

PREFACE

In a bid to standardize higher education in the country, the University Grants Commission (UGC) has introduced Choice Based Credit System (CBCs) based on five types of courses viz. core, generic, discipline specific, elective, ability, and skill enhancement for graduate students of all programmes at Honours level. This brings in the semester pattern which finds efficacy in sync with credit system, credit transfer, comprehensive continuous assessments and a graded pattern of evaluation. The objective is to offer learners ample flexibility to choose from a wide gamut of courses, as also to provide them lateral mobility between various educational institutions in the country where they can carry their acquired credits. I am happy to note that the university has been recently accredited by National Assessment and Accreditation Council of India (NAAC) with grade "A".

UGC (Open and Distance Learning Programmes and Online Programmes) Regulations, 2020 have mandated compliance with CBCS for U.G. programmes for all the HEIs in this mode. Welcoming this paradigm shift in higher education, Netaji Subhas Open University (NSOU) has resolved to adopt CBCS from the academic session 2021-22 at the Under Graduate Degree Programme level. The present syllabus, framed in the spirit of syllabi recommended by UGC, lays due stress on all aspects envisaged in the curricular framework of the apex body on higher education. It will be imparted to learners over the six semesters of the Programme.

Self-Learning Material (SLMs) are the mainstay of Student Support Services (SSS) of an Open University. From a logistic point of view, NSOU has embarked upon CBCS presently with SLMs in English/Bengali. Eventually, the English version SLMs will be translated into Bengali too, for the benefit of learners. As always, all of our teaching faculties contributed to this process. In addition to this we have also requisitioned the services of best academics in each domain in preparation of the new SLMs. I am sure they will be of commendable academic support. We look forward to proactive feedback from all stake holders who will participate in the teaching learning based on these study materials. It has been a very challenging task well executed by the teachers, officers and staff of the University, and I heartily congratulate all concerned in the preparation of these SLMs.

I wish you all a grand success.

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Vice-Chancellor

Netaji Subhas Open University
Under Graduate Degree Programme
Choice Based Credit System (CBCS)
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Course Title: Political Sociology

Course Code: CC-SO-05

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Module 1
Contextualising the study of Politics

Unit 1 □ Political Sociology: Emergence, Nature and Scope

Structure

- 1.1 Objectives**
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1.1 Objectives

This module is intended to give the students:

- A broad overview of the emergence of the academic discipline called Political Sociology as a discipline of study, the definitions that have been put forward by numerous social science thinkers regarding this subject, the scope of study of this discipline and its nature.
- Since this is the introductory module, it is important for students to understand why or under what circumstances the emergence of a new discipline was required. That would help students to understand the scope and nature of the discipline under study. Here, students should note that the process of emergence of an academic discipline is not an historical event that can be put down to a precise date, time, and place. It is, rather, a product of several direct and indirect causes, circumstances, and imperatives of history that an area of study emerges as an academic discourse. Moreover, it may be observed that the seeds of a discipline are sown way back in history but due to the lack of other essential circumstances, the formal emergence of the discipline takes place a few centuries later.

- Students should also keep in mind the fact that all thinkers who are engaged in the study of a subject do not perceive the subject in the same light. Unanimity of opinions and views regarding the core concepts of a discipline amongst its own proponents is rather an exception than a rule. This leads to multiple definitions, views, and approaches within and to the study of that subject.
- The final point that students ought to keep in mind is that no subject of study, whether old or new, has reached a state of completion. As long as men live, they shall strive to acquire more knowledge in an effort to understand and live life better. Thus, the scope of an academic discipline is forever widening and embracing more and more components.

1.2 Introduction

The very name 'Political Sociology' implies the coming together of two better-known disciplines: Political Science and Sociology. It is, as Giovanni Sartori in his work, *From Sociology of Politics to Political Sociology*, said: "an interdisciplinary hybrid attempting to combine social and political variables, i.e., the inputs suggested by the political scientists." As we all know, both Political Science and Sociology are branches of social sciences. Since the dawn of civilization, intellectually motivated men had attempted to understand the various aspects and activities of human life and society. In this attempt to understand, men created bodies of knowledge and depending upon the method of arriving at particular knowledge, the natural and social sciences emerged. While natural sciences used empirical/ scientific means to arrive at universal and verifiable principles that governed the material world, the social sciences attempted to understand the human world through a combination of both normative and empirical methods to arrive at general principles that govern and could predict the future of the human world with a certain degree of validity.

Social sciences, thus, study the composition and component factors of society, the organization, running and nature of economic activities of man, the political life of man and the composition of an authority whose work it would be to organize the lives of men by creating laws, policies and dispensing justice, the mass mind or psychology that determined the responses of a group of people to natural and man-made crises so on and so forth. Thus, emerged the disciplines of Sociology, Politics, Economics, Psychology etc. It would be good to note here that though there has

been an increasing tendency to incorporate the tools and methods of natural sciences, yet a basic difference remains between the two. While natural sciences study the inanimate material world which can be accurately measured, quantified, and experimented upon within laboratories, social scientists deal with human beings and various aspects of their lives. Humans are prone to emotions and though rational by instinct are not as accurately susceptible to predictable behaviour as natural elements or compounds. Therefore, a distinction between the two genres of sciences shall remain.

Amongst all the social sciences, Political Sociology is of very recent origin. It is, as mentioned before, a hybrid discipline that has emerged because of the attempts to combine the concepts and variables of two mother disciplines: Political Science and Sociology. It should be understood that no water-tight compartmentalization is possible, nor desirable amongst the various social sciences because individuals do not lead compartmentalized existence. All human activities take place within the social context and no activity can be said to be only social or political or economic or cultural. When an individual or a group of individuals act in a particular manner, it would be wise to consider all the different causes that might have led to that act rather than look at any one specific cause.

The traditional study of politics had revolved largely around the institution of the state, an enquiry into its ideal nature, the functions it should perform, the powers it possessed and the various principles which would regulate the relation between the ruler and the ruled. In ancient Greece, Plato and Aristotle did not distinguish between state and society. They mostly concentrated upon studying the state as an ideal institution that allowed men to achieve their highest moral developments by surrendering to the powers and laws created by the state. During the Roman age, the State was not further eulogized, but more emphasis was laid on codification of laws made by the state and the creation and imposition of a uniform body of laws and policies throughout the empire so that laws and policies could be uniformly applied, and administration ran smoothly. During the Middle Ages too, the State remained at the core of political studies though now, a portion of the sovereign power was shared with the Church. In the name of Divine Right of Kings to rule and the overall supremacy of religion (Christianity), the people remained passive recipients of God's mandates as expressed through the commands of Kings and the doctrine of the Church. It was only in the Modern Age and post Renaissance, Reformation, and Industrial Revolution that modern society emerged. The doctrine

of Individualism/ Liberalism arose to accompany and support the economic system of Capitalism that the stage was created where economy, society, culture, individual rights would find place alongside the state in the study of politics.

The term 'Sociology' was coined by Auguste Comte in 1839. He is regarded as the father of this discipline. He intended Sociology to emerge as the 'queen amongst social sciences.' Sociology is the academic discipline dedicated to study human society, the diverse customs, conventions, traditions, languages and such other factors as religion, race, ethnicity that create and bind human beings into social groups. Societies are organic entities and evolve just as human beings have evolved. Both continue to evolve. All the cultural, social, economic, technological, scientific, political changes that take place in human lives take place within the social context and are reflected in the human society.

1.3 Emergence of Political Sociology as an Academic Discipline

Political Sociology emerged in the post Second World War period in the wake of certain circumstances. There are numerous factors that led to its emergence. They are discussed herein:

1. The Industrial Revolution and the emergence of modern society: Professor Amal Kumar Mukhopadhyay, in his book, Political Sociology has commented: "Both Lipset and Runciman have fixed the timing of the birth of Political Sociology at about the middle of the 19th century when under the impact of the Industrial Revolution the traditional European social order gave in to modern society." In fact, the change in Europe, from feudalism to capitalist system of production led to significant changes in all aspects of life. A distinction was made for the first time between state and society, the sphere of influence and range of powers and functions of the state were slowly limited to give more space to individuals to assert their rights and promote trade and commerce through free markets. Religion was not abandoned altogether but was put on the back burner. Rationalism, scientism and humanism, the essence of the Renaissance manifested itself in all aspects of life: culture, economy, society, and polity. John Locke, the Father of Individualism, is credited with the separation of the spheres of state and

society and lauded as a champion of individual rights. New and more scientific methods of enquiry were devised to study these rapid changes in human history and a need was also felt to study human society in a more organized and scientific manner. Here, it became evident that human society could not be studied adequately without reference to 'power' and that the political lives of men were intricately embedded in their societies. So, Professor Mukhopadhyay has said the Political Sociology is a "cross-fertilization between Sociology and Political Science that studies the impact of society on politics and the reverse, although viewing the substance of politics in a social form." Politics and society are inextricably related and can best be observed when studied together.

2. Intellectual contributions of seminal thinkers like Karl Marx, Max Weber, Alexis de Tocqueville: many prominent thinkers are of the view that Political Sociology began with the writings of Karl Marx (1818-1883). He was the first to discuss about the sociology of politics. His critique of Hegel's philosophy, ideas on material basis of history, concept of class and class struggle most seriously inaugurated the subsequent discussions on social bases of politics. Professor Dipti Kumar Biswas, in his book Political Sociology has written: "The interpretation of political conflict between economic and social groups, the relation of ideology to social structure and the impact of technological and economic change on politics--- all resulted from Marx's influence."

Max Weber's (1864-1920) contribution to the origin and development of Political Sociology is also considerable. In his book, *The Protestant Ethics and the Spirit of Capitalism*, Weber has given a new understanding of power. Power is understood as the capacity or ability to influence the behaviour of others in one's own interest. It is more like a resource as it enables the one possessing it to make decisions affecting the lives of many. It is relational, behavioural and situational. He sees power as intrinsically linked to politics. According to him, "Politics means striving to share power, or striving to influence the distribution of power". Since society is the seat of politics, the two cannot be properly understood in isolation from each other. Ali Ashraf and L.N. Sharma in their book *Political Sociology* have remarked that: "After Karl Marx, the most significant contribution to Political Sociology was made by the German sociologist Max Weber, who made

power the focal point of his social analysis. He laid the foundations of Political Sociology by original and exciting ideas regarding types of authority, the ideal type of bureaucracy and the concepts of state and party as supplements to that of class."

Alexis de Tocqueville (1805-1859): was a French thinker, whose works like *Democracy in America* (1835) and *The Old Regime and French Revolution* (1856) are important in the study of Political Sociology, though in an indirect manner. He believed that human society is dynamic and the changes that manifested in this ever-changing society were caused by events and circumstances that could be discovered in the past of these very societies. His studies on the nature of mass society and the problems of democracy in mass societies are significant in the link they establish between social and political structures.

3. Elite theory and its main proponents: the core statement of elite theory is that power as a resource is not equally distributed in any society. In fact, power by its very nature is prone to get concentrated in the hands of the minority of any society. What varies is the basis on which power accrues to a group in a society. The elite theory emerged as a 'grand retort' to the Marxist meta-narrative that held economy as the determinant of all political and social phenomenon in all societies. Some Elite theorists emphasized psychological factors, others organizational capacities as elements responsible for the power of a minority over the majority. They also do not claim that the Elites are a closed social category, frozen for all time. In fact, they believe that at regular intervals, a 'cycle of change' allows the inclusion of new members into the Elite class and thereby possibilities of revolutions and other forms of social upheavals are limited. Gaetano Mosca, Vilfredo Pareto, Robert Michels are important Elite theorists and their emphasis on social, psychological, organizational components in determining the nature and composition of ruling class are seen as important contributions to the discipline of Political Sociology.
4. The contribution of American Sociologists and Political Thinkers during the Twentieth Century: before the First World War, from the middle of the 19th century, new methods more akin to the natural sciences, began to be used in the study of both Sociology and Political Science. The new emphasis

was more on 'political behaviour' and 'political processes', their measurement, quantification and attempts at prediction of future events or phenomenon. This inevitably had an impact on the study of Political Sociology as well. Arthur Bentley, Charles Merriam, Hans Gerth, Sigmund Neumann and others were associated with this new 'behavioural' approach in the study of social sciences. The First World War, forced social scientists to enquire into the deficiencies of liberal democratic state structures and systems. This shifted the focus from purely state centric studies to the study of political parties, pressure groups and interest groups, social organizations, social and political processes, ideological and cultural impact upon human behaviour and their choices. The ambit of study of social sciences increased considerably.

After the Second World War, another crisis appeared in the form of the newly independent or Third World Countries. The sheer number and diversity of these countries posed a serious challenge to universal/ general principles and models of politics, administration, and social systems. The political, economic, and social systems that had functioned rather well in the developed countries seemed unable to meet the needs of the newly independent countries of Asia, Africa, and Latin America. It was therefore realized that the social/cultural uniqueness of a state was as much relevant to the success of a system as the political and economic conditions. Thus, social scientists started calling for a more inter-disciplinary approach to the understanding of human society and new approaches and disciplines got strengthened.

Now that we have discussed some of the major causes for the emergence of Political Sociology as a separate and new academic discipline, let us consider the scope of this subject. The scope of a subject basically means the topics or areas that falls within the ambit of that subject. Considering the over-lapping and inter-disciplinary thrust of social sciences in modern times, we may find that two or more branches of social sciences study the same or similar areas of human life. Instead of finding this tendency to be a fault or a limitation, we should recognize the fact that all facets of human life are indeed interconnected and inter-related and therefore, they should be considered in their mutual connections rather than as isolated aspects.

1.4 The Scope of Political Sociology as an Academic Discipline

This interdisciplinary approach widens the scope of a subject and makes the understanding of it more comprehensive and more accurate.

The scope of Political Sociology encompasses the following:

- 1. Power:** the central thrust of Political Sociology is power. However, the power that is of primary importance in Political Sociology is not the traditional state-centric, traditional conception of Political Science. It is more 'non-political' power. Power that is decentralized and belongs to non-state social cultural economic civic and political groups. Therefore, the emphasis is on the social context and content of power. Political Sociology addresses the issue that state does not unilaterally influence society but is equally amenable to the influence of the society. Moreover, since it has been obvious that conflict and competition were to be a constant feature of human societies, a relative permanent mechanism for conflict resolution became essential. These conflicts in society originate due to social economic cultural and political reasons (broadly speaking), so the measures to be taken by the state to deal with these problems cannot be taken without reference to or knowledge of the non-political causes of problems. Hence, the nature of conflicts and their resolution, both involve power.
- 2. Authority:** In all civilized societies it is imperative that state power should be legitimized through one of the following means: customs, written laws, traditions, or popular mandate. Legitimized power is authority. In the traditional Monist view, the state alone possessed supreme authority over its people. In the later, Pluralist view, the multiple non-state associations, and organizations that individuals are a part of, have been looked upon as playing equally important and influential roles upon the lives of individuals. In fact, it would not be an over-statement to say that while people lived under the overarching legal-political tutelage of the state, their everyday lives were more intimately regulated by the social, cultural, economic organizations and associations that they were members of. Thus, the roots of authority of the state could not be understood without reference to the broader social bases and loci of that authority.
- 3. Elite theory and the concept of elitism:** As stated earlier, the Elitist theory's main belief is that power (as a capacity or an ability to influence others) is a resource that is not equally distributed in society. It automatically accrues to a select few. Traditionally, once again, the monarchy/ state was considered to be the seat of power. Later, the Marxists propounded that

the dominant economic class in a capitalist society was the holder of power, in collusion with the political elite. The Elite theory emerged as a 'grand retort' to this Marxist narrative of economic power as the only basis of acquiring and maintaining power. They brought to light other factors: psychological, organizational, institutional, and economic which determined the distribution of power in society. These factors also fall within the ambit or scope of study of Political Sociology.

4. **Political Culture:** Alan Ball has defined political culture as the attitudes, beliefs, emotions, and values that are held towards a political system within which the individual as self and as member of a social group is embedded. Culture, as we know, is the 'way of life' of a group of people as MacIver has said. It characterizes a group, endows it with some unique features and helps distinguish one group from another. Political Culture, too, reflects how groups living within the territorial jurisdiction of a political state apparatus, look at and judge the actions and policies of the state. Political culture is not purely political, it reflects the commonly held political values, beliefs, and attitudes of groups within particular social, economic, cultural contexts.
5. **Political Socialization:** The process of passing down political culture from one generation to another is known as political socialization. Just as children are raised with instructions in values, morality, ethics, similarly, as a child grows up his personality and values already taught to him by his family help him to form his own attitudes, values, and beliefs towards everything around him, including the political system. It is commonly found that families that have a history of actively participating in politics and have loyalty towards a particular political ideology unless always remain loyal to that single political ideology, unless a deep crisis arises to cause changes. They also pass on their own political inclinations and opinions, directly or indirectly to their next generations. Political socialization helps to perpetuate political culture and bring in political stability. The first and most important agents of political socialization include the immediate family and neighbourhood. This is also an important area of study of Political Sociology.
6. **Political Participation:** As the terms suggest, this implies the rate and extent of active participation of the common people in the political process of the country. The state and the type of government is definitely a determining factor in securing the participation of people in the politics of the country.

But it is equally determined by the social cultural economic background of the people who are expected to participate in politics. Since most countries today are democratic, participation in politics by the common masses is imperative. Political Sociology studies the various factors that determine the rate and extent of this participation in politics.

7. **Bureaucracy:** The executive wing of government of modern democratic states has two parts: the political executive (the elected members of government) and the permanent executive (the officers selected by rigorous process of examination, based on merit and knowledge). The latter is known commonly as the bureaucracy. They form the brain behind the administration of a country. Political Sociology studies the composition, nature and functioning of bureaucracies to study their effectivity and efficiency in dealing with the problems of the people. What makes such studies interesting is that the attitude of the bureaucracy towards common people varies from country to country and culture to culture. Since it is through the bureaucracy that laws and policies of the government are executed, they play a very important role in determining people's perceptions about the government.
8. **Linkages between political behaviour and sociological framework:** It has by now become obvious that politics is not an isolated sphere of human activity, neither can any other aspect of human existence (social, economic, cultural, ideological etc.) be understood completely when considered in isolation. Man's existence is a related existence and each individual's life has multiple inter-related and interdependent aspects. Thus, Political Sociology aims to understand and discover the linkages that exist between the sociological framework within which a person is located and the expressed political behaviour of such individuals.

These are just some of the important areas of study of Political Sociology, other include: political change, social stratification and political power, socio-economic systems and political regimes, political parties, interest groups, pressure groups, electoral behaviour, social movements, political mobilization, and political recruitment.

1.5 Definitions of Political Sociology

Having considered some of the most important areas of study of Political Sociology as an academic discipline, (the above list is indicative and not exhaustive

as newer areas of study are being incorporated frequently into this new branch of social science), let us now look at some important definitions of this subject. It is to be acknowledged at the very outset that it has been an extremely difficult, if not impossible task to define a discipline which is as fluid, inter-disciplinary and 'hybrid' by nature as Political Sociology. Yet, one may consider some important views regarding the definition of the subject put forward by its thinkers.

- Tom Bottomore, in his book, Political Sociology, has written in the Preface of the book: "Political Sociology is concerned with power in its social context. By 'power' is meant here the ability of an individual or a social group to pursue a course of action (to make and implement decisions, and more broadly to determine agenda for decision making) if necessary, against the interests, and even against the opposition, of other individuals and groups."
- Theodore Caplow in his Elementary Sociology says that: ".....Political Sociology deals with such topics as the relation between political power and class structure."
- Dr. R.T. Jangam in his book Political Sociology comments: "The heart and soul of political sociology may be said to lie in the capture and exercise of political power in political context against the social background."
- S.M. Lipset has said that Political Sociology "...is the study of the interrelationship between society and polity, between social structures and political institutions.... Indeed, political institutions are themselves social structures, and hence are often the independent (i.e., causal) factors that affect non-political social structure." He has further said that "if the stability of society is a central issue for sociology as a whole, the stability of a specific institutional structure or political regime ---- the social conditions of democracy --- is the prime concern of political sociology."
- Ali Ashraf and L.N. Sharma, in their book Political Sociology, have said that: "Political Sociology aims at understanding the sources and the social basis of conflict, as well as the process of management of conflict."

1.6 Conclusion

Now we arrive at the final section of the module: the conclusion. Since this is

the introduction to the discipline of Political Sociology, we shall conclude with the most commonly contested question with regard to Political Sociology. Is Political Sociology the Sociology of Politics or is it the Politics of Sociology? There are some social scientists who are of the opinion that there is no distinction between Sociology of Politics and Political Sociology as the components and variables that are studied under both these disciplines remain the same. However, there is another group of thinkers who believe that the two are not identical in their nature and scope. Giovanni Sartori, in his work, *From the Sociology of Politics to Political Sociology* has put forward his opinion in favour of the latter group.

Professor Amal Kumar Mukhopadhyay, in his book, *Political Sociology* has clearly stated that the study of the social bases of politics is to be considered as the Sociology of Politics, which is, the sociological explanation of politics. As repeatedly stated during the course of this module, man's political acts are determined by many non-political factors and cannot be studied accurately when taken in isolation from those factors. However, Professor Mukhopadhyay also alerts us to the danger of placing undue importance upon the sociological bases of political behaviours or actions. In case of Sociology of Politics there is often the danger of giving more credence to Sociology than Politics, which he considers to be rather unfair and "an odd connection". Professor Mukhopadhyay does not consider Political Sociology to be a part of Political Science either. He says that Political Sociology "combines Political inputs with the Sociological inputs and thus keeps itself apart from both Sociology and Political Science."

Thus, we may safely conclude by saying that Sociology, Political Science and Political Sociology have their distinct and unique positions as different branches of social sciences. Though there are many over-lapping, similar and even same components and variables studied by these subjects, the thrust, methodology, aims and objectives of each of these subjects are different and unique in their own right.

1.7 Summary

In this unit we have pointed out the various causes for the emergence of Political Sociology as an academic discipline. We have also looked at some of the most comprehensive definitions of Political Sociology which gives us an idea regarding the scope or the subject matter of this particular branch of social science. Then we have discussed some of the core areas of study of political sociologists. However,

we must always bear in mind the fact that this list is only indicative and not exhaustive as newer areas of study are constantly being incorporated into the purview of the discipline. Lastly, we have concluded with a brief discussion on a long-standing debate on whether Political Sociology is the Sociology of Politics or the Politics of Sociology. Students of the discipline should attempt to arrive at their own response to this debate.

1.8 Questions

● **Answer the following questions:**

Group A: 5 marks each

1. Define Political Sociology.
2. Name some of the core areas of study of Political Sociology.
3. Discuss any two causes for the growth of Political Sociology as a separate discipline.
4. What do you understand by the social bases of politics?
5. What do you understand by the term political culture?
6. How would you define political socialization?

Group B: 10 marks each

7. What are the key statements of Elite theory?
8. How did the American social scientists and thinkers contribute to the development of Political Sociology before and after the two World Wars?
9. Why do you think that bureaucracy is an important subject matter of Political Sociology?
10. How did Marx and Max Weber contribute towards the development of Political sociology as a separate discipline?
11. Discuss in detail all the factors that led to emergence of Political Sociology as a separate area of study.
12. Write an essay on the subject matter and scope of Political Sociology.

1.9 Suggested Readings

- 1 Mukhopadhyay, A K (2008): Political Sociology, Kolkata: K.P. Bagchi & Co
- 2 Ashraf, A and Sharma, L.N. (2013): Political Sociology, Hyderabad: Universities Press India Pvt. Ltd.
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- 4 Majumdar, D (2017): Rajnaitik Samajtattva, Kolkata: Pragatishil Prakashak.
- 5 Sartori, G (1972): 'From the Sociology of Politics to Political Sociology' in Lipset, S.M. (ed.) Politics and the Social Sciences, New Delhi: Wiley Eastern Pvt. Ltd
- 6 Lipset, S.M. and Bendix, R. (1966): 'The Field of Political Sociology' in Coser, L.A. (ed.) Political Sociology, New York: Harper and Row.

Module II
Basic Concepts

● Introduction to the Module

This module deals with some of the most basic concepts of Political Sociology that students of this discipline are expected to know and understand. The first topic dealt with, under this module is "Power and Authority: meaning and types of Influence". Since Political Sociology as a subject deals with the links between politics and society, some key concepts of politics should be understood at the very outset. Politics is inextricably linked to the concept of power, therefore, it is essential to understand the broad meaning and implications as well as differences between the terms 'power', 'authority' and 'influence'. These terms are often used interchangeably by laymen, yet as students of social sciences and especially of Political Science or Political Sociology, it is imperative that the subtle and significant differences between these terms are known and appreciated.

The second topic dealt with under this module is "Power Distribution and Resistance". It is common knowledge that by its very nature power has the tendency to get concentrated in the hands of the minority/ select few in a given society. Power happens to accrue benefits and privileges to the people who have it. Thus, power becomes a resource and much like all other resources available to mankind, power is also a scarce resource. This module deals with the various bases or determining factors behind how power is distributed in a society. It should also be noted here that within the same society the distribution of power varies from time to time. Therefore, this module shall look at the various bases on which power is distributed and deal with the diverse theories and approaches to the issue of distribution of power. We shall refer briefly to four major models of power distribution here: the elite theory, pluralism, totalitarianism, and democracy in order to understand the ways in which political power has usually been distributed across time and place. The second part of this topic deals with 'resistance to power'. This implies that political obligation or obedience to political authority is not as universal nor as general as it seems to be. In fact, by its very nature and from its very inception, political power engenders resistance. The various theories of political resistance shall be dealt with in this part of the module.

The third topic under this module is "State, Governance and Citizenship". While each of these terms are commonly used in everyday conversations and communications yet, from the perspective of a student of social sciences it is once again imperative to understand the exact academic meaning of these terms and

them implications and impact upon the lives of individuals living as citizens under the governance of the political structure called the state. While the term 'state' as used today was employed by Niccolo Machiavelli, the state apparatus has existed far before his time and had been formalized through the Treaty of Westphalia (1648) and continues to remain today as the basic unit of political organization. The term 'governance' on the other hand, is of relatively recent origin and implies the modern, innovative, technocratic, citizen-oriented process of administration embarked upon by the state in the post-globalization/liberalization era. Citizenship, commonly understood the right to get recognized as a bona fide resident of a given state, is more complex when issues like migration - both spontaneous or forced, are taken into consideration. The various views on citizenship shall also be dealt with in the course of this module.

The fourth topic dealt with under this module is "Citizenship and Rights". This module shall deal effectively with the notion of citizenship and the various rights that citizens of a state are entitled to. There is lack of unanimity amongst scholars regarding these rights, the various views of different schools of thought shall be referred to under this section.

The fifth topic to be dealt with under this module is "Civil Society". This is one of the most important and significant concepts in the modern age. Democracy and accountable government can hardly claim to exist in the absence of a free and proactive civil society. This module shall discuss the different views on the necessity, functions, and role of civil society.

"Elites and Ruling Classes: Nature and Types" is the sixth and final topic under Module II. Elite is a term which is commonly used to refer to the cream of society, the aristocrats, the rich, the powerful and the influential. As mentioned earlier in the Introduction of this module, power is not evenly distributed in any society. Elites across time and space have held political power on various grounds. This part of the module shall deal with the various theories and views on elites in society.

Unit 2 □ Power and Authority: Meaning and Types of Influence

Structure

- 2.1 Objectives**
- 2.2 Introduction**
- 2.3 Power: Meaning, Nature & Types**
- 2.4 Authority: Meaning, Nature & Types**
- 2.5 Influence: Meaning, Scope & Types**
- 2.6 Conclusion**
- 2.7 Summary**
- 2.8 Questions**
- 2.9 Suggested Readings**

2.1 Objectives

The objectives of this unit are to discuss, define and explore the different types of:

- Power
- Authority
- Influence

2.2 Introduction

The scope of Political Sociology as an academic discipline rest essentially upon two core concepts and their interrelationship - society (as the most basic organized unit of human life) and state (as the holder or receptacle of power). Human beings by their very nature are gregarious or social beings. They have lived in groups since the beginning of time. These social groups have been of different degrees of complexity and plurality depending upon the level of development of human knowledge, resources available in their natural habitat, technology at their disposal, population size and composition, the nature and type of authority that ruled them and such other

factors. The natural social instinct of man was further complemented by the fact that man could not satisfy all his material needs by himself. This led to not just psychological and emotional dependence of members of a group upon each other but also demanded active cooperation and collaboration amongst these members in order to ensure optimal fulfilment of individual needs.

Social evolution has shown that much like genetic evolution of an organism, society also transcends from a simpler form to a more complex form, performing more diverse and more numerous functions than its previous stages. While the discovery of fire, the wheel and the use of metals may be counted as milestones in man's journey of evolution, the knowledge of agriculture or learning to grow their own crops was an equally important milestone in the journey of man's evolution. Food security brought about a kind of self-reliance that was hitherto unknown to men. While it brought an end to the gypsy-like travelling from one place to another in constant search of food, it also created the notion of private property in terms of land, where one lived and worked and the fruits of one's labour. Moreover, the earlier need for cooperation of all members of a social group and the inter-dependence of members upon each other for daily survival and security was reduced drastically. In the long run, agriculture also created economic inequality (for all engaged in farming were not equally skilled, nor capable of equal labour, nor as fortunate as the rest) and later led to social inequality as well. Food security increased the life expectancy and quality of life of individuals but reduced considerably the mutual reliance and interdependence that characterized the earliest social groups.

With the increase in knowledge and technology, with the passage of time, human societies became more densely populated, more diverse in terms of customs, conventions, rituals, religions, languages and more difficult to administer easily. The earlier democratically elected tribal kingdoms now gave way to monarchies and empires. Throughout all these changes in the material and social conditions of existence of man, what remained constant was the conflict amongst the members of societies because of the ever-increasing demand for basic resources and the consistently limited nature of these resources. It is exactly because of this ever-present conflict and competition amongst men that power became one of the primary resources as it paved the way for access to all other desirable resources and also determined the allocation of these amongst the different members of society. This is the point of conjunction of state and society.

The term 'resource' needs to be understood at the very outset. The Oxford English Dictionary defines 'resource' as 'a stock or supply of money, materials, staff and other assets that can be drawn on by a person or organization in order to function effectively'. In ordinary language, resource can be understood as anything that has utility and can make life of men easier or better or both. Thus, we talk of minerals, water reserves, oil deposits, forests as natural resources. Similarly, in Politics and Political Sociology, 'resource' is to be understood as the capacity to influence other people's behaviours. This capacity is to be seen as an 'asset' because the more complex a society becomes, the more difficult it is to ensure that most people have more or less equal access to the basic resources of life. In this context, let us now understand the terms: 'power', 'authority', 'influence' and its various types and meanings.

2.3 Power: Meaning, Nature & Types

Power is defined as the capacity to influence other people's behaviours in one's own interest. The first question that automatically arises here is: why should one want to influence others? Also, can all kinds of influences be treated as power? The answer to the second question is: no. The answer to the first question lies in the nature of human society. As mentioned earlier, modern societies are complex and characterized by unequal distribution of basic resources. Power acts as a means to determine who gets access to what kind of resources and how, as Harold J. Lasswell has said. Prof. Amal Kumar Mukhopadhyay states in his book, Political Sociology that modern societies are based on division of labour and specialization of functions. All activities do not require the same kind of skills, nor are all people capable of performing specialized functions. Thus, the natural inequalities already present in men are further accentuated by the imperatives of modern society. Numerous reasons have been mentioned by Professor Mukhopadhyay for the unequal access to resources in modern societies:

- (a) Limited supply of resources in demand.
- (b) Lack of skills amongst men
- (c) Lack of incentives or motivations amongst people to strive and enhance their own skill sets and become more capable
- (d) Natural and social endowments of different social groups are different amongst different social groups, thus the propensities for specialized functions also vary from group to group

- (e) Sometimes, artificial scarcity of available resources is created by hoarders and black marketeers so that the cost of a particular resource may further be enhanced.

All these factors are responsible for creating and maintaining conditions of perpetual conflict and competition in society. A mechanism to resolve or at least to restrict these conflicts becomes necessary and thus is created the state, with sole access to sovereign power. The state, possesses power (ultimate coercive power/sovereignty) to make laws and policies, execute these laws and policies and also dispenses justice, so that men may live peacefully and enjoy more just access to the basic and essential resources of life.

Power, thus, is also a resource because it enables decision-making that affects the lives of others, even society at large. Power has three characteristic features:

- (a) It is relational: no one can exercise power in isolation. The control that one exercises over oneself is not power, but self-control. Power, as understood in the social sciences, refers to the influence that one exercises over others. Moreover, X can be said to have exerted his power over Y only when he can make Y do something that Y would normally not have done. This means that power is the capacity to influence another person's behaviour according to the interest of the person who is exercising power. In the absence of the 'other', power cannot exist. It could be illustrated by considering that a man has been declared king on an island where nobody lives. What would be the use of being a king without having subjects over whom one can rule and claim obedience? Power exists only in relation to the absence of equal power amongst others.
- (b) It is behavioural: the impact of power is observable as it tends to affect the outward actions and behaviours of the people over whom power is being exercised. It should be noted here that the person exercising power may or may not succeed in actually changing the opinions or views of the person over whom power is being exercised, what matters is whether he can change the actions and behaviours of the person or persons over whom he is exercising power. In other words, fear of punishment and deprivation may extract behavioural conformity and outward exhibition of obedience towards the ruler or the person who holds more power. There is no guarantee that the ideas, ideals, beliefs or value systems of the subjects (those over

whom power is exercised) actually undergo any real change due to the commands of the sovereign. Thus, the second striking feature of power is that its manifestation is essentially behavioural or outward.

- (c) It is situational: power relations are not constant. While X, as a leader of a particular social or political group may enjoy unhindered power over members of that particular group, he may be subject to the power higher to him, in terms of the constitutional head of the country. For example, Sonia Gandhi as the president of the Indian National Congress party obviously enjoys highest power within the hierarchy of the Congress Party but in relation to the multi-party-political system of India, she has relatively less power in state and national level politics, especially when the national government is formed by a non-Congress political party. Thus, we may conclude that the same person possesses different measures of power, depending upon the context or situation.

Thus, power as understood in terms of the capacity of an individual or a group of individuals, to influence the outward actions and behaviours of other individuals or groups of individuals, for a particular purpose, is relational, behavioural and situational.

2.4 Authority: Meaning, Nature & Types

The easiest definition of authority is that it is 'legitimate' power. This implies the possibility of 'illegitimate' power. When a person or group of persons exercise power over others through the use or threat of use of brute force, despite resistance from the latter, the power exercised is deemed to be illegitimate. For instance, when the employees of a bank are forced, at gunpoint by a band of robbers, to hand over keys of the cash section or lockers, they are simply over-powered by the armed men and act under threat to their own lives and safety. This cannot be said to indicate 'power' of the bank robbers in any legitimate way! On the other hand, when power is exercised on the basis of charisma, established customs and traditions of a social group or the written laws of the land, such power is said to be legitimate power and therefore, termed as 'authority'.

Here, it is essential to refer to the views of Max Weber, who said that authority is power that has been legitimized and belongs to the state. The state, therefore, issues command and expects uncompromised obedience to those commands, i.e.,

political obligation is more a right of the state than a contestable issue or concern. Weber refers to three types of authority, the key features of which shall be discussed below:

- (a) **Charismatic authority:** charisma refers to such personality traits of a leader which appeal to the ruled in a manner as to generate spontaneous and continuous obedience. A charismatic leader is one who is either an excellent orator, bears an inspiring personality, propagates a faith or set of beliefs which inspire the people or even bear a messiah-like personality. In other words, such authority is legitimized by the faith that people have in the leader, who is looked upon as being 'extraordinary' in a way that following him or her might end all major crises of the group in question. For this type of authority, 'faith can move mountains', as the saying goes. Mahatma Gandhi, Indira Gandhi, Jawaharlal Nehru and in recent times Prime Minister Modi has been able to generate mass hysteria in the wake of their words, acts, speeches. Charismatic leaders are often deified, seen as incarnations of gods, saints, messiahs etc.

However, if such leaders fail to deliver their promises, they run the danger of being seen as 'mortal', 'ordinary' and therefore, 'vulnerable'. Since, charismatic authority is based on the personality of the leader, any false experiments, speeches, unfulfilled promises may create disillusionment of the masses with the leader and thus erode the very basis of the leader's authority. Lastly, with modern societies becoming more and more complex and demanding specialized knowledge, charismatic authorities may fail to sustain themselves in power without upgrading to modern administrative systems and structures. This leads to 'routinization of charisma' and charismatic authority ends up as rational-legal or traditional authority.

- (b) **Traditional Authority:** According to Weber, the type of authority that emanates from age-old traditions, customs, conventions that a social group have lived by for centuries, is traditional authority. These customs and conventions have been legitimized by their long tenure of existence. Personal obligations to the hereditary or traditional authority is the basis of power of the ruler rather than a contractual consent. Weber mentioned four types of traditional authority. These are gerontocracy (rule by elders), patriarchy (rule by single male) and patrimonialism (rule established and

carried out by a group of loyal followers who have full faith in the supremacy and infallibility of the leader at the centre of the group) and feudalism.

None of these forms of traditional authority are based upon law or rationality. The consent of the people to these forms of authority are also not given separate attention. Faith in traditions, loyalty to the institution of the authority are all based upon the fact that traditions, customs and conventions of that group support that specific form of rule. Another point that needs to be noted here is that the bureaucratic machinery almost does not exist. The ruler has his own coterie of closest aides who carry out his commands and dictates.

- (c) **Rational legal Authority:** this is the last of the tripartite division of authority as done by Weber. This type of authority, as the name suggests, is based upon rational-legal foundations. In other words, the ruler becomes the ruler because he qualifies the conditions set down by the written laws of the land, mostly the constitution of that country. People under such an authority obey the latter simply because he/she fulfils the legal requirements to rule over them. Here, consent of the people is an important factor and accountability of the ruler to the ruled is also a salient feature of this type of authority. Under a rational legal system, the ruler himself/herself is not above law. Even while occupying the highest constitutional post, he/ she is subject to the laws laid down by the constitution. The rule is impersonal, rational, legal and everyone is given equal scope for participation in the political process of the country.

The bureaucratic machinery is developed to its fullest. In fact, it is considered to be of crucial importance in carrying out or implementing the laws and policies made by the government. The bureaucracy is highly specialized and hierarchically arranged for effective and efficient performance of functions. We can easily understand that rational legal type of authority is mostly found in modern industrialized societies. While it would not be correct to say that this is the best type of authority amongst the types mentioned by Weber, it is undoubtedly true that compared to charismatic and traditional authority, rational-legal authority is most people-friendly and at least tries to give importance to consent of the people and makes authority accountable to the people it governs.

2.5 Influence: Meaning, Scope & Types

Now we come to the last section of the topic: influence and its various types. We should keep in mind the definition of power discussed earlier in this module. Power has been defined as the capacity to influence another person's behaviour in one's own interest. Thus, influence like power, also (a) inter-personal or relational and (b) it is intentional use of one's capacity to influence others. The unintentional influence that one person may have over anyone cannot be said to be power or influence in the academic context. For instance, when the life story of a person inspires unknown masses of people, it cannot be said that the person has exercised 'power' over the masses.

Secondly, influence can be either (a) actual or (b) potential. Potential influence is the latent presence of the capacity of X to influence Y whereas, actual influence is the real use of one's capacity to influence others. Potential influence is always more than actual influence because not all people possess the skill to use all the influence that they possess at all times.

Thirdly, influence has the following aspects:

- (i) **Weight of influence:** weight of a person's influence refers to the degree to which important policies are affected under the influence of that person. It is intentional use of influence on part of the bearer. Weight also refers to the amount of change that can be affected in the attitudes and behaviours of the people who are under the influence of the person exercising power over them. Here, the cost of compliance on part of the influenced should also be taken into consideration. If the influenced do not have to make too many sacrifices in order to obey the influencer, the cost of compliance is less and therefore the weight of influence has been quite less. On the other hand, when the sacrifices to be made by the influenced in order to obey the influencer is rather high and yet they work according to the wishes of the influencer, the cost of compliance is high and so is the weight of the influence exerted.
- (ii) **Domain of influence:** this refers to the number of persons and the range of policies that are changed due to the influence exerted by a person. The domain of influence cannot be understood without reference to the scope or range of issues that are affected by the powerholder. When a large part

of an existing system undergoes fundamental changes under the influence of a new leader/ party/group of leaders, the domain of influence is larger as the changes brought about are starkly visible and obvious. On the other hand, when the number of persons affected is limited and the range of policies and systemic changes are few, then the domain of influence of the new leader/party/group of leaders is restricted or minimal.

(iii) Scope of influence: this refers to the values that are sought to be changed by the exercise or influence/power. When a person is able to bring about large-scale changes in the prevailing value system of a given society, obviously, the scope of his/her influence is wider than one who is unable to bring about desirable changes in the prevalent value system of a society. For example, when the conception of such core ideas as 'nationalism', 'secularism', 'democratic state apparatus', the limits of civil society, inclusion- exclusion criterion, ideas of national heritage and legacy, re-interpretation of the history of a state are put to question and reinterpreted and the disagreeing sections of the masses may be silenced, we may say that the scope of influence of a particular leader has been vast and far-reaching.

Based on the above aspects of influence, we may now discuss different types of influence. We must keep in mind that power is a combination of low probability of compliance and use of sanctions on part of the ruler. Sanctions may be positive (in the form of rewards and recognition for compliance to commands of the sovereign) or negative (in the form of punishments, fines etc. for non-compliance to the wishes of the sovereign). In other words, when we talk about power in terms of influence, with reference to the state or the sovereign, we keep in mind the fact that the state alone has the capacity to legitimately use or issue threat to use force against the people.

Since power is the capacity to influence other people's behaviours and actions, through the use of sanctions, the use of effort or sanctions may not always be overt, manifest, or direct. The threat of use or the use of sanctions may be understood by discussing the different types of influence.

1. Force: this type of influence is direct and visually perceptible mobilization of resources against people for not obeying the orders and commands of the power holder. Force is thoroughly negative in nature and may not always be the most productive form of influence/power. There is a clear

superior-subordinate relation in the exercise of force and no scope of communication is left between the power holder and the power addressee. This type of influence may also prove to be uneconomical in the long run. Force includes punitive measures, physical coercion to extract compliance to the orders of the leader. This force may be legitimate or illegitimate in origin. For instance, when force is exercised by an elected leader or constitutional office bearer, it is legitimate in origin but when a person or group of persons exercise force simply on the basis of possession of arms and weapons to fulfil their ulterior motives, force is illegitimate in origin. The fruitfulness of use of force lies in the amount of fear that the power holder is capable of generating. If the power addressee stops fearing the power holder, force no longer suffices in generating consent from the former. When the masses have nothing to lose, they stop fearing the power holder and are ready to rebel against the latter. Thus, use of force as a means of generating compliance or allegiance has its own limitations.

2. **Domination:** though this type of influence is often associated with force, it may not necessarily always involve the direct use of force. In the case of domination, the intention of the power holder is clearly communicated to the power addressee and there is scope for communication interchangeably. Karl Marx has used the terms power and domination, but the modernist interpretation of domination as seen in Foucault's work, states that there is no particular or specific location of power. Power is widely dispersed, and we live in the capillaries of power. Depending upon particular contexts, the capacity to dominate a particular group of people keep changing. For example, if X is the chief of a particular political party, he/she has the capacity to considerably influence the views and actions of the members of that particular party. Such influence of the X does not necessarily involve the use of physical force at all. Here, what counts is the position and the personality of X. On the other hand, outside the ambit of that particular political party, X may not be in a position to exert any kind of influence on the larger issues of concern. Thus, we realize that power or influence is actually situational and relational as discussed in the beginning of this module.
3. **Manipulation:** this type of influence is seen most in the political sphere. While using this kind of influence, the user does not manifest his actual

intentions to the power addressee. Manipulation may be cognitive or emotional. Cognition refers to knowledge, or information. The exact amount of data, knowledge or information available to the common man is most often determined by the power holder. Often, information is withheld from the public citing reasons of 'national security' and 'interest of the state', even in democratic republics. Thus, the choices that people make while casting their votes is often based on partial and manipulated presentation of data. Needless to say that the party in power is most often guilty of filtering data that might adversely affect its own electoral interests. Emotional manipulation implies appealing to the values and belief systems of the masses. 'Messiahnic' politics, references to the images and events that have deep religious and mythical connotations to the dominant section of the population, harking back to past collective glory of the nation and guaranteeing rejuvenation of this past glory are common features of emotional n of the power holder and may follow his orders or commands thinking that he is acting in the interest of the power addressee. Manipulation by power holders. The power addressee is unaware of the real intention.

