession in 1947 and in 1971 as immediate neighbours of India, rendered Indian Muslims objects of suspicion in the eyes of non-Muslim Indians in general and Hindus in particular. In this process the Indian Muslim constantly may prove the loyalty to India. In this process the Indian Muslim faces double estrangement most of its erstwhile who were co-religious neighbours become aliens in the sense (Pak and Bangladesh) and his fellow Hindu citizens have become strange neighbours.
- (iii) There is identity crisis communities doubting each other for various reasons have lost the spirit of tolerance towards each other. In this regard purist moments came up in different religions Agarwal (1966) reports the case of the "Meos" of Rajasthan who are converted to Islam in the 15th century and for almost 4 centuries they have continued to practice a combination of Hindu and Muslim rituals and values in the same framework. In the last 40 years the process of islamisation has begun in them. Agarwal writes it is not at all an exaggeration to say that the 'Meos' (plains people in Rajasthan) have adopted more Muslim practices in the last 21 years they had in the previous 450 years. The solution to identity crisis is to revive the identity in their pure form.

22.3.4 Politico-religious reasons

Numerous studies have shown that quite often politico religious factors and forces triggered communalism in India.

- (i) Politicization of religion creates communalism the 1980's saw the highest degree of politicization of religion In India. The unfortunate Sha Banu controversy lead to another controversy viz, the Ram Janm Bhoomi – Babri- masjid. Further, the Moradabad riots 1980, Bihari Shariffi riot Meerut and Baroda 182 Muslim riots, the anti- Sikh riots, Bhiwandi Bombay riots. Meerut riots 1987 and Bhagalpur riots 1989, the communal riots in Hyderabad, Karnatka, Gujarat, Uttar Pradesh, Maharashtra, Rajasthan in 1990's are all created on the basis of politicization of religion.
- (ii) The political overtones of religious conversion have precipitated several communal singles. Some lower castes like the Mahars of Maharashtra embraced Buddhism to escape the scourge untouchability and inequality tied the caste system under the guardianship of Ambedkar. 70.000 Mahars became Buddhists in 1956. Another case of conversion to Buddhism are the 'Jatavs' of Agra. After religious conversions with other religious groups anthropologically oriented to the Hindus as a result of communal politics, other massive conversions to Islam by the low caste Hindus occurred at Meenakshi Prawn in 1980.

In Tamil Nadu where more than 2000 people got convened, at Ramanathpuram in 1983, 950 families from 10 villages decided to embrace Islam. These conversions in turn lead to Hindu revivalist organization tried to win back, the converts and intern clashing with the other religious groups. The Elites who were hitherto indifferent to religious matters are now taking part in religious fundamentalism.

- iii. The elite who were hitherto indifferent to religious matter take active part in politicizing religion and wooing the religious sentiment of the people for political gains whenever a political leader in some status are to be unpopularised , the opposition either within the leader party or in another party creates Hindu Muslim riots on some ground or another. The riots goon till the leader is unseated from the position or the leader concedes to the demands of the troublemakers. Andhra Pradesh, Uttar Pradesh and Bihar can be sited and examples in this content. Finally of late terrorist

agencies are also trying to foment communal troubles if Osama Bin Laden is organizing terrorism or international level. Islamic countries like Lebanon and Libya are aiding and abetting the terrorism, there are internal terrorist organizations like the mafia gangs in Bombay. Al-Uma organizations at Coimbatore which create communal troubles take the nearest opportunity to put Muslims against Hindus and fan the flames of communal violence. Between 1990 and 1997 in India at least 5 clashes 2 in Hyderabad one in Maharashtra, one in Kashmir and one in Tamilnadu were aided by international or internal terrorist organizations.

22.3.5 Cultural Reasons

Communication tension flared up due to cultural values, customs, manners, standard of living, art and literature of Hindus and Muslims. First Muslims are socially enclosed in that they live in exclusive neighborhood clusters. This is partly due to cultural factors but partly at least a product of insecurity faced by them through the recurrent communal riots. Whatever the reason, exclusive Hindu neighborhood which internally inhibits the interaction between the two communities, leading to reinforcement of prejudices and differences, this can be seen in the old and residential areas in Lucknow, Hyderabad, Varanasi, Patna, Coimbatore, Ahmedabad and other cities in India.