2.6 Conclusion

This unit has discussed in detail the meaning, definitions, scope, and types of some of the core concepts of Politics and Political Sociology: power, authority, and influence. We have also discussed here how these concepts play a determining role in giving shape to the social and political structures and relations that prevail in all societies, across the globe. Since power is identified as a resource and its distribution is uneven, like all other resources, this unit has discussed the various theoretical perceptions regarding the basis of distribution of power. Max Weber's typologies of authority is still a referent point for understanding the different types of authority across political systems of the world. Though it must be mentioned that pure types are a rarity. In most countries we find that rational legal authority often combines itself with either charismatic or traditional authority to remain in power. Another important concept discussed here has been influence, its basis and types. An understanding of these core concepts is of crucial importance to students of social sciences.

2.7 Summary

In this unit, we have defined the basic concepts of Political Sociology (and Political Science): power, authority, legitimacy, and influence. We have also looked into various types of authority and influence. We have also discussed why and how power acts as a resource in a society.

2.8 Questions

Answer the following questions:

Group A: 5 marks each

- (1) Define power.
- (2) Define resource.
- (3) Define legitimacy.
- (4) Define authority.
- (5) Define influence.

Group B: 10 marks each:

- (6) Why is power considered to be a resource?
- (7) What is the difference between power and authority?
- (8) Is there any difference between 'force' and 'domination'? give reasons for your answer.
- (9) Discuss critically Max Weber's tripartite classification of authority.
- (10) Write a detailed note on different types of influence.

2.9 Suggested Readings

1. Mukhopadhyay, A K (2008): Political Sociology, Kolkata: K.P. Bagchi & Co
2. Ashraf, A and Sharma, L.N. (2013): Political Sociology, Hyderabad: Universities Press India Pvt. Ltd.
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4. Majumdar, D (2017): *Rajnaitik Samajtattva*, Kolkata: Pragatishil Prakashak.
5. Sartori, G (1972): 'From the Sociology of Politics to Political Sociology' in Lipset, S.M. (ed.) *Politics and the Social Sciences*, New Delhi: Wiely Eastern Pvt. Ltd
6. Lipset, S.M. and Bendix, R. (1966): 'The Field of Political Sociology' in Coser, L.A. (ed.) *Political Sociology*, New York: Harper and Row

Unit 3 □ Power Distribution and Resistance

Structure

3.1 Objectives

3.2 Introduction

3.3 Different types of Power and their uneven distribution in society

3.4 Resistance to Power

3.5 Conclusion

3.6 Summary

3.7 Questions

3.8 Suggested Readings

3.1 Objectives

This chapter will give students an idea regarding the following:

- The meaning and definition of power
 - Why power is considered to be a resource of importance
 - Different types or varieties of power and how or why each of these types of power is unevenly distributed in society
 - The concept of resistance to power, its significance, and types.
-

3.2 Introduction

Power, as we have discussed in the previous topic, is the capacity of the power holder to influence another person's behaviour in the interest of the power holder himself. When we use the term power, what immediately comes to the mind is political power or one who is politically in a position to rule over us or give orders and commands that have to be obeyed. However, political power is just one of the many types of power. Power has other bases too. For instance, wealth, high birth, knowledge, technical expertise, particular skills - all these factors can act as the source or the basis of an individual's power. Power, is thus, an asset or a resource because it enables the power holder to make others do or believe what they would otherwise not do or believe. Like all other resources, power is also not unlimited

nor is it equally available to all members of a society. Rather, it has been observed that power has the tendency to get concentrated in the hands of the few. In this unit, we shall discuss how social and political thinkers have looked upon the distribution of power over the ages and thereafter discuss the concept of resistance to power.

3.3 Different types of Power and their uneven distribution in society

As mentioned earlier, power is unequally distributed across society. Here, we refer to all kinds of power: social, economic, and political. It can safely be said that these different kinds of power are held by a small minority of people in a society. We must bear in mind the fact that natural inequalities are a reality. Not all individuals are equally capable of or interested in acquiring or exercising power in the same degree. Nor are all individuals endowed with the attributes necessary to acquire power. This is one of the most practical and basic reasons for the uneven distribution of power in any society at given point of time. Let us now look at the various types of power and also try to identify the probable causes for the uneven distribution of each type of power in societies.

Social power is most commonly determined based on such factors as: religion, caste, language, race, ethnicity, and gender. Economic power obviously refers to the power that arises from ownership of huge amount of property and wealth. Political power emanates from legitimate political offices and has emerged as the most concrete form of power in modern democratic societies. All these types of powers are unequally distributed in any society.

The state as an institution of highest power has emerged quite recently in human society, as late as the mid sixteenth century. Prior to that, men existed in social groups, unbound by the modern state apparatus. Yet, these societies could by no means be considered to be egalitarian in nature. Even in the absence of the state, specific groups have owned and exercised power over others on the basis of their high status derived from religion, caste, language, gender, or race. Those who dominated the society also created certain norms, traditions, and customs, attached religious significance to these and imposed sanctions upon those who refused to submit to their power. For instance, social boycott of an individual who had violated a norm or custom of a society was a common occurrence in India till very recent

times. The practice of untouchability amongst Hindus in India is also an example of the power that the higher castes exercised upon the lowest castes for centuries in India. Here, religion is often used as a source to legitimize one's superiority. Superiority on the caste hierarchy, membership of the majority religious or language group is often the basis on which a minor section of population controlled and dominated over the rest of the population. Patriarchy is another system of domination and control where all privileges and powers are monopolized by the males, the women are confined to the private sphere and not considered to be equal to the men in skills, capacities, merits, and talents. The third gender then, had no recognition in society whatsoever.

Economic power, based upon ownership of wealth and private property, is another kind of power that is not available to all members of a society. Naturally, those with economic resources at their disposal have greater access to all the desirable resources of life and they continuously strive to monopolise their hold over these economic resources. The minority rich in a society are also likely to form an alliance with the rulers (whether hereditary or elected) in order to influence and ensure that laws and policies made by the political sovereign are consistent with their economic interests. The state or ruler also finds it more advantageous to ally with the propertied classes because the latter are a bigger source of revenue than the unpropertied and poor masses of society. Karl Marx has spoken at length about this 'unholy alliance' between the 'haves' (owners of means of production or the bourgeoisie) and the state (which he calls the instrument of class exploitation in the hands of the bourgeoisie) and has seen this alliance as one of the major causes for the extreme disparity of wealth and well-being between the rich few and the poor masses in capitalist countries. According to Marx, by not making labour-friendly laws and policies the state, indirectly, protected the economic interests of the propertied classes and thus acted as a tool of exploitation in the hands of this class. Antonio Gramsci, famous Italian Marxist, has added further to this Marxist notion of the domination or power of the 'haves' over the 'have nots' (the proletariat) through the instrumentality of the state by adding the notion of hegemony. He says that the bourgeoisie dominate, not just through the coercive state apparatuses of the police, army, and judicial systems but also through the 'ideological state apparatuses'. According to Gramsci, the bourgeoisie own not just the material means of production but also create the ruling ideologies. In other words, the ideas and ideologies that motivate the masses to action and are seemingly spontaneous, are generated and

even sponsored by the bourgeoisie! Thus, we see that economic power at the disposal of the bourgeoisie also include and imply political power and ideological power.

Political power is by far the most concrete expression of power and also the one that can be located or identified most easily. Political power belongs exclusively to the state, and it is known as 'sovereignty'. Whether the sovereign power is exercised by a single hereditary or elected monarch or a council of rulers or an elected assembly, sovereignty is an exclusive, inalienable, comprehensive, universal power of the state. Historically, the Monists, like John Austin, proposed that sovereignty belonged only to the state and that the command of the sovereign was law. Sovereignty has two aspects: internal (within the territorial borders of the state) and external (outside the territorial border, i.e., in dealing with other states). When a state can determine its own laws and policies internally and its foreign policies, we call it an independent sovereign state. What distinguishes the power of the state from that of other groups and associations in a society is that sovereignty implies 'ultimate coercive power' or the legitimate use of coercion by the state alone. As a critique of the Monistic school of sovereignty arose the Pluralist school, headed by the likes of Jean Bodin and Harold J. Laski, who believed that though sovereignty belonged to the state, there are several other seats of power in a society. Religious associations, kinship groups, caste and language associations, professional guilds, gender rights groups, the myriad associations that exist in the civil society - all exercise tremendous influence and power upon the individuals and it would be highly unfair to think that all actions of all individuals are influenced only by the state. The Pluralists also refused to accept law as being the command of the sovereign alone. They pointed out that law had multiple sources, like religion, customs, conventions, moral/ethical code of conduct, principles of natural justice, writings by jurists, exceptional decisions by judges and so on. Later on, the Communitarians also attacked the Monistic conception of sovereignty and stated that power emanates from the community and should find acceptance amongst the members of the community. However, in the present context, it is undeniable that it is necessary for a single institution like the state to exercise ultimate coercive power because the process of administration and governance has become an extremely complex activity requiring specialized knowledge and expertise and cannot be dispersed amongst multiple social groups.

3.4 Resistance to Power

We have already discussed the uneven distribution of power in society. Now the next question that automatically arises is the question of 'resistance to power'. Do all people living in a society spontaneously accept this unequal distribution of power? The answer is 'No!'. Different kinds of power are challenged in different ways.

As far as social power is concerned, reform movements have been carried out to put an end to heinous practices like slavery, racism, untouchability, sati, child marriage, polygamy, caste inequalities, gender inequalities etc. Often individual social reformers like Raja Rammohun Roy, Iswar Chandra Vidyasagar and other such personalities had formed organizations and taken the help of the colonial state apparatus to bring about changes in society through required legislation. New Social Movements in post-independence India focussed on issues like protection of environment, protection of the environment and preservation of the ecological balance, promotion of equal rights for women and the rights of LGBTQ community, rights of linguistic minorities, cultural rights movements, human rights movements have created platforms for resisting the power of the traditionally dominant sections of these societies. These movements have taken place in the civil society. The traditional reform movements and the New Social Movements are indicative of the challenge that arose to unfair and inhuman practices that have prevailed in societies globally, through centuries, bearing the sanction of religion and the sanctity of customs and traditions. These are the sites of resistance to traditional structures and receptacles of social power.

Economic power as traditionally exercised by the propertied classes has also been resisted by micro-movements of the excluded classes. The Occupy Wall Street Movement in USA is an example in point. The present-day democratically elected state, under compulsion to perform welfare functions and secure votes has also introduced measures such as progressive taxation, affirmative action, economic subsidies and incentives for small scale industries, labour laws, special aid to backward classes and other social welfare schemes to create a 'fair or level playing ground' for the economically backward classes. Most importantly, the charter of fundamental rights in most democratic countries, guarantee equality of status and opportunity to all citizens, irrespective of their social economic and political backgrounds. Added to these measures on part of the state is also the universalization of the right

to education. All these factors together have combined to create greater opportunities for class mobility. Thus, class demarcations have become more fluid and changeable.

The issue of resistance to political power is perhaps almost as old as political power itself. Since ancient times people have raised questions over the issue of absolute political obligation (total obedience to the will of the political sovereign). Are people legally and morally bound to obey the state under all circumstances, at all points of time? In ancient Greece, Plato and Aristotle projected the state as the ideal institution which alone could ensure the highest moral development of man. Hence living under the dictates of the ideal state was a matter of privilege and not a choice. In the Roman age, supremacy was granted to a body of codified laws that applied uniformly across the length and breadth of the empire and thus helped in creating a sense of order, justice, and harmony. Once again, it was believed that resisting political authority would go against the interest of the people.

In the Modern Age, Machiavelli, and later Hobbes, would for the first time raise the issue of the state's duty to protect the rights of life, liberty and property of the individuals and proposed that the state could demand absolute allegiance from the people only if it could provide security of life, liberty, and property of the individuals. The Social Contract theorists, most notably, Thomas Hobbes, John Lock and Jean Jacque Rousseau also emphasized upon the consent of the individuals as the source of the sovereign's power, thereby indicating that power of the sovereign was not always absolute, it was rather incidental upon the will of the people. Hobbes' main concern arose from his incessant and deep-rooted insecurity. While conceptualizing the state as a Leviathan or a mammoth power apparatus, he desists from giving this super state the right to infringe upon the lives and property of the individual. In all other matters, Hobbes proposes that the individual should exhibit absolute and total allegiance to the state but under no circumstances could the state encroach upon the person's right to life and property. Locke's views too must be taken into consideration here. Firstly, we must bear in mind the fact that Locke makes consent of the people the compulsory basis of the power of the state. He also talks about limited government or a government which is created for the express purpose of performing certain well-delineated functions. To such a state that is created with the express consent of the people and performs such functions as has been clearly mentioned in the political contract between the society and the sovereign, people owe their political obligation. However, this political obligation, according to Locke, is not absolute. In other words, people have the right to resist

the political power of the state. Locke mentions three specific instances where every individual automatically possesses the right to resist the power of the state. These are: (a) in case the state does or commands the individual to do anything that is opposed to Natural law, (b) in such situations when the individual himself or other members of the community are under threat of such injury by the state which cannot be adequately and completely compensated by either the state or society and (c) if a government becomes corrupt. In Locke we find one of the earliest enunciations of the doctrine of political resistance. He lays the foundation of political resistance in Western political thought and clarifies that individuals have the right to resist a state that has been created through their own consent if it starts misusing or abusing the powers conferred upon it by the people. Individualism, of which Locke is considered to be one of the founding fathers, as a political movement and an ideology harped upon the rationality of the individual and progressively kept on expanding the range of rights and freedoms of the individual at the expense of the power and sphere of influence of the state. The third most popularly cited Social Contractualist, Jean Jacques Rousseau, was convinced that 'man is born free, but is everywhere in chains.' Anything that compromised the absolute freedom enjoyed by men in the pre-political state of existence, according to Rousseau, was an undesirable encroachment. Yet, rapidly growing population and the rise of private property demanded that an authority be created that would portray the General Will of the people and rule according to the dictates of this General Will. In case the state failed to act according to the General Will, Rousseau opined that people should discard the state and 'go back to Nature'. Impractical as this last suggestion is, one must note that Rousseau preferred living without the state rather than living under a state that ignored General Will.

Socialism and especially Scientific Socialism as initiated by Karl Marx, denounced the state as an instrument of class exploitation and suggested recourse to socialist revolution under the leadership of the Communist Party that would finally bring about a classless, stateless egalitarian exploitation-free society. In opposition to the prevalent Liberal belief that the state was a necessary evil, Marx proposed that the state was not present from the beginning of human civilization. It had emerged at a particular juncture of social and economic evolution of man, in response to particular conditions. If these conditions could be changed, the state would no longer be necessary and would ultimately 'wither away'.

Anarchism as a school of thought has called for absolute demolition all systems

and structures that impose limitations and restrictions upon the freedom of the individuals. It should be noted here that the term anarchy is generally used in a negative sense, it implies chaos or lack of order. But as a political doctrine Anarchism, beginning with the thought of Pierre-Joseph Proudhon connotes a positive and organized set of ideas. Anarchism rests on the following fundamental pillars: (a) anti-statism, (b) natural order, (c) anti-clericalism and (d) economic freedom. All these fundamental principles actually aim to resurrect and rescue the spontaneous and natural autonomy of the individual as found in the pre-political existence of man. Anarchism, in its various manifestations like Collectivist Anarchism, Anarcho-syndicalism, Anarcho-communism, Individualist-Anarchism, Egoism and Libertarianism has proposed activist or popular version of politics based on popular protest, direct action, mass participation, decentralization of power and emphasis upon equality of all individuals as members of a state, *thereby* largely limiting the scope of state's powers and functions.

The Multiculturalists and Communitarians have harped upon the plural nature of human societies and communities as the core units of a society from which all power actually should and does originate, thereby decrying the myth of the absolute power of the sovereign state. While culture and cultural groups endowed with 'cultural rights' are the moot point of focus of the Multiculturalists, for Communitarians, no individual can claim to be an 'unencumbered self'. Multiculturalists believe in the dictum of 'unity in diversity' and propose that states should practice 'tolerance of differences', be accommodative of the same and formulate laws and policies keeping in mind the fact that most states in the world are multi-cultural and all cultural groups should have the right to protection by the state, especially if they are a minority group. Communitarians too, emphasize upon the fact that individuals are shaped and constructed primarily by the communities to which they belong and thus should owe their primary allegiance to their communities and not to the state. These are the various sites identified by various schools of thought that resist the power of the state.

The latest and most cogent threat that has arisen to the power of the state has been the twin phenomenon of Globalization- Liberalization. Globalization refers to the unhindered mass movement of men, money, and materials across political borders of states on a large scale, beginning in the twentieth century for work, education, travel etc. Liberalization stands for the 'open door policy' followed by markets in order to meet the demands of the advanced stage of capitalism. These two phenomena

have created a situation where the markets of most countries are linked with those of other countries. Each country produces only those goods and commodities that it can best produce while importing other necessities from other countries. Moreover, the availability and market dominance of particular brands and languages and other cultural components have been such that the cultural uniqueness of many countries stand threatened today. Man is indeed on the path to becoming a global citizen!

The twin phenomena of Globalization and Liberalization has impacted human life in various ways and not all of these have been wholly positive or liberating. States have been prompted to form regional and global international organizations in order to protect and promote their economic and political interests. While these regional and international organizations work towards ensuring more bargaining power to individual states in matters of economic and political decisions, states are bound to follow the rules and regulations of these organizations. We must note at this juncture that all states do not possess equal amount of power and that states are hierarchically organized on the regional and international arena. Thus, the level of compliance increases as one moves down the hierarchy. We may further consider the case of such states that are not rich in natural resources and have to depend more upon international trade in order to meet the needs and wants of an existing or growing population. The scope of exercising external sovereignty is considerably reduced in case of such states. In the present globalized world, there are no permanent friends and no permanent enemies. Economic and security needs dictate the course of international politics. It becomes imperative that smaller, weaker, less developed states should comply with the dictates and demands of the larger, stronger, and more developed states. Thus, while the developed states are able to maximize both aspects of their sovereign power (internal and external), the developing states cannot. International treaties, whether economic, cultural or security based, impose considerable limits upon the power of individual states.

In this respect we may further discuss the role played by international media and Press and also social media. The words 'glocal' (global + local) and 'global village', are indicative of the vanishing of borders amongst states as print, electronic and social media platforms have indeed diminished the temporal and spatial gaps that had once segregated mankind into separate nations. News of issues of governmental malpractices, new social movements, protest movements, peace movements, gender movements, ecological movements and so on that arise or originate in one country are instantly telecast, reported, or posted on such platforms that the world has

access to these events. In such cases support in favour of the affected community is generated not just from within the borders of countries where these movements take place but also from across the world. In the 'age of information', knowledge indeed is power. A considerable portion of the actions and policies of the state are performed under public scrutiny and an adverse public opinion at home may also lead to adverse effects on foreign relations. This too, is a way in which the power of the state is inhibited.

In such an interconnected and interdependent world, is it really possible for the state to hold on to and extract absolute political obligation from its citizens, especially when 'civil society' has been gaining strength and becoming a power to reckon with, globally? We shall seek to answer this question in the subsequent discussions. But what we should keep in mind from this module is that power is a resource or asset and like all other resources it is unequally distributed. In the political arena, the state is considered to be the highest receptacle of power, but it must not be perceived that this power of the state is unrestricted, absolute or without resistance. Both in theory and in practice the power of the state is challenged and resisted wherever it is found to encroach upon the rights, liberties, and well-being of the people for whom the state was created in the first place.

3.5 Conclusion

Power, in its' various forms, is undoubtedly one of the most desirable resources and for obvious reasons, it is unevenly distributed. This chapter has looked at the numerous types of power and the ways in which a small minority of people in different societies had/have sought to monopolize these. It has also discussed how different challenges have emerged to this very fact of monopolizing power. The resistance to power (in all forms), though not an absolutely modern idea has undoubtedly gained impetus in recent times, especially in the post-globalization era. Through the ever widening and deepening impact of Liberalization and Globalization, the traditional structures of power are being resisted and challenged every day through newer forms of protests.

3.6 Summary

Power is the capacity of a person to influence the behaviour of another person in the interest of the powerholder. It may be social, economic, or political in nature.

Social power is acquired on the basis of superiority in terms of race, ethnicity, religion, caste, gender, and such other social constructs, supported by religious sanctions. Economic power is based on the ownership of means of production, money or anything that is considered to be a unit of wealth in a given society. Political power implies occupying the highest political office in a state, whether on the basis of birth or through election. It indicates that the sovereign has highest coercive power. Each of these types of power have faced and are still facing resistance in many different ways. Social power and its monopolization have been challenged through reform movements and new social movements which have questioned practices and social hierarchies that have existed for centuries. Some inhuman practices have successfully been done away with, others are being fought against vehemently. While absolute social equality is impossible to achieve, the resistance to the ad hoc and unjustified power structures is definitely worthy of praise. Economic power and its monopolization too have been challenged. The emergence of a welfare state in most countries and the dependence upon the vote banks to win elections has forced governments to undertake such affirmative actions that have enable large sections of economically weaker sections of society to have better and more equal opportunities of education, health, and employment opportunities. This in turn creates the scope for their upward class mobility. Of course, economic inequality at a global level is still a fact but, it cannot be denied that compared to the past, the traditionally rich classes have lost their monopoly over economic power. Political power which is considered to be the most concrete manifestation of power has met with a large share of resistance too. The chapter has discussed the ideas of Niccolo Machiavelli, the Social Contract theorists, Karl Marx, Antonio Gramsci, and various schools of thought, like Pluralism, Multiculturalism and Communitarianism, all of which have challenged the monopoly of the state over political power and have pointed out various other sources of power within the territorial confines of a state to which people owe their political allegiance. The chapter has ended with a discussion on Globalization and its role in challenging the sovereign authority of the state, the emergence of media as a veritable unifying force and the emergence of global civil society that have further challenged the power that was once assumed to be the monopoly of the state.

3.7 Questions

- Answer the following questions in your own words:

Group A: 5 marks each

1. What do you understand by social power?
2. What do you understand by economic power?
3. How is economic power linked with political power according to Karl Marx?
4. What are Gramsci's views on the bases of the power of the bourgeoisie over the proletariat?
5. What do you understand by sovereignty of the state?
6. What are the views of the Monistic view of sovereignty?
7. What are the Views of the Pluralist view of sovereignty?

Group B: 10 marks each

8. Discuss how New Social Movements have challenged the traditional distribution of power in post-independence India.
9. Define political resistance. What, according to you, are the causes of resisting political power of the state?
10. How has Globalization affected the sovereignty of the sovereign state? Discuss.
11. Write a broad note on the different kinds of power that are present in a society and discuss the bases or sources of these powers. Give examples to support your answer.
12. Is resistance to power justified? Justify your answer with relevant to your answer.

3.8 Suggested Readings

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Unit 4 □ State, Governance and Citizenship

Structure

- 4.1 Objectives**
- 4.2 Introduction**
- 4.3 The State**
- 4.4 Governance**
- 4.5 Citizenship**
- 4.6 Conclusion**
- 4.7 Summary**
- 4.8 Questions**
- 4.9 Suggested Readings**

4.1 Objectives

The objectives of this unit are to acquaint students with the meaning, definition, aspects, and scope of some very basic concepts that are central to all streams of social sciences. These concepts are:

- The State
- The process of Governance
- Citizenship

4.2 Introduction

The study of any stream of social science remains absolutely incomplete and in fact, it is impossible, without referring to the state. Despite the various challenges that the state is currently faced with, it is undeniably still the most concrete and important unit of human organizations and the most cogent actor of national and international politics. All human actions, whatever the nature of those actions, take place within the territorial limits of a state. Even actions that are transnational in nature fall under the purview of multiple nations. As the ultimate maker of laws and policies and the highest justice dispensation mechanism, nothing falls outside the jurisdiction of the state. Thus, to have a clear understanding of the state, how it

has evolved to its present form and have knowledge of the fundamental ways in which the state and its functions are approached is essential for all students of social sciences. Governance is the actual process through which the decisions of the state are put into action. In fact, the quality of governance can make or break the fate of a country and have tremendous impact on its overall performance in the sphere of achieving development or decaying. The concept of governance is the primary referent point when it comes to judging why a state is succeeding or failing in sustaining itself. There is thus, a discussion on the understanding of governance and how it has changed in recent times in this unit. The other basic concept that this unit has undertaken is a discussion of the concept of citizenship. Though we are all familiar with the term, there are newer dimensions being added to the understanding of citizenship every day as the world is increasingly becoming more dynamic and interconnected in the wake of globalization and its ever-expanding impact. This unit shall therefore discuss the meaning, dominant definitions, diverse approaches, and aspects of the core concepts of state, governance, and citizenship.

4.3 The State

The state has been the most concentrated and cognizable human institution of legitimate power since its very inception. It is the core or central subject matter of the discipline of Political Science. But the discussions, debates and discourses on the state are, by no means, limited to this subject alone. In modern times, existence without the state seems unimaginable because of the extremely complex and diversified range of activities that the modern state is called upon to perform. The state has the exclusive right to sovereignty and demands almost complete control over the lives of its citizens in all public matters. The preeminence of the state has not emerged in recent years. It has existed since the beginning of the organized writings on politics in ancient Greece. Aristotle, known as the Father of Political Science, and before him, Plato have discussed the nature of the ideal state and much of the discipline of Political Science has traditionally carried on with this central focus upon the state. It should be noted at this juncture, that almost all social sciences have to refer to the state and its various activities to some extent, because the impact of the actions and decisions of the state is all-pervasive and also because all human actions, including those which are strictly non-political, also take place within the territorial jurisdiction of one state or the other.

We may consider here, some of the most important definitions of the state.

Aristotle in his Politics had looked upon the state as a union of families and villages. He believed the state to be the highest moral institution that was capable of creating such conditions under which alone, the individuals could reach highest self-development. Aristotle also believed that man is a social and political animal and these spontaneous and natural instincts of man found best expression in and through the state. In Aristotle's view, the state was a natural institution because it was formed in response to the natural social instincts of man to lead an organized and peaceful social life. The state, according to Aristotle was also moral because it created such conditions of existence under which men could develop all their latent potentials to the highest level. The state created conditions necessary for harmonious living and only under such peaceful conditions could there be art, science, agriculture, and overall development. The chaos and anarchy that would prevail in the absence of the state would ruin all possibilities for growth, development and positive activities of mankind and force men to lead a mere animal existence. Thus, in Aristotle's ideas we find a very positive perception of the state as a natural and moral institution, one which was created to ensure the 'good life' of the individual but continued to exist for the greater good and greater happiness of all.

Through the ages different political thinkers have given different definitions of the state, stressing upon its various concepts. One definition that stands out as most complete and comprehensive is that given by Garner. He says that the state as a concept of Political Science and Public Law, is a community of persons, more or less numerous, permanently occupying a definite portion of territory, independent of external control and possessing an organized government to which the great body of inhabitants render habitual obedience. This definition of the state by Garner, highlights the most basic and essential features of the state. These are: (a) definite territory with a clearly defined border, (b) substantial population, (c) government and (d) sovereignty. A place or geographical unit which does not possess any one of these features cannot be called a state, in the academic language of Political Science.

Andrew Heywood in his book Political Theory An Introduction, published originally in 1999, discussed four main perspectives from which the state could be looked at:

- (a) **Idealist Perspective:** this view looks upon the state as the highest and ideal institution under which men achieve highest self-development. The

state is considered to be the most perfect, infallible, omnipotent, and divine institution. The idealist view was propagated by German thinkers like Kant and Hegel and English thinkers like Bradley, Bosanquet and T.H. Green amongst others. Hegel believed that the state was 'the march of God on earth'. Idealists proposed total surrender of the individual to the state and placed the state on a raised altar for obeisance. The obvious flaw of this perspective is that it imposes divinity and perfection upon a man-made institution and subjects individuals to it. Moreover, the Idealist view of the state also paved the path for the growth of authoritarian and totalitarian political systems which sought to control and dictate all aspects of the individual's lives. This seems to be a case of inverse logic, wherein the institution that was created to cater to the needs of individuals was allowed to engulf the individuals themselves!

- (b) **Functionalist Perspective:** this view prefers to look upon the state in terms of the functions that it performs, like making laws and policies, establishing, and maintaining law and order, dispensing justice etc. Some thinkers look upon the state as performing positive and necessary actions, while others look upon the state in a negative light, like the Marxists, who think that the state is essentially an instrument of class exploitation in the hands of the bourgeoisie. However, in both cases, only a partial view of the state is taken. We must bear in mind the massive emotional response that a state evokes in the hearts and minds of its citizens or subjects. A state, in reality, is much more than the functions that it performs, whether positive or negative. It is an idea and an imagination that forges the bonds of co-citizenship, inspires the armed forces and citizens alike to protect the nation in times of crises and forms one of the most basic elements of parochial identity: one's nationality. To look at the state from merely functionalist perspective is to look at only one aspect of the state's existence.
- (c) **Organizational perspective:** this view looks upon the organizational aspect of the rather abstract concept called the state. The organs of government (executive, legislature, judiciary), the police, the army, the bureaucracy, the social security system, all these are the component elements of the state. Heywood says that the state is a territorial association, that belongs to the public sphere and its power over its people is legitimate. This view distinguishes between the state and the 'civil society' which is the free space between

families and the state. The organizational perspective looks at the organization, functions and role of these state and non-state apparatuses and studies their effect upon the people.

- (d) International Perspective:** in the international arena, each sovereign state is a legal entity and bound by international laws and clauses of international treaties and agreements. The sovereign equality of all states has to be respected and non-interference in domestic matters of other states is a must if international peace and security are to be preserved. The state, therefore, though sovereign has to abide by certain norms and principles if it wants to continue as a member of the international community.

Since the beginning of the modern state system, as a result of the Peace Treaties of Westphalia in 1648, the nature and functions of the state has undergone tremendous and far-reaching changes. In the ancient Greek and Roman ages, large empires with semi-autonomous subunits like the city states were the common form of the state. The adult male native citizens usually participated in political decision making and debates at the local level. The state, during this period was largely considered to be a natural and moral institution, one that was necessary for the moral development of man. During the Middle Ages, the state acquired a divine stature. The king was said to rule by divine right and disobeying the command of the king was both -- a crime and a sin. People were thus passive subjects who were bound to obey the king's commands which were considered to be law. The Middle Ages ended with the Renaissance, Reformation, and Industrial revolution. These three movements ushered in the Modern Age. The scientific knowledge and technology ushered in by the spirit of the Renaissance, combined with the Industrial Revolution brought about unforeseen changes in human society and lifestyle at a very rapid pace. The first -generation manufacturers and traders emerged, creating the new social class-- the middle class. They entered into alliance with the monarchs and using the new knowledge and technology at their disposal set out to look for new markets and colonized large parts of the world. Liberalism emerged as a political doctrine and movement as a corollary to the economic system of capitalism. Rationality and liberty of the individual was emphasized upon to help the free markets to flourish. Automatically then, the sphere of power of the state had to be limited so that the sphere of individual autonomy could be enhanced. Liberalism thus, proposed the creation of a limited state. In the first phase, the powers of the monarchs were sought to be limited by the creation of elected parliaments and later, the liberal

democratic states emerged. The main focus of the democratic states was to ensure rights and freedoms of the citizens were not encroached upon. Free market economies were the order of the day. The freedom of choice and consumption was essential for both liberal democracy and free market economies to flourish. In the aftermath of the Second World War, it was felt that the functions and role of the state could not be limited to that of a 'night watchman', for maintaining law, order, and security alone. Thus, emerged the state in its latest incarnation: that of Welfare state. A Welfare state is bound to provide basic and necessary services to the most backward sections of the population, from the womb to the tomb and to ensure the creation of such conditions that allow all-round development of all individuals.

The state has taken on various forms, functions and roles since its inception depending upon the social, economic, political, and other contingencies that arose and continues to do so even now. The latest challenge that confronts the state is Globalization. The end of the nineteenth century brought about massive changes in the nature and structure of the fiscal policies of the most developed country of the world (USA) and various other factors prompted the opening up of national markets to free trade. The 'open door' policy in economy taken up by many countries of the world was known as Liberalization. This created the scope for mass movement of men, money, and materials across borders like never before in human history. This movement extended to intermingling of languages, cultures, food habits, dressing styles, incorporation of new political ideologies and affected all aspects of individual's lives. This process was known as Globalization. Multinational Corporations (MNCs), Non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs), International Non-Governmental Organizations (INGOs), multilateral trade and security agreements, international terrorist organizations all combined to limit the scope of the sovereign power of the nation state. Since Globalization has interlinked all economies of the world in an unprecedented manner, the state today does not enjoy as much bargaining power on the international stage as before. However, despite these external and numerous internal crises the state is most likely to continue in existence in the foreseeable future and remain perfectly relevant to the study of all social sciences.

4.4 Governance

Governance is, simply speaking, the process of administration or management of the affairs of the state. According to the International Bureau of Education

(UNESCO), governance has been defined as the structures and processes that are designed to ensure accountability (of the government to the governed), transparency, responsiveness, rule of law, stability, equity and inclusiveness, empowerment of the marginalized and excluded sections of population and also ensure broad-based participation in the activities of the state.

In recent times and especially in the developing countries of the world, a new term has gained currency: Good Governance. This concept received an impetus after the World Bank published a report on Sub Saharan Africa in 1989 and outlined the causes of what it termed as 'crisis of governance'. Good Governance was introduced as an imperative by the World Bank in 1992, especially for the developing countries. The World Bank had defined governance, in 1992, as the manner in which power is exercised in the management of a country's economic and social resources for development. When this management of resources is not efficient nor satisfactory it leads to what the World Bank called 'Poor Governance'. In order to fight 'Poor Governance', the World Bank proposed a series of reforms that would ultimately lead to Good Governance. The bank emphasized upon four key elements to ensure Good Governance: (a) public sector management, (b) legal framework for development and (c) information and transparency.

The key features of Good Governance may be identified thus:

1. Participation of maximum number of people from the grassroot level upwards in the political process of the country
2. Rule of Law, ensuring equality before law and equal protection of law, for all, without any discrimination on the basis of caste, creed, language, religion, gender, region of birth.
3. Transparency in administration, to be ensured through such legal provisions as the Right to Information, office of the Ombudsman, Public Interest Litigation and so on that empower the citizen to question, complain against and take recourse to law in case of malpractices by the state.
4. Responsiveness towards the needs and demands of the people, especially the needs of minorities and backward sections of the population based on race, ethnicity, gender, caste, class and so on.
5. Decision making should be consensus orientated. Since a large majority of the countries in the world today are democracies, no politics can be non-consensual. The views of the people over whom laws and policies made by

the state will apply, have to be taken into consideration and that too in the most impartial manner possible.

6. Equity and inclusiveness of all sections of population in the process of administration and also in terms of receiving benefits from the government. Since most countries have had a history of excluding certain sections of the population from having access to basic resources of life, perpetuated over many generations, this is one of the outstanding principles of Good Governance. An example of this point would be the caste system amongst Hindus in India had traditionally subjugated, exploited and excluded the Shudras and Ati- shudras from the caste hierarchy and denied them the most basic conditions of dignified human existence. Likewise, patriarchy, across the globe had and still continues to confine women to the private sphere of home and hearth and excluded them from enjoying the rights to education, ownership and inheritance of property and the right to earn a livelihood in a dignified manner. Inclusiveness and equity refer to the policy of including all such hitherto excluded sections of the population within the mainstream population and allowing them equal access to all basic and necessary resources.
7. Effectivity and efficiency of administration refers to optimal utilization of available resources - human, natural and technological by the state in order to ensure development. While these principles are equally important for all countries of the world, whether developed or developing, it is more crucial for the latter. Another point to be borne in mind is that of focusing upon 'sustainable development'. Since environment has already been considerably damaged, all countries have to ensure that such natural resources as are still available should not be totally exhausted. Administration has to ensure that available resources are used both effectively and efficiently so as to avoid wastage or depletion.
8. Accountability of the government to the governed.

Countries of the developing world have been urged to follow and instill these afore-mentioned features in their governance so as to ensure that development can be achieved at commensurate pace and maximum mobilization and utilization of resources are affected.

4.5 Citizenship

The term citizenship is quite commonly used and generally understood to define the legal status of an individual in his relationship with the state to which he belongs. The Oxford Dictionary of Sociology states: In legal and political theory, citizenship refers to the rights and duties of the members of a nation state. Andrew Heywood, in his book, *Political Theory An Introduction* (1994) mentions that citizenship is a relationship between the individual and the state, in which the two are bound together by reciprocal rights and duties. Richard Bellamy in his seminal work *Citizenship: A Very Short Introduction* (2008) writes 'Citizenship is a condition of civic equality. It consists of membership of a political community where all citizens can determine the terms of social cooperation on an equal basis. This status not only secures equal collective goods provided by the political association but also involves equal duties to promote and sustain them - including the good of democratic citizenship itself.' T. H. Marshall in his book, *Citizenship and Social Class* (1950) says that to be a citizen is 'to belong to a political community'.

On the basis of the afore-mentioned definitions we may arrive at a comprehensive understanding of the term citizenship. What we should note at this juncture is the difference between the terms 'citizen' and 'subject'. While both the terms refer to residents of a particular territorial space, with a specific boundary and both imply subjection to the rule of a government with sovereign power, there is a very important distinction between the two terms. A subject has no voice or role in the election or appointment or selection of the ruler. He has no role in the political process of the country he lives in. The ruler does not bother to refer to the need or the will of the people while making laws, formulating policies, and taking decisions related to war and peace that will obviously affect the subjects in the most direct manner imaginable. Since the subject has no role in choosing the ruler, he has no power to question or criticize the ruler either. The subject is simply a passive recipient of the functions of the political leader in the political process. The subject possesses no rights and no liberties. The medieval kingdoms of Europe and Asia where kings ruled by divine right are classic examples of the notion of 'subjecthood'. On the other hand, a 'citizen' is a resident of a sovereign state, fully imbued with rights and liberties that even the sovereign state cannot encroach upon. The citizen in a democratic republic has the right to elect the sovereign, to question the sovereign, to criticize the sovereign and if needs be, to remove the sovereign from

power through subsequent elections. Constant accountability to the government to the citizen is another characteristic feature of the notion of 'citizenship'. The duty to ensure protection of rights and liberties of the citizen falls upon the government, especially in democratic countries. However, it is also true that the extent to which the rights of citizens are actually protected by sovereign states do vary from state to state and is determined by a large number of factors such as: the political culture of that particular political system, the level of political consciousness and political participation amongst citizens, the role and freedom of Press and Media, the level of literacy, the level of economic growth and such other factors. Yet, despite considerable variation in the real enjoyment of rights and entitlements amongst citizens of different states, undoubtedly, all citizens are more empowered than subjects.

Citizenship may be acquired either on the basis of birth or through the process of naturalization. Again, citizenship by birth is determined on two principles: (a) through being born to parents who are citizens of a state (*Jus Sanguinis*) or (b) on the basis of being born in a state, though parents have been born elsewhere (*Jus Soli*). The Naturalization of an individual to a citizen happens through one of the following ways: (a) Registration, (b) Naturalization and (c) Incorporation of territory.

The conception and understanding of citizenship have multiple dimensions and facets which have changed considerably over time. For the present topic it would be sufficient to state the essential components citizenship (details shall be discussed in the next unit):

1. Citizenship implies membership of a democratic political community.
2. It enables access of citizens to collective rights and benefits of the political community. This implies that individuals who are not recognized as citizens may not have equal access to these collective rights and privileges.
3. Citizenship also gives citizens the right to participate in all the political, economic, and social processes of the community which is essential to establish a truly accountable, transparent, and responsive administration.

State, governance, and citizenship are intimately connected and interrelated. One cannot be considered in isolation from the other. State is the basic unit of international society and the most cogent and concrete expression of human society. The processes followed by the state to run internal administration is governance.

The legal status and recognition given to a resident by the state is citizenship. It implies both rights and duties on part of the citizens and keeps the state accountable to the people and initiate good governance.

4.6 Conclusion

The above discussion has attempted to give readers a basic yet holistic understanding of the concepts of state, governance, and citizenship. It has defined the state and outlined the historical evolution of the state to its present form. It has also discussed some fundamental perspectives through which the nature and functions of the state may be explained. Governance as the process of putting into practice the various laws and policies made or adopted by the state from time to time, has also been discussed and defined in this unit. The newly evolved concept of Good Governance, its origin and the essential features have also been discussed in this unit. The unit has ended with a definition of citizenship and a discussion on how it is not a concept that only involves the rights and privileges of citizens but also implies a related body of duties.

4.7 Summary

The state was looked upon as a natural and moral institution that was indispensable for the highest moral development of man in the ancient Greek period. During the medieval period, it acquired a divine status as the kings started claiming divine will as the source of their right to rule. The modern state system evolved based on the Peace Treaties of Westphalia of 1648. The nature and functions of the state have been explained through various perspectives by Andrew Heywood which have been discussed here. These include the Idealist perspective, the Liberal perspective, the Marxist perspective, the Functional perspective, the Organizational and International perspectives. This discussion has highlighted the core contention and the limitations of viewing state functions in a holistic manner. The section on governance is also extremely important as it has not only defined the meaning of governance but has added the contemporary changes that have affected the understanding of governance, especially in the context of the developing countries of the world. The evolution or origin of the concept of good governance has also been discussed in this unit. Moreover, the features of good governance like equity and inclusiveness, transparency and accountability, equality before law and grassroot level participation in governance,

rule of law, responsiveness to the needs of the people and people-centric approach towards administration have also been discussed in this unit. Next, this unit has highlighted the meaning of citizenship. It has a section that deals with the very significant distinction between the terms subject and citizen. It has also highlighted that citizenship is not just a legal status or a set of rights and privileges that a group of people have access to, but it is also an implied set of duties that make citizens equally accountable for the development or decay of their countries.

4.8 Questions

- **Answer the following questions in your own words:**

Group A: 5 marks each

1. Define state.
2. Define governance.
3. What do you understand by Good Governance?
4. Define Citizenship.
5. What are the fundamental and basic features of the state?
6. What are the essential functions performed by the state in modern times?
7. State any 2 differences between state and society?
8. What are the features of Good Governance?

Group B: 10 marks each:

9. Discuss the various perspectives in which the state has been viewed.
10. What is the relationship between state and governance? Discuss with examples.
11. Citizenship is as much a right as a duty—Explain.
12. Discuss the challenges that the institution of the state is facing in the wake of the twin processes of globalization-liberalization.
13. Write in details about the various views on the meaning and implication of the concept of Citizenship.
14. How would you look at the relationship between state, governance, and citizenship?

4.9 Suggested Readings

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Unit 5 □ Citizenship and Rights

Structure

- 5.1 Objectives**
- 5.2 Introduction**
- 5.3 Evolution of the concept of Citizenship**
- 5.4 Theories of Citizenship**
- 5.5 Critiques of the concept of Citizenship**
- 5.6 Conclusion**
- 5.7 Summary**
- 5.8 Questions**
- 5.9 Suggested Readings**

5.1 Objectives

The objectives of this unit are to acquaint students with the following:

- The meaning and definition of citizenship
- To trace the historical evolution of the concept of citizenship and explore how the meaning and implication of citizenship evolved through the centuries
- To give students an idea of the core contentions of the various theories of citizenship
- To discuss the main critiques to the traditional and mainstream notions of citizenship

5.2 Introduction

O.P. Gauba in his book, *An Introduction to Political Theory*, (Revised edition 2014) says: "Citizenship refers to the status of an individual as a full and responsible member of a political community. Thus, citizen is a person who owes allegiance to the state and in turn receives protection from the state." This is an important point to begin our discussion on citizenship with: that there is a two-way relationship between the citizen and the state. The state provides the citizens with such conditions under which he/ she may enjoy his civil, social, economic, and political rights and

liberties and the citizen in return shall obey the laws, orders, and policies of the state.

It is also important to distinguish between the terms: 'subject' and 'citizen' at the very outset. A subject is essentially a resident in a monarchy or a dictatorial state who enjoys no rights and privileges. He is a passive recipient of the command of the sovereign or the dictates of a dictator. He has no role in the election or selection of the sovereign and therefore, the sovereign is not accountable to him under any circumstances. The only way for a subject to escape from a tyrannical ruler is to resort to revolution at a mass level. On the other hand, a citizen enjoys a legal status as a resident (whether by birth or through the process of naturalization) of a particular state and hence is imbued with rights and privileges. Mostly, the rights of the citizen are codified in the constitution of the state so as to remove any doubt or ambiguity about the exact nature and scope of the rights of the citizen. Moreover, citizenship also implies the active participation of the individuals in the political process of the country. The sovereign remains accountable to the citizens and may be removed from power through peaceful means. However, it should also be borne in mind that citizenship implies not just rights but also duties of the citizen towards the state.

5.3 Evolution of the concept of Citizenship

In order to understand the relationship between the concept of citizenship and rights we have to take a brief look into the historical evolution of the conception of citizenship. During the ancient Greek and Roman civilizations, not all residents of a state (or empire) were treated as citizens. In fact, a very small percentage of the entire population of a city-state in ancient Greece actually qualified as citizens. Women, slaves, prisoners of war and non- Greeks were not treated as citizens at all. Only adult men, Greek by birth who participated in the political discussions and debates were considered to be citizens. Even then, the emphasis was more on their duties than on their rights. Plato and Aristotle looked upon the state as the highest moral institution and one without which no mortal man could achieve his highest self-development. Therefore, belonging to and living under the tutelage of the state was a privilege in itself and the residents of the citizens were expected to appreciate this fact rather than seek rights against the state. In fact, even before Plato and Aristotle, Pericles under whom the Greek city-state of Athens reached the peak of its glory, spoke of limited citizenship. He was of the opinion that only such residents

who were legitimate children of Athenian parents should be allowed the right to vote. This essentially restricted the right to citizenship considerably to middle class men who were born to Athenian parents and took active part in the political process of the city-state. Pericles and his contemporaries did not appreciate people who were not interested in politics and considered them to be 'idiots' or fools. Citizenship was considered to be a civic virtue or a quality that portrayed the predominance of 'common good' of the community to which the 'individual good' or 'individual interest' was to be subordinated. Plato, as is well-known, was severely critical of democracy and involvement of the masses in the politics of the city-state for he had no faith in the intellectual powers of the common man. It was Aristotle, who, for the first time, systematically discussed the notion of citizenship. He defined the state as a 'collective body of citizens', where individuals would have the right to share power with the sovereign. However, Aristotle too did not talk about universal citizenship. He excluded the young people as they would not have the maturity to deal with complex matters of the state, the old and infirm people as they would not be physically able to take active part in politics, women because he considered them to be lacking in intellectual capacity to understand politics and slaves because being non-Greeks, they were naturally inferior to their masters in all respect. Thus, Aristotle, like his predecessor Pericles, spoke of limited citizenship. Moreover, Greek political thinkers have laid emphasis upon citizenship from the angle of duties rather than rights of citizens. A good citizen would have to be an adult, Greek man, with adequate leisure and intellectual capacity and inclination to participate in the common affairs of the state.

In the Roman Empire too, initially, citizenship was a privilege of the minority, royalty and nobility. Later, it was extended to include the adult males of the diverse population that were incorporated into the huge Roman empire but women and men belonging to the lowest strata of society were not conferred citizenship. Moreover, even those who were recognized as citizens did not have access to the same range of rights. Different groups of people enjoyed different kinds of rights. Full citizenship implied a set of six privileges which included: civic rights, right to serve in the army, voting right or franchise, right to stand for election to the assembly of the Roman republics and legal rights. Carrying on the Greek conception, Romans too considered citizenship to be more of a virtue and privilege rather than a right. Thus, the notion of universal citizenship and uniform body of rights that are a key feature of modern democracies, was markedly absent in the ancient times.

The entire course of the Middle Ages was marked by the tussle of power between the two predominant institutions: the State and the Church. The individuals were torn between the temporal authority of the King and the spiritual or ecclesiastical authority of the Church. They did not enjoy rights of any kind but were bound to obey the King in all administrative matters and the Church in all religious matters. Moreover, the King ruled by divine right during the Middle Ages so disobeying the King was both a crime and a sin. As the institution of the Church grew in power, it started levying taxes upon the people in the name of religion. Thus, the people were truly 'subjects' with only duties imposed upon them from two sources and no rights whatsoever. The only departure to this line of thought regarding citizenship during the Middle Ages happened through the ideas of St. Thomas Aquinas, who revived the Aristotelian perception of citizenship and tried to differentiate the spheres of the political man and the religious man. The qualities required to be a good citizen did not always coincide with the qualities of the ideal religious man. He urged upon the need to give more importance to the active citizen of the state over the passive subject of the King and the Church.

This changed with the arrival of the Modern age, ushered in by the Renaissance and Reformation movements. Machiavelli, known as the 'child of Renaissance', started looking upon the individual as rational moral creatures, capable of taking their own decisions. Machiavelli contended that the highest individual virtue was 'citizen virtue' which implied the existence of patriotism, self-discipline, and the capacity to subordinate individual interest to the collective interest of the community. Machiavelli's insistence upon patriotism was a reflected of the 'bond' that bound members of a community to each other and inspired people to make sacrifices for their community in times of war and other emergencies that Aristotle had also spoken of. This idea was further developed by James Harrington, who famously wrote that in the near future there would be an 'empire of laws, and not of men'. The Glorious Revolution (1688) of England was the first bloodless revolution in human history that sought to challenge the absolute power of the monarch and limit it through an elected parliament. It thus popularized and laid the foundations of the modern notion of citizenship.

In the eighteenth century, The American War of Independence (1776) and the French Revolution (1789) were largely responsible for developing and further expanding the meaning and scope of citizenship. The Declaration of the Rights of Man and Citizen, written in the aftermath of the French Revolution, reflected the views of

Jean Jacques Rousseau, one of the key intellectuals who influenced the French Revolution deeply. Rousseau believed that the citizen is a free and autonomous being, rational and moral, who was entitled to participate in the running of the state. Indeed, in the *Social Contract* (1762), he had envisaged General Will as the sovereign and rested the authority of the sovereign upon the consent of the people. General Will, according to Rousseau, was the best and most unselfish part of all individual wills, taken together. The form of citizenship highlighted during the eighteenth century was 'Civil Citizenship' with the main emphasis being upon civil rights of the citizens that were to be protected by the courts of law.

The nineteenth century saw the rise of the political doctrine of Liberalism as a corollary to the economic system of capitalism. Since capitalism meant mass production of goods and commodities for the market (both local and foreign), with profit making as its only motivation, it was essential that a 'free market' be created. The state could not intervene in the market, i.e., it could not decide what was to be produced or at what prices goods and commodities were to be sold in the market. Moreover, people had to become more consumption- oriented so as to ensure a steady rise in the demand for goods and commodities produced. The Reformation movement and the rise of Protestantism had already freed orthodox Christians from the previously espoused values of abstention and eulogization of poverty. Added to this was the liberal emphasis upon the new view of the individual as a natural, rational, and moral creature who did not require an over-arching state apparatus to exist. John Locke, known as 'the father of Liberalism,' propagated the ideas of Natural Rights and Natural Laws, both of which included the right to property as inalienable. The rights to life and liberty of the individual were also sanctified. Locke, being a liberal and a Contractualist, had based the sovereign's authority on the basis of the consent of the people. Moreover, Locke also spoke of the 'right to resistance' of the people. In other words, political obligation was by no means absolute, it was conditioned by the well-being of the citizens. If at any point of time, the sovereign failed in his duties or committed excesses, he could be resisted and even unseated from power. Thus, 'Political Citizenship' with an emphasis on 'political rights' of the people, to be protected by 'representative institutions' and a limited government were the thrust of the nineteenth century.

The twentieth century saw the growth of 'substantive or Social Citizenship' with emphasis upon civil, social, political, and economic rights of the citizens. Social rights implied access to social inclusion, cultural rights, a minimum standard

of economic and social welfare, right to the common cultural legacy and heritage of a political community and most importantly, social justice.

The twenty first century, in the context of globalization and a serious challenge to the sovereignty of the state and also the notion of mono national states, saw the rise of the concept of 'differentiated citizenship'. Multiculturalists claimed that citizens of a single state belonged to multiple groups with diverse cultural and ethnic moorings. To grant same or equal rights to all the citizens might blatantly ignore the special needs and demands of cultural minorities. This would lead to a serious breach of democratic rights of citizens. Will Kymlicka in his book, *Multicultural Citizenship: A Liberal Theory of Minority Rights* (1996), insisted that rights of minorities would have to be accommodated within the framework of democratic rights of the state. He identified three categories of rights of minorities which all democratic states were under compulsion to incorporate: (a) self- government rights, (b) poly-ethnic rights and (c) special representation rights.

5.4 Theories of Citizenship

At this juncture, we may also briefly look at the different theories on citizenship so that we may gain a deeper understanding of this concept.

- The Liberal theory of Citizenship looked upon individuals as rational moral creatures capable of owning and exercising rights and freedoms. They believed that the ultimate goal of the state was to establish itself as a Welfare State and provide to the citizen the largest array of rights and freedoms and respect the right to resistance of the citizens. The state was to act as a mechanism for authoritative allocation of values through rational-legal means. The key qualities or virtues highlighted by the Liberals were rationality, universality, and equality of all. The Liberals bestowed the responsibility for the protection of the rights of citizens upon the judiciary which they demanded should function impartially to ensure Rule of Law. Thus, the Liberal theory of citizenship proposed the ideas of universal and inclusive citizenship rights for all sections of the population.
- The Libertarian theory of Citizenship looked upon citizens as rational individuals and consumers of public goods, embedded in a competitive market society. The state, according to this theory was obliged to provide the necessary Public Goods to the citizens and the latter were obliged to pay for these goods and services.

- The Communitarian theory of Citizenship looks upon citizens as active participants in the political process who seek to achieve Common Good. Individuals are members of a close-knit community, conscious of their social and cultural identities and unite with the state to achieve this Common Good, or good of all.
- The Pluralist theory of Citizenship, this theory looks upon the diverse nature of the various groups that make up a state. This diversity is found to be inimical to the overall unity of the state and the effectivity and acceptance of a uniform body of laws and policies and rights. Since a single body of laws and policies might not satisfy all the diverse needs and demands of these diverse groups and lead to dissatisfaction amongst some of the groups within the state. Social movements and civil society activities characterize the public life of these states.
- **The Marxist theory of Citizenship:** Karl Marx and most traditional Marxists were of the opinion that without economic equality and same economic rights a society could never be exploitation -free. Thus, for most Marxists, equal economic rights were the pre-requisite condition for the fullest enjoyment of political economic and social rights. In the absence of the former, the latter became meaningless.

5.5 Critiques of the concept of Citizenship

In the last section of this chapter, we shall look at the two prime critiques of the notion of Citizenship and rights.

- **The Marxist Critique of the theory of Citizenship:** Karl Marx and most traditional Marxists believed that without economic equality and same economic rights, a society could never be exploitation -free for all sections and classes of people within the same society. Citizenship, as a right is meaningless in a class-divided society. Political, social, cultural rights become meaningless and lose their importance when there is rampant and widespread economic inequality in a given society. In a class-divided society only the economically better off section of population enjoys the rights that Citizenship bestows upon them, for the underprivileged, all rights remain confined to theory. Thus, for most Marxists, equal economic rights were the pre-requisite condition for the fullest enjoyment of political economic and social rights.

In the absence of the former, the latter became meaningless. Only in a classless society with collective ownership of means of production and equitable distribution of national income can universal citizenship act as a real matter of right and privilege for all sections of the population.

- **The Feminist Critique of the traditional theory of Citizenship and Rights:** the feminists were not satisfied by the ever-expanding array of rights that were granted to citizens during evolution of the concept of citizenship. Their main objection was that the traditional view on citizenship paid attention only to the male citizens. Women, across the globe, had to fight for their basic human rights let alone political social and civil rights. Moreover, there has been no recognition of women as separate entities from men. So, citizenship rights in the traditional view had not paid attention to the special needs and demands of the women. Thus, the Feminists remained dissatisfied with the traditional theories on citizenship.

In view of the above critiques of the concept of citizenship, modern day political theorists have spoken and written in favour of Differentiated and Cosmopolitan Citizenship. Differentiated Citizenship talks about incorporating individuals within a political community not merely as an individual but also as a member of a group with specific historical and cultural qualities. Incorporation into the body politic of a large state should not mean or imply any disregard for the special needs of a group. For example, women, ethnic and religious minorities, indigenous people should be able to have access to and fulfill their special needs within the broad spectrum of the charter of rights for the whole population of the country. There are two types of Differentiated Citizenship: one group that demands that adequate mechanisms for their representation in the political process be ensured through constitutional means, that they be exempted from following certain laws that endanger compromise fulfillment of their special needs or endanger them economically. This might be found in case of women, third gender, the poor. The second group of Differentiated Citizens refer to such ethnic and racial minorities who do not want a greater share in the power of central government. Rather, they demand more devolution of power to the level of the group, so that in matters that are essentially local and affect only the members of the group, they may enjoy greater autonomy.

However, it would be wrong to think that this modern-day conception of citizenship has been accepted without reservation by all political thinkers. There are

disagreements too and progressive political thinkers still propose that instead of recognizing special needs of diverse sections of the population, it would be better to look forward to internationally agreed principles of international law and justice, universal rights of man and entitlement of all to the basic tenets of social justice.

5.6 Conclusion

Thus, we see how the conception of citizenship has evolved from being considered to be a sacred duty, a matter of honour and prestige and a privilege in the ancient period to being a charter of universal rights and duties in the modern age. This concept is still evolving.

5.7 Summary

Citizenship refers to the status of an individual as a full and responsible member of a political community. Thus, citizen is a person who owes allegiance to the state and in turn receives protection from the state. There is a two-way relationship between the citizen and the state. The state provides the citizens with such conditions under which he/she may enjoy his civil, social, economic, and political rights and liberties and the citizen in return shall obey the laws, orders, and policies of the state. Moreover, citizenship also implies the active participation of the individuals in the political process of the country. The sovereign remains accountable to the citizens and may be removed from power through peaceful means. The concept of citizenship has evolved considerably through the ages. During the ancient Greek and Roman civilizations, not all residents of a state (or empire) were treated as citizens. In fact, a very small percentage of the entire population of a city-state in ancient Greece actually qualified as citizens. Women, slaves, prisoners of war and non-Greeks were not treated as citizens at all. Only adult men, Greek by birth who participated in the political discussions and debates were considered to be citizens. Even then, the emphasis was more on their duties than on their rights. In the Roman Empire too, initially, citizenship was a privilege of the minority, royalty, and nobility. Later, it was extended to include the adult males of the diverse population that were incorporated into the huge Roman empire but women and men belonging to the lowest strata of society were not conferred citizenship. Moreover, even those who were recognized as citizens did not have access to the same range of rights. Different groups of people enjoyed different kinds of rights. The entire course of the Middle Ages was marked by the tussle of power between the two

predominant institutions: the State and the Church. The individuals were torn between the temporal authority of the King and the spiritual or ecclesiastical authority of the Church. They did not enjoy rights of any kind but were bound to obey the King in all administrative matters and the Church in all religious matters. The only exception was found in the views of Thomas Aquinas as discussed in the unit. This changed with the arrival of the Modern age, ushered in by the Renaissance and Reformation movements. Machiavelli, known as the 'child of Renaissance', started looking upon the individual as rational moral creatures, capable of taking their own decisions. Machiavelli contended that the highest individual virtue was 'citizen virtue' which implied the existence of patriotism, self-discipline, and the capacity to subordinate individual interest to the collective interest of the community. In the eighteenth century, The American War of Independence (1776) and the French Revolution (1789) were largely responsible for developing and further expanding the meaning and scope of citizenship. The Declaration of the Rights of Man and Citizen, written in the aftermath of the French Revolution, reflected the views of Jean Jacques Rousseau, one of the key intellectuals who influenced the French Revolution deeply. Rousseau and all other Social Contract theorists rested the source of the sovereign's power upon the consent of the people, thereby giving agency and autonomy to the individuals and leading to the transformation of the individual from subject to citizen. The nineteenth century saw the rise of the political doctrine of Liberalism as a corollary to the economic system of capitalism. Since capitalism meant mass production of goods and commodities for the market (both local and foreign), with profit making as its only motivation, it was essential that a 'free market' be created. The state could not intervene in the market, i.e., it could not decide what was to be produced or at what prices goods and commodities were to be sold in the market. Moreover, people had to become more consumption-oriented so as to ensure a steady rise in the demand for goods and commodities produced. The twentieth century saw the growth of 'substantive or Social Citizenship' with emphasis upon civil, social, political and economic rights of the citizens. The twenty first century, in the context of globalization and a serious challenge to the sovereignty of the state and also the notion of mono national states, saw the rise of the concept of 'differentiated citizenship'. Multiculturalists claimed that citizens of a single state belonged to multiple groups with diverse cultural and ethnic moorings. To grant same or equal rights to all the citizens might blatantly ignore the special needs and demands of cultural minorities. Besides tracing the evolution

of the concept of citizenship, the unit has also dealt with the major theories of citizenship, like: The Liberal theory, the Libertarian theory, the Pluralist theory, the Communitarian theory, and the Marxist theory. This unit has also dealt with the two major critiques of the traditional and mainstream/malestream understanding of the concept of citizenship: The Marxist and the Feminist critiques. The unit has ended with the most recent development in the concept of citizenship, which is, Differentiated Citizenship. There are two types of Differentiated Citizenship: one group that demands that adequate mechanisms for their representation in the political process be ensured through constitutional means, that they be exempted from following certain laws that endanger compromise fulfillment of their special needs or endanger them economically. This might be found in case of women, third gender, the poor. The second group of Differentiated Citizens refer to such ethnic and racial minorities who do not want a greater share in the power of central government. Rather, they demand more devolution of power to the level of the group, so that in matters that are essentially local and affect only the members of the group, they may enjoy greater autonomy. However, the concept of citizenship is still rather fluid and evolving in response to the dynamics of global politics.

5.8 Questions

- **Answer the following questions in your own words**

Group A: 5 marks each

1. Define citizenship.
2. What are the basic rights that citizens should have access to?
3. What is the difference between a citizen and a subject?
4. Who enjoyed citizenship rights in ancient Greek and Roman Empires?
5. Did the concept of citizenship exist during the Middle Ages?
6. Which movements or events ushered in the concept of citizenship during the Modern Age?

Group B: 10 marks each

7. Trace the evolution of the concept of citizenship during the Modern Age?
8. Briefly discuss the different theories on citizenship.

9. Mention any two critiques of the traditional notion of citizenship.
10. What do you understand by 'differentiated citizenship'?
11. Discuss the relationship between citizenship and rights. How has the relation between these two concepts evolved?

5.9 Suggested Readings

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Unit 6 □ Civil Society

Structure

- 6.1 Objectives**
- 6.2 Introduction**
- 6.3 Historical Evolution of Civil Society**
- 6.4 Functions of Civil Society**
- 6.5 Conclusion**
- 6.6 Summary**
- 6.7 Questions**
- 6.8 Suggested Readings**

6.1 Objectives

The objectives of this unit are to discuss:

- The concept of civil society
- The historical evolution of the concept of civil society
- The functions of civil society

6.2 Introduction

Andre Beteille in his essay 'Civil Society and the Good Society' (originally published in *The Sociological Bulletin*, vol. 50, no. 2, pp 286-307) begins with a distinction made between civil society and a good society. He considers it important to distinguish between the two. Beteille believes that civil society is more commonly found in democratic, liberal, secular, pluralist and open societies. Though he agrees that there is no singular conception of the civil society, yet there are some common strands that may be identified as salient features of a civil society. Civil society may be understood as a 'collective unity that springs from society and exists for specific and limited purposes.' (Mohinder Singh, 2017, p189). Firstly, the civil society is a domain that exists between the state and the society. Secondly, the domain of civil society is the domain of voluntary and to a certain extent, some involuntary associations, and groups. (Here, family and caste groups fall within the personal sphere of the individual and are not considered to be part of the civil society.)

6.3 Historical Evolution of Civil Society

The idea of civil society arose in Western Europe, during the Modern Age, based on the need for a structurally differentiated and functionally specialised state and society. A public space was required, at the dawn of modernity which could ensure that the rising merchant classes (bourgeoisie) could discuss and debate about the role of the state and the nature of powers it exercised. This was essential because though these trading classes were now the economically powerful group in society, they enjoyed little or no influence at all in the political and social spheres. They felt the need for such associations which would allow them to participate in the political and social sphere and express and exchange their political and social views freely. Thus, libraries, literary clubs, newspapers, clubs were created in between the private realm of family and the political realm of the state.

Going back to Andre Beteille's distinction between good society and civil society, we shall observe that, a good society is one which simply follows the fundamental principles laid down for its survival. In other words, a theocratic regime would accommodate only believers of the particular religion by which it identifies itself and provide rights and privileges only to believers of this state religion. It would not owe any obligation to accord the same rights and privileges to the non-believers. Yet such a society could be a good society for the believers. A totalitarian regime would allow only those people to live better quality lives who held the same political ideas and beliefs as the dominant political ideology of that regime. Recalcitrant elements, in a totalitarian regime may not just be excluded from having access to basic rights and freedoms but even be persecuted. Even this type of society may qualify as a good society!

A civil society on the other hand is that open space between the family and the state that allows all citizens to participate voluntarily and on equal grounds, on all issues, that affect their wellbeing and their rights. So, all good societies may not necessarily be termed as civil societies, but all civil societies usually have the potential to develop into good societies.

The seeds of the concept of civil society were sowed in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, with the effects of the Renaissance and Reformation playing out in the thoughts of the contemporary political thinkers. While Reformation posed a serious threat to the absolute powers of the Church and the Protestant

Church emerged with a more liberal interpretation of Christianity, it simultaneously ushered in the age of secularism. Thus, the spheres of state and politics came to be separated for the first time in history and also questioned and later, challenged the state's monopoly over political power. Thomas Hobbes, in his famous book the Leviathan, gave absolute powers to the omnipotent state but only in order to ensure the safety and security of the person and property of the individual. He did not grant even the Leviathan to encroach upon these basic and inalienable rights of the people. John Austin's Monistic theory of sovereignty established the ruler as the sole sovereign, but this ultimate power of the sovereign was to be used to establish law and order in the society.

The rise of Individualism raised the issue of individual freedoms versus authority of the state. Individualism considered the individual to be rational, moral creatures who were capable to taking their own decisions and therefore capable of enjoying rights and freedoms. The state, according to the Individualists, was supposed to create and maintain law, order, and justice. The Liberal doctrine that arose in the late sixteenth century, accepted this Individualistic proposition, and identified the people as the source of political power and the society as that space from which the arbitrary exercise of power by the state could be questioned, challenged, and even opposed. John Locke, while expressing his ideas on the Social Contract, mentions that the 'state of nature' which he considers to be a pre- social and pre-political existence of men. He writes that though there was absolute freedom and absolute equality in the 'state of nature', there was no codified body of law, no judge to dispense justice and no control whatsoever over the absolute powers of the state. So, the people were forced to forego the absolute freedom and equality that they enjoyed in the 'state of nature' for the sake of peace, security, and justice. The people thus, entered into two contracts: the social contract to create society and the political contract, to create the state. Here, Locke separates state and society but does not consider civil society to be a separate sphere of society. It was considered to be one of the aspects of society itself. Moreover, Locke's sovereign was by no means absolutist in nature. It was limited by the terms of the contract that created it. People could change the sovereign, peacefully, if the latter violated the terms of the contract.

The eighteenth-century Enlightenment movement and especially, the Scottish Enlightenment thinkers like David Hume, Adam Ferguson and Adam Smith added

considerably to the development of the idea of civil society. The Industrial Revolution had literally revolutionized production, not just in terms of introduction of machinery and technology in the process of production but also in terms of the orientation of production. Earlier, production was home-based, sustenance oriented, with minimum use of advanced technology. Post Industrial Revolution, production became factory-based, for the mass production and consumption of the market and profit-oriented.

A new term, 'oikos' emerged, which signified a separate sphere for economic activities, a sphere that would be free from the imposing presence and control of the state. Adam Smith thus envisaged the laissez faire state with a 'free market'. The sphere of state control was drastically reduced. Civil society was the term used to refer to this space of commerce and industry, free from state supervision and control. This concept of civil society was further strengthened by the Liberal notions of individual's rationality and the ethical and moral foundations of Individualism. Another impact of evolution of capitalism, besides the rise of laissez faire states, was the rise of the bourgeois class. As mentioned earlier, this class, though economically strong failed to enjoy any influence or power in the social and political spheres of their societies, as political power was still largely monopolised by the royalty and the nobility. The spread of new ideas of liberty, equality, fraternity led to the demand for creation of new associations: clubs, coffee houses, salons, libraries, literary societies and a new kind of journalism and literature emerged to question criticize and even oppose various actions of the state.

In the nineteenth century, Alexis de Tocqueville, in his famous work *Democracy in America*, stated his observations regarding the working of democracy in America. He observed that the democratic urge to establish equality was slowly stifling all parochial bonds of kinship and ethnicity, but the uniform body of rights and freedoms granted to all citizens was adversely affecting the special needs of certain minority groups. On the one hand, emerged a strong centralized state and on the other hand a body of isolated individuals. De Tocqueville strongly recommended the creation of voluntary social associations in order to (a) perform an educative role in creating awareness about civic virtues and democratic values that could help citizens think beyond their narrow family interests and, (b) act as a buffer and a platform from which excesses committed by the state could be resisted. Thus, according to Alexis de Tocqueville, the civil society associations like churches, scientific and literary societies, political parties, interest groups would act to save people from the 'tyranny of the majority'.

The nineteenth century also witnessed two powerful critiques of the Enlightenment view of civil society. These can be found in the writings of Hegel and Marx. According to Hegel, the civil society is the stage of "difference which intervenes between the family and the state, even if its formation follows later in time than that of the state". For Hegel too, the civil society was a sphere based on the market and represented a 'system of needs', where individuals freely followed their chosen professions and economic goals. The only problem that marked civil society, according to Hegel, was that left to their own devices, all individuals would pursue their own selfish interests and not think about social interest or social good.

According to Hegel, modern society was divided into three separate spheres: family, civil society, and state. Each of these three spheres had three different motivations. The family fell within the private domain and was based on love and trust amongst its members. Civil society was the sphere where individual and sectional interests were pursued. The state on the other hand, was above all private and sectional interests and strived to resolve the conflicts that arose between these interests. Thus, in Hegel's views, the state was a 'non-minimal social sphere' that transcended civil society. As an Idealist, Hegel posed immense faith in the state as a positive institution, he goes so far as to say that 'the state is the march of God on earth.' Civil society, according to Hegel was replete with conflicts amongst the interests of the various groups and associations that participated in it. State, on the other hand, allowed individuals to participate in social activities, not as members of sections with particular interests in mind, but as citizens, concerned with the interests of the entire community in their hearts.

Karl Marx partially agreed with Hegel in believing that modern society was characterized by a basic political contradiction of 'man as citizen' and 'man as a private individual'. However, he did not agree with Hegel on the fact that the state would stand above civil society and help resolve all the contradictions that characterized civil society. As we know, Marx looked upon the state as an instrument of class exploitation in the hands of the bourgeoisie and with change in the relations of production, the state would ultimately wither away. Marx believed that the state was deeply embedded in civil society, which included within it 'the whole of pre-state economic and social life'. Moreover, the nature of civil society could be understood by looking into the nature of political economy. In a modern capitalist liberal democratic state, economic inequality made social and political equality meaningless. Unless economic equality or equity could be established, civil society

would be marked by conflicts and contradictions. The state would also thus be marked by conflicts and contradictions. Therefore, Marx believed that unless capitalist system of production was abolished true citizenship and true political life could not be established and this could only be achieved through a socialist revolution.

Antonio Gramsci, famous Italian Marxist thinker of the twentieth century, made an important contribution to the notion of civil society indirectly through his concept of 'hegemony'. Gramsci opined that in order to acquire legitimacy of their rule, the bourgeoisie use not just the 'Repressive State Apparatuses' of the police, the army, the judiciary at their disposal, but also generate the ruling ideas and ideals for the rest of society through the 'Ideological State Apparatuses'. The perception of the non-propertied classes about the material conditions of their existence are moulded by these ideas. The state rules not just through control of the repressive or coercive machinery at its disposal but also through generating ruling ideologies. This combination of coercion and ideology which together is known as 'hegemony' of the ruling class. The civil society groups of churches, parties, trade unions, universities, publishing houses, the press and associations of all kinds help the ruling classes to generate and disseminate the ideology of the dominant class. The dominant class manages to create the illusion of intellectual and moral superiority of its own ideas and ideals and the consent generated from the subordinate classes is assumed to be spontaneous and real. Thus, in order to successfully fight and win the socialist revolution the vanguard party or the Communist Parties in different countries need to fight the hegemony of the ruling classes, especially in the civil society.

6.4 Functions of Civil Society

After the very detailed discussion on how the concept of civil society has evolved since the days of the onset of the Modern Age in Europe, let us now take a look at the specific functions that civic societies can play in the running of countries. When a country is in a state of peace and development, civic society acts as an essential building block of development and of national cohesion. But when a country is faced with any crisis or conflict or is underdeveloped, civil society acquires an extra dimension of importance. It highlights and acts in such areas that remain untouched by the state. It becomes more important in the latter societies simply because the state falls short of meeting the demands of the people by acting as service providers and a ground of conflict resolution, effectively filling in the gaps left open by the state.

Civil society, as evident from the above discussion, comprises of all such organizations that are not part of the government. Such organizations include educational institutions like schools, colleges and universities, professional associations, advocacy groups, cultural groups and so on. Civil society organizations play an important role in raising awareness about civil, social, cultural rights of diverse groups that live in a country, irrespective of whether they belong to the majority or minority community. Since most countries in the world today are democracies and since most democracies run on the principle of majoritarianism, civil society organizations such as civil rights, political rights, cultural rights groups become crucial in highlighting the lapses in majoritarian policies of the government and carry out campaigns to set these lapses right. Similarly, in countries where political conflicts, issues of migration (due to war or climate change) are rampant, peace advocacy groups that are part of civil society are extremely important in keeping the focus on the rights of the people while states continue to focus upon their political and electoral interests. Moreover, civil society associations work with diverse issues such as rights of gender diverse people and issues of environmental decay. These associations help provide a platform for like-minded people to come together and engage in dialogues with the state, to bring about changes in corresponding laws and policies so that the individual and democratic rights of a larger number of people are protected.

Moreover, in the post globalization era, with the rapid development in information and communication technology and the emergence of global media (print and electronic as well as social media), a global civil society has emerged. Global civil society has emerged as a political space where groups of citizens, from across different countries, find a political space to spontaneously come together to express their opinions in favour of or against the policies and laws of governments without joining any political party. Such global civil society organizations may vary on the basis of: organizational forms, constituencies, capacity levels, geographical scope, ideological inclinations, strategies and campaign techniques. International anti-poverty campaigns, pro-democracy groups, environmental movements, ethnic lobbies, human rights groups, peasant movements, women's groups, peace advocacy groups today play a very important role in forming global public opinion and acting as pressure groups upon the decisions of the government.

6.5 Conclusion

We shall conclude the discussion on civil society by referring to the emergence of this concept in the post-colonial countries. The newly independent countries of Asia, Africa, Latin America were faced with far more diversity, plurality of demographic composition and more serious economic and political crises than the societies of Western Europe where this concept had originally arisen. When the process of decolonization began after the end of the Second World War, most of these erstwhile colonies had taken up democratic forms of government but due to long running economic drainage by the colonial powers and the ethnic rights of groups that resurfaced under independent national regimes, most of these countries lapsed into authoritarian and military regimes. Civil society in these countries assumed more importance than anywhere else. It became the platform for organizing New Social Movements, focusing upon non-traditional issues, ranging from preservation of ecological balance to gender rights, rights of cultural minorities to maintain their cultural uniqueness and so on. Moreover, the civil society also performed its traditional role of acting as a platform from which to protest against political excesses of the government.

In fact, irrespective of whether a country is developed or developing, the role of civic society in enhancing the quality of life of the citizens and protecting their rights and liberties is undeniable. The point of strength of civic society lies in its lack of political tutelage. Since civic societies across the globe are essentially apolitical, their actions are not motivated by narrow political interests or ideologies. Therefore, each association belonging to the sphere of civic society can uphold the specific interests and campaign for the rights and demands of the particular groups that they represent. Moreover, these associations are also not tied by the demands of electoral politics, hence, they are not under any compulsion to uphold rights of majorities or minorities. They simply campaign for the interests that they feel need protection and promotion. The emergence of global civil society and the various types of associations that fall under the category of global civic society, as mentioned in the unit above, combined with the emergence of global social media, has made it possible for people from across the world to come together on certain practices, issues, demands that take place in any corner of the world and express their opinions on these. In fact, some associations that are part of the global civic society, are powerful enough to pressurize national governments and also regional and international

organizations dealing with politics, security, immigration policies, conflict, peace, environmental issues etc.

6.6 Summary

In this unit we have discussed the very significant concept of civil society, traced its historical evolution, and also discussed its various functions. Firstly, the civic society is a domain that exists between the state and the society. Secondly, the domain of civil society is the domain of voluntary and to a certain extent, some involuntary associations, and groups. It is the space where individuals spontaneously come together, without any political banner, to express their own opinions in favour of particular interests. An active civic society is the mark of a vibrant democracy. It has taken a long span of time for civic society to emerge in its present form. This unit has traced that evolution. The seeds of the concept of civil society were sowed in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, with the effects of the Renaissance and Reformation playing out in the thoughts of the contemporary political thinkers. While Reformation posed a serious threat to the absolute powers of the Church and the Protestant Church emerged with a more liberal interpretation of Christianity, it simultaneously ushered in the age of secularism. The rise of Individualism raised the issue of individual freedoms versus authority of the state. Individualism considered the individual to be rational, moral creatures who were capable of taking their own decisions and therefore capable of enjoying rights and freedoms. The state, according to the Individualists, was supposed to create and maintain law, order, and justice. The Liberal doctrine that arose in the late sixteenth century, accepted this Individualistic proposition, and identified the people as the source of political power and the society as that space from which the arbitrary exercise of power by the state could be questioned, challenged, and even opposed. John Locke's ideas in this regard have been discussed in detail in this unit. Also, the ideas of the Social Contract theorists, who based the source of the sovereign's power upon the consent of the people, have been discussed here. Both show how the scope was being created for the voice of the ordinary people in the running of a country.

The eighteenth-century Enlightenment movement and especially, the Scottish Enlightenment thinkers like David Hume, Adam Ferguson and Adam Smith added considerably to the development of the idea of civil society. The Industrial Revolution and the emergence of a new term, 'oikos', which signified a separate sphere for economic activities, a sphere that would be free from the imposing presence and

control of the state. Adam Smith thus envisaged the laissez faire state with a 'free market'. The sphere of state control was drastically reduced. Civil society was the term used to refer to this space of commerce and industry, free from state supervision and control. This concept of civil society was further strengthened by the Liberal notions of individual's rationality and the ethical and moral foundations of Individualism. Another impact of evolution of capitalism, besides the rise of laissez faire states, was the rise of the bourgeois class. The nineteenth century also witnessed two powerful critiques of the Enlightenment view of civil society. These can be found in the writings of Hegel and Marx. According to Hegel, the civil society is the stage of "difference which intervenes between the family and the state, even if its formation follows later in time than that of the state". For Hegel too, the civil society was a sphere based on the market and represented a 'system of needs', where individuals freely followed their chosen professions and economic goals. Karl Marx partially agreed with Hegel in believing that modern society was characterized by a basic political contradiction of 'man as citizen' and 'man as a private individual'. However, he did not agree with Hegel on the fact that the state would stand above civil society and help resolve all the contradictions that characterized civil society. As we know, Marx looked upon the state as an instrument of class exploitation in the hands of the bourgeoisie and with change in the relations of production, the state would ultimately wither away. Marx believed that the state was deeply embedded in civil society, which included within it 'the whole of pre-state economic and social life'. Antonio Gramsci, famous Italian Marxist thinker of the twentieth century, made an important contribution to the notion of civil society indirectly through his concept of 'hegemony'. Gramsci opined that in order to acquire legitimacy of their rule, the bourgeoisie use not just the 'Repressive State Apparatuses' of the police, the army, the judiciary at their disposal, but also generate the ruling ideas and ideals for the rest of society through the 'Ideological State Apparatuses'. The views of Hegel, Marx and Gramsci have been discussed in detail in the unit. In the post globalization era, with the rapid development in information and communication technology and the emergence of global media (print and electronic as well as social media), a global civil society has emerged. Global civil society has emerged as a political space where groups of citizens, from across different countries, find a political space to spontaneously come together to express their opinions in favour of or against the policies and laws of governments without joining any political party.

When a country is in a state of peace and development, civic society acts as an essential building block of development and of national cohesion. But when a country is faced with any crisis or conflict or is underdeveloped, civil society acquires an extra dimension of importance. It highlights and acts in such areas that remain untouched by the state. It becomes more important in the latter societies simply because the state falls short of meeting the demands of the people by acting as service providers and a ground of conflict resolution, effectively filling in the gaps left open by the state. When the process of decolonization began after the end of the Second World War, most of these erstwhile colonies had taken up democratic forms of government but due to long running economic drainage by the colonial powers and the ethnic rights of groups that resurfaced under independent national regimes, most of these countries lapsed into authoritarian and military regimes. Civil society in the Newly Independent, Third World Countries assumed more importance than anywhere else. It became the platform for organizing New Social Movements, focusing upon non-traditional issues, ranging from preservation of ecological balance to gender rights, rights of cultural minorities to maintain their cultural uniqueness and so on. Moreover, the civil society also performed its traditional role of acting as a platform from which to protest against political excesses of the government.

6.7 Questions

- **Answer the following questions in your own words**

Group A: 5 marks each

1. Define civil society.
2. What are the traditional functions performed by the civil society?
3. What is the difference between civil society and good society, in the opinion of Andre Beteille?
4. How did the growth of Individualism and Liberalism lead to the growth in the concept of civil society?

Group B: 10 marks each

1. What were Alexis de Tocqueville's ideas regarding the civil society?
2. What was the impact of Enlightenment on the growth of ideas on civil society?

3. Discuss Hegel's views on Civil Society.
4. Discuss Marx's views on civil society.
5. How are Gramsci's views on civil society different from those of Marx's views on the same?
6. Discuss the evolution of the concept of civil society.

6.8 Suggested Readings

1. Singh, M (2017): 'Civil Society' in Bhargava, A and Acharya, A (eds) Political Theory An Introduction, Noida, U.P., Pearson India Education Services Pvt. Ltd.
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Unit 7 □ Elites and the Ruling Classes: Nature and Types

Structure

- 7.1 Objectives**
- 7.2 Introduction**
- 7.3 Historical Context in which the Elite Theory Developed**
- 7.4 Gaetano Mosca (1858-1941): Organizational Approach**
- 7.5 Vilfredo Pareto (1848-1927): Psychological Approach**
- 7.6 Robert Michels (1876-1936): Organizational Approach**
- 7.7 C. Wright Mills (1916-62) Institutional Approach**
- 7.8 James Burnham (1905-1987): Economic Approach**
- 7.9 Critics of Elite Theory**
- 7.10 Conclusion**
- 7.11 Summary**
- 7.12 Questions**
- 7.13 Suggested Readings**

7.1 Objectives

The primary objectives of this unit are:

- To explain the meaning of the term "elite"
- To discuss the background or historical context in which the Elite theory emerged
- To discuss the views of some of the most significant thinkers on Elite theory.
- To discuss the views of some of the significant critics of Elite theory

7.2 Introduction

The society, in the context of which, the state exercises political power is

characterized by an uneven distribution of resources. All resources are usually unevenly distributed in society. Political power being one of the most sought-after resources is also not equally distributed in society. In every political system, power and especially political power tends to be concentrated in the hands of a small minority. How this happens or, on what basis does a small minority end up enjoying political power in a society is what lies at the core of Elite theory. The term elite is used to denote anything that is exclusive of the highest quality, refined in quality or manner and hence found sparingly in any place. In the context of Political Sociology, the term is used to denote the numerical minority in any society who hold political power. The Elite theory attempts to identify the various and numerous bases on which political power is unevenly distributed in any society.

7.3 Historical Context in which the Elite Theory Developed

Before discussing the Elite theory in detail, we should look into the background which had given rise to this theory. Elite theory arose as a retort to and a critique of the meta-narrative of Marxian economic determinism. Since the time of Karl Marx, all or most of the traditional Marxists had believed that since economy is the base and polity, ideology, law, culture, religion—all belonged to the superstructure, the latter was almost always determined by the former. In other words, the economy determined the nature of the superstructure. Further, since in a capitalist society, the means of production were owned and controlled by a small minority, the bourgeoisie, they owned and controlled all other aspects of society - including political power. Marx believed that the bourgeoisie formed an 'unholy alliance' with the state apparatus in order to ensure complete control of the market and also determine laws and policies that would benefit them. Thus, economic power and its location, was the ultimate determining factor behind the location of political power. The relation between base and superstructure as Marx said, was one of direct correspondence.

In response to this economic determinism arose the group of political and sociological thinkers who later came to be known as the Elite theorists. The earliest reference to the term 'elite' occurs in sixteenth century France where it is used to refer to the 'choicest' or 'the best specimen' of any object or even people. In the late nineteenth century, the politically powerful groups of Western Europe came to be known as the Political Elites. The most popular political elite theorists ---

Mosca, Pareto, Michels, were basically middle-class intellectuals, whose main aim was to assert and defend the opportunities of the middle class. The primary objectives of the Elite theorists are: (a) to examine the structure of power and (b) to see whether it is inevitable that power was indeed forced by its nature to be concentrated in the hands of the minority and if so, then on what basis did power get thus concentrated amongst the few.

We shall examine in detail the ideas of Mosca, Michels and Pareto and also look into the ideas of a few other Elitists to understand how their answers differ from the Marxist contention that political power (and all other types of power) is located in economically powerful class alone. G. Parry, in his book, *Political Elites* (1969) has identified four kinds of Elite theorists: Organisational, Psychological, Economic, and Institutional.

7.4 Gaetano Mosca (1858-1941): Organizational Approach

Mosca was actively involved in Italian politics and fought against the Marxian Utopianism of a classless society and anti-democratic absolutism. In his book, *The Ruling Class* (1896, revised in 1923, translated in 1939), he made the statement that "In all societies - from societies that are very meagerly developed and have barely attained the dawn of civilization, down to the most advanced and powerful societies - classes of people appear-a class that rules and a class that is ruled." It is obvious that neither one nor all can rule, society is always ruled by the minority, i.e., the Elites. The Elites are a group of individuals who possess some special attributes. These may be economic, military, or religious. The key to Elite's power is its organizational capacity. According to Mosca, once in power, the Elites manage to remain in power simply because they are organized, and they are organized because they are a minority. Being a minority group, the Elites act like a 'conscious, coherent and conspiratorial' group. Channels of communication are clear and quick decision making is not a problem because of the small size of the group. The Elites can act cohesively because they are united by a common interest and goal - to maintain their power.