- (i) For a variety of reasons Urdu came to be associated with North Muslims, bestowing upon them the status of speech community, reinforcing a specific Muslim cultural identity. In this process millions of Hindus disowned Urdu as their mother tongue as the Hindus of Punjab, vis a vis Punjabi. Muslims came to perceive Hindus as destroyers of their language and culture. At least 2 major communal clashes in recent years, Bombay riots in 1970 can be attributed to the linguistic factors and forces.

Sometimes the communal clashes are on very flimsy cultural grounds. An exchange of heated arguments between people of different communities leads to a riot. Rationality of the rioters disappears in the irrationality of violence. In 1998 a Hindu girl eloped with a Muslim boy in Ahmedabad in Gujarat. This incident has triggered off communal violence.

Thus there are several cultural tractors and forces which have created the communal clashes the cities in India however communalism is not a problem in Indian villages at the local level, the communities, (which are communally oriented) at some point of their interact appreciate the differences they have with one another and these differences are respected.

22.4 Consequences of Communalism

1. One of the consequences of communalism is political instability. Communal violence leans the community wounded, interpersonal relations strained.
2. Another consequence is irrationality. Irrationality touches its peak and informational levels of society on change with irrational judgments and misgivings for eg. In Ahmedabad there was a feeling of jubilation amongst some Hindus on their victory over Muslims.

Consequences of communalism is well known to all of us. With killings in mass, the real sufferers are the poor, they lose their house, their near and dear ones, their lives, their livelihood, etc. It violates the human rights from all direction. Sometimes children will lose their parents and will become orphan for life time and nobody will be there to look after them.

Ghettoization and refugee problem is the other dimension of communalism induced violence, whether its inter country or intra country. Sudden increase in violence against any particular community causes mass exodus and stampede which in turn kills many number of people. Apart from having effect on the society, it is also a threat to Indian constitutional values, which promotes Secularism and religious tolerance. In that case, citizens don't fulfill their fundamental duties towards the nation. It becomes a threat for the unity and integrity of the nation as a whole. It promotes only the feeling of hatred in all directions, dividing the society on communal lines.

Other than these, minorities are viewed with suspicion by all, including state authorities like police, para military forces, army, intelligence agencies, etc. There have been many instances when people from such

community have been harassed and detained and finally have been released by court orders guilt free. For this, there is no provision of compensation of such victims, about their livelihood incomes forgone, against social stigmas and emotional trauma of the families.

22.5 Suggestions to Control and Eradicate Communalism

Communalism emerges in India as the most dangerous threat to the cultural modernization. It is a complex process but its causes generally subsist in the contradictions generated by the forces of social structuration. Communalism is a creeping paralysis which demands solution. Communal riots pose a permanent threat to the religious harmony in this land. They must be effectively dealt with and minimized. A few of the suggestions in this regard may be noted.

The problem of communal riots must be tackled in two ways;

(A) Immediate Remedial Measures

- 1. Setting up Peace Committee:** In the riot-torn places peace committees consisted of the respected leaders of the different religious communities are to be formed immediately after the outbreak of communal violence. These leaders must exercise their good will on the respective communities and persuade them to maintain peace and harmony.
- 2. Use of New Strategies and Plans by the State :** Since rioters are making use of modern sophisticated equipments and weapons to spread communal riots everywhere, it is necessary for the State to resort to new strategies and plans to hook and book these rioters and instill confidence in the minds of riot-hit individuals and innocent people.
- 3. Supervision of the Media :** The role of the media is very important in the course of the communal riots. The media must exercise great restraint in spreading rumours and reports of communal riots. The State must have strict vigilance over the media.
- 4. Suppressing the Extremists:** The Government in power must use its authority and power in suppressing the communal riots. It should not

impose ban on communal organisations directly or indirectly indulging in communal riots. All dangerous and extremist communal leaders must be arrested during the course of communal riots preventing them from fanning the fire of communal riots.

5. Special Courts should be established to deal with the cases of communal riots. Speedy disposal of the cases is an essential step in this direction.
6. The riot affected people must be given protection immediately and sufficient care should be taken to make arrangements for their rehabilitation if needed.
7. Immediate legal action should be instituted against those who instigate communal riots.