The Elite, however, cannot continue to remain in power and exercise power effectively without a "Political Formula". Mosca says that the "Political Formula" is an attempt on part of the political Elite to provide a moral and legal justification to its power, so that it can exploit prevalent doctrines and beliefs and make its

rules appear just and even necessary! Across ages and spaces, Elites have put on the garb of morality or taken refuge under myths of religious reincarnations or successfully managed to convince people that they have the ideological means to revive the lost glory of a country. These are examples of Mosca's "political formula" that have been used to convince the ruled that better days are around the bend of the road.

Mosca does not say that the position of the political Elite is permanent neither is it a closed social group. Rather, it has to make its borders porous so that new ideas, ideals, and leaders of these new ideas may, from time to time may be incorporated into the Elite class. It is necessary that the Elite at least appears to be responsive to the changes that take place in society, or they shall run the risk of being totally overrun by the masses. Sometimes, the Elite can bring about (apparent or real) changes in its policies and attitudes while at other times, it may become necessary for the Elites to incorporate new members from the non-Elite section of the society in the face of grave crisis. We should, however, keep in mind that such an act of admitting new members from the non-Elite sections is never a total or revolutionary change in the organization or total membership of the Elites but rather a limited incorporation of few of the dissenting leaders so that discontent amongst the masses may be addressed. More often than not, these new inclusions into the Elite class, will assume powers attitudes beliefs and act quite like the erstwhile Elite class itself.

7.5 Vilfredo Pareto (1848-1927): Psychological Approach

Pareto, in his book, *Mind and Society* (1916, trans. 1935) uses the term 'elite' in its etymological sense, referring to the strongest, the most energetic and the most capable, for good as well as for evil. For him, Elite is a value-free term, indicating all people who score high on such indices as power, wealth, or knowledge. The highest strata of a society, according to him, comprises of two classes - a governing elite (those who are directly or indirectly involved in the act of governance) and the non- governing elite (indicating those who do not rule yet substantially influence the masses, like film stars or sports personalities or social innovators).

Pareto seeks to explain Elite control in terms of certain psychological factors. His explanation of Elite power is often referred to as the "grand retort to Marx". Elites are seen by Pareto neither as products of economic forces nor as building

their dominance on the basis of their organizational ability but as the outcome of what he believed to be human attributes, constantly coveted throughout history. He argues that in every branch of human activity, every individual may be given an index or a score, as a measurement of his ability. Those with the highest ability would automatically be on the top. However, he is also quick to admit that corruption, luck, chance, birth may also lift a person to the top rung of society even though he may be utterly lacking in ability. Ultimately, Pareto distinguishes Elites as having power from non- Elites as those having no power.

Next, Pareto moves on to explain his psychological approach. He classifies human actions into logical and non- logical. Logical actions are those which are directed towards specific goals. Non-logical actions are marked by the absence of specific goals. Yet, Pareto says that men often attempt to present their non-logical actions as logical actions. This attempt is found to be composed of two elements: derivatives and residues.

Derivatives are classified by Pareto as: (a) Assertions, (b) Appeals to authority, (c) Appeals to sentiment or principles and (d) Verbal Proof.

More important than Derivatives is Residue, which according to Pareto, are of six types: (a) Residues of Combination, (b) Residues of Persistence of Aggregates, (c) Residues of Sociability, (d) Residues of Activity, (e) Residues of Integrity of the Individuals and (f) Residues of Sex. In his analysis of the power of the Elites, Pareto makes use of the first two Residues, which he calls instinct for combination or innovation and the persistence of aggregates or consolidation.

The Residue of Combination is the impulse to innovate or put together existing ideas through creative imagination. Here, cunning is the most important attribute. Men having a predominance of this type of attribute/ residue represent a fox type of personality. Such type of Elites excels at making such policies, laws, strategies that make optimal use of available resources to fulfil the most pressing demands of the people. However, the cunning of the Elites is such that these demands are, in reality, more beneficial to the Elite than the people themselves.

The residue of Persistence of Aggregates is the expression of the urge to consolidate positions and assets once these are acquired. These are the manifestations of instincts, performance, and discipline. Here, the main attribute is force. This Residue produces Lion type personalities. Unlike the Residue of Combination, the key thrust of the Elite is the use of or threat of use of force, or the excessive emphasis upon the consolidation and display of physical force or military strength.

In order to further consolidate their power and assets, such Elite will have more inclination towards using force than resolve conflicts through mediation, discussion, or other peaceful means of conflict resolution.

These two sets of Residues are mutually exclusive. However, politics requires both the lion and the fox - it is partly a matter of force and partly a matter of persuasion. The style of governing at any point of time will depend on whether the governing Elite a fox or a lion type of personality.

Pareto believed that society is a system of equilibrium, tending to restore balance - the changing balance of these two types of Residues, creates a 'circulation of Elites' and forces human history to move in a cyclical pattern. This circulation is not just a replacement of one Elite by another but also a circulation of individuals between the Elites and non-Elites.

7.6 Robert Michels (1876-1936): Organizational Approach

Michels expounds his views on Elites in his book called, *Political Parties: A Sociological Study of the Oligarchical Tendencies of Modern Democracy* (1911, trans. 1915). He argues that the very structure of modern organized society gives rise to or necessitates Elite rule. According to him, in a modern society, no movement or party can hope to succeed without organization. An organization of any size and for any purpose, cannot work in the absence of a leader. 'Leadership' thus, is at the core of any organization and its successful running. Another indispensable requirement of an organization is 'technical expertise'. The result of this technical dispensability of the leadership is that the control of an organization or movement or party passes automatically into the hands of the leading politicians and bureaucrats.

Michels advances two reasons for the need of leaders in society: (a) organizational and (b) psychological. A majority of the human beings are, according to Michels, 'apathetic, indolent, ignorant and slavish'. Most societies are full of people who have strong opinions regarding what should be done yet, will not come forward to do what needs be done! Also, not all people will have the knowledge, skill, time, education and definitely do not have the capacity to deal with different types of crises. Another fact that should be kept in mind is that the politics (both internal and international) has increasingly become more and more complex. Hence, to acquire political power is one thing but to successfully handle it is quite another.

The masses are therefore automatically dependent upon Elites to meet their psychological need for guidance and are rather glad to have others assume political leadership on their behalf. This, and the indispensability of technical expertise, perpetuates power in the hands of the Elites.

Michels does not believe that there can be a complete change in the composition and nature of the Elites, there may at intervals be, an amalgamation of new elements with the old ones. Once, people from below are incorporated into the higher rungs of society, they assume the character of the erstwhile Elite. Hence, only a replacement of Elites may take place, not a total revolution.

Michels' work was primarily concerned with the study of the structure of political parties and the distribution of power therein. However, his famous 'Iron Law of Oligarchy' has much wider implications and significance. He says that once established, an organization is always dominated by its leadership which is a small group compared to the total membership of the organization. From this belief, he famously wrote: 'who says organization, says oligarchy'. While modern democracies insist upon mass based political parties and other associations, yet it is illogical to expect such huge masses of people to be able to work in an organized and effective manner. Hence the dependence on the leaders within the party and the bureaucrats.

7.7 C. Wright Mills (1916-62) Institutional Approach

Mills in his book, *The Power Elite* (1956), contests that in every society there are some key institutions which hold a crucial position in the overall public life of that society and the topmost position-holders of these institutions are inevitably the Elites of these societies. Mills based his book on the institutional landscape of USA and identified three major institutions: the military, the big corporations, and the political executive to be the real centres of power in the American society. On the basis of the study of these institutions he concluded that (a) power is always concentrated in the hands of a minority, (b) all Elites are cohesive, conscious, conspiratorial groups and (c) power, by nature, is cumulative. Power brings more power.

7.8 James Burnham (1905-1987): Economic Approach

Burnham in his book, *The Managerial Revolution* (1941), accepts the Marxist

contention that the owners of means of production are the Elites in capitalist societies but after this initial agreement, he makes a departure. He says that in the advanced industrialized countries, the control over the means of production passes on to those with managerial and technical expertise, including the highest members of the bureaucracy. Thus, emerges the managerial elite. Advanced industrial societies are subject to highly centralized bureaucratic control.

7.9 Critics of Elite Theory

However, like all social science theories the Elite theory has also been criticized and challenged. The Pluralists complain that there are multiple organizations throughout society which influence people much more than the governing Elites. Cultural organizations, gender rights organizations, human rights organizations and all other groups that may be categorized as civic society organizations, have much more influence upon the allegiance of people than the minority power-yielding Elites. The Communitarians propose that individuals are first members of a cultural community and then that of a political community. These parochial ties are stronger than political diktats and are abided by, more spontaneously than the laws and policies made by the governing Elite.

Robert Dahl in his article, "A Critique of the Ruling Elite Model", puts forward the following criticisms of the Elite theory:

- Elite theory confuses potential control with real or actual control
- The fact that in a society, political power is unevenly distributed does not necessarily prove the existence of a ruling Elite
- The Elitists have failed to clearly define the scope of influence wielded by the Elites
- Tom Bottomore points out that Elite theories turn out to be as deterministic as Marxist economic determinism but insisting that in all societies there are two distinct classes - the ruling class and the ruled.
- Despite these criticisms one cannot deny that political power is unevenly distributed in all societies and exercised, for all practical purposes, by a small minority.

7.10 Conclusion

In this unit on Elite theory, the views of five different thinkers on Elite theories

and the limitations or criticisms of Elite theory have been discussed in detail. Despite these theories, the underlying truth remains that political power or any other type of power is unevenly distributed in society and usually remains confined in the hands of the few. The Elite theorists have attempted to analyze why and how power and especially political power remains concentrated in the hands of the minority or the Elites.

7.11 Summary

The term elite is used to denote anything that is exclusive of the highest quality, refined in quality or manner and hence found sparingly in any place. In the context of Political Sociology, the term is used to denote the numerical minority in any society who hold political power. The Elite theory attempts to identify the various and numerous bases on which political power is unevenly distributed in any society. Elite theory arose as a retort to and a critique of the meta-narrative of Marxian economic determinism. Since the time of Karl Marx, all or most of the traditional Marxists had believed that since economy is the base and polity, ideology, law, culture, religion — all belonged to the superstructure, the latter was almost always determined by the former. In other words, the economy determined the nature of the superstructure.

In response to this economic determinism arose the group of political and sociological thinkers who later came to be known as the Elite theorists. The earliest reference to the term 'elite' occurs in sixteenth century France where it is used to refer to the 'choicest' or 'the best specimen' of any object or even people.

G. Parry, in his book, *Political Elites* (1969) has identified four kinds of Elite theorists: Organizational, Psychological, Economic, and Institutional. Mosca, who is a proponent of Organizational Approach to Elite's power, in his book, *The Ruling Class* (1896, revised in 1923, translated in 1939), he made the statement that "In all societies - from societies that are very meagerly developed and have barely attained the dawn of civilization, down to the most advanced and powerful societies - classes of people appear-a class that rules and a class that is ruled." It is obvious that neither one nor all can rule, society is always ruled by the minority, i.e., the Elites. The Elites are a group of individuals who possess some special attributes. These may be economic, military, or religious. The key to Elite's power is its organizational capacity. According to Mosca, once in power,

the Elites manage to remain in power simply because they are organized, and they are organized because they are a minority. Being a minority group, the Elites act like a 'conscious, coherent and conspiratorial' group. The Elite, however, cannot continue to remain in power and exercise power effectively without a "Political Formula". Mosca says that the "Political Formula" is an attempt on part of the political Elite to provide a moral and legal justification to its power, so that it can exploit prevalent doctrines and beliefs and make its rule appear just and even necessary!

Pareto, in his book, *Mind and Society* (1916, trans. 1935) uses the term 'elite' in its etymological sense, referring to the strongest, the most energetic and the most capable, for good as well as for evil. For him, Elite is a value-free term, indicating all people who score high on such indices as power, wealth, or knowledge. The highest strata of a society, according to him, comprises of two classes - a governing elite (those who are directly or indirectly involved in the act of governance) and the non- governing elite (indicating those who do not rule yet substantially influence the masses, like film stars or sports personalities or social innovators). Pareto moves on to explain his psychological approach. He classifies human actions into logical and non- logical. Logical actions are those which are directed towards specific goals. Non-logical actions are marked by the absence of specific goals. Yet, Pareto says that men often attempt to present their non-logical actions as logical actions. This attempt is found to be composed of two elements: derivatives and residues. These have been discussed in detail in the unit above.

Michels expounds his views on Elites in his book called, *Political Parties: A Sociological Study of the Oligarchical Tendencies of Modern Democracy* (1911, trans. 1915). He argues that the very structure of modern organized society gives rise to or necessitates Elite rule. According to him, in a modern society, no movement or party can hope to succeed without organization. An organization of any size and for any purpose, cannot work in the absence of a leader. 'Leadership' thus, is at the core of any organization and its successful running. Another indispensable requirement of an organization is 'technical expertise'. The result of this technical dispensability of the leadership is that the control of an organization or movement or party passes automatically into the hands of the leading politicians and bureaucrats. Michels advances two reasons for the need of leaders in society: (a) organizational and (b) psychological. Refer to the unit for detailed discussion on the views of Michels.

Mills in his book, *The Power Elite* (1956), contests that in every society there are some key institutions which hold a crucial position in the overall public life of that society and the topmost position-holders of these institutions are inevitably the Elites of these societies. He is a proponent of the Institutional Approach to Elite power.

Burnham in his book, *The Managerial Revolution* (1941), accepts the Marxist contention that the owners of means of production are the Elites in capitalist societies but after this initial agreement, he makes a departure. He says that in the advanced industrialized countries, the control over the means of production passes on to those with managerial and technical expertise, including the highest members of the bureaucracy. Thus emerges the managerial elite.

Like all social science theories, the Elite theory has also been criticized and challenged. The Pluralists complain that there are multiple organizations throughout society which influence people much more than the governing Elites. The Communitarians propose that individuals are first members of a cultural community and then that of a political community. These parochial ties are stronger than political diktats and are abided by, more spontaneously than the laws and policies made by the governing Elite. Robert Dahl in his article, "A Critique of the Ruling Elite Model", puts forward the following criticisms of the Elite theory: (a) Elite theory confuses potential control with real or actual control. The fact that in a society, political power is unevenly distributed does not necessarily prove the existence of a ruling Elite. He further points out that the Elitists have failed to clearly define the scope of influence wielded by the Elites. He points out that Tom Bottomore had alluded to the fact that Elite theories turn out to be as deterministic as Marxist economic determinism but insisting that in all societies there are two distinct classes - the ruling class and the ruled. Despite these criticisms one cannot deny that political power is unevenly distributed in all societies and exercised, for all practical purposes, by a small minority.

Despite these criticisms it cannot be denied that it is a fact that power, like all other resources in human society, is unevenly distributed. One may disagree on the bases on which power accrues to a small minority of people in a given society but, one cannot deny that it is indeed unevenly distributed. The Elite theorists have made a commendable effort towards identifying various reasons and bases for this uneven distribution of power.

7.12 Questions

- Answer each question in your own words:

Group A: 5 marks each

1. What do you understand by the term 'elite'?
2. What are the four kinds of elitist theorists identified by G. Parry?
3. Why are Elite theories considered to be a critique to the Marxist contention of distribution of power in society?
4. Briefly discuss the economic approach of Burnham to the distribution of power in advanced industrial societies?
5. Briefly discuss the institutional approach of C.Wright Mills to the distribution of power in USA?

Group B: 10 marks each:

6. Discuss the main points put forward by the proponents of the Organisational Approach of the Elite theorists.
7. Discuss the main points put forward by the proponents of the Psychological Approach of the Elite theorists.
8. What do you understand by 'political formula'?
9. What is meant by 'circulation of Elites'?
10. Discuss in detail the Elite theory of distribution of power. What are the various criticisms levelled against this theory?

7.13 Suggested Readings

1. Mukhopadhyay, A K (2008): Political Sociology, Kolkata: K.P. Bagchi & Co
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4. Majumdar, D (2017): *Rajnaitik Samajtattva*, Kolkata: Pragatishil Prakashak.
5. Sartori, G (1972): 'From the Sociology of Politics to Political Sociology' in Lipset, S.M. (ed.) *Politics and the Social Sciences*, New Delhi: Wiely Eastern Pvt. Ltd
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7. Roy, Anupama (2017): 'Citizenship' in Bhargava, A and Acharya, A (eds) *Political Theory An Introduction*, Noida, U.P., Pearson India Education Services Pvt. Ltd.
8. Chakrabarty, B and Chand, P (2017): *Public Administration: From Government to Governance*, Hyderabad, Telengana, Orient Blackswan Private Limited.
9. Rush, M (1991): *Politics and Society: An Introduction to Political Sociology*, New York, Harvester Wheatsheaf.

Module III
Political Systems

Unit 8 □ Segmentary: Meaning and Characteristics

Structure

- 8.1 Objectives**
- 8.2 Introduction**
- 8.3 Meaning of Segmentary Political System**
- 8.4 Types of Segmentary Tribes**
- 8.5 Origins of Segmentary Political System**
- 8.6 Segmentary Distribution Chart**
- 8.7 Conclusion**
- 8.8 Summary**
- 8.9 Questions**
- 8.10 Suggested Readings**

8.1 Objectives

- This unit discuss Segmentary Political system.
- This unit discuss origin of the political system.
- Ideal types of segmentary political system.
- To understand political system as a subsystem of society.

8.2 Introduction

Despite the abundance of material, there have been few systematic works on comparative political systems of primitive societies. In the available literature, two main approaches can be discerned. The first, best exemplified by African Political Systems (Fortes and Evans Pritchard 1940), is to differentiate between the "stateless," so-called segmentary societies and primitive societies with centralized governmental and political organizations. The essays analyzed the ways in which political activities are organized in each of these types, and also attempted to describe the conditions under which each of them exists. Other tried to modify the dichotomy and to show that in reality a greater variety of forms of government existed among African

societies. Barnardi's paper (1951) showed that in many of these tribes, age-groups perform certain governmental or political functions. Paula Brown (1951) classified West African societies according to the locus of governmental and juridical functions and showed that in addition to societies in which corporate lineages (segmentary societies) bear political functions and those with centralized chiefdoms and kings, there also exist societies in which most of the political functions are performed by so-called "association". These associations-the best examples of which are among the Yako, Ibo, and some Yoruba groups-seem to be somewhat intermediate cases between the segmentary and the centralized states. However, Brown did not deal with the conditions under which these types arise, nor did she investigate basic differences in the performance of governmental functions among them. Recently M. G. Smith (1956) has subjected the dichotomy to critical analysis and showed that in it there is a tendency toward reification in that the analysis focuses on the concrete social units which perform the political functions and not on the functions themselves. He also claims that this approach has not differentiated sufficiently between different aspects of governmental functions-especially between the political and the administrative functions.

The second approach to the study of comparative primitive political institutions is best exemplified in the works of Colson (1954), Gluckman (1954a) and Peristiany (1954); and, from a somewhat different point of view, Hoebel (1954). While most of these works deal with only one tribe or society, they provide, either explicitly or by implication, possible comparative applications. Their main concern has been to show that in all primitive societies-ranging from small bands of hunters or fishermen to kingdoms such as those of Zulu, Swazi, and Dahomey-there exists some basic mechanism of social control which regulates the affairs of the tribe and resolves conflicts arising among its component groups. In the words of Gluckman (1954a: 11), the most important among these mechanisms are "the inherent tendencies of groups to segment and then to become bound together by cross-cutting alliances". The general assumption is that most of these mechanisms are in one way or another common to all types of primitive societies-whether "segmentary," centralized or some other. This approach poses the problem of the conditions under which various regulatory mechanisms operate, either without any specialized roles and organizations, or through specialized roles and organizations which are devoted mainly to the performance of regulatory tasks. Also implicit in some of these studies is the

question of which area of life (economic, ritual, and so forth) makes such regulation most important and necessary. Hoebel's work on primitive law touches on some of these problems, mainly from the standpoint of the development of legal institutions.

The works summarized above have laid the foundations for the comparative study of primitive political institutions, but they are inadequate in several ways. First, there has been little comparative work using the criteria of comparison offered; second, some of these criteria have not been sufficiently systematic, as shown by Smith (1956); third, there has been too great an emphasis on the groups which perform governmental functions rather than on the functions themselves, and an inadequate differentiation between various types of governmental functions; and finally, there have been few attempts to relate the organization of various political functions to other aspects of the social organization.

Segmentary Society:

A segmentary society is a Stateless Society whose basic mechanism of social organisation is a lineage system in which descent group membership is determined in terms of shared ancestors (apical ancestor). Such systems have a hierarchical structure that establishes the anticipated basis of membership and opposition at each level (see Fig. 27). Evans-Pritchard's description of the Nuer is a classic account of such a system. However, this explanation, and the notion of segmentary society in general, have been criticised for giving merely a "ideal" depiction of social connections in such communities. A social structure composed of numerous relatively tiny autonomous groups that normally govern their own issues, but those that join together to create bigger organisations and those that are connected in certain ways may exist as a massive single community. Divisional organisations are agricultural associations that live in a limited, isolated section of the broader designated region. After World War II, the divided clan theory dominated anthropology for about 25 years (particularly in the United Kingdom). It was recognised as one of the finest theoretical efforts in the subject by its descendants (Forts 1953). The hypothesis was used at the time to describe the social structures of dozens of "primitive" civilizations throughout the world. The model has been heavily criticised since the early 900s, and it presently receives relatively little attention in the twenty-first century. Meanwhile, in the late 600s, Morocco began their fieldwork in the published monographs that established the country's fame. The epicenter of ethnographic discussion on fieldwork, ethnographic literature, and Islam. One of Atlas's (6699)

monographs recognised his author, Ernest Jailner, as the head of the divisional model in the following years. His mandatory logic re-attacked the departmental argument, refocusing it on pre-modern Arab and North African political life, as well as tribal political life. Since then, a number of leading ethicists have provided vastly divergent perspectives on the problem, with their contributions touching on critical theoretical and practical questions of discipline.

8.3 Meaning of Segmentary Political System

Political System as a Subsystem of Society

However, before conducting a systematic analysis of the comparative political system and its social conditions, we must first present some general thoughts on the role of political institutions in the social structure and society.

The fundamental assumption is that the political system is a specific subsystem of any society and that it can best be understood, and different political systems compared by examining its place within the society and its relationships to other subsystems (e.g., the economy, family ritual, status). This assumption has been used by several sociologists in analyzing characteristics of the political subsystem in the social structure (Levy 1952; Sutton 1955; Parsons 1956a). The essential sociological characteristics of any political system are that it is the representative organisation of a territorial society with the legitimate monopoly on the use of force within the society that it regulates; in its representative function, it uses this monopoly to implement those goals that are held to be most important for the society by its influential members and groups, and to some extent by all members of the society. The political system also organises the broad circumstances for maintaining societal cohesiveness and regulating its members' conduct, particularly potentially disruptive activity. While many other components of society's institutional structure certainly contribute to one or more of these regulatory roles, the political system is distinguished by its arrangement of these many functions into one subsystem and by linking them within the framework of some common activity or organisation. As a result, the political system is reliant on other sections of the institutional structure for the activities and facilities required for its own functioning and for making specialised contributions to other subsystems of society.

Two aspects of the political system seem to be paramount. The first is the regulation of power relations and the mobilisation of power for the implementation

of various societal goals and for the maintenance of conditions necessary for such maximization. The second aspect deals with the processes of social control in the various groups and subsystems of a society, which are largely concerned with the prevention of deviant behavior. These enable us to understand some of the basic types of activities which are inherent, although to different degrees in different societies, in any political system and which largely determine the nature of its relations with other parts of society. On the other hand, political implementation of collective goals and maintenance of the proper conditions for this are closely related to the administrative and executive aspects of political activity. The administrative function of the political system deals principally with the organisation of various technical aspects of collective activity and with some regulation of economic activities (e.g., maintenance of irrigation works). The executive functions are mainly concerned with the articulation of major policy decisions concerning choices between different societal goals and the allocation of obligations for the implementation of these goals. With regard to the regulatory processes of a society, the functions of political institutions are in turn closely related to the mobilisation of political support and the maintenance of the legitimacy of the system.

It is important to remember that political functions are an aspect of all groups and organisations in any society. All groups—family, locality, associations, and so on—have to deal with administrative problems, make decisions toward the realisation of goals, be sure of the loyalty of members, and show support for various collective activities. The crucial point that differentiates the "total" political system from the political activities of various groups is the ultimate control of power and force within given territorial boundaries. This control is usually the monopoly of the central political institutions, which can endow with legitimacy any use of force by other groups in society. However, the existence of political and regulatory aspects in all social groups raises one of the most important issues for comparative political research: the extent to which various sub-groups within a society can regulate their own "political" problems and political relations with other groups without resorting to the political subsystem itself. This problem is related to what Levy (1952) has called the distinction between concrete and analytical units of analysis. The political "element" is analytically present in all groups and societies, but the degree to which specific and concrete political roles exist differs from one society to another.

Segmentary political system

Segmentary societies give rise to segmentary political systems. The latter refers to societies made up of equivalent components or segments bound together by similarly held standards and values that are widely recognised by the members of these segments or groups. Typically, segmentary lineage societies relate to tribal cultures with strong familial links that adhere to customary rules and regard these norms as holy and inviolable. Families are the most fundamental elements of a segmented society, founded on love and trust amongst their members. The extended family of cousins and married relatives follows. At the largest level, tribal identification, and a passionate desire to retain unity within the tribe, as well as to oppose and effectively overcome any challenges posed by other tribes or other external sources, are present.

A very basic example can help to clarify this. Though there may be disagreements among the brothers, all the brothers in a family will band together to fight against the misdeeds of a cousin. However, when confronted with a challenge from another tribe or from any other external source, even if there are typically tensions and disagreements between the brothers and their cousins. The Bedouin saying: "Me and my brother against my cousins, me and my cousins against the world". A segmentary system, according to Brian Schwimmer, is one in which residential groupings employ complementary opposition and genealogical principles of unilineal ancestry as a basis for political mobilisation in the absence of a centralised political leadership. The Collins Dictionary of Sociology (3rd edition, 2000) defines a segmentary state as a type of state society with a central political authority and specialised political institutions, including administrative staff, but with an underlying segmentary structure in which political allegiances are based on lineage groups or related forms of client-patron relations. A segmentary structure in which main allegiance is to the lineage group rather than the state produces state forms that are fairly brittle. Such forms of state were rather common in precolonial Africa.

From the above definition and the foregoing discussion on Segmentary societies, certain features of the Segmentary states may be identified for our convenience:

- Structure differentiation and functional specialisation of governance were as excellent as it gets in the first segmentary civilizations. Societies were kept together by tribe-specific rules, practices, and conventions. Later, political power in these societies took a more tangible shape, with diverse organisations

for performing specialised responsibilities, but political duty was emphasised by obligation and devotion to the tribe's social and cultural authority.

- The limits of political authority were determined by the scope and extent of the social and cultural norms that bound the tribe and various tribes within the political jurisdiction of the state.
- Political participation at the mass level is so determined on the basis of the commonly held values of the segments that compose society.
- The political culture of the Segmentary political systems is of a primitive nature, characterized by a patron-client relationship between the state and the people.
- Political socialization is seen as less important and only an aspect of the larger process of socialization. The latter is considered to be more important as the means of transmitting those values, norms, customs, and conventions which are held to be commonly most valuable to the members of the tribes.
- Diversity of opinions and tolerance of these diverse opinions is not seen as a feature of these states.
- Political authority is seen more as a convenient means or mechanism through which conflicts with external powers may be resolved because for the internal conflicts, refuge was taken of those very commonly held values and virtues which had been held sacred and transmitted from one generation to another.

Some examples of Segmentary society and present-day Segmentary state, are the ancient Hebrew nation, present day Israel, with Biblical tradition, identifying twelve tribes originating from one common ancestor, Jacob. The largest Segmentary lineage society today are the Pashtuns, with approximately fifty million members, originally belonging to Afghanistan, now spread over areas of Pakistan as well.

8.4 Types of Segmentary Tribes

- A. Band Organization, Non-centralized Societies like the Australian and Pygmy tribes and the tribes like the Zikrila Apache and The Plateau Tonga (Calson1) are the simplest political and social organizations among the most "nonpenalized" societies. They consist of relatively continuous, loose groups,

families and regional units. Labor has little division and except inter-marriage interactions and inter-dependence are relatively small. The roles are mainly allocated to family members and other small specialists' groups, and sometimes there are relatively low opportunities for separate initiatives and achievements except for leadership. The main goal is to adapt and conduct the orientation; That is, adaptation with the physical environment, the collection of welfare for the tribe and maintenance of the main patterns of its life. These goals are achieved through internal activities of the main sub-group of society and through their interaction. As the stratification system is as insofar, these units are focused on these units, in terms of general conduct and some of the relative assets between local and kinship groups. In these tribes, we find a high level of self-control of a few fixed "political" positions and original elements groups.

- B. The "Classical" Segmentary Tribes. Classical Divisional Associations are best exemplified by Talensi and Bantu Cavirodo (Wagner 1949) and less good by Nuer. Of these, the basic clan groups-the primary carriers of the most genealogical role and the work of the work. A higher degree of units of different components contains inter-dependency and complementary. The main unit of social specialization is the clan, that is, a part of the clan where the members are hereditary to each other. The breeds can be depth of different generations and can be divided after some generations, but the general identity of the general predeceases or continues. Here dietary and groups are usually local groups with a strong corporate organization. Their interconnection is defined in corporate terms and the most important political, judicial and conduct interaction of their members is operated in the name of these corporate units, separate members act as the misrepresentatives.

Two types of chiffomes, ma'am and pickle Tenda AM (Earth's keeper); The first one is related to the earth and the second is rich with rainfall capabilities. Both of these offices are permanently vested in certain groups, and thus the main office of leadership lives incorporate kinship groups. There are some competitions about the dignity and influence between different clauses and the irrespective officials, though these relative positions are seemingly defined by the values of the Tradition and the influential conduct of the society. The leaders of the society are mainly concerned about the

customary activities and in a small degree with the settlement of the dispute between the clan. In most cases, the single lineage is the unit of combined action. Most administrative-technical problems are settled and organized in the maximum clan, and the maximum combined verbs are such as the organization of phishing campaign-if not fully in the province of the clan. In addition to inter-marriage and kinship relations, most of the interactions in the clan are related to the conduct and much less with economic activities. It is the case that the main values of society are false.

- C. Universalistic (Age-Groups) Segmentary Tribes. The Nandi and Masai have usually been regarded as falling within the segmentary category, but nevertheless differ from the tribe just described (Eisenstadt 1954b; 1956: Ch. III, Bibliography). There are no corporate lineages: the clans and subclans are not territorial organizations, and the territorial groups are not composed of homogeneous kin and family elements. The kin group does not constitute the basic unit of the social division of labor, and the main political roles are allocated according to universalistic criteria of membership. There is also some achievement orientation with respect to excellence in warfare and, to a lesser degree, accumulation of wealth. The main goal and value orientations are in the fields of ritual and warfare, where social differentiation is highest. Inter- action between the various subunits of these tribes is regulated by a purely local and territorial hierarchy, beginning with the smallest units, and extending upward toward the wider and more inclusive ones. The judicial system is similarly organized. Quarrels which cannot be settled within a small local unit, or in which several such units are involved, are settled by representatives of larger territorial units; nowhere are these judiciary offices vested in representatives of lineages, clans, or other kin groups. The same holds true of ritual offices. The extent of self-regulation of the various kinship and territorial groups is somewhat smaller than in the former types, and there are groups of elders or "village" councilmen which, while they do not have great formal power, are an important factor in molding public opinion and in mediating and resolving conflicts. There also appear semi formalized leaders and chiefs with rather special positions. Unlike positions of leadership among the segmentary tribes, these are not necessarily vested in any lineage or other group but are achieved through individual attainment. Such leaders are important in making decisions regarding wars or raids.

The specific organizations for the implementation of warfare are the military regiments and the age-groups, which need not be identical but usually have a strong interrelationship (Eisenstadt 1956; *op. cit.*). They cut across kinship and local ties and perform important functions in warfare and other collective activities such as the juridical process. In connection with these collective activities, as well as with some of the disputes that may arise, we find a certain amount of what we have called party-political activities. Disputes may arise as to the wisdom of a certain policy, initiation of a war-party, allocation of available manpower for tribal tasks, and there also may be in- formal competition between individuals for positions in the tribal council or tribunals.

- D. The "Associational" Tribes. A type of tribe which does not have centralized political organization can be found among some of the Plains and Pueblo groups, especially the Hopi, the Zuni (Eggan 1950; Titiev 1944), the Kiowa and other Plains societies (Lowie 1916; Bowers 1950). In most of these tribes with the partial exception of five Plains tribes which have a strong age- group organization and a larger extent of individual achievement orientation (Eisenstadt 1954a) the most important offices are vested either in members of hereditary kinship groups or in members of the various associations which are characteristic of these tribes. As a general rule, these associations perform important functions in integrating the various kinship and territorial groupings, and membership in them is largely determined on the particularistic grounds of kinship and personal relations. There are few full-fledged political offices and organizations which are distinct from other roles and groups. Some types of chiefs exist whose main functions are performance of rituals and mediation, and who usually have little coercive power or authority. On the whole, the various kinship, territorial, and associational groups are self-regulatory. These different types of groups tend to perform complementary functions in the integration of the tribe, although they may not always succeed in coping with all the tensions that exist and in regulating all the interrelationships between the component groups. The main goal and value orientations of these societies are similar to those of the tribes previously discussed, but some important differences exist between them. Among the Pueblos the main values are ritual- adaptive ones, while among the Plains tribes there is a greater emphasis on achievements

in war and on pursuit of collective goals, and these have repercussions on the structure and goals of the associations.

The principal exception to this relative lack of coordinated activity is found among the Plains tribes, during the periods when the bands gather and engage in common efforts-especially in hunting and war expeditions. On these occasions, a relatively distinct leadership emerges, various associations perform basic directive functions, and their chiefs become fully authorized leaders of the tribe (Mandelbaum 1956). One association is delegated the task of directing the expeditions, another has the full policing authority. The emergence of specific executive and juridical positions is here closely related to the need to perform common collective tasks and to regulate the available manpower re-sources for their execution. The extent of party-politics was relatively small, although competition existed among various associations for prestige, for the performance of different ritual functions, and for ownership of various "bundles."

- E. The Ritually Stratified Tribes. The Annak (Evans-Pritchard 1940b), the Shilluk (Butt 1952) and the Ankole (Oberg 1940) display many differences, but share common characteristics in political organization. Among them we find some degree of differentiation and stratification in the ritual-symbolic field, but very little in any other major field of social life. The main goal-orientations are collective-ritual, i.e., are expressed in attempts to "wrest" ritual power on behalf of various collectivities. These goals constitute the common tribal framework of interaction and afford the main criteria of stratification, according to which the lineages and kinship groups are judged. These groups are relatively self-sufficient economically and administratively but interact in ritual matters. In most of these societies, there are two "classes"- nobles and commoners. The nobles are the active competitors for the main political positions, which entail little actual authority and power. Their political systems can best be described as centralized, stratified, focused on competition for ritual positions, and with minimal administrative and juridical organization. The chiefs and nobles may distribute any surplus to their followers. They have little juridical power, and most subunits of the society (lineages, villages) enjoy relative autonomy and regulate most of their own affairs. The main value of political positions is symbolic-ritual and, in the words of Evans- Pritchard (1940b: 138) "it is the acceptance

of a common value, and not corporate action, which constitutes the policy." Around these ritual positions a continuous struggle is waged between nobles of different lineages, who try to mobilize support among the commoners. Thus, we find a rather intensive pattern of party-political activities which gives rise to a special type of political intermediary—a member of the class of commoners who is in the political service of a noble or chief, organizes his supporters, and comes to his aid in various quarrels. Beyond these activities, focused on the ritual-political field, there are few specialized, administrative, or executive activities or organizations.

- F. **Acephalous, Autonomous Villages.** The so-called acephalous villages are best exemplified by the Yako (Forde 1939, 1950), Ibo, Ibibio (Green 1947), and some Yoruba groups (Lloyd 1954). Their main specific characteristic is the presence of so-called associations that have an especially important place in their life. The graded titles and membership positions in these associations are not hereditarily vested in families, lineages, or other descent groups, but are acquired individually, although perhaps with the help of the families. Thus, the main principles of role allocation are here universalistic, achievement-oriented, and to some degree specialized. Most of the specialization is especially prominent in the activities related to the attainment of instrumental gratification and economic and social goals, which are also the main values of the society. Among the Yako, the most fully described of these peoples, the village (or town) is divided into several wards which form the basic administrative units of the society. Within these wards several family groups and patri-clans live together, while other members of the same patri-clans may be found in other wards. Except on the lower, family-unit level, the organization of the ward is not based on the corporate interaction of the family and kin groups. The patri-clan has certain corporate functions, and its heads perform both ritual and judiciary roles, but this is true only with respect to members of other patri-clans, members of a ward, or to the common economic enterprises and ritual observances which bind the village together. The common affairs of the ward are supervised by various officers, elected not on the basis of kin affiliation or membership but on the basis of wealth, age, wisdom, and various other personal qualities and attainments. Among the Yako we also find a relatively more complicated governmental system than in the former types. The main centers of power

are the ward and village councils, and the associations divide among themselves, as it were, many functions of government and social control. Quite strong competition exists between individuals over the attainment of positions within the associations, semipolitical positions as ward heads or members of the village council, and between some of the associations as to their relative influence in village life. Here is high degree of group interaction, especially in the economic field. Each group is to a large extent dependent on the labor force of other groups, and many economic tasks are undertaken in common by a ward or village. The extent of economic activities also explains the great importance of various technical-administrative activities within the structure of governmental framework. Thus, we find that one of the main concerns of the "central authorities" is to arrange for common economic activities, maintenance of the water supply, or clearing of the bush. Most activities are performed by members of various age groups and are directed by village and association officials. As has already been implied, most of the higher "political" positions are closely related to positions in associations, but at the same time certain more specialized political, and especially administrative, positions also tend to develop. Here are special administrators of the various wards or of the village councils, who are usually in charge of the administrative works performed by the age groups.

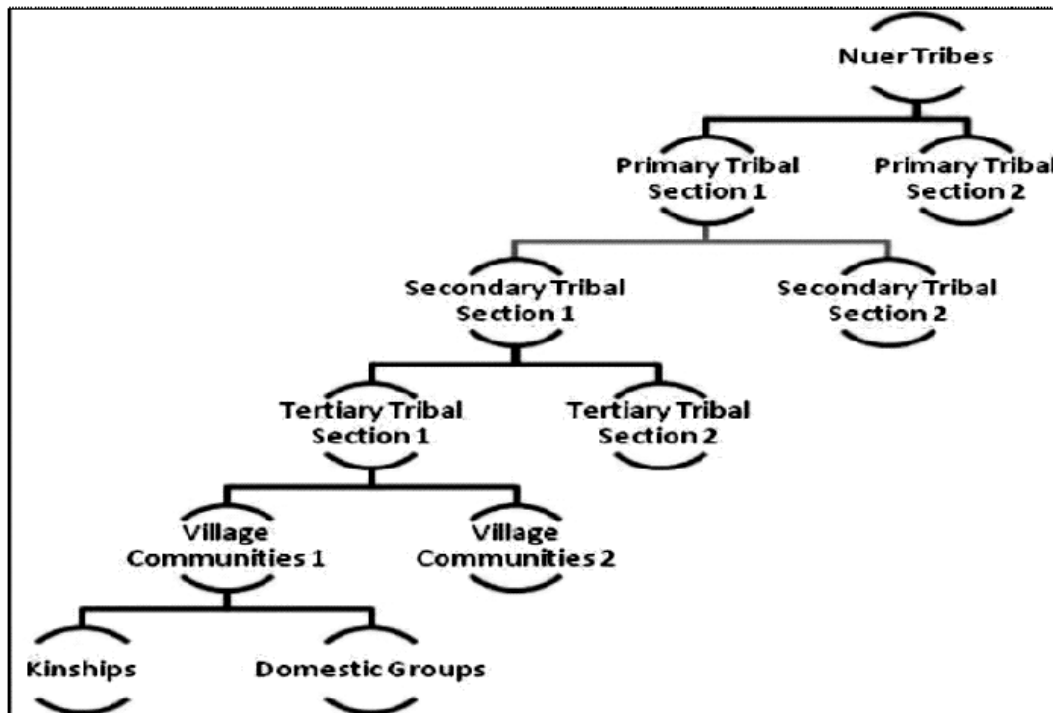
8.5 Origins of Segmentary Political System

The building concepts of the theory of divisional clan came from the work of the 19th century social thinkers. The concept of society consisting of mutually similar and economically independent sections appears on Durkheim's *de La Division Du Travail Social* (1893). It is a basis for his concept of 'mechanical solidarity'. Another effect was an evolutionary theory of 'primitive society' among others by Morgan (5777) and Maine (6619). These scholars consolidate the society as the main force focus on kinship. The underlying issue was involved in the constitution of primitive politics and civilized political discipline. Two sets of principles were considered important. First, an interplay between 'blood' (kinship) and 'soil' (region). Secondly, an interplay in the family (considered as a bilateral detected web of relative members) and in the clan. These and other influences intersected in several classical ethnographic in the 1940s, namely the African political system (Forts and Evans-Proven 1940), the mobility of kinship between The Nur and Talenci (Forts

1945). A difference was made between the domestic and public domains. The public domain emphasized that the emphasis was on the zero aspects of kinship as opposed to inter-existing relationships, which were considered important in the domestic domain. The main point raised by Fortes and Evans-Prichard is the control of social discipline and political life in the so-called 'stateless society' of Colon. Their analysis led to the combined functionality of Malinovsky with the then influential temporary (religion, magic) and the geographical (Pacific Islands) busyness and a fancy idea of social structure. The Radcliffe-Brown social structure realized as a relationship between individuals when his students defined Forts and Evans-Proved as a relationship between groups. The central innovation of Fortes and Evans-Pritchard's theory was that in the 'stateless society', the public was controlled by supplementary opposition to the fusing and dividing departments whose membership was defined by descent. It has now been acknowledged that the society that served as a blueprint for departmental theory was not so much Nurbut the Arabtribes of the Middle East. They described Robertson-Smith in Arab(1) early in his kinship and marriage, a study that imagined the nature of the 19th century family, kinship, territory, and the nature of society above. The book influenced Evans-Proved, who operated the field work in Libya, not only in the British-administrated Sudan and Kenya, in the sixties. As a result, the monograph, the sire nicker Sanusi appeared in 1949, but the field work in the priestly Bedouin was simultaneously conducted with Nuer. There was a major impact on the chain of departmental theoretical. It stimulates a number of detailed ethnographic studies, bringing the conceptual innovation of the then influential anthropology of Malinovsky and Radcliffe-Brown, and provoked the long-standing ethnographic controversy. It also provided a model of social discipline maintenance in equilibrium society except the central government. Nevertheless, the weaknesses of theory were sufficient and from the 1960s its criticism was destructive. Yet there is a field where the theory of divisional breed provokes motions and curiosity: analysis of tribal societies in the dry region of the Islamic world, extending from Morocco to Pakistan. The story begins and ends 'where the brothers come together with the brothers against their cousins and then come together with the cousins to fight a common enemy ...' In the past, the way the theory of the departmental clan was achieved in the pioneer seems to be coincidental instead of a well-thought-out theoretical change. Among the Arabs described by Robertson-Smith, the cultural and social importance of partialities and a common interest in the two editors of the two African political systems in 'stateless'

societies have given the theoretical importance to the role of unilateral relatives in political life.

8.6 Segmentary Distribution Chart



8.7 Conclusion

Generally, sectional debate reflects the mobility of the discipline in the 1970s and 1980s. Some say this period in the history of social science in the history of linguistic or relative turning. In anthropology it was seen that the cultural school was trying to win over the already established ethnographic system. Recently, there was a small replay of the debate about the use of departmental theory in Iran tribes. It was strongly echoed with the view of Morocco's example, and from structural effectiveness to northern modernist involves a complete spectrum of view. However, these historical triphasic considerations will not attract our attention from a series of coincidences that transformed the divisional debate of Morocco anthropology. The two most prominent scholars and prisons of prisons were conducted by the long-term field work near each other. So, it happened that the cultural school

confronted one of the hardest supporters of explaining the effectiveness of anthropology (prisoner) in its most pure form. And from there cent details of the hall (HoC.) it is clear that culturalists in the gelner did not only face a scholar who contained the opposite philosophical estimate, but the belief in the accuracy of these assumptions was derived from the history of a particular life. The second noticeable coincidence is the situation of notifying the position of most American field workers. The results are known. The commanding theoretical impact of Clifford Girts must have been due to a mixture of reasons: Jeartz's scholar fame, his literary qualities, the fact that he has led a group of undergraduate students and supervised some of them, even his personality.

8.8 Summary

A subset of your analysis data in a section. For example, one of your users' complete sets can be used from a particular country or city. The other category may be the users who buy a specified line of the product or those who go to the specified part of your site. The categories allow you to disconnect and analyze those subsets of the data so you can check and respond to the trends of your business components. For example, if you see that users in a particular geographical area are usually not buying a line of products like them, you can see if a competing business is supplying the same product at a lower price. If it is seen as a case, you can respond with a loyal discount for users who reduce the prices of your contestant. You can also use categories as the basis of the audience. For example, you can create a category of users who visit your men's wear pages and the only those users (your audience) target with are-marketing promotion that focus on new items that you are adding to those pages. When you apply a section and navigate through your report, the section is active until you remove it. You can apply up to four categories at a time and compare separate data in your report as well as you can use as given, or you can copy and edit to create new custom categories. You can also create your own sections from scratch. Also, you can import categories from the Analytics Solution Gallery, a free market where the analysis users have developed those segments and other solutions.

8.9 Question

G-A (5marks each)

1. Define political system.
2. Why are political systems classified?
3. Mention some bases on which political systems are classified?

G-B (10marks each)

4. What is the link between political system and society?
5. What do you understand by the term Segmentary society?
6. What are the features of a Segmentary State?

8.10 Suggested Readings

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Unit 9 □ Totalitarian Political Systems: Meaning and Characteristics

Structure

- 9.1 Objectives**
- 9.2 Introduction**
- 9.3 Definitions of Totalitarianism**
- 9.4 Characteristics of Totalitarianism**
- 9.5 Disadvantages or Demerits of Totalitarianism**
- 9.6 Advantages or Merits of Totalitarianism**
- 9.7 Conclusion**
- 9.8 Summary**
- 9.9 Questions**
- 9.10 Suggested Readings**

9.1 Objectives

In this unit we shall attempt to understand the defining characteristics and meaning of Totalitarianism. As already mentioned in the introduction to this module, we shall study about different dominant political systems that are found commonly across the world. Totalitarianism, either in its pure form or in spirit or style of governance, still prevails amongst modern day democratic systems. In this unit we shall discuss the following:

- Some important and popular definitions of Totalitarianism
- The main characteristics of Totalitarianism
- The demerits or disadvantages of a Totalitarian political system
- The merits of a Totalitarian political system
- An evaluation of Totalitarian political systems

9.2 Introduction

"The ideal subject of totalitarian rule is not the convinced Nazi or the convinced Communist, but the people for whom the distinction between fact and fiction (i.e., the reality of experience) and the distinction between true and false (i.e., the standards of thought) no longer exist." - Hannah Arendt, *The Origins of Totalitarianism*.

As a political ideology and a political system, Totalitarianism implies total and absolute control by one or few over the large majority of people, spanning all aspects of their lives and even attempts to pervade their minds besides controlling and dictating all their actions. It believes in the infallibility of the ruler or leader and his ideology and is convinced that this leader alone can salvage a people from all their troubles and lead the latter to eternal glory, peace, and prosperity. On this basis, Totalitarianism demands absolute allegiance and blind support for the leader from the people and anyone who dares question the leader is inevitably marked as an enemy of the people and the nation. While dictatorial regimes are overtly Totalitarian, even countries with democratic political systems may be seen to follow a totalitarian style of governance. In short, any political system that directly or indirectly, overtly, or covertly seeks to control the mind and actions of the people it governs is totalitarian - in letter or spirit or both. In the history of the world totalitarian political systems and totalitarian styles of rule have emerged essentially during times of crises and chaos when a vacuum arises in the political sphere and there is a general lack of sense of direction amongst the masses. The rise of Hitler to power is the perfect example of such a situation. The total loss of face of Germany, at the end of the First World War, the humiliating terms of the Versailles Treaty, the desertion of Germany by its monarch, the unpreparedness of the German people to run a democracy all combined together to create intense political chaos, confusion, and a vacuum in the political sphere. Hitler took advantage of this situation and was able to convince Germans that he alone could retrieve Germany's lost glory and restore to her the power and honour that were rightfully hers' or rather, his, as Germany is the only country that is referred to as 'Fatherland' and not 'Motherland'. Such was the charismatic authority of Hitler that he could convince Germans to follow all his orders blindly even when these were inhuman in the extreme. Since a study of Hitler's totalitarian rule does not directly fall under the scope of this unit, we shall look at the general definitions, chief characteristics, major disadvantages, and the few advantages that totalitarianism has.

9.3 Definitions of Totalitarianism/ Totalitarian political systems

Totalitarian political systems are understood as those which exercise total or complete control over all aspects of the lives of the citizens. Carl J Friedrich in his book *Totalitarianism* (1954) has given the following six features of totalitarianism which may be summed up to arrive at a definition of totalitarianism:

- a) The presence of an all-embracing ideology
- b) A single party, committed to that ideology
- c) Police power based on terror
- d) A monopoly over all means of political communication by the state
- e) A monopoly of weaponry by the state
- f) A centralized economy and control of all organizations.

Z.K. Brzezinski has added to the above features by Friedrich to indicate the purpose of totalitarian regimes. In his book, *Political Ideology and Power* (1967), he wrote: "Totalitarianism is a system in which technologically advanced instruments of political power are wielded without restraint by a centralized leadership of an elite movement, for the purpose of effecting a total social revolution, including the conditioning of man on the basis of certain ideological assumptions proclaimed by the leadership, in an atmosphere of coerced unanimity of the entire population."

Hannah Arendt in her book, *The Origins of Totalitarianism* (1951), has identified total terror as the essential characteristic of a totalitarian regime. J.L. Talmon looked upon the totalitarian ruler as one who possessed a 'messianic' character and relieved the masses from some huge national crisis. David Apter, on the other hand, believes that the essence of totalitarianism lies in the fact that it is able to diminish or annihilate all boundaries between the state and all the social groups within it and also between the state and the individual personalities on the other hand.

Darrell Anderson, in "What is Liberty?" famously wrote: "Somebody once declared that only two political theories that are completely consistent are anarchy and totalitarianism. Anarchy fully embraces the concept of Self; totalitarianism fully rejects that concept."

Hannah Arendt in the preface to *The Origins of Totalitarianism* wrote: "The totalitarian attempt at global conquest and total domination has been the destructive way out of all impasses. Its victory may coincide with the destruction of humanity; wherever it has ruled, it has begun to destroy the essence of man."

The most scathing remark on a totalitarian state was perhaps made by George Orwell in his novel *1984* where he writes, "If you want a vision of the future, imagine a boot stamping on a human face - forever". He writes of a surveillance state where an unseen eye is watching every action and determining every move of every single individual within an omniscient, omnipotent, omnipresent totalitarian state.

9.4 Characteristics of Totalitarianism

Having read some of the most common and popular definitions of totalitarianism, let us now discuss the key features or characteristics of totalitarian political systems:

- The government is believed to possess some special or unique quality which is exclusive to the ruler. Fascist dictators like Mussolini of Italy and Hitler of Germany were placed on a high pedestal and their decisions were considered to be infallible, beyond doubt and question. Robert Cecil wrote in *The Future of Civilization* that "...totalitarianism leads to idolatry. It becomes not a principle of politics but a new religion and, let me add, a false religion." Indeed, totalitarian leaders go to extensive lengths to convince people that they alone have the power and the capability to right all wrongs, to solve all problems, to counter all threats that the people are faced with. These leaders possess what has been termed as charismatic authority by Max Weber. Their personalities, oratorical skills, speeches can quite literally hypnotize masses of people into believing and following them. The ruler in fact, gets deified and his ideology becomes a sort of a religion, albeit a false one, but one that can create as much faith and mass hysteria as a real religion does. People become willing to die or to kill for the sake of the ruler or his ideology.
- The ideology of the ruler, dictator in case of rightist totalitarianism and the Communist ideology in case of the leftist totalitarianism, is given highest supremacy. No other competing ideology is usually allowed to exist or if in existence, is highly controlled. As Edward R. Murrow pointed out, that

the right of dissent is one of the most fundamental features of any democratic society and this very right to dissent is the first thing taken away from a nation that has "stumbled upon totalitarianism". The motto of totalitarian regimes is one leader, one ideology, one party. In fact, it appears to be a perverted version of the Aristotelian idea of nothing above the state, nothing outside the state.

- The state is of a corporate nature in the totalitarian system. The individual is subordinate to the state and in case of a conflict between the interest of the state and the interest of the people, the former shall always prevail. The individual will always remain a part of the whole which is the state. Totalitarianism is an apt example of the Organic theory of the state which looks upon the state as an organic whole composed of parts, the people being parts of the state. However, in totalitarianism, people are not equally important as the state. They are subjugated to the state. In fact, the state is eulogised to such an extent that people lose their rights and freedoms and are convinced that it is for their own benefit that they follow the state and compromise their rights and liberties! Noam Chomsky wrote: "It's ridiculous to talk about freedom in a society dominated by huge corporations. What kind of freedom is there in a corporation? They're totalitarian institutions - you take orders from above and maybe give them to people below you."
- Totalitarian states support one party system. Since ideological plurality is not endorsed, the party system comprises of a single political party, led by the single leader, which rules according to the ideology of the ruler. In some cases, other political parties and organizations may be legally banned or, when these are allowed to exist, these are kept under strict control and vigilance of the state.
- Though differentiated political structures may exist in a totalitarian state, these are compelled to function only in accordance with the wishes and the permission of the ruler. Sometimes, the leaders of a totalitarian state may attempt to create the illusion of the importance of the views and opinions of the people, their rights and liberties and create an illusion of a democratic style of governance. But at the core, no matter how many political offices and tiers of governance are created, political power remains strictly confined and concentrated in the hands of the ruler.

- The political culture of the totalitarian state is one of passive recipient type. The people or citizens of such a state are constantly made to feel that the ruler has their best interest in his mind and consent is sought through perfunctory elections, the nature of this consent is neither spontaneous nor real. Citizens receive orders and commands from the leader and act according to these. Dissent is not encouraged and mostly meets with severe punishment and violent subversion.
- Political socialization in totalitarian regimes is a conscious function, performed most earnestly by the party of the ruler or the ruling party, as the case may be. The ruling party usually has a separate department responsible for spreading the ideas and ideals cherished by the ruler. Books, pamphlets, magazines and journals are written to glorify the ruler and the ruler's ideology. School books, especially those of History have been re-written with the intention to endorse in young minds a particular view of history.
- A totalitarian state represents a closed society. A society where the Press and means of mass communication are closely controlled by the state. Access to books, journals, newspapers, radio and television programmes are supervised and controlled by the state. Arendt has also written on how the leaders in totalitarian regimes manufacture or mould facts to retain the allegiance of the masses and their faith in the leader. She writes: "Before mass leaders seize the power to fit reality to their lives, their propaganda is marked by its extreme contempt for facts as such, for in their opinion fact depends entirely on the power of man who can fabricate it." Usually, free exchange of ideas and information within and outside the state is lacking in such societies.
- Coercion or use of physical force is a monopoly of the state and one that is frequently used by the state to generate consent and submission through fear where it is not spontaneous. Hitler had infamously pointed out that "War is to Man what Motherhood is to a Woman." This remark is particularly indicative of the intimate relationship between totalitarian regimes and violence. The police force, the armed forces and especially the secret services at the disposal of the totalitarian state makes it insurmountable and difficult to challenge or oppose. As Noam Chomsky has pointed out in *Media Control: The Spectacular Achievements of Propaganda* Tags, "Propaganda is to

democracy what the bludgeon is to a totalitarian state." Arendt too has pointed out that: "Totalitarianism is never content to rule by external means, namely, through the state and a machinery of violence; thanks to its peculiar ideology and the role assigned to it in this apparatus of coercion, totalitarianism has discovered a means of dominating and terrorizing human beings from within." Thus, we see that to Arendt, totalitarianism combines an oppressive ideology with the use of the armed forces and propaganda to establish total control over the minds and lives of the people.

- Elections, when conducted, are usually a farce and an eyewash. There is hardly any element of honesty in the election results because no real freedom of choice is available to the people. In most cases periodic elections at regular intervals are not a feature of totalitarian states at all.
- The concept of accountability of the ruler to the ruled is conspicuous by its absence. Rather, the ruled are responsible for obeying the ruler's orders and commands under all circumstances. Diversity or plurality of opinion is not tolerated and in fact, brutally suppressed by the state and the powers-that-be. Francis A. Schaeffer wrote in *How Should We Then Live? The Rise and Decline of Western Thought and Culture*, "No totalitarian authority nor authoritarian state can tolerate those who have an absolute by which to judge that state and its actions."
- All means of political communication are owned and managed exclusively by the state. Paul Joseph Goebbels was a German Nazi politician who was appointed as the chief propagandist and later, Reich Minister of Propaganda by Hitler to control exactly what news was available to the Germans. All news, information, antisemitic views were monitored closely by Goebbels, and it was he who created intense pressure upon Hitler to step up 'total war' against the Jews. One can imagine how important a role political communication must have in a totalitarian regime when one considers that controlling the thoughts, ideas and opinions of the people could ensure that the ruler remained in power and his wishes were carried out.
- Political recruitment is also conducted exclusively by the ruling party or the party of the ruler. Young men and women are indoctrinated with the ruling ideology and recruited directly to the lower rungs of the party and promoted to the higher echelons based on their loyalty to the party ideology and them

active participation in spreading the views, ideals and orders of the ruler and the ruling party.

- Mehmet Murat Ildan has succinctly written that "Some countries are ruled by humans, but some are ruled by animals! Totalitarian one-man regimes, where opponents are arrested for fabricated reasons, freedom of expression is restricted, reason, logic and science are not prevalent in the country, and religious oppression is effective in all areas of society are in the second group!"

9.5 Disadvantages or Demerits of Totalitarianism

On the basis of the above-mentioned features, we may try to evaluate the merits and demerits of the system discussed in this module: totalitarian system. The demerits or disadvantages of the totalitarian political system are obvious to the reader at once. These are:

- a) A totalitarian system rests mostly upon fear in the hearts and minds of the members of such a system rather than their spontaneous and rational consent to the rule of the leader.
- b) Force, violence, and various kinds of severe punishment are meted out to anyone who disobeys the dictate of the leader or ruler. Violence is an inseparable part of a totalitarian regime, and it is responsible for guaranteeing stability and apparent peace and order to the political system in such a state. Hitler is said to have commented that 'War is to man what maternity is to women.' This valorization of the use of violence as a means to extract obedience from the subjects is an essential feature of totalitarian regimes. Fear of negative sanctions compels political obligation and eliminates the scope for consensual politics completely. Moreover, this feature is dangerous because it looks upon the use of force or violence as the only means of dispute or conflict resolution, whether within or outside the state. This could well breed a genre of politics where every conflict could only be resolved through war, civil or international. This type of 'war mongering' could hardly leave any scope for peace and development.
- c) As mentioned above, the totalitarian political system is essentially a closed political system. The constant monitoring of public life and invasion into the private lives of individuals destroys all the private space and right to

privacy of the individuals. Even matters that are essentially personal in nature like choice of authors and poets one wants to read or work of art (cinema, paintings, television programmes, literature and so on) that one would prefer to engage in, choice of life partner (mostly, the ethnic and racial origin becomes important here) even the number of children that a married couple wishes to have been under constant vigilance of the omnipresent state. Under such surveillance by the state the individuals obviously suffer from the fear and apprehension that they are constantly being watched.

- d) Since all the powers are vested in a single party or a single leader in a totalitarian political system, there is no choice available to the masses in such cases where elections are held. Singular political ideology obviously discourages political debates and discussions and in turn creates political apathy amongst the common masses who are fearful of inviting the wrath of the omnipotent leader by digress from the ruling political ideology. Meek submission and silent subservience to the leader are thus, another disadvantage of a totalitarian political system.
- e) The main logic of the totalitarian political system of putting the state on a higher pedestal and making individual interests subservient to it is like putting the cart before the horse. After all, we must not forget that the institution of the state was created to fulfill certain basic and essential needs of individuals and to help individual as to lead a peaceful social existence. To subjugate individual interest to the interest of the state enslaves the very individuals for whom the state was created in the first place!
- f) The totalitarian political system also undermines the individual's rationality and capacity to take decisions in his own interest as well as the interest of the community. It negates the existence of the individuals in whose interest it claims to exist. The will and consent of the individual are completely ignored by such a state.
- g) A totalitarian state is created and sustained on the basis of creation of a substantial 'Other', the enemy, to defeat whom the totalitarian leader supposedly exercises unlimited power. For instance, Hitler fed upon the sentiments of defeatism and hopelessness that prevailed in the hearts and minds of the Germans in the post- First World War phase and promised to resurrect Germany to its pre- War glory and power under his leadership. Once he

captured political power, he constructed the Jews as the "Other" because of whom the racial purity of the Germans had been polluted and lost and had finally led to the downfall of the supreme Aryan race that the Germans were. Such was Hitler's charismatic authority that he did manage to convince Germans that the Jews they that cohabited with, for centuries were indeed responsible for the defeat and downfall of the Germans and generated manifest or latent compliance to all the acts of atrocities that Hitler and his followers perpetrated against the Jews.

9.6 Advantages or Merits of Totalitarianism

While the above are a few of the disadvantages of a totalitarian political system, we may also look into a few advantages of this type of political system as pointed out by political thinkers over the ages. These are:

- a) Since a totalitarian state is ruled by a single party and a single leader, it is better equipped to deal with all sorts of emergencies, political economic or social, both within the country and also in case of international politics. This is because decision making happens only at the level of the topmost leaders and only core members of the ruling party take part in such making decision-process. This makes decision making quick and easy and facilitates the process of carrying out decisions too. In the democratic countries where members of the ruling party, across all levels of hierarchy and the views of even opposition members have to be taken into consideration. This makes the process of decision making cumbersome and time-consuming.
- b) The existence of a single leader, a single political party and the predominance of a singular political ideology helps to establish uniformity and coherence of law and policies across the entire masses of the people living in a totalitarian political system. There remains no ambiguity regarding what is permissible and what is not, in such a system. This clarity coupled with fear of punishment helps in the maintenance of law and order in the state. Though critics prefer to call it the peace of a cemetery.

9.7 Conclusion

The above-mentioned features of totalitarian political system are indicative and not exhaustive because the very term 'totalitarian system' is an ideal type or

generalization, the features of which differ from case to case in reality. However, this much is clear to us that on a political spectrum, we would place totalitarianism on the opposite end of democracy.

9.8 Summary

In this unit we have looked at the meaning, definitions, characteristics, merits and demerits of Totalitarianism. As a political ideology and a political system, Totalitarianism implies total and absolute control by one or few over the large majority of people, spanning all aspects of their lives and even attempts to pervade their minds besides controlling and dictating all their actions. It believes in the infallibility of the ruler or leader and his ideology and is convinced that this leader alone can salvage a people from all their troubles and lead the latter to eternal glory, peace, and prosperity. On this basis, Totalitarianism demands absolute allegiance and blind support for the leader from the people and anyone who dares question the leader is inevitably marked as an enemy of the people and the nation. While dictatorial regimes are overtly Totalitarian, even countries with democratic political systems may be seen to follow a totalitarian style of governance.

This unit has cited some of the most common and popular definitions of totalitarianism that shall help students to understand the meaning of the term. Next, the unit has discussed the key features or characteristics of totalitarian political systems:

Firstly, the government is believed to possess some special or unique quality which is exclusive to the ruler. Fascist dictators like Mussolini of Italy and Hitler of Germany were placed on a high pedestal and their decisions were considered to be infallible, beyond doubt and question. Secondly, the ideology of the ruler, dictator in case of rightist totalitarianism and the Communist ideology in case of the leftist totalitarianism, is given highest supremacy. No other competing ideology is usually allowed to exist or if in existence, is highly controlled. Thirdly, the state is of a corporate nature in the totalitarian system. The individual is subordinate to the state and in case of a conflict between the interest of the state and the interest of the people, the former shall always prevail. Fourthly, the individual will always remain a part of the whole which is the state. Fifthly, Totalitarian states support one party system. Since ideological plurality is not endorsed, the party system comprises of a single political party, led by the single leader, which rules according

to the ideology of the ruler. Sixthly, though differentiated political structures may exist in a totalitarian state, these are compelled to function only in accordance with the wishes and the permission of the ruler. Seventhly, the political culture of the totalitarian state is one of passive recipient type. Eighthly, political socialization in totalitarian regimes is a conscious function, performed most earnestly by the party of the ruler or the ruling party, as the case may be. The ruling party usually has a separate department responsible for spreading the ideas and ideals cherished by the ruler. Ninthly, a totalitarian state represents a closed society. Tenthly, Coercion or use of physical force is a monopoly of the state and one that is frequently used by the state to generate consent and submission through fear where it is not spontaneous. Next, elections, when conducted, are usually a farce and an eyewash. There is hardly any element of honesty in the election results because no real freedom of choice is available to the people. Moreover, the concept of accountability of the ruler to the ruled is conspicuous by its absence. Also, all means of political communication are owned and managed exclusively by the state. Political recruitment is also conducted exclusively by the ruling party or the party of the ruler.

Next, the unit has also discussed the disadvantages or demerits of the totalitarian political regimes. Some of the most glaring demerits of the system are:

A totalitarian system rests mostly upon fear in the hearts and minds of the members of such a system rather than their spontaneous and rational consent to the rule of the leader. Secondly, force, violence and various kinds of severe punishment are meted out to anyone who disobeys the dictate of the leader or ruler. Violence is an inseparable part of a totalitarian regime, and it is responsible for guaranteeing stability and apparent peace and order to the political system in such a state the totalitarian political system is essentially a closed political system. The constant monitoring of public life and invasion into the private lives of individuals destroys all the private space and right to privacy of the individuals.

Singular political ideology obviously discourages political debates and discussions and in turn creates political apathy amongst the common masses who are fearful of inviting the wrath of the omnipotent leader by digress from the ruling political ideology. The main logic of the totalitarian political system of putting the state on a higher pedestal and making individual interests subservient to it is like putting the cart before the horse. The totalitarian political system also undermines the individual's rationality and capacity to take decisions in his own interest as well as the interest

of the community. A totalitarian state is created and sustained on the basis of creation of a substantial 'Other', the enemy, to defeat whom the totalitarian leader supposedly exercises unlimited power.

The unit has also discussed the very few merits that the Totalitarian system has. Since a totalitarian state is ruled by a single party and a single leader, it is better equipped to deal with all sorts of emergencies, political economic or social, both within the country and also in case of international politics. This is because decision making happens only at the level of the topmost leaders and only core members of the ruling party take part in such decision-making process. This makes decision making quick and easy and facilitates the process of carrying out decisions too. Also, the existence of a single leader, a single political party and the predominance of a singular political ideology helps to establish uniformity and coherence of law and policies across the entire masses of the people living in a totalitarian political system.

9.9 Questions

- **Answer the following questions in your own words:**

Group A (5 marks each)

1. Define totalitarian political system.
2. What role does political ideology play in a totalitarian system?
3. On what bases do totalitarian rulers establish their rules over the masses?
4. What do you understand by the term 'corporate state'?
5. What role does media play in totalitarian systems?
6. What kind of party systems are usually found in totalitarian systems?

Group B (10 marks each)

7. Write a note on the nature of the totalitarian state.
8. Comment on the nature of political culture and political socialization in totalitarian political systems.
9. Attempt a comparison between totalitarian and democratic systems of government.

10. Define totalitarian political system. Discuss critically the key features of this system.

9.10 Suggested Readings:

1. Heywood, Andrew (2007), *Political Ideologies: An Introduction*, Palgrave Macmillan, New York.
2. Johari, J.C. (2012), *Contemporary Political Theory: New Dimensions, Basic Concepts and Major Trends*, Sterling Publishers Private Limited, New Delhi
3. Gauba, O.P. (2014), *An Introduction to Political Theory*, Mayur Paperbacks, Noida

Unit 10 □ Democratic Political System: Meaning and characteristics

Structure

10.1 Objectives

10.2 Introduction

10.3 Historical Journey of Democracy as a Political Ideology

10.4 The Four Basic Principles of Democracy

10.5 Types of Democracy: Direct Democracy

10.6 Types of Democracy: Indirect Democracy

10.7 Types of Democracy: Constitutional Democracy

10.8 Types of Democracy: Monitory Democracy

10.9 Characteristics of Democracy

10.10 Advantages or Merits of Democracy

10.11 Disadvantages or Demerits of Democracy

10.12 Conclusion

10.13 Summary

10.14 Questions

10.15 Suggested Readings

10.1 Objectives

The primary objective of this unit is to discuss the concept of democracy as a political ideology and a political system. In doing so, this unit has discussed the following points:

- Definition of democracy
- The historical evolution of the concept of democracy
- The four pillars or basic principles of democracy
- Four different types of democracy: (a) Direct Democracy, (b) Indirect Democracy, (c) Constitutional Democracy and (d) Monitory Democracy

- The most important and defining characteristics of democracy
- The advantages or merits of democracy
- The disadvantages or demerits of democracy

10.2 Introduction

Democracy is undoubtedly the most common form of government in the present age. The term democracy is derived from two Latin roots: 'demos' and 'kratos'. 'Demos' refers to the people, while 'kratos' or 'cracy' means rule. Translated literally, democracy means the rule of the people. The most frequently quoted definition of democracy was given by American President, Abraham Lincoln in his Gettysburg address where he said: 'Democracy is government of the people, by the people and for the people'. In common perception, this translates to a government which is chosen, elected, or appointed by the people, the government remains accountable to the people and the rule is conducted in the interest of the people. In this simplistic definition of the term 'democracy' lies both its explanation and its inherent complexities. We shall deal with the problems in due course. The point to be noted at this juncture is that barring a few Communist regimes, most other countries in the world today, are democratic or claim to be so.

10.3 Historical Journey of Democracy as a Political Ideology

The discussions and debates on democracy are by no means modern, they date back to the ancient Greek empire, to Plato and Aristotle. Interestingly, democracy which is looked upon as the best possible form of government in the Modern Age, did not have a very positive journey to begin with. While Plato compared democracy to 'mob-rule', Aristotle was apprehensive about the lack of expertise and scope of active participation in the politics of the citizens in the political life of the city state. Aristotle looked upon democracy as a perverted form of the moral form of Polity. Moreover, the direct democracy practiced in Greek city-states like Athens, actually implied the participation of native adult Greek males to the exclusion of women, slaves and resident aliens.

During the Roman Age the size of the Empire and the constant incorporation of foreign territories implied that people of different racial and ethnic backgrounds were members of the Empire. Though local councils were elected, and people had the scope to participate in local politics, here too, the electorate was not universal.

Women were excluded from voting rights and participation in the political process while men were granted 'differential vote weightage' depending upon their social and economic status.

During the Middle Ages, there was no notion of democratic governance in Europe, as monarchies were established on the basis of Divine Right of Kings to rule. The people were subjects who would be guilty of committing both a crime and a sin if they dared to defy the orders or commands of the king, directly representing Divine Will. Sovereign power was the monopoly of the King, who was neither elected by the people, nor accountable to them for his acts of commission and omission. While the administrative or temporal affairs were completely run-in accordance with the will of the King, the spiritual domain was completely subject to the authority of the Church, represented at the highest level by the Pope.

Democracy, in its present form, arrived theoretically in the writings of Liberal thinkers, who proposed to limit the sphere of the power of the state based on the argument that human beings are rational and moral creatures who are capable of taking their own decisions and looking after their own interests. This control on the absolute power of the King was sought to be established by creating an elected Parliament. This idea was floated by writers like John Locke and other such Liberal thinkers. Here too, the electorate did not include all residents of the state. It excluded women, illiterate people, unpropertied people and so on. In other words, what prevailed was qualified suffrage or limited right to vote. Universal suffrage, or the right of all citizens to vote came very late in the day, preceded by suffragist movements demanding the inclusion of women, coloured people, cultural and racial minorities etc.

The journey or evolution of democracy, both as an ideology and as a political movement is still on and different forms and models of democracy have been emerging depending upon the exclusive nature of the societies in which a democratic government is to be set up.

10.4 The Four Basic Principles of Democracy

The four basic principles upon which any democratic government is founded are:

- 1) **Legitimacy:** As mentioned already, democracy is based on consent of the people and true power belongs to the people in a democracy. The government

in a democratic country is formed by that party which acquires the largest mandate or support of the people as expressed through free and fair elections, conducted at regular intervals. This mandate or support of the majority of the electorate gives legitimacy to the government.

- 2) **Justice:** A democratic government has to ensure that its citizens are treated with dignity and equality of status and opportunity. This may be ensured through a combination of constitutionalism, free elections, and reasonable restrictions, both on the rights and liberties of the people and the power of the state.
- 3) **Freedom:** This is another basic principle of democracy. Freedom of the people in a democracy includes the right to self-determination, the freedom of choice, the freedom to do what the law of the land does not expressly forbid, access to political and civil liberties.
- 4) **Power:** The essence of a democracy is the absence of absolute power of the state. In other words, there are restrictions on the power of the state so that the rights and liberties of the people or citizens remain protected. There may be constitutional mechanisms like the principle of checks and balances, a written and rigid constitution, a free and fair judiciary, a free Press and Media etc., in order to ensure that the state is not in a position to abuse the power at its disposal.

10.5 Types of Democracy: Direct Democracy

In this unit we shall discuss four main types of democracy, beginning with Direct Democracy.

Direct democracy means direct participation of the electorate in all the decision-making processes of the political system. Moreover, not just in matters of electing the government and participating in the decision-making process, but the citizens or members of the electorate have such devices as referendum, initiative and recall at their disposal to maintain a check on the elected members of government. This implies continuous accountability of the government to the governed. A referendum is the process by which the government seeks the opinions of the citizens on laws and policies it formulates. Opinions, suggestions, and criticisms are welcome and mostly, incorporated in the final stage of formulation of that law or policy. Initiative is an endeavour or a campaign on part of the citizenry to propose to the government

the formulation of a new policy or law. If a petition is signed or supported by a substantial portion of the population, then the government is bound to take note of the demand of the people and undertake necessary action. Recall is another powerful device in the hands of the citizens in a direct democracy. It means that if the citizens are not satisfied with the work of an elected member from their constituency, they may call back that member before the expiration of his/her term of office.

Direct democracy was practiced in ancient Greek city states, like Athens and in modern times, Switzerland.

10.6 Types of Democracy: Indirect Democracy

Indirect democracy is also known as Representative Democracy, where members of the electorate elect representatives who take decisions on their behalf and who possess both time and expertise to dedicate to the political process with the objective of always protecting the interests of the people. Free and fair elections are conducted at regular intervals to ensure that accountability of the representatives to the people is maintained. Considering the large size of population of the democratic countries and the complexity of issues that the state has to deal with in a globalized world, indirect democracy is more common today than direct democracy. U.S.A, India, Great Britain are a few examples of indirect democracies.

10.7 Types of Democracy: Constitutional Democracy

This simply means that a constitution exists that clearly lays down the conditions under which a democratic government can be constituted and the modes of its functioning. The constitution acts as the guidebook or rulebook of the government and any confusion or conflicts that may arise with regards to the election and running of government are to be solved as per the provisions of the Constitution.

10.8 Types of Democracy: Monitory Democracy

John Keane, in his work, *Life and Death of Democracy* (2009) points out that a recent trend has arisen wherein the functioning of a democratic government is monitored by various national and international agencies, commission and bodies to examine if such governments are functioning in a proper, constitutional manner or not.

10.9 Characteristics of Democracy

Now we shall discuss the characteristic features of Democracy:

- Democracy is based upon the free and fair elections conducted at regular intervals to ensure the elected representatives remain alert and active and remember that they are accountable to the electorate. Democracy, thus, is incomplete without elections.
- Democracy is a government based upon the consent of the people, expressed through opinion polls, exit polls and at the highest level through election results.
- Government based on consent of the people automatically must remain accountable or answerable to the people. Power of government can never be absolute.
- Democratic governments have people as the source of their power.
- Democracy believes in and upholds liberty, equality, and justice of the people and for the people.
- In a democratic government secularism is a virtue. Secularism means separation of religion from politics. It also implies that the state shall not indulge in politics of discrimination based on cultural, ethnic, and religious factors.
- Since most modern states are multicultural and plural, democracies must protect and promote tolerance towards all shades of opinions. The right to disagree with others' views should be endorsed but intolerance of divergent and opposite views cannot be permitted in a democracy.
- Free Press and media are the fourth pillar of democracy. They are crucial in creating mass awareness and public opinion; hence, the Press and media should be free from corruption and manipulation, both by public and private agencies.
- Democratic governments should promote conflict resolution through peaceful means and negotiations rather than resorting to force, domination, and manipulation.
- Democratic governments, though elected because of majority support, cannot ignore the wellbeing, and demands of the minorities. They are duty bound

to ensure the establishment of social justice by including all groups in the list of beneficiaries of government plans and policies.

- The rights of a citizen are usually codified or written down clearly, either in the constitution or in a separate charter of rights of the citizen, in democratic countries so that there remains no ambiguity and confusion regarding the content, nature and scope of the rights of the citizens. No individual nor even the state has the right to infringe or encroach upon the rights of the individual citizens.
- The judiciary is responsible for ensuring that the rights of the citizens remain secure and in case of any trespasses or encroachments by any private or public agency, the individual may seek redressal from the judiciary. Thus, the judiciary, like the Press and Media, too needs to be free and impartial. It needs to be free from control and influence of both the political executive and the legislature (both these organs of government are predominantly run by the party that has acquired majority votes in the previous elections) and from the influence of money or muscle power of private individuals and groups. Moreover, the judiciary must be impartial and impersonal and not suffer from biases of caste, creed, religion, language, gender, race etc.
- Liberty, equality, justice, and rule of law are some of the commonly upheld values of democracies.

10.10 Advantages or Merits of Democracy

Based on the features of democratic political systems above, we may now discuss some of the merits and demerits of democratic political systems. The merits of this political system are rather obvious. These include the following core points:

- a) The rationality of the individual is recognized in this political system and the individual is allowed to make choices in all aspects of life, personal and public.
- b) The rights of the individuals are protected best, in comparison to other political systems, in a democratic political system.
- c) Consent and will of the individual are the basis of the sovereign authority in a democratic political system.

- d) Democratic political systems rest on consensual politics and create the space for political discussions and debates, and this helps to enhance the quality of the governance because accommodation of different and diverse views is bound to enrich the political discourse of a state.
- e) The practice of secularism and tolerance in democratic political systems also makes such systems more inclusive by allowing such sections of the population the right to voice their opinions in the public sphere that were earlier not allowed to participate in the mainstream politics of these systems.
- f) Democratic political systems also make the realization of social justice possible.
- g) Free Press and Media also allow greater freedom of expression and help in the processes of political socialization, political recruitment, and creation of public opinion.
- h) One other crucial advantage of democratic political system is that it creates scope for changing governments peacefully, through the ballot and not through the bullet. Citizens in a democracy have the right to vote a specific party out of power, peacefully. They do not have to resort to revolt or revolution every time they feel the need to change the party in power.
- i) The accountability that the government has towards the governed is yet another advantage of this system.
- j) There are diverse forms and models of democracy that are found in different countries across the globe that are suitable to the specific social, economic, and political ambience of these countries.

10.11 Disadvantages or Demerits of Democracy

The discussion above and our general perception of democracy almost succeeds in convincing us that democracy as a political ideology and a form of government is perhaps flawless. However, a study of the numerous countries that claim to be democratic and the diverse socio-economic, political, cultural conditions and varying levels of development in these countries, would stop us from over-simplifying and generalizing the universal success and infallibility of democracy. By development one must consider the basic indices of human well-being like, access to basic needs, health and education by all or majority citizens of a country, per capita income,

gross domestic productivity and so on. When we look at the Human Development Index Report, we find that not all democratic countries can claim to be equally developed. This should make us think that only adoption of democracy as the ruling political ideology and the established form of government, does not solve all problems that affect the lives of people. Thus, democracy is as much culpable to disadvantages or demerits as any other form of government. Let us now consider a few of these disadvantages:

- a) The very first objection to a democratic form of government was raised by Plato himself who referred to democracy as mob rule or mobocracy. Plato was convinced that the masses did not possess the capacities required to take judicious decisions that could enhance the quality of work of the government. It has been said that the execution of Socrates, Plato's teacher, and mentor and one of most well-known intellectuals of ancient Greece by the democratically elected council was perhaps the main reason why Plato looked upon democracy as a qualitatively poor form of government. Similar views are to be found in the views of Aristotle as well. Aristotle, Plato's student and the one who is known as 'the Father of Political Science' uses two points of reference: the number of people who rule and the end or purpose of a rule to classify governments into 'moral' and 'perverse' forms of government. He too, points out that democracy is a rule of the many with no one ruling to achieve the good of the whole country but each trying to maximize his own gains while in power. However, Aristotle opines that when many people rule, for the good of all, then that form of government is the best and he calls it Polity. The same concern with quality of rule is also expressed by John Stuart Mill who had pointed out that democracy sacrifices quality at the altar of quantity. The essence of this point is that rule by the majority often turns into majoritarianism where anything and everything can be done in the name of the majority.
- b) The second point of objection to a democratic government besides its mediocrity is the way it gives birth to populist politics. For the sake of winning elections political parties in democracies are often found to introduce such policies and programmes that may not be in the best interest of the country in the long run but may gain immediate popularity among sections of the population. For example, the recent trend of direct cash transfer to girl students, or, to certain backward sections of the population gain popularity

amongst the masses instantly but may end up creating too much pressure upon the state treasury in the long run.

- c) Like every other form of government, democratic regimes too put on the garb of morality and public interest in order to justify their policies and programmes but what is a matter of concern is that in countries that still have a predominance of identity politics (i.e., politics based on religion, race, language, ethnicity, caste etc.), public sentiments may be molded by populist leaders and politics to incite violence, disrupt public life and gain support for such policies and programmes that suit the majority.
- d) Another point of concern is that Free Press which is a necessity of a democracy has been found to be missing in most of the modern democracies. Though the illusion of free electronic and print media exists many media houses are indirectly and covertly owned, financed, or manipulated by the dominant political parties. This influences and manipulates public opinion.
- e) The same may be said of the judiciary which is yet another institution necessary for ensuring that a democratic government remains truly democratic. Not all but some judgements passed by the highest courts in recent times in countries like India, have clearly indicated the partiality of the judiciary towards a particular political ideology or party.

10.12 Conclusion

From the above features of democratic governments, this is indeed the best and the most people- friendly form of government. Yet, as John Stuart Mill mentioned, using Alexis de Tocqueville's words, it runs the danger of becoming a concentrated expression of "tyranny of the majority". Pertinent questions remain regarding the real capability of all citizens to understand and take informed decisions about complicated social, economic, and political issues. Mass choices do not always reflect qualitatively better choices and the masses are obviously more susceptible to the populist measures and political histrionics of the ruling party. Despite these obvious flaws, there seems to be no alternative in sight as far as an alternate model of politics is concerned, now.

10.13 Summary

Democracy is undoubtedly the most common form of government in the present

age. The term democracy is derived from two Latin roots: 'demos' and 'kratos'. 'Demos' refers to the people, while 'kratos' or 'cracy' means rule. Translated literally, democracy means the rule of the people. In this unit we have attempted to understand the historical journey of the concept, types, principles, features, demerits, and merits of democracy.

The most frequently quoted definition of democracy was given by American President, Abraham Lincoln in his Gettysburg address where he said: 'Democracy is government of the people, by the people and for the people'. The four basic principles upon which any democratic government is founded are:

Legitimacy, Justice, Freedom, and Power. Four different types of democracy have been discussed in this unit: (a) Direct Democracy, (b) Indirect or Representative Democracy, (c) Constitutional Democracy and (d) Monitory Democracy.

Next, the unit has discussed the defining characteristics of democracy. Democracy is based upon the free and fair elections conducted at regular intervals to ensure the elected representatives remain alert and active and remember that they are accountable to the electorate. Democracy, thus, is incomplete without elections. Democracy is a government based upon the consent of the people, expressed through opinion polls, exit polls and at the highest level through election results. Government based on consent of the people automatically must remain accountable or answerable to the people. Power of government can never be absolute. Democratic governments have people as the source of their power. Democracy believes in and upholds liberty, equality, and justice of the people and for the people. In a democratic government secularism is a virtue. Secularism means separation of religion from politics. It also implies that the state shall not indulge in politics of discrimination based on cultural, ethnic, and religious factors. Since most modern states are multicultural and plural, democracies must protect and promote tolerance towards all shades of opinions. The right to disagree with others' views should be endorsed but intolerance of divergent and opposite views cannot be permitted in a democracy. Free Press and media are the fourth pillar of democracy. They are crucial in creating mass awareness and public opinion; hence, the Press and media should be free from corruption and manipulation, both by public and private agencies. Democratic governments should promote conflict resolution through peaceful means and negotiations rather than resorting to force, domination, and manipulation. Democratic governments, though elected based on majority support, cannot ignore the wellbeing, and demands of the minorities. They are duty bound to ensure the establishment of

social justice by including all groups in the list of beneficiaries of government plans and policies. The rights of a citizen are usually codified or written down clearly, either in the constitution or in a separate charter of rights of the citizen, in democratic countries so that there remains no ambiguity and confusion regarding the content, nature and scope of the rights of the citizens. No individual nor even the state has the right to infringe or encroach upon the rights of the individual citizens. The judiciary is responsible for ensuring that the rights of the citizens remain secure and in case of any trespasses or encroachments by any private or public agency, the individual may seek redressal from the judiciary. Thus, the judiciary, like the Press and Media, too needs to be free and impartial. It needs to be free from control and influence of both the political executive and the legislature (both these organs of government are predominantly run by the party that has acquired majority votes in the previous elections) and from the influence of money or muscle power of private individuals and groups. Moreover, the judiciary must be impartial and impersonal and not suffer from biases of caste, creed, religion, language, gender, race etc. Liberty, equality, justice, and rule of law are some of the commonly upheld values of democracies.

Next, the unit has discussed the advantages or merits of democracy as a form of government. These are: The rationality of the individual is recognized in this political system and the individual is allowed to make choices in all aspects of life, personal and public. The rights of the individuals are protected best, in comparison to other political systems, in a democratic political system. Consent and will of the individual are the basis of the sovereign authority in a democratic political system. Democratic political systems rest on consensual politics and create the space for political discussions and debates, and this helps to enhance the quality of the governance because accommodation of different and diverse views are bound to enrich the political discourse of a state. The practice of secularism and tolerance in democratic political systems also makes such systems more inclusive by allowing such sections of the population the right to voice their opinions in the public sphere that were earlier not allowed to participate in the mainstream politics of these systems. Democratic political systems also make the realization of social justice possible. Free Press and Media also allow greater freedom of expression and help in the processes of political socialization, political recruitment, and creation of public opinion. One other crucial advantage of democratic political system is that it creates scope for changing governments peacefully, through the ballot and not through the bullet. Citizens in a democracy have the right to vote a specific party

out of power, peacefully. They do not have to resort to revolt or revolution every time they feel the need to change the party in power. The accountability that the government has towards the governed is yet another advantage of this system. There are diverse forms and models of democracy that are found in different countries across the globe that are suitable to the specific social, economic, and political ambience of these countries.