(B) Long term Remedial Measures

1. **To make the people free from Communal Frenzies and Passions:** It is necessary to educate the people to become free from communal prejudices, feelings etc. Steps should be taken to expose the communalist tendencies of the leaders who normally instigate riots.
2. **Preventing Communalisation of the State and the Political Elites in Power:** Communal riots often reach new heights due to the support given to it by the political parties, leaders and some bureaucrats. Hence it is necessary to see that the political elites in power become free from communal attitude. All communal forces to be tackled and treated equally.
3. **Protecting the Civil Society from being Communalised:** Communal riots grow into new proportions when supported by people. Sometimes, ordinary people are also drawn into communal carnage. Hence it is necessary to see that people do not become the victims of communal strategies of the leaders. It is in this regard that the intellectuals, writers, journalists, voluntary organisations, freedom fighters and non-controversial political leaders should take a lead in building up opinion against communalism and communal riots.

4. **Educational System should be free from communal Ideas and Ideologies:** It is necessary to see that importance is given to the development of communal harmony at all levels of education. The young minds should not be polluted with the narrow communal ideas. Hence patriotic feelings and sentiments must be strongly encouraged.
5. **Role of the Media:** This is an era of publicity and propaganda. The electronic media such as television, radio, newspaper etc. must play a very responsible role. They must not be allowed to contribute to communal feelings or riots. Communal press must be banned and legal actions must be instituted against communal writers.
6. **Legislation against Forcible Conversions:** Some forcible conversion of persons from one religion to another, particularly from Hinduism to Christianity and Islam, is one of the major causes of communal riots. It is necessary that all conversion activities be banned and declared illegal. In fact, a legislation could be introduced in this regard at the all-India level. At the state level Arunachal Pradesh, Madhya Pradesh, Orissa and Tamil Nadu governments have already made legislations prohibiting conversion activities.

22.6 Conclusion

Communalism has divided Hindus and Muslim on religions lines and thwarted communal harmony. The British during the colonial rule and the self centred political class promoted religious extremism. As a result communal violence has disrupted normal life in the country practically. The criminal forces also caught on to this. Minority communalism and majority communalism alike are harmful to healthy democracy and economic progress.

22.7 Model Test Paper

(A) Answer the following questions;

1. Discuss the main characteristics of Communalism.
2. Explain in detail the causes of communalism.
3. Suggest the measures to eradicate Communalism.

(B) Tick the right option:

(i) Communal Award was passed in the year:

(a) 1930 (b) 1931 (c) 1932

(ii) Bhagalpur riots occurred in the year:

(a) 1988 (b) 1989 (c) 1990

References:

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Syllabus of Sociology M. A. 4th Semester for the examination to be held in
the year May 2016, 2017 & 2018

Course No. 404

Title : Political Sociology

Credits : 4

Maximum Marks : 100

Duration of Examination : 2½ Hours

a) Semester Examination : 80

b) Internal Assessment : 20

Objective : The aims of this course are to acquaint students with the nature and functioning of political systems and the political processes and to generate in their minds and awareness regarding their status and role as citizens of the state. It also intends to make the students aware of the prerequisites of sound democratic political system and its vulnerability.

UNIT-I : **Introduction to Political Sociology :**

Definition and subject matter of Political Sociology, Theoretical approaches of political Sociology, Basic Concepts - Bureaucracy, Power, Authority, Legitimacy, Violence, State, Nation - State.

UNIT-II : **Changing definition of politics and power in Political Sociology :**

Functional analysis, Marxist tradition, Weberian tradition, Elite and Pluralist theory, Discourse theory and Culture Politics.

UNIT-III : **Political Systems & Political Participation:**

State and Civil Society, Democratic and Totalitarian systems, political socialization, Political parties, Pressure and Interest groups.

UNIT-IV : Political Sociology in India:

The power structure, the crises of governance, Ethnicity and politics, Regionalism and language, the making of Indian Nation and National Identity, Caste and Politics, Communalism in India.

The question paper for Major Test will consist of four sections A,B,C.

Section A consists of eight long answer-type questions, two questions from each unit with Internal Choice. The candidate is required to attempt one question from each unit. Each question carries 12 marks.

(12 x 4 = 48 marks)

Section B consists of 8 short answer-type questions, two questions from each unit with internal choice. The candidate is required to attempt one question from each unit. Each question carries 6 marks.

(6 x 4 = 24 marks)

Section C will consist of eight objective type, questions of one mark each. The candidate will have to answer all the eight questions. Total weightage will be (1 x 8 = 8 marks)

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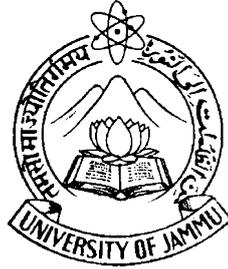
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COURSE NO. : 404

UNIT : I-IV

LESSON NO. : 1 - 22

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