However, there is no reason to think that democracy as a political system does not have any disadvantages or demerits. The unit has discussed some of these too. The very first objection to a democratic form of government was raised by Plato himself who referred to democracy as mob rule or mobocracy. Plato was convinced that the masses did not possess the capacities required to take judicious decisions that could enhance the quality of work of the government. It has been said that the execution of Socrates, Plato's teacher, and mentor and one of most well-known intellectuals of ancient Greece by the democratically elected council was perhaps the main reason why Plato looked upon democracy as a qualitatively poor form of government. Similar views are to be found in the views of Aristotle as well. Aristotle, Plato's student and the one who is known as 'the Father of Political Science' uses two points of reference: the number of people who rule and the end or purpose of a rule to classify governments into 'moral' and 'perverse' forms of government. He too, points out that democracy is a rule of the many with no one ruling to achieve the good of the whole country but each trying to maximize his own gains while in power. However, Aristotle opines that when many people rule, for the good of all, then that form of government is the best and he calls it Polity. The same concern with quality of rule is also expressed by John Stuart Mill who had pointed out that democracy sacrifices quality at the altar of quantity. The essence of this point is that rule by the majority often turns into majoritarianism where anything and everything can be done in the name of the majority. The second point of objection to a democratic government besides its mediocrity is the way it gives birth to populist politics. For the sake of winning elections political parties in democracies are often found to introduce such policies and programmes that may not be in the best interest of the country in the long run but may gain immediate popularity among sections of the population. For example, the recent trend of direct cash transfer to girl students, or, to certain backward sections of the population gain popularity amongst the masses instantly but may end up creating too much pressure upon the state treasury in the long run. Like every other form of government, democratic regimes too put on the garb of morality and public interest in order to justify their

policies and programmes but what is a matter of concern is that in countries that still have a predominance of identity politics (i.e., politics based on religion, race, language, ethnicity, caste etc.), public sentiments may be molded by populist leaders and politics to incite violence, disrupt public life, and gain support for such policies and programmes that suit the majority. Another point of concern is that Free Press which is a necessity of a democracy has been found to be missing in most of the modern democracies. Though the illusion of free electronic and print media exists many media houses are indirectly and covertly owned, financed, or manipulated by the dominant political parties. This influences and manipulates public opinion. The same may be said of the judiciary which is yet another institution necessary for ensuring that a democratic government remains truly democratic. Not all but some judgements passed by the highest courts in recent times in countries like India, have clearly indicated the partiality of the judiciary towards a particular political ideology or party.

10.14 Questions

- **Answer the following questions:**

Group A: (5 marks each)

1. Define democracy.
2. What do you understand by direct democracy?
3. What do you understand by indirect democracy?
4. What does the term electorate mean?
5. What is the meaning of qualified suffrage?
6. What is the meaning of universal adult suffrage?

Group B: (10 marks each)

7. What are the differences between direct and indirect democracy?
8. Discuss any 6 features of democratic political systems.
9. From the above discussion, identify some demerits of democratic political systems.
10. How has the concept of democracy evolved over the ages.
11. Make a critical analysis of democratic political systems. (20)

10.15 Suggested Readings

1. Heywood, A (2007): *Political Ideologies an Introduction*, New York, Palgrave Macmillan
2. Rush, M (1991): *Politics and Society: An Introduction to Political Sociology*, New York, Harvester Wheatsheaf.
3. Srinivasan, J. (2017): 'Democracy' in Bhargava, A and Acharya, A (eds) *Political Theory An Introduction*, Noida, U.P., Pearson India Education Services Pvt. Ltd.
4. Heywood, Andrew (2007): *Political Ideologies: An Introduction*, Palgrave Macmillan, New York.
5. Johari, J.C. (2012): *Contemporary Political Theory: New Dimensions, Basic Concepts and Major Trends*, Sterling Publishers Private Limited, New Delhi
6. Gauba, O.P. (2014): *An Introduction to Political Theory*, Mayur Paperbacks, Noida

Module IV
**Everyday State and Local Structures
of Power in India**

Unit 11 Caste, Class, and Patriarchy

Structure

- 11.1 Objectives**
- 11.2 Introduction**
- 11.3 Origin of the term 'caste'**
- 11.4 Main features of caste system**
- 11.5 Functions of the caste system**
- 11.6 Concept of Class**
- 11.7 Relationship between Caste and Class**
- 11.8 Concepts related to changes in the caste system**
- 11.9 Caste and Politics**
- 11.10 Patriarchy**
- 11.11 Conclusion**
- 11.12 Summary**
- 11.13 Questions**
- 11.14 Suggested Readings**

11.1 Objectives

- This unit aims at making the learners acquainted with social categories like caste, sanskritization, westernization, modernization, dominant caste etc. emerging out of changes in the caste system having taken place over time.
- It defines class in Liberal, Weberian and Marxist perspectives
- It analyses the relationship between caste and class.
- It deals with the relationship between caste and politics.
- It finally explains the concept of patriarchy.

11.2 Introduction

Caste is an integral feature of the Indian society. It is as old as the Indian society and permeates all aspects of social relations. It is the basis of social stratification in India. The caste system has not remained static, and it has undergone many changes over time. It has weakened but it is still dominant in the political sphere. Class is a socio-economic category and an open system being diametrically opposite to caste. Still, many, particularly the communists in India, view caste and class inter-twined. They say that in India, the lower castes are generally the lower classes. Patriarchy also rules the roost in many societies including India. It is said to be giving birth to gender discrimination. The feminists criticize patriarchy, and they want it abolished.

11.3 Origin of the term 'Caste'

The English word 'caste' derives from the Spanish and Portuguese 'casta', which means "race, lineage, tribe or breed". The caste system in India is the paradigmatic ethnographic example of caste. It has its origins in ancient India and was transformed by various ruling elites in medieval, early modern, and modern India, especially the Mughal Empire and British Raj. The caste system consists of two different concepts, 'varna and 'jati'.

Varna literally means type, order, colour or class, first used in the Vedic India. There are four varnas- the Brahmins, the Kshatriyas, the Vaishyas and the Shudras. It has a fifth element- those people considered to be outside the Varna system- the Untouchables.

On the other hand, the Jatis are complex social groups that lack universally applicable definitions or characteristics and have been more flexible and diverse than was previously assumed. There are four Varnas but thousands of Jatis. The French Anthropologist Louis Dumont considered the Jati system to be based on the concepts of religious purity and pollution. The noted sociologist Andre Beteille thought that while the Varna system mainly played the role of caste in classical Hindu literature, it is Jati which plays that role in present times. According to him, Varna represents a closed system while Jati is entirely an open-ended system.

11.4 Main features of Caste System in India

1. **Segmental division of society:** The society is divided into small social groups called castes. Each of these castes is a well-developed social group, the membership of which is determined by birth.
2. **Hierarchy:** Caste is a system based on hierarchy. At the top of this system, is the Brahmin caste and at the bottom, there is the untouchable caste. In between there are intermediate castes.
3. **Endogamy:** Endogamy is one of the main characteristics of the caste system. The members of a caste or sub-caste can only marry within their own caste or sub-caste. The violation of the rule leads to ostracism and ouster from the caste.
4. **Hereditary status and occupation:** Each caste has a hereditary status and occupation different from other castes.
5. **Restriction on food and drinks:** Usually, a caste would not accept cooked food from any other castes which are lower in the social scale.
6. **A particular name:** Every caste has a particular name through which that caste is identified
7. **The concept of purity and pollution:** The higher castes claim to have ritual, spiritual and racial purity which they maintain by keeping the lower castes away through the notion of purity and pollution. The idea of pollution means a touch of lower castes would pollute the higher castes. Even shadows of a lower caste people are considered enough to pollute a man from higher caste.
8. **Jati Panchayat:** The status of a particular caste is protected not only by caste rules or laws but also through a governing body called Jati Panchayat.

11.5 Functions of the Caste System

1. Caste system has continued the traditional social organization of India.
2. It has accommodated multiple communities by ensuring each of them a monopoly of a specific means of livelihood.
3. It has handed over the knowledge and skills of the hereditary occupation

of a caste from one generation to another which has helped in the preservation of culture and ensured productivity.

4. It has also led to interdependent interaction between different castes following different occupations in a village, through the 'Jajmani' system.
5. Further, this system has enforced the concepts of Karma and Dharma. Performance of rites and rituals has promoted cooperation of the members of a caste and among different castes.

11.6 Concept of Class

Class is a crucial element of social stratification. It is understood in two different ways. First, Karl Marx defined a social class as "all those people who share their relation to the means of economic production." According to him, a class is determined by its possession of such objective, usually economic criteria like wealth, occupation, income etc.

Secondly, there are thinkers like MacIver and Page who view class as a status group. According to them, "A social class is any portion of a community marked off from the rest by social status." Ogburn and Nimkoff, in a way, subscribe to the line of thinking of MacIver and Page. They say, "A social class is the aggregate of persons having essentially the same social status in a given society."

In this way, while the Marxists view class pre-eminently as an economic division, others regard it as a status group.

The liberal view of class regards the standard of living as the basic criterion of class formation. They divide society into three classes- upper, middle, and lower who live in peace and harmony with one another. This view believes that one class can move from one to another.

Sociologists like Max Weber have sought to reconcile these two divergent approaches to class in their studies of modern social organization. Weber held that classes are aggregates of individuals "who have the same opportunities of acquiring goods, the same exhibited standard of living." Further, he writes, "The social and economic orders are not identical. The economic order is merely the way in which economic goods and services are distributed and used. The social order is of course conditioned by the economic order to a high degree, and in its turn reacts upon it."

Weber is at one with Marx on the ground that control over property is a basic

fact in the determination of the life chances of an individual. He acknowledges the role of property in giving rise to status group. The relative position of the class in the society arises from the degree of prestige attached to the status. Weber did not agree with Karl Marx's conception of two main classes with conflicting interests and they are hostile to one another. Rather, he argued that there may be more than two classes in society and that their relations are characterized by competition rather than by conflict and hostility. He also believed in class mobility.

From the above discussion we can define a class as a group of individuals who have similar family background, economic position, occupation and education and a similar way of life, feelings, attitudes and behaviour.

The term class first came into wide use in the early 19th century, replacing such terms as rank and order as descriptions of the major hierarchical groupings in society. This usage reflected changes in the structure of western European societies after the industrial and political revolutions of the late 18th century. Feudal distinctions of rank were declining in importance, and the new social groups that were developing—the commercial and industrial capitalists and the urban working class in the new factories—were defined mainly in economic terms, either by the ownership of capital or, conversely, by dependence on wages. Although the term class has been applied to social groups in a wide range of societies, including ancient city-states, early empires, and caste or feudal societies, it is most usefully confined to the social divisions in modern societies, particularly industrialized ones. Social classes must be distinguished from status groups; the former is based primarily upon economic interests, while the latter are constituted by evaluations of the honour or prestige of an occupation, cultural position, or family descent.

11.7 Caste and Class

Firstly, while a caste is hereditary, a class is non-hereditary in nature. Secondly, a class system allows both exogamy and endogamy, permits mobility either up or down the system, and allows an individual to remain in the status to which he was born. Thus, a class is primarily based on socio-economic criteria. There are three major classes found, upper, middle, and lower. Each class is divided into two subdivisions. They are upper-upper and lower-upper: upper-middle and lower-middle and upper-lower and lower-lower. Fourthly, a class is more open than the caste in the sense that mobility is allowed in the class-system. It is not allowed that openly in the caste system. Fifthly, caste system is based on ritual criterion whereas, class

is based on secular criterion. Ritual criterion means it is based on religious myths, secular means non-religious criterion like economic, political and social criterion. Sixthly, in a caste system, intra-caste and inter-caste relations are regulated by customs and traditions while in the class system this regulation is not to be found. Seventhly, the caste system is conservative and as such, the privileged sections would not accept any change or reform in the system. On the other hand, the class system is regarded as progressive in the sense that the members of a class system are permitted more freedom to introduce changes and innovations. Lastly, caste system weakens democracy. Democracy suffers when voters vote on caste line. In the class system voters do not vote entirely on caste line. As a result, democracy is more open and vibrant in a class system.

11.8 Concepts related to changes in the Caste System

Changes in the caste system have been found in the last two centuries in general and in past 50 years in particular. Several processes like sanskritisation, westernization, modernization, dominant caste, industrialization, urbanization and democratic decentralization have made consequent changes in the caste system. They are as follows:

- 1. Sanskritisation:** The term "sanskritization" was coined and popularized by Prof. M.N.Srinivas, the renowned Indian sociologist. It is a process by which any low caste could adapt to the behavior pattern, style of life, and culture of high caste and claim membership in that high caste. But they have to leave their unclean occupation and other impure habits like meat eating and taking liquor, etc. The untouchables were not allowed to sanskritize their status. Thus, only middle castes could sanskritize themselves. For sanskritization, a caste must have three conditions: (a) it should have a touchable status, (b) it should have better economic condition, (c) it should make a claim to membership into a high caste, by propagating some story or myth. It is a group process and not an individual process. It is a lengthy process and not an overnight process. It does not lead to any structural change, only leads to positional change. It means a particular low caste changes its position into a high caste in a particular area whereas the caste structure does not change. Through this process a few lower castes in different parts of country have changed their status into higher castes.
- 2. Westernization:** It indicates adapting to western style of living, language,

dress pattern, and behavioural pattern. In India largely the British influence has been found. The features of westernization are: (a) rational outlook (scientific and goal-oriented outlook), (b) interest in material progress, (c) reliance on modern communication process and mass media, (d) English medium education, (e) high social mobility, etc. The higher castes were first to westernize themselves. Later on, the lower castes also adapted themselves to this process. It has largely influenced the rigidity of caste system and changed it into a flexible system, particularly in the urban areas.

- 3. Modernization:** It is a process which primarily relies on scientific outlook; rational attitudes, high social mobility, mass mobilization, empathy, belief in liberty, equality and fraternity; high level of motivation to do everything with perfection; specialization and super-specialization in work; active participation; and dealing with complex organizations. It also requires changes in institutional, structural, attitudinal, and organizational aspects at the social, cultural and personal level. This has affected greatly the caste system in the sense that it has become more flexible. In urban areas castes are gradually becoming classes. In India we find an emerging middle class with a rational outlook and goal orientation. Modernization is a broader concept than westernization. Any culture can modernize itself without adapting to western values. In our case we can modernize ourselves not by abandoning the tradition totally but by integrating the rational aspects of the tradition and suitable aspects of modernity.
- 4. Dominant Caste:** In the 20th century, the phenomena of dominant caste have emerged. It means some caste becomes economically and politically dominant virtually rules over other castes in the region. A caste can become dominant by having the features like: (a) large land holding in the area (good economic position), (b) politically dominant (becoming a vote bank), (c) having a large population, (d) high ritual status, (e) English medium education, (f) having a tradition in agriculture (not tillers but landlords), and (g) having a tradition of violence (for dominance muscle power is essential). However today it is not limited to the high caste only but has been found among the lower castes also.
- 5. Industrialization and urbanization:** Both these processes have affected the caste classes in urban areas particularly in terms of economic criterion. Industrialization and urbanization: Both these processes have affected the

caste system. With the growth of industrial towns and cities, migration to these areas has gone up. In these areas following strict caste rules are not possible. There are public places like parks, restaurants, canteens, hotels, offices and communication systems like buses and trains etc. where inter-dinning and sharing places are essential. Hence, a flexible approach has been adopted.

- 6. Democratic decentralization:** Through the introduction of Panchayati Raj, local self-governments have been created in the villages. In the Panchayat reservation has been made for the lower castes. This has given an opportunity for the lower castes to empower themselves

11.09 Caste and Politics

It is not a new phenomenon since politics is a part of life always. During the Varna system, Brahmanical supremacy was an example of politics. Today it is said that castes have a close link with politics because castes have become vote banks, castes have become politically aware, there have been identification of castes with political parties and every caste has its own association. In fact, the link between caste and politics has led to an empowerment among the lower castes. These castes never had any opportunities to express themselves. Today they ventilate their feelings through elections and power lobby. Dalit politics is one such example, where the Dalits are trying to assert their identities and have become successful in capturing power in various States. However, the negative aspects of this link have been found in functionalism, i.e. the high castes always want to maintain their status quo. They are not able to accept the changing dominant position of the lower castes. This has led to frequent conflicts between high castes and low castes in several regions of the country. However, this is only a transitional phase. Better education, mass awareness campaign and good employment opportunities would ensure better relations among castes. The political, religious, social, economic, or other factors have always been the bases of social stratification. Even in the most primitive society this kind of inequality persisted though for entirely different reasons. Age, sex, traditional or personal power used to be the criterion of social status of a person in those times.

11.10 Patriarchy

Patriarchy is a social system in which men hold primary power and predominate in roles of political leadership, moral authority, social privilege, and control of

property. Some patriarchal societies are also patrilineal, meaning that property and title are inherited by the male lineage.

Patriarchy is associated with a set of ideas, a patriarchal ideology that acts to explain and justify this dominance and attributes it to inherent natural differences between men and women. Sociologists tend to see patriarchy as a social product and not as an outcome of innate differences between the sexes and they focus attention on the way that gender roles in a society affect power differentials between men and women.

Historically, patriarchy has manifested itself in the social, legal, political, religious, and economic organization of a range of different cultures. Even if not explicitly defined to be by their own constitutions and laws, most contemporary societies are, in practice, patriarchal.

Some feminist theorists believe that patriarchy is an unjust social system that is harmful to both men and women. It often includes any social, political, or economic mechanism that evokes male dominance over women. Because patriarchy is a social construction, it can be overcome by revealing and critically analyzing its manifestations.

Jaggar, Young, and Hartmann are among the feminist theorists who argue that the system of patriarchy should be completely overturned, especially the heteropatriarchal family, which they see as a necessary component of female oppression. The family not only serves as a representative of the greater civilization by pushing its own affiliates to change and obey but performs as a component in the rule of the patriarchal state that rules its inhabitants with the head of the family.

10.11 Conclusion

No amount of energy relationship restructuring will work in the end when the true environmental foundations of life are undermined; By the same token, the additional need to defend these foundations is that grassroots people are able to take power into their own hands. Until everyone in the assembly agrees, in reality no alternative is taken. In fact, it may be a matter of social cause, time, or precision inequality, although less common among indigenous peoples than others. This (and the large-scale decision-making situation, where we've come back to the bottom) is when a maturity of democracy is actually needed, where through informal and formal work, large parts are actually vulnerable to vulnerabilities as well as voices.

Minorities, where subtle or hidden inequalities are actually countered, where elders or perhaps leaders (including the young) can consciously recognize and at the same time suggest ways out of such traps. In most of the examples given in this particular article, civil society or perhaps government officials can sometimes act as mediators or perhaps facilitators for such work, especially where conventional power structures are actually unequal.

The place of power in the present structure of Indian democracy was affected by inequalities that emerged as an old society evolved, along with even further rigidified in colonial times, notably (but not only) the Hindu caste system or maybe varnashrama in Sanskrit. A major determinant of the stability, as well as efficacy of any type of power connection, is the internalization of the reason for it. The Indian caste system is most likely the best illustration of that societal order, grounded in an intangible but impressive notion of 'purity' of an individual as well as a team. In reality, families derive the relative purity of theirs from what the scriptures ascribe to a caste to which they belong.

Likewise, India's multi-party system- while allowing for a range of political actors has been characterized by caste identity, corruption, communalism, and dynastic power. This's not to suggest that real life problems of basic needs & health have been totally dismissed, though they frequently consider the rear seat, and once progressive policies are actually enacted, their implementation hits roadblocks as a result of the characteristics mentioned above. Very recently, a brand-new political development which arose out of large-scale protests about corruption.

In the standard power system, the primary dimensions of power structure were the zamindari process, the caste system, along with the village panchayat. The villagers referred their other, economic, and social issues sometimes to the zamindar or even to the caste leader of theirs or even to the village panchayat.

In other states too, zamindari was genetic. The jagirdari and zamindari methods had been actually land revenue methods. The kings given lands to the favorite selected males of theirs as ministers, military commanders, and courtiers, etc. The jagirs had been bigger estates as opposed to the zamindaris. The jagirdar was an intermediary between the tiller of the state as well as the ground but he behaved basically as the proprietor of the land in respect of peasants. He collected revenue from peasants for the help of theirs as well as of the army force which he maintained. The zamindars had been large landlords but possessed no title.

The jagirdars levied selection of taxes and took a fantastic component of the create as land earnings. They discouraged reforms as well as community awakening. The zamindars had been people who were assigned land by the feudal chiefs and also had to pay tribute to the ruler. They used to provide the land of theirs to tenants whom they exploited in each and every respect. As a result, ownership of land and the economic status of theirs had been the basic sources of jagirdars' and even zamindars' power in a village.

The caste executives had social condition in a village. Since caste councils had been extremely effective via severest sanctions, they may even ostracize defaulters from the caste. The leaders enjoyed amazing power over members. The village panchayats consisted of village elders from amongst all the main castes in the village. These were casual organizations. The members gathered anytime problems including the interests of the village were to be decided.

This particular paper clarifies the role of patriarchy and caste in contemporary Indian class society, as well as the organic connection which is present between class, caste, and patriarchy (as well as indirectly conventional Hindu religion). The present report tries to fill up the gap, to a small level, with reference to one of the non-Western societies, namely India. Power structures in Indian society are actually studied with the goal of understanding the connection between community qualities as well as power dispersion. The value of variables including community size, occupational variations, caste structure, organizational and educational innovations are examined.

10.12 Summary

Class, caste, and patriarchy share an organic and natural connection, particularly in the context of the Indian subcontinent. Even though the toiling sessions have usually belonged to the lower castes, the trading sessions as well as the propertied classes have usually corresponded with top of the castes. Subsequently, the contemporary working capitalist class and class emerged out of the erstwhile toiling castes as well as trading castes respectively. Nevertheless, with enhanced monopolization as well as focus underneath the capitalist mode of production, though a sizeable segment of top caste public continues to be dragged into the working class, there's been small or maybe no visitors in the opposite direction, that's no untouchables' have gone on to get the condition of massive corporates or serious industrialists.

Both caste and patriarchy which these days aren't just mutually reliant but additionally a crucial requirement for neo-colonial domination to flourish are actually questions that need distinct interest. They can't only be bundled up into the class question, it can't be just declared that such issues will steadily get sorted out with the democratic revolution. In reality, working-class unity can't be forged so long as these questions remain unaddressed and no severe cultural as well as ideological fight is actually waged for the elimination of caste and patriarchal ideology. The fight won't merely be against the torchbearers of the oppression-based caste system, but also against people who try to break down the individuals on the foundation of caste identity in the title of working for the upward social mobility of backwards caste organizations. The fight will additionally be against those whose poster girl the likes of Mayawati are actually that's those whose ideas as well as actions invariable lead to the building of a class structure inside a backwards caste, with a lower stratum somehow eking out a livelihood as well as an upper stratum flaunting large accomplishments and donning the job of exploiter to that caste.

Neo-colonialism, as all know, offers a facade of democracy, an impression of rights. On the one hand, this complicates issues as the enemy isn't out in the wide open, as they say. Nevertheless, on the flip side, additionally, it offers to intensify class struggle, for once the impression of rights doesn't get translated into reality, the damaged expectation triggers a greater fight for the attainment of the stated rights. As a result, when discrimination on the foundation of caste as well as gender has been formally outlawed by the state, and nevertheless it takes place with a frightening regularity as the state functions as sometimes a mute spectator or maybe energetic accomplice, the contradiction between the individuals as well as the anti-people status intensifies sharply. It gets increasingly apparent that the capitalist-imperialist system can't ever annihilate patriarchy as well as caste. The question of class comes to the fore as it gets a lot more plus more obvious the capitalist imperialist class, despite making statements to the contrary, nurtures patriarchy and casteism for the unique vested interests of its, and that it's just the state of the toiling people who could as well as can work towards uprooting patriarchy and caste for the genuine liberation of humankind. It's in this way, also, the subaltern theories which counter pose caste against class are utterly discredited and unbiased conditions for ever greater plus more consolidated unity of all oppressed folks from the ruling class start to be hugely favourable.

11.13 Questions

Group—A. (5 marks each)

1. Define caste.
2. What is meant by 'sanskritisation'?
3. Define 'dominant caste'.
4. Write a short note on 'patriarchy'.

Group—B. (10 marks each)

5. What are the important features of the caste system?
6. Mention the functions of the caste system.
7. Distinguish between caste and class.
8. Concepts related to changes in the Caste System

11.12 Suggested Readings

1. Political Sociology- Concepts, Approaches & Theories- Dr. Jaya Krishna Baral and Sailabala Baral, Vidyapuri, Cuttack, Odisha, 2001
2. Rajnaitik Samajtattwa (in Bengali) -Nirmal Kanti Ghosh and Pritam Ghosh, Shribhumi, Kolkata, 2001
3. Social Change in Modern India- M.N.Srinivas, Orient Longman, New Delhi, 1991.
4. Caste in Indian Politics- Rajni Kothari (ed), Orient Longman, New Dehi, 1970.
5. Caste and Politics- a Conceptual Framework- O.P.Goyal, Asian Survey (Berkeley), Vol-5, No-10, 1965

Unit 12 □ Local-Self Government

Structure

- 12.1 Objectives**
- 12.2 Introduction**
- 12.3 The Panchayat System in West Bengal**
 - 12.3.1 The Gram Panchayat**
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12.1 Objectives

India is a largest democratic country. It has two types of government—Central Government and State Government. Moreover, Local-Self Government is existed in the grass root level. After going through this Unit, learners will be able to :

- Understand the meaning of Local Self-Government;
- Understand Panchayat System Municipal System and Corporation System;
- Understand the structure, functions, and role of Gram Panchayat, Panchayat Samity and, Zilla Parishad and
- Understand the importance of local self-government.

12.2 Introduction

The importance of the local-self-government in a democracy is immense because of the fact that people can directly participate in local administration. Local self-

government is generally called the local government. The question is: what do we mean by local self-government? The local self-government is such a system through which people can directly participate in local administration for meeting their local needs. The concept of decentralization is closely linked to the local self-government. Power can be diffused to the local level through the local self-government, and it is no exaggeration to say that local self-government is the basis of democracy.

The makers of the Indian constitution thought of a strong democracy on the basis of a local self-government, and they inserted article 40 in the chapter of the Directive Principles of State Policy for the purpose of establishing the local self-government both in rural and urban areas. The local self-government as it exists in the rural areas is known as the Panchayati Raj system and in the urban areas, it is known as the Municipal system.

Despite being in the constitution, the local self-government, both in rural and urban areas, failed to take off effectively post-independence. There was no uniform system in all states and in many states; election was conspicuous by its absence. As a result, many committees were formed to make recommendations with a view to put in place an effective Panchayati Raj system- the Balwant Rao Mehta committee, Ashok Mehta committee, L.M.Singvi committee etc. These committees made many important recommendations but due to non-implementation, these committees failed to make much impact on the P.R. system. It is only with the passage of the 73rd and 74th constitution Amendment Act in the year 1992-93 that elected Panchayati Raj and Municipal system was made mandatory for all states and reservation of seats for the SCs, STs and the Women were ensured at all tiers of the P.R. System.

12.3 The Panchayat System in West Bengal

To give effect to Article 40 of the constitution, the West Bengal Assembly passed the Panchayat Act in the year 1956 and a two-tiered panchayat system was introduced in the state- Gram Panchayat at the village level and Anchal Panchayat at the union level. In 1963, West Bengal Zilla Parishad Act was passed according to which Anchalik Parishad at the Block level and Zilla Parishad at the district level was set up. As a result, four-tiered panchayat system came to be in existence in West Bengal. But this system proved to be not effective. When the congress party was in power in the state, it passed a panchayat law in the assembly in 1973 and a three-tiered panchayat system consisting of Gram Panchayat at the village level, Panchayat Samity at the Block level and Zilla Parishad at the district level was put

in place. Unfortunately, this law was not implemented by the congress government. In 1977 when the Left Front came to power it decided to implement the law and in 1978 the first panchayat election was held in accordance with the 1973 Panchayat Act. From then on, panchayat election is being held every five years. In 1992, constitution was amended (73rd Amendment) and the panchayat system was accorded constitutional recognition throughout India. Elections to the panchayats every five years were made mandatory for all states. In West Bengal too, 73rd constitution amendment act came into effect.

12.3.1 Gram Panchayat

The lowest level of the Panchayat system is the Gram Panchayat. Generally, a Gram Panchayat consists of one or several villages. It may be mentioned here that a village is constituted by one or more mouzas or a part of a mouza. A Gram Panchayat is named after the name of the village.

Composition: The members of a Gram Panchayat are directly elected by the people on the basis of universal suffrage. A Gram Panchayat can have a minimum of 5 members and maximum of 30 members. One-third of the total seats are reserved for women in general. Scheduled Caste and Scheduled Tribe women are entitled to have reservation of seats according to the proportion of their population. But at present, 50 percent of all seats of all the three tiers of Gram Panchayat, Panchayat Samiti and Zilla Parishad have been reserved for women. Elected members of the Panchayat Samiti from a Gram Panchayat are also members of that Gram Panchayat. Mention may be made here that the Chairperson and Vice-Chairperson cannot be members of the Gram Panchayat.

Qualifications of the members of a Gram Panchayat: Any voter within a G.P may contest in the elections but there are certain disqualifications: a) If anyone is an employee of the central or state government b) If anyone is a member of Panchayat Samiti, Zilla Parishad or of any Municipality c) If anyone is dismissed from service in any government-run organization or any cooperative society d) If anyone has a history of imprisonment for more than six months. e) If anyone is found to be insolvent or mind. f) If anyone defaults in the payment of taxes or tariffs of the Panchayat.

Tenure: Generally, the tenure of a Gram Panchayat is 5 years. Election to the G.P must be held before the end of the term. As per the 73rd Constitution Amendment Act, the term of a Gram Panchayat may be extended by six months.

Removal of the members: Any member of a Gram Panchayat may resign voluntarily by submitting a written resignation letter to the Block Development Officer (BDO). Besides, members of a G.P can be removed from office under certain reasons specified in the law.

Pradhan and Upa-Pradhan: The first meeting of a Gram Panchayat is convened by the BDO where the elected members elect one Pradhan and one Upa-Pradhan from among them for a period of five years. That can be removed from their office by the members in specially convened meeting by a majority of members.

Pradhan of a Gram Panchayat is endowed with the task of running the administration and looking after the economic matters of the panchayat. He or She has to be responsible for protecting and conserving the properties, deeds, and records of a Gram Panchayat. He or She is responsible for overseeing the functions of the employees of the Gram Panchayat. Upa-Pradhan acts as Pradhan during the absence of Pradhan.

Powers and functions: In the panchayat act, powers and functions have been clearly stated. Gram Panchayat enjoys three types of functions: a) Mandatory functions, b) Delegated functions and c) Voluntary functions. Gram Panchayat performs varied functions aimed at ensuring rural economic development, increasing prosperity in rural life, and establishing social justice. The functions of the Gram Panchayat are discussed below:

Mandatory Functions:

1. Protection of public health and drainage of water
2. Supply of drinking water and to make it pollution-free
3. Repair and construction of roads
4. Digging of wells, ponds, khals etc.
5. Protection and development of public places like ponds, cremation grounds, graves etc
6. Taking of measures to prevent the spread of contagious diseases including cholera, smallpox, malaria
7. Preservation of properties and dwellings owned by the GP
8. Control and conduct of Panchayat Fund

9. Imposition and collection of taxes, tariff, and fees
10. Collection of information and facts relating to Panchayat
11. Planting of trees in public interests

Delegated Functions: Delegated functions are those functions which are entrusted on the Gram Panchayat by the State government for the economic well-being of the people. These are: 1) Agriculture and its extension 2. Irrigation 3. Small and cottage industry 4. Land reforms 5. Rural electrification 6. Preservation of forests 7. Spread of Primary, technical and non-conventional education 8. Setting up of free Hospitals, Health centers, Matrisadan and Child Development Centers 9. Fuel 10. Recovery of vested land, preservation and development of land 11. Supply of food and other essential items 12. Construction and preservation of rural housing 13. Cow reproduction, prevention of cow diseases and other responsibilities conferred by the state government.

Voluntary Functions:

- a. Arrangement of lighting in villages
- b. Digging of ponds and wells
- c. Social development of the differently abled persons
- d. Women and Child development
- e. Construction and preservation of rural market places
- f. Extension of cultural activities in rural areas
- g. Backward classes development and welfare
- h. Setting up of Rest Houses, construction of paces for parking of cars and their preservation

Sources of income of the Gram Panchayat: Gram Panchayat needs sufficient money for executing its responsibilities. Hence, there are various sources from which money comes in the hands of a Gram Panchayat. These sources are:

- a. Grants-in aid received from the Central government, State government and Zilla Parishad
- b. Taxes imposed by the GP
- c. GP can take loans from the central or state government

- d. The GP, with permission being taken from the State government, can borrow from various financial institutions

Every Gram Panchayat has to prepare a budget and submit it to the Panchayat Samiti for approval.

Committee System of the Gram Panchayat:

In the amended Panchayat Act of 2003, provision has been made for the setting up of various sub-committees. Pradhan and Upa- Pradhan are ex-officio members of all sub-committees. Elected members of the Panchayat can be members of such committees. The State Government also can nominate members in these committees. The sub-committees are:

1. Finance and planning sub-committee
2. Agriculture and Animal husbandry sub-committee
3. Education and Public Health sub-committee
4. Women, Child Development and Social Welfare sub-committee

Gram Sansad:

It has been mentioned in the West Bengal Panchayat (Amendment) Act, 2004 that there shall be a Gram Sansad (GS) for each Gram Panchayat and all electors within the limits of the Gram Panchayat will be the members of GS. This has been done for decentralization of power at the grassroots level and to make panchayat responsible to the people.

Meetings of the GS are held twice a year. Pradhan presides over the meetings and in his absence, Upa-Pradhan presides the meetings of GS. In case both of them are absent, the senior-most elector gets the opportunity to preside over such meetings. One-third of the total members are required to be present to make quorum. In the half-yearly meeting, members discuss the forthcoming budget of the GP and the opinion of the members of GS is taken on such budget and in the yearly meeting, discussions are made on the revised last budget of the GP. Estimates of the last six months and the list of beneficiaries are also discussed. The members also discuss the report of the activities of the GP in the last six months and the work plan of the current year.

Gram Sabha: According to the aforesaid Act, every Gram Panchayat will have a Gram Sabha (GRS). Each village will have a Gram Sabha and the voters of each

village will the members of each Gram Sabha. The Gram Sabha sits in meeting on a yearly basis in the month of December. For a meeting to be held, one-twentieth of the members must be present. Pradhan presides over the meeting and in his absence; Upa- Pradhan performs the task. The members discuss the annual plan of the panchayat, budget and the audit report of income and expenditure of the panchayat of the last year. The members may also discuss the matters already discussed and decisions taken by the Gram Sansad (GS). The discussions are written in a register and the Chairperson puts his or her signature there.

12.3.2 Panchayat Samity:

The second tier of the panchayat system is known as the Panchayat Samity. Generally, a Block is consisted of a few villages and a Panchayat samity is coterminous with a Block. The name of a Panchayat Samity is fixed after the name of the Block.

Composition: Panchayat Samity is constituted with two types of members. A few members are elected directly. Every Gram Panchayat sends not more than three elected members to the Panchayat Samity. Some are ex-officio members like Pradhans of Gram Panchayats, MPs, and MLAs from the Block, elected members of the Zilla Parishad from the Block.

Tenure: The term of a Panchayat Samity is 5 years which can be extended by six months under special circumstances on the approval of the Legislative Assembly.

Any member of Panchayat Samity can be removed from office, or any member can voluntarily resign from membership of the PS.

Administrative heads of the Panchayat Samity are respectively the Chairman and Vice-Chairman who are elected by other elected members of the PS. any PS is bound to convene at least one meeting in a month.

Functions of the Panchayat Samity:

1. To work for the development of agriculture, small-scale industries, rural credit, water supply, cooperative, irrigation, animal husbandry, communication, public health, hospital, primary and adult education and to provide monetary assistance for achieving these objectives.
2. To perform those functions entrusted upon it by the Government or the Zilla Parishad.
3. To coordinate the activities of various Gram Panchayats

4. To approve of the budgets of the Gram Panchayats
5. To oversee the schools and hospitals under the Panchayat Samity and to approve of the building plans.

Source of Revenue of the Panchayat Samity:

1. Aid given by the State Government or the Zilla Parishad
2. Loan given by the State Government or any financial institutions for implementing any special project
3. Taxes on the vehicles, taxes imposed on the licenses of market or hats, registration fees of the vehicles, toll taxes and taxes for construction and repair of roads are also sources of income of the Panchayat Samity
4. Part of land revenue given by the State Government
5. It may be mentioned that that it is the responsibility of the PS to prepare budgets, but this budget must be approved by the Zilla Parishad.

Standing Committee System of Panchayat Samity:

In 1992, the West Bengal Panchayat Act was amended and provision was made to establish ten Standing Committees to ensure the smooth functioning of the Panchayat Samities. The Standing Committees are as follows:

1. Finance, Organization, Development and Planning Standing Committee
2. Public Health and Environment Standing Committee
3. Public Works and Transport Standing Committee
4. Agriculture, Irrigation, Cooperative Standing Committee
5. Education, Culture, Information, Sports Standing Committee
6. Forest and Land Reforms Standing Committee
7. Fisheries and Animal Husbandry Standing Committee
8. Food and Supplies Standing Committee
9. Small Industries and Relief Standing Committee
10. Power and Non-Conventional Energy Standing Committee

There is provision in the above law relating to the composition of the Standing Committees. It has been mentioned in the Act that the Standing Committees would

be formed with the following persons

- a) The Chairperson and Vice-Chairperson of the Panchayat Samity would be the ex-officio members of the Standing Committees.
- b) The elected members of the Panchayat Samity shall elect 3 at the minimum and 5 at the maximum as the members of the Standing Committees.
- c) Nominated members by the State government will also be the members of the Standing Committees.

The term of the Standing Committees will be 5 years. The members of the Committees will elect one of them as the Chairperson called "Karmadhakshya". No MLA or MP can be a member of such Committees. It also needs to be remembered that the Chairperson or the Vice-Chairperson of the Panchayat Samity cannot be members of all Standing Committees.

Panchayat Samity Staff: According to the Panchayat Act, every Panchayat Samity will have an Executive Officer. BDO is the Executive Officer of the Panchayat Samity and the Joint-BDO IS THE Joint Executive Officer. Besides, there is the post of Secretary which is held by the Panchayat Extension Officer. It may be mentioned here that the salary and other benefits of these staff are borne by the State government.

Block Sansad: The provision for a Block Sansad has been made in the West Bengal Panchayat Amendment) Act, 2003. Block Sansad is to be formed with all the members of the Panchayat Samity and the Village Panchayats under it. The Chairperson of the Panchayat Samity is empowered to call the meetings of the Block Sansad as well as preside over such meetings. Meetings are to be held twice a year and in order for a meeting to be held at least one-tenth members must be present. Block Sansad is entitled to direct the Panchayat Samity to undertake programmes relating to development planning, annual planning, economic development and social justice. Proposals taken in the meeting of the Block Sansad must be placed before the Panchayat Samity meeting for consideration and a report of action taking is to be placed before the next meeting of the Block Sansad.

12.3.3 Zilla Parishad

According to the West Bengal Panchayat Act of 1973, the Zilla Parishad is at the apex of the three-tier Panchayat system and the government of West Bengal has formed one Zilla Parishad in each of the districts except Darjeeling.

Composition of Zilla Parishad: As regards its composition the Zilla Parishad is composed of the following members;

1. The Savapatis of the Panchayat Samities within the district are ex-officio members of the Zilla Parishad.
2. From each bloc not more than two members are elected by the voters whose names are enlisted in the voters list for Assembly election residing in that bloc.
3. As per the amended Panchayat Act of 1992, seats are preserved in the Zilla Parishad for the Schedule Castes and Schedule Tribes in accordance with their population ratio. It is also stated therein that at least one-third of the total membership of the Zilla Parishad must be kept reserved for the Schedule Castes and Schedule Tribes.
4. As per the Amended Panchayat Act of 1992 again, at least one-third of the reserved seats for the Schedule Caste and other backward communities shall be kept reserved for the women of these communities. Moreover at least one-third of the total number of seats of a Zilla Parishad are always kept reserved for the women including the reserved seats of the women candidates of the Schedule Castes, Tribes and OBC's.
5. The members of the Lower House of the Parliament (Lok Sabha or the M.P.s.) and the members of the Legislative Assembly of the State (MLAs) elected from the district and who are not ministers either in the centre or in the state, are members of the Zilla Parishad. (6) The members of the Rajya Sabha who are not ministers and residing in the district are also the ex-officio members of the Zilla Parishad. The tenure of office of the members of the Zilla Parishad is five years, but if a member resigns from office, or removed or dies before the expiry of his tenure, the post remains vacant.

Sabhadhipati and Upa-Sabhadhipati: After each Panchayat election in the first meeting of the Zilla Parishad, the members elect a person from among themselves as the Chairman and the Deputy-Chairman of Zilla Parishad. The Chairman and the Deputy-Chairman of the Zilla Parishad are known as the Sabhadipati and Upa-Sabhadipati. After the amended Panchayat Act of 1992, the posts of Sabhadipati and the Upa-Sabhadipati have been made salaried post. As such before their election they are required to declare in writing that they will serve the Zilla Parishad as the whole-time employees and will not do anything that may stand on the way or

hinder their sincere and normal functioning in the said posts. The 1992 amended Panchayat Act has also reserved some posts in the Zilla Parishad for the women Schedule Caste and Schedule Tribe representatives in addition to the reservation for the membership in the Parishad. It should be mentioned here that no member of the Lok Sabha, Rajya Sabha or the Vidhan Sabha (State Legislative Assembly) can be elected as the Sabhadipati or Upa-Sabhadipati of Zilla Parishad. Like the other members of the Parishad both Sabhadipati and Upa-Sabhadipati are elected for five years. They can be removed from their posts only if any proposal for the removal is accepted by the majority of members present and voting in a specially convened meeting of the Zilla Parishad for the said purpose of removal. The person against whom, be he the Sabhadipati or the Upa-Sabhadipati, such proposal of removal has been raised, will not conduct the meeting of the Parishad. In 1994, the Government of West Bengal has also declared that the law of floor crossing or the Anti-Defection Law will also be implemented in case of the members of the Zilla Parishad.

Executive Officer, Additional Executive Officer and Secretary of Zilla Parishad: There is an Executive Officer and an Additional Executive Officer to look after the day-to-day functions of the Zilla Parishad. These officers are appointed by the State Government. There is also a Secretary of the Zilla Parishad who is appointed by the Zilla Parishad itself.

Standing Committees: Apart from these three officials, each of the Zilla Parishad has a few permanent committees like.

1. The Permanent committee for finance, development, and planning,
 2. The permanent committee for public works and transport and communication,
 3. The permanent committee for agriculture, irrigation, and co-operative etc.
- The Sabhadipati and the Upa-Sabhadipati are the ex-officio members of these permanent committees and apart from them, three to five members, elected by the Zilla Parishad members from among themselves, are also the members of these committees. The state government too appoints its own representatives or members of any registered institution and higher officials of any corporation to act as members of these committees. The tenure of office of these members of the permanent committees is five years. The member of each Permanent Standing Committee appoints a Chairman from among themselves. The Secretary of the Zilla Parishad also acts as the Secretary of these Standing Committees.

Powers of Zilla Parishad: The new West Bengal Panchayat Act of 1973 has given enormous power to the Zilla Parishad. This democratic institution is the main centre on which the entire rural self-government system is standing. The Zilla Parishad has to do multifarious functions to ensure the community development as well as the socio-economic development of the people of the entire district. Its main function is to provide adequate money for the welfare activities in different fields like- agriculture, fisheries, khadi, cottage industry, co-operative movement, rural debt, water supply, irrigation public health, provisions for women and child development etc. It is also the duty of the Zilla Parishad to do those works which may be delegated on it by the state government or any other appropriate authority. The Zilla Parishad provides financial help or aids to the schools, public libraries etc. It also provides economic assistance to the social welfare institutions and centers. The acquisition and maintenance of the rural markets, providing adequate finance for water supply and for eradication of epidemic diseases, providing economic grants to the Panchayat Samities and Village Panchayats, to make arrangements for relief works specially in times of natural calamities: to make co-ordination among the development projects undertaken by the Panchayat Samities within the district, to provide the state government with necessary advices regarding the developmental activities undertaken by both the Panchayat Samities and the Village Panchayats, to issue the necessary licenses for any fair or exhibition scheduled to be held within the district etc. are the various other activities generally performed by the Zilla Parishad.

The Sabhadipati is the highest official of the Zilla Parishad. Naturally, being the head of the institution, he appoints the subordinate staffs of the Zilla Parishad, supervises their works and enshoulders all the economic and administrative responsibilities of the Parishad. It is his duty to maintain and preserve all the important documents. He supervises and controls the activities of the other officials and staffs of the Zilla Parishad as well as those appointed by the state government in the said Parishad. He is also to do those other works which the Zilla Parishad may ask him to do, or the state government may confer upon him the additional responsibilities to enshoulder.

The Zilla Parishad is the highest institution in the whole rural self-government set up. But its power and functions are not confined only in administrative activities; in fact, it is the duty of the Zilla Parishad to formulate all plans and project for various social-welfare activities to ensure different social economic and cultural

development within the district. Thus, on the basis of democratic decentralization and the scheme for popular participation in administrative activities, the Zilla Parishad has been entrusted with the duties of bringing all-round development within the district. But the Zilla Parishad has very limited source of income and hence it has to depend essentially on the grants given by the government to meet its expenses.

Functions of Zilla Parishad: The West Bengal Panchayat Act of 1992 has enumerated some other functions of the Zilla Parishad as well. If the Zilla Parishad thinks that the works, the Panchayat Samity or the Village Panchayat have undertaken to do is unnecessary it may raise objections against that. If the Zilla Parishad confers any duty or responsibility to any Panchayat Samity or any Village Panchayat and if the latter two fail to perform it properly then the Zilla Parishad can issue directives to that Panchayat Samity or the Village Panchayat to complete the work properly and within the given time. It can also direct the Panchayat Samity or the Village Panchayat to fix and collect the taxes, tariffs of duties properly in case they fail to fix and collect it properly. Moreover, if any of Panchayat Samities or its Standing Committees or the Village Panchayats do not hold their meetings regularly, the Zilla Parishad has the power to convene such meetings at any time as it may deem fit.

Revenues of Zilla Parishad: Of course, the Zilla Parishad has some sources of revenue of its own. Generally, from the following sources, the Zilla Parishad collects its own revenues viz.

1. It receives a part of the land revenue that is offered by the state government.
2. It receives the grants-in-aid from both the central and the state government.
3. Loans taken from both the central and the state government are it's another source of revenue.
4. The road taxes and taxes on public works imposed by the Zilla Parishad itself also serve as the other source of revenue for the Zilla Parishad.
5. The revenue collected from the hospital houses and institutions controlled and conducted by the Zilla Parishad itself also becomes the revenue of the Parishad.
6. The money it receives from the trustee or vocational institutes.
7. The money collected from fines etc. (8) the surplus-money deposited to the District Magistrate as rewards to the Chowkidars etc. are also the sources

of revenue for the Zilla Parishad. Each year the Zilla Parishad has to prepare a budget and to submit it to the state government for the latter's approval on it. The State Planning Board and the District Planning Board are empowered to supervise evaluate the functions of the Zilla Parishad. Of course, the state government can suspend any of the Zilla Parishads on charges of corruption, inefficiency, or misuse of power.

Finance Commission and Zilla Parishad: The New Panchayat Amendment Act of 1992 has made provisions for the establishment of a Finance Commission to be formed by the state government. The Commission consists of the chairman and not more than five members. Its duty is to review the economic condition of the Zilla Parishad and make necessary recommendation thereof. If it feels so needed it may even recommend changing the structure of the Zilla Parishad. Following the recommendation of the Panchayat Amendment Act of 1992 the Government of West Bengal has already formed a three-member Finance Commission on June 1st, 1994, and the said commission has already submitted a report to the Legislative Assembly of West Bengal.

District Council: The West Bengal Panchayat Amendment Act of 1994 again has recommended for the creation of a District Council in each district to examine the audits of all the Panchayat institutions within the district. It is almost a duplicate of the Public Accounts Committee in the state level. It is expected that the establishment of the Finance Commission and the District Council will help the Zilla Parishad to perform its duties smoothly and properly.

12.4 Municipal System

Article 243Q lays down clearly those institutions of self-government in urban areas which are called "Municipalities." Municipalities are of three types:

1. Nagar Panchayat for a rural area being transformed into an urban area.
2. Municipal Council for a smaller urban area.
3. Municipal Corporation for a larger urban area.

Composition of municipalities: Article 243R stipulates that the members of a municipality will be elected directly. The Legislature of a state may, by law, provide for representation in a municipality of persons with special knowledge or experience in municipal administration like MPs, MLAs, and the Chairpersons of

committees set up under clause (5) of Article 243S. The Chairperson of a municipality shall be elected in the manner provided by the Legislature.

Ward Committees: Ward Committees consisting of one or more wards, shall be constituted within the territorial area of a municipality having a population of three lakh or more.

Reservation of seats for the SCs and STs, and Women: Article 243T and Article 243T (2) respectively provide for reservation of seats for SCs, STs and Women in every municipality.

Offices of Chairpersons: The state Legislature of a state can prescribe the manner in which reservation of offices of Chairpersons can be made. The Legislature can also provide for reservation of seats or offices of Chairpersons for Other Backward Classes (OBCs).

Tenure of Municipalities: According to Article 243U, every Municipality will continue to work for five years from the date of its first meeting. But any Municipality can be dissolved before the ending of its term under the law. Election must be held within six months of its dissolution.

Qualifications for Membership: All persons who are eligible to be members of the State legislature shall be qualified for being members of a Municipality. But an important distinction exists between the two. While any person attaining 21 years of age can be a member of a Municipality, a person must be of 25 years of age in order to become a member of the State Legislative Assembly.

Powers and Functions of Municipalities: According to law, the Legislatures of States have the power to confer such powers and authority as will be necessary to make the Municipalities function as institutions of local self-government. It has been clearly mandated by the law that the Municipalities may be given the responsibility to prepare plans for economic development and social justice, implementation of schemes as may be entrusted to them, and in regard to subjects listed in the 12th Schedule. This schedule includes 18 items like urban planning, regulation of land use, roads and bridges, water supply, public health, fire services, urban forestry, slums et

Duration of Municipalities: Duration of the municipality has been fixed at 5 years from the date appointed for its first meeting. Elections to constitute a municipality are required to be completed before the expiration of the duration of the municipality.

If the municipality is dissolved before the expiry of 5 years, the elections for constituting a new municipality are required to be completed within a period of 6 months from the date of its dissolution. {Article 243U}

Disqualifications of the members: A member is disqualified to be chosen as a member of municipality if he / she is disqualified under any law to be elected as MLA. The minimum age to be qualified as a member is 21 years.

Powers, authorities and responsibilities: As per Article 243 W, all municipalities would be empowered with such powers and responsibilities as may be necessary to enable them to function as effective institutions of self-government.

- o The State Legislature may, by law, specify what powers and responsibilities would be given to the municipalities in respect of preparation of plans for economic development and social justice and for implementation of schemes as may be entrusted to them.

An illustrative list of functions that may be entrusted to the municipalities has been incorporated as the Twelfth Schedule of the Constitution. This schedule defines 18 new tasks in the functional domain of the Urban Local Bodies, as follows:

12th Schedule of the Constitution:

1. Urban planning including town planning.
2. Regulation of land-use and construction of buildings.
3. Planning for economic and social development.
4. Roads and bridges.
5. Water supply for domestic, industrial, and commercial purposes.
6. Public health, sanitation conservancy and solid waste management.
7. Fire services.
8. Urban forestry, protection of the environment and promotion of ecological aspects.
9. Safeguarding the interests of weaker sections of society, including the handicapped and mentally retarded.
10. Slum improvement and upgradation.
11. Urban poverty alleviation.

12. Provision of urban amenities and facilities such as parks, gardens, playgrounds.
13. Promotion of cultural, educational, and aesthetic aspects.
14. Burials and burial grounds; cremations, cremation grounds; and electric crematoriums.
15. Cattle pounds; prevention of cruelty to animals.
16. Vital statistics including registration of births and deaths.
17. Public amenities including street lighting, parking lots, bus stops and public conveniences.
18. Regulation of slaughterhouses and tanneries.

Financial Powers: Article 243X, the constitution has left it open to the Legislature of a State to specify by law matters relating to imposition of taxes. Such law may specify:

- Taxes, duties, fees, etc. which could be levied and collected by the Municipalities, as per the procedure to be laid down in the State law
- Taxes, duties, fees, etc. which would be levied and collected by the State Government and a share passed on to the Municipalities
- Grant-in-aid that would be given to the Municipalities from the State
- Constitution of funds for crediting and withdrawal of moneys by the Municipality.
- Audit of account: The state legislature will specify the manner in which the auditing has to be done
- Application to union territories: It shall apply with such modification and exception as the President may determine

Committee for District Planning (Article 243 ZD): Planning and allocation of resources at the district level for the Panchayati Raj institutions are normally to be done by the Zilla Parishad. With regard to urban areas, municipal bodies discharge these functions within their respective jurisdictions. However, some important questions may arise, which would concern the urban-rural interface, and it may be necessary to take an overall view with regard to development of the district as a whole and decide on allocation of investments between the rural and urban institutions. Provision has, therefore, been made for the constitution of a Planning Committee at the district level with a view to consolidating the plans

prepared by the Panchayats and the Municipalities and preparing a development plan for the district as a whole. The District Planning Committee in preparing the Draft Development Plan shall have regard to:

- o Matter of common interest between the Panchayats and the Municipalities including spatial planning
- o Sharing of water and other physical and natural resources
- o Integrated development of infrastructure and environment conservation
- o Extent and type of available resources, whether financial or otherwise.

The Draft District Development Plan so prepared and recommended by the District Planning Committee shall be forwarded by the Chairperson of the Committee to the State Government. (xii) Metropolitan Planning Committees- It is provided in the Act (Article 243ZE) that in every Metropolitan area (with a population of 10 lakhs or more), a Metropolitan Planning Committee shall be constituted for preparing a draft development plan for the metropolitan area as a whole. The Metropolitan Planning Committee shall take into account the following for preparation of the Draft Development Plan:

- o Plan prepared by the Municipalities and the Panchayats in the metropolitan area
- o Matter of common interest between the Municipalities and Panchayats including coordinated spatial plans of the area
- o Sharing of water and other physical and natural resources
- o Integrated development of infrastructure and environmental conservation
- o Overall objectives and priorities set by the Government of India and the State Government
- o Extent and nature of investments likely to be made.

12.5 Municipal Corporations

The 74th Constitution amendment Act is considered to be a landmark legislation in forming the urban local-self-government. Municipal Corporation is at the zenith of the urban local-self-government.

Every Municipal Corporation is set up by legislation passed by the respective state Legislature and its composition is determined by the number of people living in the city as determined by the laws made by the state Legislature. The members of Municipal Corporation are directly elected by the people. The entire city is divided into several wards and every ward elect one member each. The tenure of the members of a Municipal Corporation is five years except in cases when it is dissolved by law.

The Municipal Corporation elects from among the elected members one Mayor and one Deputy Mayor. The Municipal Commissioner is the chief Executive officer of the Corporation who is an IAS Officer. West Bengal has a Mayor-in-Council comprising the Mayor, Deputy Mayor and not more than 10 other elected councilors.

Corporations may also have Standing Committees for making policies and directing the functioning of the Corporation.

Functions of the Municipal Corporation: Functions of a Municipal Corporation are of two categories-Obligatory Functions and Discretionary Functions Obligatory functions include roads and transport services, electric supply, construction, maintenance, scavenging, removal of garbage, records of birth and death, waste management, drainage and flood control, fire and ambulance services, gardens and maintenance of buildings, primary education, etc.

Discretionary functions include construction of public parks, gardens, libraries, museums, theatres, akharas, and stadiums, public housing, plantation of trees, registrations of marriages, survey buildings and lands, organization, and management of fairs etc.

The Twelfth Schedule of the Constitution under Article 234W provides an exhaustive list of 18 functions.

Besides Municipalities and Municipal Corporations, the urban local-self-government may take the form of Municipal Councils or Notified Area Committees or Town Area Committees or Cantonment Boards or Townships.

The Governor of a state has the power to notify any urban area as a smaller area for which a Municipal Council must be formed. Population or the economic importance of such an area may act as considerations for the creation of Municipal Council. The members of Municipal Councils are elected by the people. The head of a Municipal Council is called the President having similar powers like the Mayor of a Municipal Corporation. Municipal Council has an Executive officer appointed by the state government. In some states, the Municipal Council itself appoints the Executive officer.

The Municipal Council performs certain functions which may be classified into Obligatory functions, Discretionary functions, and administrative functions. The sources of income of a Municipal Council are property tax, profession tax, octroi, animal and vehicle tax, entertainment tax, water tax, lighting tax, latrines and drainage tax, grants received from the central or the state government.

73rd and 74th Constitution Amendment Acts have given the local-self-governments both in the rural and urban areas legal and constitutional status and it is on the well-intention and caliber of the governments, both central and state, the political parties and the people themselves that the success of these two very significant Acts having far-reaching socio-economic and political implications will depend.

12.7 Conclusion

India is a democratic country. In a democratic country only decentralization of power is possible. In India, this decentralization of power has resulted in the creation of the local self-government in the form of the Panchayat system in rural areas and the Municipal system in the urban areas. Our constitution-makers were influenced by the ideas of Gandhiji and made provision regarding the Panchayat system through Article 40 in the fourth chapter of the constitution. But the irony was that due to lack of political will, the Panchayat system could not take off properly till the nineties of the last century. Elections could not be held regularly and powers of the Panchayat were enjoyed by the propertied class in rural areas. It is the 73rd and 74th constitution amendment acts passed by the Parliament in 1992-93 that constitutional sanctions have been accorded to the local self-governments in both rural and urban areas. Today, every state is duty-bound to hold elections to local self-governments every five years. What is more reservation of seats for the SCs, STs and Women in both the Panchayats and Municipalities has been secured and Election Commission and Finance Commission are there to see that election is held on a regular basis in a free and fair manner and adequate resources are provided to these local self-governments. Emphasis has been given on two very important ideals- economic development and social justice by the 73rd and 74th constitution amendment acts. The success of the rural and urban local-self-governments in India will depend on the political will of the political parties in contention and the concretization of these two principles of economic development and social justice.

12.6 Summary

In this unit, the history of the local self-government in India has been briefly dwelt on and the rural and urban local self-governments of West Bengal have been discussed and analyzed. In rural areas, the local self-government is known as the Panchayat system having three tiers- Gram Panchayat, Panchayat Samity and Zilla Parishad. They have been discussed in terms of their composition, powers and functions, their sources of income and other aspects. Among the urban local self-governments, Municipalities and Municipal Corporations have been similarly discussed and analyzed. The rural and urban local self-governments have been discussed with special reference to the 73rd and 74th constitution amendment acts as these amendments have not only given these local self-governments constitutional recognitions, but

they have also given blood and flesh to these governments at the grass roots level.

12.8 Questions

Gr-A (Answer in short (5 marks each))

1. What is Gram Sabha?
2. What is Gram Sansad?
3. What is Mayor-in-Council?
4. Write a note on the Committee for District Planning.

Gr-B Answer in detail (10 marks each)

1. Write a brief note on the Panchayat System in West Bengal.
2. Analyze the powers and functions of a Municipality.
3. Discuss the powers and functions of the Gram Panchayat.
4. Write a note on the Panchayat Samiti.
5. Discuss the role of the Zilla Parishad in the Panchayat System in West Bengal.
6. Discuss the powers and functions of a Municipal Corporation.

12.9 Suggested Readings

1. Ghosh, Peu, Indian Government and Politics, PHI Learning, Delhi, 2017
2. Pylee, M.V, India's Constitution, S, Chand, New Delhi, 2016
3. Bakshi, P.M, The Constitution of India, Universal Law Publishing, Delhi, 2000
4. Basu, Durgadas, Introduction to the Constitution of India, Lexis-Nexis, Nagpur, 2018
5. Chakrabarty, Bidyut, Rajendra Kumar Pandey: Indian Government and Politics, Sage Publications, New Delhi, 2008
6. Sarkar, Ashok Kumar, Bharater Sangbidhan Parichay (in Bengali), Setu Prakashani, Kolkata, 2021

Module V
Culture and Power

Unit 13 □ Political Culture- Classification: Civic Culture

Structure

- 13.1 Objectives**
- 13.2 Introduction**
- 13.3 Meaning of Political Culture**
- 13.4 Features of Political Culture**
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13.1 Objectives

- This Unit deals with the concept of Political Culture and its meaning.
- It distinguishes between Political Culture and Sub-Culture.
- It analyses the components of Political Culture and focuses on the classification of Political Culture.
- It throws light on Civic Culture and then makes a conclusion.

13.2 Introduction

Man is a social animal and as such, he interacts with other fellow beings in society. In the process of interaction, beliefs, attitudes, norms, and values are generated. Over the years, these psychological predispositions of the individuals are accumulated, and culture is born. Thus, culture means an accumulated aggregation

of mutuality reinforcing the ideas and the attitudes of the individuals about the society, about others and about themselves. Political culture is people's orientations, attitudes to the political system in its entirety. In order to gain legitimacy, the proper management of the authority of any political system and that authority requires sympathy for the people with a positive and helpful view. This view is seen in some political systems, but in some places, there is a lack. Somewhere, citizens support the political system unconditionally and somewhere they want the root change of the political system. To get a real picture of the political system, a proper analysis of human attitude is needed. In this context, the discussion of political culture is very important in understanding the attitude and belief of people in their political system.

13.3 Meaning of Political Culture

The word 'political culture' is used in social science. It refers to the nature of the political system, based on the nature of the History-based, widely divided belief, feelings, and values, which can act as a connection between citizens and the government. Political culture is the overall political system, towards various political groups and organizations, towards the actors who lead these structures and their role as players. According to nuts and Verbal, the word political culture is "the political system and its various parts of the system and the attitude towards self-esteem in the system." According to Lucian Pie, "political culture is a set of attitudes, beliefs and feelings that give a political process discipline and money and provides underlying assumptions and rules that conduct behavior in the political system." Theodore. Belsky said that "political culture refers to the level of knowledge and perceptions of individuals about different classes, social levels and politics and politics, and determined by the previous one which is determined by the degree of their political activities." VM According to this, 'political culture is the synthesis of political consciousness, thinking and the most important features of human activity'. The political culture is not hereditary. Human-political system or not born. Society and political systems help people gain political attitude. It is the process of political socialization that focuses on a separate political culture and this process continues throughout the life of a person. Gradually, of course, the individual is combined with the values and symbols of the society, and the political parties, the institutions and the whole of the state's activities are involved. Political culture emerges when the feelings, beliefs, feelings, and attitude of the political system are synthesized. It is a symbol of citizens' political proportions and political values. Political culture is very important in political science. The role of the people's political attitude

cannot be underestimated in the change of stability and political system. Thus, political system and political culture are uninterpreted.

Different types of political culture exist in people of different states. In this context, it is noteworthy that the tradition of British citizens, protests among French citizens and patriotism among American citizens. These are one of the characteristics of the political culture of that country.

The idea of political culture is changing oriented, but it is slowly changing. As the new experience emerges, the perception of individuals changes. The attitude has changed rapidly depending on the city-life experiences from the village and the people living in the city. However cultural attitude or values change very slowly. Thus, the attitude towards political action reflects the fairly permanent aspects of political culture. It would be wrong to say that political culture and political system have nothing to do with the real events. In fact, political culture is basically involved with the members of the system what they think about these events. Thus, the most important element of political culture is people's perception of political reality about political reality.

13.4 Features of Political Culture

The Following points are The Features of the Political Culture.

1. The views of the people regarding the world of politics are the subject of political culture, but not the various events organized in world politics. So, it can be called the psychological dimension of politics.
2. In the political culture, the attitude of both the political ideal and the effective system of the state is expressed.
3. It consists of empirical concepts of political life and values that are worth pursuing in political life, and they can be emotional, perceptive.
4. If there is a kind of attitude among the people about important political issues in the political culture, then there is political stability. It is easy to get rid of the crisis if people's attitudes are favorable to political institutions during the crisis period of the country.
5. Political culture does not remain unchanged. It is also constantly reorganized in terms of cultural change in society. With the arrival of foreigners to live, the revolution, the war, or any other major change can completely change the political culture of a state.

13.5 Political culture and Sub-culture

A subculture is a group of people in culture that distinguish itself from the parents' culture that often maintains its founding principles. Sub-cultural, political and sexual issues develop their own criteria and values. Subcultures are a part of society while keeping their specific characteristics intact. Examples of sub-culture include BDSM, Hippies, Goths, Biker, Skinheads and Hip-Hipper. The concept of subculture was developed in sociology and cultural studies. Subcultures are different from the counterculture. Oxford English Dictionary defines the Subs four in the field of sociological and cultural anthropology, "as an identifiable subgroup in a society or group, a large group of faith or interest; unique ideas, practice; or life of this national subdivision." In the early part of the year, David Rizwan distinguished between the majority, "which historically adopted commercially supplied styles and meaning and a 'subculture' actively wanted a minority style ... and explained with destructive values" his 1979 book. Subculture: The meaning of the style, Dick Hebdig argued that a subculture was a catastrophe of normality. He writes that subculture may be considered negative because of the nature of the dominant social quality criticism. Hebdig argued that the sub-culture united people who were neglected in social standards and allowed them to develop their feelings. The earliest sociological studies on subcultures came from the so-called Chicago School, who interpreted them as forms of deviance and delinquency. Starting with what they called Social Disorganization Theory, they claimed that subcultures emerged on one hand because of some population sectors' lack of socialization with the mainstream culture and, on the other, because of their adoption of alternative axiological and normative models. As Robert E. Park, Ernest Burgess, and Louis Wirth suggested, by means of selection and segregation processes, there thus appear in society "natural areas" or "moral regions" where deviant models concentrate and are re-enforced; they do not accept objectives or means of action offered by the mainstream culture, proposing different ones in their place- thereby becoming, depending on circumstances, innovators, rebels, or retreatants. Subcultures, however, are not only the result of alternative action strategies but also of labelling processes on the basis of which, as Howard S. Becker explains, society defines them as outsiders. As Cohen clarifies, every subculture's style, consisting of image, demeanor and language becomes its recognition trait. And an individual's progressive adoption of a subcultural model will furnish him/her with growing status within this context, but it will often, in tandem, deprive him/her of status in the broader social context outside where a different model prevails.[9] Cohen used the term 'Corner Boys' which were unable to compete with

their better secured and prepared peers. These lower-class youths didn't have equal access to resources, resulting in the status of frustration, marginalization, and search for a solution.

In the discussion of political culture, it is thought that all the people under the political system are influenced by the same values, attitude, and feelings. This is not true. In fact, there is no homogeneous attitude, faith and traditions in people living in the political system. According to Almond and Paul, "In fact, the degree of the political culture is a subject of experience in the degree." Alan gave the ball, "Political culture cannot be homogeneous in a stable society. When the differences between different social groups are evident, the existence of political sub-culture may be felt. "He also said," political culture is not a cocktail of certain types of values, beliefs, and attitude but this kind of attitude is found in other political sub-culture. " Accordingly, any political issue will express opposition views on Tempo and the direction of choice.... ". A political culture, such as we mentioned at the beginning of this study, can be divided into various independent or overlapping political sub-culture for analytical purposes. Although effective, it can be said of a national political culture, at which we have been operated so far, it can sometimes be a loose or even complete conceptual unit of analysis; Other beliefs and values, identification, and other fennels of loyalty, can compete with people related to the entire national territorial unit and sometimes replace. These national political sub-cultures can be helpful to consider nature as 'vertical' or 'horizontal'. A 'vertical' political sub-culture can be defined as a one that is related to the social or population characteristics shared by its members; For example, the difference between the political culture of the public and the political decision -making and the 'elite' political culture of their associates. A political culture, however, is able to more sub-section on this basis: specific occupation or role can create different beliefs and behaviors forms; Different generation groups can share hypotheses and behavioral patterns that identify from the rest of their population; And perhaps the most important, social groups or classes may have the same and distinct life experiences such as their political beliefs and behavior types can cause significantly diverging from national ideals.

There is also a tendency for political sub-culture in India. Demand for the formation of separate states is a symbol of political sub-culture. Under the leadership of Punjabi extremists and the attitude of the Naga and Mizo rebels, separate Khalistan demanded the nude expression of political sub-culture. In India, language, caste, class, and religion have served as berries for the rise of similar political cultures. No Sens Komai on political system and political activities has not yet grown in

India. The difference in political sub-culture could not be removed in developing countries. As a result, many problems have arisen to ensure national protection and separatism and have hamper all efforts.

13.6 Components of Political Culture

Generally, political culture consists of three elements: 1. Cognitive Orientation, 2. Evaluative Orientation and 3. Affective Orientation. People acquire empirical beliefs on various matters and problems on which is built the relationship between the rulers and the ruled. Value preferences also are a sum-total of beliefs. It means people's favorable or unfavorable sentiments towards the set political objectives of the political system.

The components or parts of political culture are:

- 1. Cognitive Orientation:** Means what people already know about their political system and how the system operates based on historical antecedents in the past.
- 2. Evaluative Orientation:** means love, people access to their political system and how it works and even their political officers. It equally means comparing their system with other system.
- 3. Affective Orientation:** means how people show love, loyalty, commitment, acceptance, to the political system. This is the spirit behind the saying: "Don't think about what your country will do for you but think of what you will do for your country". Affective orientation means people's favorable or unfavorable sentiments towards the set political objectives of the political system.

If different political cultures of various countries are analyzed, it will be seen that various elements of political culture have no consistency with one another. This true of all countries. But it cannot be denied that whatever inconsistencies are there, political culture of every nation acts as an important determinant in the formation of its political system.

13.7 Classification of Political Culture

The classification of political cultures may be made on the basis of the kinds of internalized orientations and the types of political objects to which these orientations are directed. Talcott Parsons has divided internalized orientations into three types,

namely, Cognitive, Affective and Evaluative orientations. The cognitive orientation refers to the knowledge of persons regarding the rules, roles and outputs etc. Affective orientation means the feelings relating to the system, its rules, roles, and outputs. Evaluative orientation refers to judgment of political objects with the aid of values, information, and feelings. Political orientations are directed to four types of political objects. These are 1. Political system as a whole. 2. Political inputs. 3. Political outputs. 4. The self.

S. E. Finer has classified political culture into three types, 1. Mature political culture. 2. Developed political culture and 3. Low political culture. In Mature political culture, political consensus is found, and it is organizationally expressed. The supremacy of the civil authority is one of the most important features of Mature political culture (UK, USA, Australia, Netherlands). In developed political culture, people are found to be strongly organized. People sometimes get polarized regarding the legitimacy of the political institutions and political post holders. In this type of political culture, the army tries to oust the elected civilian governments or put pressures on such governments. (Cuba, Egypt, Algeria- Finer). What is seen in Low political culture is very weak public opinion and people are found to be divided. For this reason, people cannot resist authoritarian regimes (Iraq, Iran, Syria, and Indonesia).

Huntington has classified political culture from the point of view of change. He has classified political culture into

1. Consummatory political culture and
2. Instrumental political culture.

Consummate political culture is such a national culture which gives a religious meaning to all social relations. On the other hand, Instrumental political culture is against explaining social relations and behaviors in terms of religion. According to Huntington, political culture follows one of these two types of political culture. He is also of the opinion that political culture may be a composite one, that is, it may consist of the two cultures although he has no doubt that in Instrumental political culture, efforts are made to syncretize various cultures. Contrarily, consummate political culture resists all kinds of change or when it gets changed, it changes fast and lock, stock, and barrel.

Almond and Verba have classified political culture into three types- 1. Parochial, 2. Subject and 3. Participant.

Parochial culture: Here the orientations of the citizen towards political objects

are extremely weak and he does not relate himself any positive way to national political institutions, to national questions and policies, nor does he see himself as affecting them. In the parochial culture, the citizen while not relating to himself to national objects may, nevertheless, be intensely involved in "local", "tribal" or village politics in societies where institutional and role differences are relatively simple.

Subject culture: In this type of political culture, citizens are found to be strongly conscious about the political system and its outputs, and they may like or dislike them, but they have only a weakly developed sense of the institutions through which societal demands are channeled and only a limited sense of personal political efficacy. In this culture, the input institutions are likely to be only weakly developed.

Participant culture: The individual belonging to this culture tends to play an activist role. He has not only high consciousness of the political system and its inputs and outputs; he also seeks to be actively involved in them. On the one side, he ignites political demands and support. On the other, he plays a meaningful role in policy-making, having a sense of political efficacy, he takes an active part in different spheres of politics.

13.8 Civic Culture

Citizen culture represents the guidelines and the synthesis of the participant and passive attitude. Here the subject orientation and participating orientation are equally strong. Former elite allows adequate initiatives and freedom to work with and subsequently forces these elite to be subject to popular preferences. According to nuts and verbs, the Great Britain and the United States reveal the closest approximation of this citizen culture.

In civic culture, political participation is considered legitimate, and people are encouraged and confident to participate in the democratic process. They try to make decisions and influence political preferences through active participation in politics. Relationships between citizens based on mutual confidence reflect their attitude towards the government. They simply don't believe in each other; They also believe in the government and feel comfortable with it. And they have the confidence that they have a sense of political skills that they can influence government policies, and if it does something wrong or wrong, they can fight against it. Citizens' culture contains an "impact reserve" of the citizen. He is a potential active citizen. He is likely to be active if needed. The political functioning of a large number of citizens can protect the government and it will refrain from abusing its powers. In

a citizen culture, citizens are interested in being very active in voluntary organizations. The feeling of political skills is co-related to sexuality, education, and socio-economic status. There is more understanding of the political functioning of male members of higher educational and socio-economic success civic cultures. As Almond and Verba say, "Whether anyone believes in the local or national control is capable of influence themselves or not, he depends a lot on who in his own country. If he has more education, higher status or is male, he is more likely to consider himself as skilled. "

A citizen culture or civic political culture is a political culture that is characterized by "acceptance of state authority" and "believing in participating in civic duties." This term was used in the first Gabriel Almond and Sydney Verba's book *The Civic Culture*. Citizen political culture is a mixture of other political cultures such as partial, subject and participating political cultures. Nuts and Verba identified Britain as a citizen political culture. Patrick Side and Paul Whitley Britain have still discussed that the civic political culture can be considered as a citizen political culture. The term civic culture is used to identify political culture features that explain the stability of the political structure of a democratic society.

13.9 Characteristics of Civic Culture

A political culture is characterized by the acceptance of the authority of most citizens, but also a common belief in participating in civic responsibilities. This term was regularly deployed in the influential 1963 book *The Civic Culture* of Gabriel Almond and Sydney Bara and was recovered at *The Civic Culture Revisited* (1980). Citizen culture model suggested that citizens were informed about political problems and were involved in the political process, it could not sustain a stable democratic government in Western democracy. Citizen culture is seen as a spiritual political culture where political participation is mixed with respect for passivity, faith, and authority. Tradition and promise towards prequel values are seen as a balanced involvement and logic. Citizen culture provided five network studies of civic values and attitude as a supporter of a democratic political system. When it was first published in the mainstream of behavioral analysis, the book was adopted somewhat on policy analysis, although its impact can be seen in more recent social capital works. Its concerns about the survival of democracy in Western societies now seem to have been in a slightly wrong place. The spread of high level of education through population encourages new forms of participation in politics, such as groups of interest in social movements and promotion.

Almond and Verba state that the following are characteristics of a civic culture:

- Orientation toward political system in both the political and governmental senses
- Pride in aspects of one's nation
- Expectation of fair treatment from government authorities
- Ability to talk freely and frequently about politics
- An emotional involvement in elections
- Tolerance towards opposition parties
- A Valuing of active participation in local government activities, parties, and in civic associations
- Self-confidence in one's competence to participate in politics
- Civic cooperation and trust
- Membership in the political associations.

13.10 Relation between Political Systems and Political Culture

This defines the process of making government official decisions. It usually has government legal and economic systems, social and cultural systems and other states and government specific systems. However, it is a very simple point of view of the more complex systems of the departments involved in who should have authority and what the government should impact on its economy. According to David Easton, "a political system can be nominated as an interaction by which values are allotted to a society".

Political system, set of formal legal institutions that form a "government" or "state". This is the definition adopted by many studies of the legal or constitutional system of advanced political order. However, more widely defined, the term understands the actual form of political behavior, not only the legal organization of the state, but also the reality of how the state works. Still more widely defined, the political system is viewed as a subsidy of the social system, interaction with other non-political subsidies such as "processes of interaction" or economic system. It indicates the importance of informal socio-political processes and emphasizes the study of political development.

Using the first definition, the prevailing legal or constitutional analysis has

created a huge literature in government structures, many specialized terms that are part of the traditional vocabulary of political science and several educational classification projects. Similarly, the experiences of political processes and the attempt to detect the underlying reality of government forms have earned a rich data and an important organization of comparative theory. The third definition has inspired many scholars to work that appoint new types of data, new terms and some new ideas and analysis departments. The discussion then comes to three methods for the study of political systems. Person is not inherited political culture by birth. That means, it is not a matter of congenital rights. It is created in the person through political socialization. The person who is born in the social and political system, is specific political values and attitude that exceeds the person. Individuals are associated with political parties, other political organizations, or organizations, pressing groups, state structures and its functionality.

In this way, the person is growing and combined with the symbol of the existing society and political system and values. This process continues throughout the individual life. And this is how political culture emerges in the individual. The interaction between the political system and the political culture is very close. There may be extensive Sens Comes in people related to the existing political system and its basic structure. In that case the political system is strong and stable. On the contrary, the structure of the existing political system, with the disagreement among the people in the context of the work, creates severe enmity for the political system. As a result, the basis of that political system weakens.

13.11 Conclusion

Political culture is not a fixed idea. It is dynamic in nature and grows over time. Its growth is dependent on new development and new concepts. The primary elements of political culture are maintained although they are suitable for slow, extended changes. The political culture of a political system is maintained from generation to generation. From one generation to another, the process of political concepts and values is known as political socialization. In any country's political system, the political culture is considered important. The political values, beliefs and attitudes of the country or the nation are reflected through political culture. Social culture is especially important in human social life. Similarly, the importance and significance of the political culture of the people is immense. For example, two people can share a political culture, but there are different political ideologies. In other words, the right -wing conservative can be from the same political culture as

a leftist liberal. In other words, political culture is something we share, though a political ideal is something we use to define ourselves and make political decisions. Political culture involves fundamentally popular values and beliefs on the political objects of a particular community. Political scientists have agreed at least what political culture form or involved. They also agreed that political culture turned the citizens into political behavior and national political development. However, it is still controversial among political scientists about how political culture should be studied and how to study. Following the Tradition of Experienced Survey Research, this study tries to capture the political thoughts of Chinese farmers in a wide issue.

13.12 Summary

Political culture describes how culture affects politics. Each political system is embedded in a particular political culture. The limitation of a particular political culture is based on the subjective identity. The most common form of this national identity is national identity and therefore state states set the general limits of political culture. Instead of sharing the socio-cultural system, the symbols and management gives a political culture (such as a National Independence Day) that reflects general values. It may develop in a civilian religion. The values themselves can be more classified or equivalent and will determine the limitations of political participation, thereby forming the basis for validity. They are infected through socialization and are shaped by historical triphasic experiences that form a combined or national memory. Intellectuals will continue to explain the political culture through public political speech. In fact, the elite political culture is more resulting in the mass level. There are different political cultures in different countries, which their governments are organized in a particular way, why democracy can be successful or failed or still in some countries. Understanding our own political culture, we can provide the source of political relationships as well as sharing with each other or our governments. In the United States, we may agree to think about political culture in our voting position as a Democrat or Republican. It is important to understand that political culture is different from political ideals. The word 'political ideal' refers to beliefs or opinions about government and politics that can affect the way we voted or whether we support some legal laws.

13.13 Questions

Group—A. (5 marks each)

1. What is Political Culture?

2. What are the components of Political Culture?
3. What is Subject Culture?
4. What is Participant Culture?
5. What is Parochial Culture?
6. What is Subculture?

Group B. (10 marks each)

7. What is the difference between Political Culture and Sub-Culture?
8. How would you classify Political Culture?
9. Write a note on Civic Culture.
10. Write a note on Classification of Political Culture.

13.14 Suggested Readings

1. Prof. Amal Kumar Mukhopadhyay-Political Sociology-An Introductory Analysis K.P. Bagchi & company, Calcutta, 1977.
2. Kumar Mukhopadhyay, K.P.Bagchi - Political Sociology, Calcutta, 1977.
3. Baral J.K., and Baral S., -Political Sociology- Concepts, Approaches and Theories(Vidyapuri Cuuttack, Odisha, 2001).
4. Prof. Ghosh Nirmal Kanti and Prof. Ghosh Pritam - Rajnaitik Samajtattwa (in Bengali) - (Shribhumi, Kolkata, 2001).
5. Basu Pradip (ed)- Setu Prakashani-Political Sociology (Kolkata, 2015).
6. Almond and Verva -Civic Culture-, Little Brown, Boston, 1965
7. Stephen Welch the Concept of Political Culture, 1993.
8. Walter A Political Culture, Rosen Baun, 1975.

Unit 14 □ Power-Forms of Power

Structure

- 14.1 Objectives**
- 14.2 Introduction**
- 14.3 Defination of Power**
- 14.4 Characteristics of power**
- 14.5 Types of power**
- 14.6 Sourceof power**
- 14.7 Dimensions of power**
- 14.8 Perspectives of power**
- 14.9 Factors of power**
- 14.10 Constraints of power**
- 14.11 Functions of power**
- 4.12 Conclusion**
- 14.13 Summary**
- 14.14 Questions**
- 14.15 Suggested Readings**

14.1 Objectives

- This unit discusses the concept of power and its various dimensions.
- It deals with the definitions of power, its various perspectives and factors influencing power.
- It dwells on the constraints of power and its functions.

14.2 Introduction

Power is the other name of coercive influence. It is a special kind of influence. It is the use or a threat of the use of sanctions that distinguishes power from influence. Power uses force as well as gives rewards like wealth or honor. The

former is an instance of negative sanctions while the latter is an example of positive sanctions. One can turn into the other. Political Sociology approaches what is called traditionally political power which operates within the periphery of the state and its institutions in terms of its understanding of power in general. Political Sociology not only places it in the perspective of social variables, but it also proceeds further to investigate the pattern of the distribution of political power in society. Power is the ability to influence others- to make others do what one wants them to do even against the wishes of the latter. Power is an end as well as a means. Power is sought by many who love it. But many would seek power to bring them wealth, prestige, and influence. Mao-Tse-Tung said, "Power flows from the barrel of gun". But in day-to-day life, power flows from the tip of pen and the wealth.

One person may be more or less powerful than another person. Similarly, one group may have more power than another group. The headmaster of a school is more powerful than other teachers. Prime Minister of India is more powerful than other ministers. The President of the USA is considered to be the most powerful executive in the world.

14.3 Definitions of power

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." The power of the powerholder is demonstrated by his capacity to change the behavior of the power addressee.

Another aspect of power is presented by Herbert Goldhaber and Edward A. Shills who have said, "A person may be said to have power to the extent that he influences the behavior of others in accordance with his own intentions. Max Weber defines power as the "chance of a man or of a number of mento realize their own will in a communal action even against the resistance of others who are participating in the action."

These definitions of power suggest that a person can demonstrate his power over another in one of the two ways: he can force another person to do something according to the former's preference or against the latter's preference. For centuries, philosophers, politicians and social scientists have searched and commented on the nature of power. Pittacus (C. 640-568 BCE) said, "A man's measure is what he does with power," and Lord Acton probably more famously said, "Power is corrupt is completely contaminated" (1887). In fact, the concept of energy can be firmly negative expressions and the word itself is difficult to define. Many scholars adopted

the definition developed by German sociologist Max Weber, who said that power is the ability to practice one's desire on the other (Weber 1922). Energy affects more than a personal relationship; It shapes greater mobility like social groups, professional organizations, and governments. Similarly, the power of a government is not necessarily limited to the control of its own citizens. For example, a dominant nation will often use its clout to influence or support other governments or to control the control of other domestic states. The US government's efforts to gain power in other countries include joining other countries for the formation of the Allied forces during World War II, the fall of Saddam Hussein's governance in Iraq and imposing sanctions on the North Korean government. The attempt to achieve energy and influence does not necessarily lead to violence, exploitation, or abuse. Leaders like Martin Luther King Jr. and Mohandas Gandhi for example, ordered a strong movement that influenced positive change without military power. Both men organized non-violent protests to fight corruption and wrongdoing and succeeded in inspiring major reforms. They depend on various non-violent protest strategies such as assembly, seat-ins, March, petitions and boycotts.

Modern technology has made these national non -violent reforms easier to implement. Today, protesters can use cell phones and internet to promote information to the public in a quick and efficient way. For example, in the Arab Spring uprising, Twitter feeds and other social media protesters helped to share their movements, share ideas, and strengthen morale, as well as helped to achieve global support for their reasons. In contrast to many previous circumstances under the government control of the media censored news report, social media was also important in getting accurate details of the protest to the world. Notice that in these examples, users of power were citizens more than the governments. They found that they had the power because they were able to apply their desires on their own leaders. Thus, government power is not necessarily equal to absolute power. According to Max Weber (1 1947), the power is that 'an actor in social relations will remain in the position of performing her own desires even after resisting, regardless of the way it is fixed'.

14.4 Characteristics of Power

Definitions of power are related to concepts of authority and influence. Chester Bernard defines the power as "informal authority." Many modern organizational sociologists define the authority as "legitimate power". In order to better understand the energy, we clearly express the differences between energy and authority and energy and influence.

A. Power - the difference in authority

From the previous discussion, it is clear that a person with power has the ability to manipulate or influence others. Authorities give validity and it is the source of the power of the organization. On the contrary, power does not need to be valid. Top-down can be distinguished between classical, bureaucratic authority and acceptance theory of Bernard's authority. To him is the authority of a communication in a formal organization (order) which is why a member of the organization is adopted as the action he contributes to. "In the words of Grims, the power of authority is different than the theory of authority, who mentioned: "Its validation to the authority is that group Sens is promoted to follow the combined goals associated with Community".

B. Power-effect difference

The impact is wider than the power in its opportunity. This is a process of influencing the possible behavior of others. The ability to influence energy. Thus, because of the previous validity and acceptance, the authorities are different from power, and the impact, although wider than energy, is closer to the concept. Thus, both are used in exchange for.

14.5 Types of Power

From time to time, energy has become an important aspect of human civilization. Energy can be physical, political, or social. In the context of the business, energy mobility affects decisions and people's transactions abundant. So, it can be difficult to define energy because it is understood and explained in different ways, but power certainly cannot be called a power that gives you what you want. Power originates from position or authority that can influence people positively and negatively.

Energy for simplicity and understanding is usually classified in the following sections:

A. Legitimate power: This power is derived from an official position in someone's hand, it is short-lived for any agency, autocracy, or government, because a person is not able to use the time until he/she/she holds this position, as well, the opportunity for energy is small because it is strictly defined by the position to be kept.

B. Expert strength: This is a personal type of energy that has its genus to the skills and skills obtained by a person. In such a situation, the person can use the power of knowledge to influence humans. Since, it is very specific to the person and can be enhanced over time; It has more credibility and respect.

C. Unique strength- It is a force powered by celebrities and film stars because they have huge follows in their public, identify them with them, identify them and follow them. Therefore, they apply long-lasting influence on a large number of people for a large number of decisions; A candidate has to choose for a higher office in the country to buy a car. Thus, power can be defined in different ways but what is important is the use of energy by the people who are entitled. In the organizational context, energy mobility and equations need to be managed carefully because they have a huge impact on the level of inspiration and busyness of the staff. It generally defines transactions between the organization's culture and especially the organization. An extremely classification and energy-powered company seems difficult to adjust new and innovative ideas, which is sharply rejected, the Egos collision and low opportunities are provided for high performers, thus delaying the organizational growth. On the other hand, people are encouraged to innovate and explore in a company's flat organization, thus bringing new ideas and ideas to accelerate organizational growth and expansion.

D. Economic Power:

For Marx, economic power is the basis of all power, including political power. It is based on the purpose of the production methods, based on the status of a group in the labor market and its possibilities. Economic energy refers to the fact that the convenience of the elements is the ability to control the events.

E. Social Power:

It is based on the opinion of the informal community, the family position, honor, prestige, and the use of and lifestyle patterns. Weber emphasized the importance of social power, which often takes priority than economic interests. Contemporary sociologists have also given so much importance to social status so that they sometimes seem to underestimate the importance of political power.

F. Political power:

It is based on legal structure, party affiliation and broad bureaucracy. Political power was established in the form of large -scale government bureaucrats. One of the endless ideas is that they are controlled by the elite, that is, small, selected, convenient groups. Political power concerns the activities of the states that are not limited to national boundaries. Political power networks can expand around the country and the world. Political power is involved in taxes and powers to distribute citizens' resources. There are also Weber's type of energy, there are several other types that are below:

G. Power of knowledge:

Energy to Follet (1969) is closely associated with knowledge. Energy and knowledge produce each other. He saw knowledge as a 'tab' way on people and controlled them.

H. Military Power:

It involves the use of physical force. The War of War has always played a major role in politics. The modern mass military system was developed in bureaucratic organizations and the nature of the war, and the fight of war has changed significantly. According to Weber, some groups of society are based on their power perfectly on power or military power.

I. Ideal Power:

It involves energy in ideas and beliefs, for example, some varieties of communism, fascism, and nationalism. These types of ideologies often play an important role in communities and parties in opposition to influential institutions and in the organization of fans. According to Michael Man (1986), there are two types of energy, eg, distributary and collective.

J. Power of delivery:

This is an energy over the other. It is the ability to get people to help others to follow their own goals. It is held by individuals.

K. Combined Power:

It is applied by social groups. It can be applied by another social group.

14.6 Source of Power

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

A. Power:

As previously defined, energy is the use of forces to impose real (physical strength) or threatening (dormant force) to impose one's desire on the other. When the leaders imprison or even imprison the political dissatisfaction, they thus use power. Often, however, the perfect energy performs slightly. Although people can be physically restrained, they cannot be done alone with complicated work.

B. Impact:

It refers to the practice of power through the process of persuasion. It is the ability to influence the decisions and activities of others. A citizen can change his position after hearing a stirring speech at a political leader's rally. This is an instance of effect that can help to change one's opinion on how to persuade people.

C. Authority:

It refers to the power that has been institutionalized and is recognized by those on whom it has been applied (Shafar and Lam, 1992). It is established to decide and order another's actions. This is a form of legitimate energy. Validity means those who agree with the authority of the government (Gyedance, 1997). The people authorize the rulers to rule, and they voluntarily obey the force of the ball. We tend to obey the police officer's orders because we take their right to keep power over us in certain circumstances. The legitimate energy is taken as properly used (for example, the power of the king). Thus, sociologists' separate power from power. Authority is an agreed legitimate relationship of domination and subjugation. For example, when a decision is made through a valid, recognized government channel, that decision falls into the field of authority. In short, power is the right to decide, and authority is the right to decide, that is, the legitimate force.

14.7 Dimensions of power

1. Power is relational in nature. The power of one individual group is related to that of another individual or group. A may be more powerful than but less powerful than
- C. According to MacIver, "Power, power that rules the world of men, exists only within a system of relationship".
2. Power has behavioral dimension. Whether A is more powerful than B or B is more powerful than A can be known from how their power equation is manifested in actual behavior.
3. Power is situational. One can exercise his power only in particular situation or context. For example, the Speaker of the Assembly can control the behavior of the legislators when the Assembly is in session. He has no control over their social, economic, or cultural life.
4. Power is not a possession, it is derivative. The power, expressed by a power- holder, is not intrinsically and innately his own. MacIver has it to

say, "Social power is derivative, not inherent in the groups and individuals, who direct, control or coerce other groups and individuals. The power a man has is the power he disposes; it is not intrinsically his own. He cannot command unless another obeys. He cannot control unless the social organization invests him with apparatus of control".

There are multiple foci of power. In the feudal age power was in the hands of the feudal lords and it was hereditary. With the emergence of industrialization and modernization, diversification of power took place. Interests have diversified and multiplied: so, have groups and organizations. Social power is no longer identical with political power. Besides political power, there are other types of power in society. Broadly defined, "power is the capacity to do things, to act, to effect changes." While Ministers, legislators and bureaucrats wield enormous number of powers, the powers of teachers, scientists, artists, and writers are by no means insignificant. In the long run, the latter are the prime movers of society and the "the movers and shakers of the world forever." The celebrated sociologist Anthony Giddens (1) sees, 'As a power to make a distinction, they have to change from what else happened, because he has left it "converter" power.' The power can be defined by the interest of the 'B'. According to Steven Luks (25), there are three dimensions or mouths of energy on B: (1) decision making, (2) non-conclusions and (3) aspirations. For some social theorists, especially those who are associated with the modernity of the north, the idea of a large-scale macro structure has come under serious attack. For example, Folk's power is claimed that we should contact it in a micro way, seeing strength in all social relations and working in certain ways - whatever the prison or clinic.

14.8 Perspectives of power

Power has been viewed by different theorists. Two opposite perspectives of power are

1. Functionalist perspective and 2. Marxist perspective.

Functionalist perspective: Weber suggests that those who hold power do so at the expense of others. He also implies that the power holders use their power to further their own interests. But according to Talcott Parsons, "power is something possessed by the whole society". He says, power is "generalized facility or resource in the society," it is the capacity to mobilize

the resources of the society for the attainment of goals for a general 'public' commitment has been made." In this sense, the amount of power in society corresponds to the realization of collective goals. In other words, the more efficient the society is in realizing collective goals, the more power exists in society. This means that in the society the amount of power, far from being fixed, is variable. That's why this view is known as a 'variable-sum' concept of power.

The Marxian Perspective: Marxist perspective represents one of the earliest attempts to throw light on how political power is distributed in a society. One of the major premises in the Marxist thesis is that in every society, save for the most primitive, political power is unevenly distributed. In such a society, there is a ruling class which monopolizes the possession and exercise of political power over the subject class or classes. This concentration of political power can be explained by the fact that the ruling class enjoys the ownership in the means of production. The ruling class is politically dominant because of this ownership. The ruling class is not only politically dominant, but also economically dominant. In Marxism, political power in the hands of the bourgeoisie is not considered to be a permanent one as the working class, through social revolution, destroys the old capitalist system and takes political power in its own hands. So, the Marxist theory not only analyzed the unequal distribution of political power, but also envisaged the inevitability of a radical change in the distribution of political power.

14.9 Factors of power

Power is influenced by many factors. Firstly, there are a number of power indicators, such as social status, economic condition, official position, physical power etc. In a society based on castes in India, a higher caste man is normally more powerful than a person who belongs to a lower caste. In the USA, black people are less powerful than the white people. Secondly, economic condition significantly determines one's power. Marxism has shown how through economic domination the capitalist class dominates in the political arena also. Thirdly, if a man holds a higher position in a governmental organization or institution, he is regarded as powerful. The higher he is placed in the organizational hierarchy, the more powerful he is and vice versa. The secretary of a government department is more powerful than a section officer and a section officer is more powerful than a clerk. Fourthly, Physical force is also an important power indicator. In ancient times, power of a King would be determined by his performance in the battle-field.

In modern times, the USA is militarily more powerful than other countries in the world. Lastly, some other power indicators are education, occupation, attainments in the field of culture, science, technology etc. While one's power potential is largely determined by the resources he commands, there is no certainty that these resources automatically transform into power. Skill, motivation or will go a long way in making one powerful. For example, a player has less resources, but he can defeat his competitor with more resources by his better skill.

14.10 Constraints of power

Power may be constrained by some factors. Physical social and psychological factors may frustrate a power-seeker. One would fail to have power unless he or she has physical resources and social status. Psychological motivation is also very important in making one powerful.

There two other limitations to power. One, power may be limited by an opposite power and two; social order may also limit the power of the power-seeker. For example, power-seeking is a sin in many societies. Thus, religion may discourage the seeking of power. Social ethics may discourage a power-player to show his power against his own relations. It is not common in India that a politician fights against a close relation in election. In some societies, there are sanctions against any kind of personal ambition or aggressiveness.

14.11 Functions of power

Power is thought to be both a means and an end. Power may be sought to be a safety-valve for releasing tension. An individual having psychological problems may aggressively pursue power to release his tension and compensate for the loss of values, he thinks, he has suffered in the days gone by. One such case relates to President Woodrow Wilson of the USA who became authoritarian in his approach to his opposition which resulted from his childhood problems. Power is sought because it gives one a sense of satisfaction to the powerholder who feels that he is powerful and that he is revered as well as feared by other people. Power gives respect, prestige, honor, and status to him.

Power is like a strong currency. One can buy almost everything by it. Power has great instrumental value; the powerful can have name and fame, money, and position. Power enables one to influence policy directly or indirectly and through this capacity, to influence policy, he can have a vital say on important matters relating to development, national security, and national integration. For example,

gender justice cannot be ensured unless the women are empowered. And if they are not empowered, they cannot influence policies relating to their development. In the USA, the blacks are still fighting white racism and for their due shares in power structures so that they can compel the white authorities to ensure racial equality and justice. In India, grassroots democracy is aimed at giving power to the local people to shape their own destiny. Reservations in India are meant for empowering the weaker sections of society. Power is susceptible to misuse. One may use it for personal aggrandizement. Power may be used to promote self-interests rather than common good. Too much of power is harmful for both the individual and the collective.

14.12 Conclusion

Power is ubiquitous. It pervades every society. It has both negative and positive connotations. It is said that human happiness lies in renouncing power. But in reality, this ethical or moral maxim has no practicability. We live within a state and governance cannot be separated from political power. Therefore, the wise course is to discipline and control power and to ensure that political power is used for achieving the social, economic, and political objectives of the people of the society. Power in social science and politics is the social production of an impact that determines the ability, action, trust, or behavior of the actors. Shakti does not exclusively mention the use of the threat or force by another actor but can also be used through dispersion (such as institution). Energy can also take structural forms, as it can legalize some behaviors and groups than others in the actors (such as distinguishing between a master and slave) and controversial forms, because divisions and languages are more than others. The center of the study of political institutions is the power and its use. Although we think the concept of power is especially involved in politics or speaks of political science, it is actually in all kinds of social relations. For Folkl (6693), 'Energy Relationships are present in all areas of society. They just go to the depth of society.... They are not local in terms of border relations between the state and its citizens or between classes. All social activities are involved in the relationship of power. It can be between the employer and the employee or between the husband and wife (in a masculine society). Thus, it is a matter of fundamental importance for sociology to study it multiply.

14.13 Summary

Sociologists are concerned about social interactions between individuals and groups and more precisely, how individuals and groups achieve their end compared to others. In their research they take notes of power as an important element that affects social behavior. Sociologists are concerned to analyze the different nature of power today and the complexities that create the state and society, especially in human relations. In the very simple language, energy is the ability to get one's path - even based on the blab. It is the ability to practice one's desire on the other or in other words, the power is the ability to calculate their own interest or anxiety of individuals or groups, even after others resist. It sometimes involves direct use of the ball. The force is the use of the actual or threat of force to impose one's desire on the other. When a father hit the child to ban some work, he is applying force. Some scholars have defined it that it has to overcome the wishes of others. As a summary, it can be said that 'energy is' group or individuals themselves - sometimes the ability to emphasize themselves to oppose other's desires'. Many decisions were made without opposition to the great power decision -makers. Energy can be used to influence the actions of others. In a micro-scale, parents set the rules of the household that is expected to be followed by children. In more formal institutions like schools and universities, the administration determines the rules for following all students and professors. Defines the rules of social interaction among the operating staff in the workplace. On a macro scale, politicians set the expected rules that the whole country will be followed. Lawyers, executives, and judiciary made decisions regarding the action of the citizens.

14.14 Questions

G-A Answer in short (5 marks each)

1. What is meant by Power?
2. Write a note on the perspectives of power.
3. Give a definition of power.
4. Write a note on Economic Power.

G-B (10 marks each)

5. What is the functional perspective of power?
6. What is the Marxian perspective of power?

7. Mention the limitations of power.
8. What are the factors of power?
9. What are the functions of power?

14.15 Suggested Readings

1. Political Sociology-An Introductory Analysis-Prof. Amal Kumar Mukhopadhyay, K.P. Bagchi & Company, Calcutta, 1977.
2. Power: Concept, Meaning and Nature in Political Sociology- L.S.Rathore (ed), Meenakshi Prakashani, Meerut, 1982.
3. Sociology: Themes and Perspectives- M.Haralambos and R.M.Heald,OUP, Delhi, 1991.
4. Political Sociology- Prof. Pradip Basu (ed), Setu Prakashani, Kolkata,201

Module VI
Socialization, Participation and
Development

Unit 15 □ Political Socialization: Agencies

Structure

15.1 Objectives

15.2 Introduction

15.3 Meaning of political socialization

15.4 Characteristics of political socialization

15.5 Functions of Political Socialization

15.6 Forms of Political Socialization

15.7 Agencies of political socialization 15.08 Conclusion

15.9 Summary

15.10 Questions

15.11 Suggested Readings

15.1 Objectives

- This unit aims at familiarizing the learners with the concept of political socialization with its meaning and forms being explained.
 - It deals at some length, with the agencies of political socialization followed by conclusion.
-

15.2 Introduction

Socialization is a process of learning. It is a process by which individuals learn social values and adaptations. He also learns his duties, obligations, and role in society. Learning takes place through many organizations, and it lasts a lifetime. Socialization is partly a conscious process, but most of it is not done consciously. Political socialization, as a concept, is the recent source. But the idea was not unknown to political scientists. Greek philosophers emphasized the need for political education of the people in order to create good citizens and rulers. The study of political socialization is important because it is closely related to three elements of the political process, namely, political participation, political recruitment, and political communication. Second, political socialization makes it very clear that social behavior and political behavior are not only closely interrelated but have a great deal of

interdependence between them. Finally, political socialization shows that different social sciences are interdependent, especially between political science and sociology. The concept of political socialization is important to know how political culture is formed in different societies and how people's political values, beliefs and attitudes prevail over different generations. Those values or beliefs are passed on to the new generation through some agents of political socialization. The death of different members of a group does not mean the death of the political culture of the party. The new members of the party maintain their political culture. From childhood they have learned, accepted, and accepted the political values or beliefs of the society.

15.3 Meaning of political socialization

The process by which political culture is shaped at the level of the individual and at the community level is passed on from generation to generation is called political socialization. One of the salient features of culture is its inter-generational continuity. The culture of a social group does not end with the exit of the members of the group. It continues on the basis of a willingness on the part of the new members of the group to embrace the ideas and beliefs of the culture handed over to them by their ancestors. This willingness is not a rational choice but a matter of learned behavior. This learning process involves an internalization of the existing cultural pattern which is called socialization and whenever this process has a clearly a political context, it is called political socialization. Political socialization shapes and transmit a nation's political culture. The process of political culture in every society involves three tasks of maintaining, transforming, and creating political culture. Political socialization is a process not confined to one's early years of life, but it is continued throughout the span of one's life. Political beliefs and attitudes which are developed in the early years of life may undergo continuous changes as an individual goes through his varied social experiences. A docile attitude to the government developed in the context of one's family environment may later on be replaced by a hostile attitude developed in the subsequent part of one's life under the influence of, say, new friends, educational patterns, job experiences and even under the impact of some extraordinary national happenings. Political socialization is a process by which individuals learn and frequently build a political lens internally on how power is arranged and how the world around them is organized (and should be); These perceptions, in turn, shape the definition of individuals and define who they are and how they should behave in the political and economic institutions in which they live. " A "study of developmental processes by which adolescents of all ages and adolescents acquire political knowledge, attitudes, and behaviors." It

is through the performance of functions that individuals engage in political culture and form their attitudes towards political objects, a process that has a major impact on schools, the media, and the state. Political scientists have concluded that political beliefs and behaviors are not inherited. Instead, individuals determine where and how they fit in with the political values and processes of their country through the process of political socialization in their lifetime. It is through this learning process that values and behaviors that contribute to a smooth and peaceful political system are passed down through the generations. Perhaps most visibly, how people determine their political orientation like conservative or liberal, for example.

Starting from childhood, the process of political socialization continues throughout a person's life. Even those who have shown no interest in politics for years can become politically active as senior citizens. In the sudden need for healthcare and other benefits, they may be motivated to support sympathetic candidates for their cause and to join senior advocacy groups such as the Gray Panthers. Political socialization is a concept related to the "study of developmental processes" by which children and adolescents acquire political knowledge, attitudes and become "saviors". It refers to a learning process through which acceptable rules and behaviors for a well-run political system are transmitted from one generation to another. Through the performance of this function, individuals are incorporated into the political culture and their orientation towards the political object is formed.

15.4 Characteristics of political socialization:

Political socialization has some features. These are:

1. Political socialization is the apex of a society's political values or culture. So, no education is political socialization.
2. The purpose of political socialization is to educate and develop the members of the society politically, to see them as effective members of the political society and to maintain the continuity of the political values of the society.
3. Childhood is an important time for political socialization. However, it is not limited to a few years of childhood. Political socialization continues throughout a person's life.
4. Political socialization occurs in three main ways - imitation, direction, and motivation. The tendency to imitate is more prevalent in children, whereas adolescents and adults have a combination of imitation, instruction, and inspiration.

5. Through the process of political socialization, support increases, support for the existing political system, values in favor of conventional institutions, legitimacy of government increases.
6. All persons belonging to political society are subject to political socialization and remain active throughout their lives.
7. Political socialization is Universal Process. With the process of political socialization political culture passes on from one generation to another. Political socialization differs from state to state.
8. Link and familiar people with political orientation and pattern of behavior.
9. It draws the development of attitude.

15.5 Functions of Political Socialization:

The functions of political socialization are given below: -

1. The primary function of political socialization is to pass on political values from one generation to another.
2. The size of political socialization and the political culture of the nation
3. It maintains, transforms, and sometimes creates a political culture of the people
4. Political socialization introduces values, rules, and adaptations in the minds of individuals
5. Sometimes, a country that has just gained its independence may try to find a new political system for itself and create a new political culture for itself and maintain the same.
6. The process of political socialization lasts a lifetime.
7. Political socialization is the change of political culture

15.6 Forms of Political Socialization:

Political Socialization may assume two forms- direct or manifest and indirect or latent. Direct Political socialization is a process in which the content of the transmitted information, values or feelings is unambiguously political. Thus, an individual, under they're the influence of his family or teachers or some other agencies learns explicitly about the pattern and functions of the government, the

views of a political part or gets convinced of the superiority of a particular political ideology. On the other hand, an individual, under the influence of his family, teachers, or some other agencies, may develop an attitude to authority in general. This attitude may later on, be directed to the political authority in particular and thus the orientation with a non-political object is ultimately transformed into a political orientation. This is an example of indirect or latent political socialization. Thus, latent, or indirect political socialization is the transmission of non-political orientations that eventually affect political objects.

There are two main Forms of political socialization.

1. **Direct Manifesto:** This type includes political information, values, feelings and extension. Political ideology is considered the best in the family, in institutional educational institutions, and in society as a whole.
2. **Indirect or non-manifesto:** It works in the following three modes.
 - a. **Transfer:** In this kind of indirect and undisclosed political socialization, the values, and thoughts of one person or person are transferred to another person or person.
 - b. **Apprentice:** This includes learning the optimal habits and behaviors of political activity.
 - c. **Generalization:** This indirect or undisclosed political socialization process works to generalize the process from social values to political issues.

15.7 Agencies of political socialization:

Political socialization comes into effect through a variety of agents like the family, peer groups, educational institutions, secondary groups, the mass media and government and party agencies.

- **Family:** Among the agents of political socialization the family stands pre-eminent. It 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 and generally, a substantial part of it is found to outlast the influences coming from other socializing agents in the latter part of his life. Family's role in political socialization may be explained by several factors. Firstly, family holds a crucial position in the life of the child. For a long time, the family works as the only agency for fulfilling the physical and emotional needs of the child. As a result of his

or her dependence on the family, the child becomes a ready subscriber to the family's political beliefs and values. Secondly, children have a natural tendency of imitating their parents. It is true that with time the influence of parents diminishes drawing new models for himself from the wider social sphere where he then moves about. But the parental influences never disappear from the lives of children. Thirdly, members of a family usually live in the same atmosphere. This gives a family a marked uniformity of opinion against the background which children are likely to share the political orientations of their parents. This, of course, does not mean that an individual never abandons the familial political ideas and beliefs or that he never tries to test their validity in terms of his own experiences of society and politics he gathers later in his life. While studying the role of the family in the political socialization process, one should not, however, miss the point that political socialization at the family level is likely to be conservative in character preserving and protecting the traditional practices and ideas. Hence it can be said that political socialization performed by the family works as a great impediment to changes in political orientations and this is why political culture in a society is often found to lag far behind the major social and political changes.

- **Peer groups:** As the family influences diminish, the individual longs for becoming a more autonomous human being working independently of the family. Political socialization at this stage assumes new dimensions since now emerges the problem of interpretation for participation in specifically political roles. It is the peer groups that look after this aspect of the matter. Peer groups thus supplement the socializing functions of the family by preparing the individual for more specific political experiences. In modern complex societies this supplementation is necessary as parents are not equipped to prepare their children successfully for complete social and political status and participation in the complex and depersonalized social and political structures of modern societies. Further, so far as political socialization is concerned, a peer group does not function always in contradiction with the family. It may sometimes act as a protector of family practices and values rather than adhering to re-socializing. Factually, the more static or stratified a society, the less the peer group will be at war with the family.

The success of a peer group will depend on the easy flow of interactions among its members and also by the emotion-laden personalized relations that

it involves. In a peer group, members enjoy free access and exposure to each other. A peer group draws extensive attention from its members which helps it to grow as a powerful agent of political socialization. A peer group, like the family, is known for highly emotive and close intra- relations facilitating the task of socializing its members. The extent to which a peer group is capable of replacing the family as an agent of political socialization, varies with the degree of parental control. In countries like France, Germany and Belgium, the family asserts its control over its members for a longer period while the opposite is the case with the USA and UK where the importance of political socialization is more than in the former countries. Again, the extent to which a peer group is able to act as an agent of political socialization, depends on the fact of its interest in politics. As an example, the youth in the USA are said to be not much interested in politics and naturally, this kind of peer group in the USA is not very effective in political socialization.

- **Educational Institutions:** Educational institutions are an important agency of political socialization. They are responsible for socializing the tender minds to particular skills and values of society. Students are made aware of their roles and responsibilities by these institutions by placing them in the wider social context. Educational institutions inculcate the values of honesty, integrity, patriotism, public duty, morality, respect, and discipline in the minds of the students and can reinforce in imbibing affection for the political system by paying respect to symbols like national flag, national anthem, national leaders, heritage, and history of the country. They introduce the students to the political world and make them conscious about of the rules of the political game. Such teachings make them more informative and knowledgeable, and they become aware of the policies and programmed of the government. Thus, educated politically, they can develop their own mental faculties in interpreting the political happenings by forming their own opinions. Almond and Verba have rightly pointed out that the more an individual is exposed to education, the more he is to be aware of the government, to follow politics, to have more political information, to possess a wider range of opinions on political matters, to engage in political debates and discussions, to feel about greater ability to influence political issues etc. However, it should be kept in mind that in all political systems, especially in authoritarian regimes, educational institutions act as instruments for enhancing the control of the dominant power group. Still, it cannot be denied that educational institutions play a very crucial role in political socialization resulting in imbibing

greater political knowledge in the fertile minds of the children and thereby helps increase their political competence. Moreover, the educational institutions function as the steppingstone for the student union leaders to be the future leaders of the country. Thus, educational institutions perform a key role in shaping the attitudes and personalities of the learners.

- **Religious Institutions:** Religious institutions perform the responsibility of forming the political mindset of the individuals. They act as instruments of conveying the moral and spiritual values with an implicit political overtone. Historically, the church had played an instrumental role in designing political attitudes and perceptions. In Christianity, missionaries were found to have played a very important role in spreading education among the poor and the illiterate. The church was found to be involved in the spread of its political message by inculcating the common men with its own political ideology. Thus, they force the people to adhere to specific attitude to political authority and accept the dominant norms of society. Hence, it can be said that religion and political authority are closely intertwined for perpetuating the process of political socialization. It should be kept in mind that the intermixing of religion and politics can, many a time, lead to the growth of religious fundamentalism as is being witnessed in many countries in the world in recent times.
- **Political Parties:** Political parties play a crucial role in socializing the individuals to the political arena. They try their best to sow the seeds of politics in the minds of the people and educate them so that the individuals feel inclined to support the political parties. Political parties may believe in the utility of the existing political system, or they may be opposed to it and want to change it through revolutionary actions. Hence, they play a pivotal role in socializing the people in favor or against the existing political system. They mould issue preferences and place new issues in order to garner their support. The values, norms, culture, ideologies of the political parties influence the public and contribute a lot in political socialization. In India, society is divided along differences based on religion, language, castes, classes and various ethnic groups and the political parties try to exploit them in their favor. The political parties try to inculcate their political ideologies and ideas in the minds of the people and divide them politically to derive their support for a particular political culture and orientation.
- **Government:** An individual experiences his government continuously through his close contact with its functions and governmental personnel and his

direct knowledge of what the government stands and works for is likely to reinforce his ideas and attitudes acquired through early socialization process or to change them to a great extent. Under certain circumstances, the government plays a direct role in carrying on a process of political indoctrination.

- **Mass Media:** Mass media- radio, television, newspapers, magazines and the like- provide a good deal of political information and often add their own interpretation of the information and hence their role in political socialization cannot be underestimated. The great technological changes in the mass media have considerably increased their importance in modern times. But it should be kept in mind that the importance of mass media as an agent of political socialization varies with the social environment in which they operate. The social setting is important because it alone helps in determining which type of mass media will attract a particular type of people. It is also important in the sense that it determines the way in which a person would interpret and react to the output produced by the mass media. Here it should be remembered that the mass media are not the actual creator of the messages they transmit. These messages originate at the level of the government officialdom, the political leaders, secondary groups, and the mass media's function is to communicate these messages to the common people. Viewed from this perspective, mass media, in real terms, are not themselves an agent of political socialization but an instrument utilized by various agents of political socialization. Mass media do not generally directly influence the people. The parents, the teachers, the community leaders get the messages first from the mass media and then they transmit these messages to those on which they have influence. Finally, it would be right to say that the mass media are not the primary socializer, they only reinforce the already existing orientations. This makes the mass media appear more as an agent of reinforcement of the status quo than an agent of change. Nevertheless, the mass media play a significant role in illuminating the minds of the people with the news and views and thereby helping them in forming their own political opinions. As they have a close nexus with politics, they can introduce the rank and file to the world of politics. They can control the feeling of the people by determining what to report and what not to report. The mass media upholds the success and failure of the government, show sensitivity to the problems of daily life, highlight the problems of the people, report sensational news. However, it is often alleged that the mass media is controlled, regulated, and even sponsored by the government. They are subjected to criticism for playing into the hands

of the powers- that-be. In spite of all these, the mass media can claim an important place in the process of political socialization because the multi-dimensional responsibilities they perform.

15.8 Conclusion

Political socialization is an important process in the life of an individual. It is organically related to political life and activities of the people. In fact, every political system puts enormous importance on the political socialization of the people. Political socialization is inseparable from the political allegiance shown by the people to the political system. It helps grow ideological empathy in the minds of the people towards the political system. Thus, in the case of socialization, there has been a steady progress, first from the orientation-effect model, from parent to child, and then from child to parent-to-direction-effect model, and finally to the multipurpose-effect model. The latter are more complex, more environmentally valid, but more difficult to test experimentally. Nevertheless, it seems reasonable that models of socialization should reflect a more sophisticated relevant theoretical approach. According to the best thinkers in the field of socialization, the agent or force of socialization is the army. They include parents, children, teachers, coworkers, organizations, media, and society. Parents socialize children but children also socialize parents. Peers, according to Judith Harris' peer group socialization model, can socialize children more than their parents. Similarly, parents' family and friends socialize the parents. In addition, the media, historical events, socio-economic status, family structure, culture - all influence parents and their children. By excluding these important issues from our models of socialization, we limit the complexity of our theoretical models and thus our ability to interpret important results. Ultimately, socialization takes place in different contexts as well as in the way of life. Political socialization is related to the political stability of society. In order to maintain political stability in the process of modernization, industrialization, urbanization, and various other changes, it is necessary to look at political socialization. Emphasis is placed on political socialization in both liberal and socialist systems. In order to properly understand the politics of a country we must endeavor to understand the process of the political socialization of that country. The process of political socialization also contributes to the evolution, modification, and orientation of political culture in a society. Political socialization is the "study of the developmental processes by which adolescents of all ages and adolescents acquire political knowledge, attitudes, and behaviors." It refers to a learning process through which acceptable rules and behaviors for a well-governed political system are passed down from one generation

to another. Through the performance of this function, individuals are incorporated into the political culture and their orientation towards the political object is formed. Political socialization can be defined as the socialization of a political system through the knowledge of political symbols, institutions, and methods, and the internalization of values and systems. It is also a process of acquiring political culture. In order to properly understand the politics of a country we must try to understand the process of political socialization of that country. The method of political socialization also contributes to the evolution, change and orientation of political culture in a society.

15.9 Summary

In order to properly understand the politics of a country, we must try to understand the process of political socialization of that country. The process of political socialization also contributes to the evolution, change and orientation of political culture in a society. once observed that we "do not inherit our political behavior, attitudes, values and knowledge through our genes." Gabriel A. Almond and James S. Coleman, eds., *The politics of the developing region*, 27. Instead, we come to understand our role through the process of political education and to "fit" into our political culture by Political scientists Gabriel Almond and James Coleman. Pamela Johnston Convers, "Political Socialization: In Political Science we are Looking to the Future, Volume III, Political Behavior, ed. William Crowe, 125-152. Political education is a broad concept that encompasses both active and passive and formal and informal ways where people mature politically. Carol L. Han, *Becoming a Politician*. Individuals develop a sense of personal identity with a political self, the political world. A political self-development begins when children begin to think that they are part of a political community. They acquire knowledge, beliefs and values that help them understand government and politics. Richard E. Dawson and Kenneth Privet, *Political Socialization*. The feeling of being an American, which includes the feeling that one belongs to a unique nation where people believe in democratic ideals, is expressed through the process of political education. Political socialization is a special kind of political education through which people develop attitudes, values, beliefs, opinions, and behaviors to be good citizens in their country. Socialization is basically a one-way process through which young people gain an understanding of the political world through their interactions with adults and the media. The process is represented by the following model: Fred I. Greenstein, *Children and Politics*. Third world countries were once under the political control of European powers. They have been gaining independence since the middle of the twentieth century. The political structure of imperialist European power was known

in these countries. Therefore, in many countries of the third world, the political structure was formed in imitation of the imperialist power. They also have their own social and political structures. It is important to discuss the context of the political socialization of these countries in order to know how old and how much their own political and social structure has changed in the West, how much political continuity has been preserved. Society is constantly changing. A discussion of political socialization is also needed to understand how these changes are affecting the political system. It brings enlightenment among the people. It brings efficiency in the working of the political system. Provide legitimacy to political system. Helpful in the formation of the political culture.

15.10 Questions

G-A (5 marks each)

1. What is meant by Political Socialization?
2. Mention the forms of Political Socialization.
3. What are types of Political Socialization?

G-B (10 marks each)

4. What role family plays in Political Socialization?
5. Write a note on the agencies of Political Socialization?
6. Discuss About Function of Political Socialization?

15.11 Suggested Readings

1. Political Sociology- S.S.Ralhan, S.R.Lambat, 2018
2. Rajnaitik Samajtattwa (in Bengali) - Prof. Nirmalkanti Ghosh and Prof.Pitam Ghosh, Shreebhumi, Kolkata, 2001.
3. Political Sociology- Concepts, Approaches &Theories- Baral and Baral, Vidyapuri, Cuttack, Bhubaneswar, 2001.
4. Political Sociology- An Introductory Analysis-Prof. Amal Kumar Mukhopadhyay, K.P.Bagchi, Calcutta, 1977.
5. Political Sociology- Prof.Pradip Basu, Setu Prakashan, Kolkata, 2015.

Unit 16 □ Interest Groups and Pressure Groups

Structure

16.1 Objectives

16.2 Introduction

16.3 Definition

16.4 Difference between interest groups and others

16.5 Approaches to interest groups

16.6 Classification of interest groups

16.7 Role of interest groups

16.8 Methods and techniques of interest groups

16.9 Determinants of group formation and its effectiveness

16.10 Interest groups in various countries

16.11 Summary

16.12 Questions

16.13 Suggested Readings

16.1 Objectives

The objectives of this unit are to understand:

- a) Definition of the Interest Groups and Pressure Groups
- b) Types of Interest Groups and Pressure Groups—roles—functions—their approaches.
- c) Differences between Interest Groups and Pressure Groups
- d) Differences between Political Party and Pressure Groups

16.2 Introduction

Existence and importance of pressure groups (PGs) and interest groups (IGs) in liberal democracy are now beyond doubt. In his book 'Parliaments and Pressure Groups in Western Europe', Philip Norton rightly says "Pressure groups or interest groups, to use a more neutral term - are intrinsic to a liberal democracy." But PGs

and IGs cannot be considered as new phenomena. In Tocqueville's 'Democracy in America' faith on groups had fore-grounded convincingly, in today's pluralist democracy groups are marked as one of the basic elements of it. It's needless to say that interest groups has been playing a major role not only in the American politics but it's All-encompassing nature can be found in Europe and third world countries too. Presumably, plethora of groups with different structures and forms coexist with multiple numbers of political parties in various parts of the world. Therefore, PGs are seemed as lifeblood of democracy irrespective of its structures or forms. But like other concept or matter in social science differences lie in definition, classification, techniques, structures, importance, and future about PGs and IGs which are containing no unanimous standpoint. With their utmost efforts, Arthur Bentley, the founder of the 'Group Theory', Harold Laski, R. M. MacIver, David Truman, Olson, A. R. Ball, Almond, and Powell etc. got involved in exploring the essence of PGs or IGs. In 21st Century, increase in the number and range of groups and the necessity and demand of exploring the new horizons of PGs or IGs seem to be the access route to the understanding of democratic polity all over the world. This is because according to 'Encyclopedia of Associations' established "now group membership dwarfs that of the parties."

Dispute over terminology and definition: Much dispute prevails in the terminology and definition. As noted above, no consensus has been found in defining PGs or IGs according to Gabriel A. Almond and G. Binghamton "The term interest group" has become the object of considerable dispute among political scientists. In the book interest group politics is opined that interests' groups one also known as factions, organized interests, pressure groups and special interests". On the other hand, Alan R. Ball pointed out, "However pressure groups and interest groups are terms in common usage; there are disagreements on the suitability of the terms." A. R. Ball preferred the pressure group as the broad generic term." G. Alderman transparently comments, "There is no clear agreement on the names or labels to be applied." On the contrary, Almond and Powell are more comfortable with the term "interest group". Sometimes, lobbying is confused with interest group or pressure groups. In "Pressure Groups" Duncan Watts clarifies that in America the term "interest group" is preferable "to refer to the whole range of organized groups" and Pressure groups on the other hand are "all- embracing British term "denoting" a specific interest in society".

16.3 Definition

For conceptual clarity tend definitions from prominent scholars deserve to be analyzed in a systematic way.

- 1) According to Mary Earhart Dillon, "Pressure group is a non-partisan organization of a segment of the people formed to exert influence upon the legislature, the executive, or other governmental agency through public opinion for the enactment or the rejection of certain legislation or for the adoption, modification or discontinuance of a public policy". Here PG is termed as non-party, as it is different from political party.
- 2) Alan R. Ball opined, "in general, pressure groups are social aggregates with some level of Cohesion and shared aims which attempt to influence the political decision working process".
- 3) David Truman in his book, 'The Governmental Process' (1951) put forward a definition of Pressure Group, as "any group that, on the basis of one or more shared attitudes makes certain claims upon other groups in society for the establishment, maintenance or enhancement of forms of behavior that are implied by the shared attitudes".
- 4) With the perspective from United States S. E. Finer defined pressure groups as "autonomous and politically neutral bodies, which bargain with the political parties and bureaucracy irrespective of the political complexion of the government in power".
- 5) In terms of power capturing tendency Pressure Groups are inhabitant of other planet. In such point of view Philip Norton explained pressure group as "a body that seeks to influence government in the allocation of resources without itself seeking to assure responsibility for government".
- 6) David Easton analyzed pressure groups as 'gate keepers' because PGS are sorting out the actual or more important or essential demands and make a sizeable or manageable sets of claims so that these could be raised appropriately in order to influence the policy making process. In this way, according to Easton, pressure groups accelerate the political system and manage 'demand input overload'.

16.4 Difference between interest groups and others

A comparative analysis will help us to have a clear picture of pressure group. So, differences between Pressure Groups and other organizations or movements or parties should be laid down.

1) Pressure Groups (PGs) and Interest Groups (IGs): A. R. Ball termed PGs as "the broad generic term and sub-divide PGS into IGS and attitude groups". So, according to Ball - PGs and IGs exist at different level of working platform. In the book "Comparative Politics: A Developmental Approaches" interest group has been defined as, "a group of individuals who are linked by particular bonds of concern or advantage and who have some awareness of these bonds".

According to Duncan Watts, "Americans tend to speak of 'interest groups' to refer to the whole range of organized groups whereas, in Britain, the term describes groups that cater for a specific interest in society, such as forming or big business".

Besides, the two groups could be differentiated by the determinant of using coercive technique in fulfilling aims and objectives of the group. Pressure groups intend to use coercive measure for influencing policy. To the contrary interest groups lay focus on promoting a special interest.

2) PGs and Political Party (PPs):

PGS can be differentiated by the following standpoints:

- a) Duncan watts pointed out three PGs intend to promote a specific interest in order to influence public policies of a country.

On the other hand, Political Party naturally keep close eye on winning general elections for gaining power and implementing their programmes.

- b) Promotional groups are open to all, and protective groups maintain closed membership. Political Parties, on the other hand, emphasis open access membership programme.
- c) Discussion, Protest, direction - these are the technique of PGs. PPs are "Putting up candidates for election".

3) PGs and Movement:

Both PGs and Movement strike to influence the government in making and re-making public policies rather than trying to occupy power. Despite this similarity, they are different in respect of internal structure. Movements are loosely organized as compared to PGs.

4) PGs and Lobby:

PGS could be distinguished from lobby in the following manners:

- a) PG is an organization and lobbying is a technique of it.

- b) PGs may have multiple techniques, methods, and way to influence the government for the benefit of group members and the people in general. Contrariwise, lobbyists have to operate their duty through legislators or government officials.

16.5 Approaches to interest groups:

Approach shows alternatives. One thing could not be analyzed properly with only one perspective. If it happens, it will exert parochial point of view. Many approaches widen the perception, clear the conception prevent us from parochialism, help to come out true essence of any matter. In this regard, the study of groups in society has been depicted through various approaches by numerous scholars in different times. Arthur Bentley's 'The Process of Government' (1908) paved the way this respect. David Truman's 'The Government Process' (1951) has been considered as the benchmark of the study of groups.

1. A. R. Ball in his book 'Pressure Politics in Industrial Societies' described for approaches in respect of analyzing pressure groups.
 - a. Pluralist Approaches: As pluralism endorses diversity; encourages multiplicity of groups; promotes freedom of speech, assembly and association consider political power as fragmented and dispersed, prefers interaction and bargaining, groups activities have been encouraged by these features of pluralism. Pluralism is of few types. 'Ideal type' (Dahrendorf), 'umpire' type pluralism (Connolly), 'laissez-faire pluralism' (Kelso), 'bureaucratic pluralism', 'de facto pluralism' etc are such types.
 - b. Elitist Approaches: Elitist approach endorses distribution of power. But it encircled pressure group activities into modern industrial states with the position of secondary importance. According to elitist theory every society is divided into the rulers and the ruled. The smaller group, the elite controls the ruled. Various types of elitist approach exist. Robert Michels explored 'Iron Law of Oligarchy', C. Wright Mills emphasized on 'Power elite' and depicted tripartite elites like the political elite, the economic elite and the military elite. Eric Nordlinger promoted the concept of 'public elite'.
 - c. Marxist Approach: Marxist approaches are different in structural point of view but are united to emphasis on economic organization of society. According to this approach economy is the base and in capitalist society the bourgeoisie dominate the means of production and by which controls the proletariat.

Presumably, according to A. R. Ball shows little interest about interest articulation and group politics.

- d. Corporatism: it is considered as one of the latest approaches in defining group politics. Here are some features of it - 1) It lays emphasis on the group "as a key unit of analysis". 2) Integration of functional groups into the decision-making process is another notable feature of it. 3) According to Corporatism public officials will be enriched from the expertise of the groups and public policies and their implementation would be advantaged through groups' participation. 4) Such approach gives importance to the concept that "Policy decisions are taken outside the arena of representative bodies....." 5) It never go with the concept of "repressive means to control the incorporated groups."
2. Duncan Watts in his book published 21st century added few more approaches to the above-mentioned approaches.
 - a. Neo-Pluralist Approach: Watts also define pluralist approach with a special glance at neo-pluralist approach. According to the neo-pluralist approach government will not be an empire between the "Opposite groups". According to Watts, Robert Dahl wanted to accept "the disproportionate power of some groups and recognizing a stronger role for government in relation to groups than he previously accepted".
 - b. The New Right Approach: Mancur Olson, one of the proponents of the New Right approach was skeptic about the good influence of groups on the government's policy-making process with the reference of national economic decline of Britain for the British tripartism the New Right thinkers concluded that the connection between corporatism and excessive government control was responsible for policies involving burdensome levels of public expenditure.

This type of approach has the position that people join any group for only two reasons. 1) There is no choice, because kind of coercion exists (e.g. the trade union), 2) the group offers any special elective benefits (holiday package or wealth package).

But this approach is no longer in a position to describe the reason why and how tens of thousands of people join environmental movement recently.

16.6 Classification of PGs:

Pressure groups have been classified into various categories by different scholars in different times.

Almond and Powell identified four categories of interest groups.

(1) Anomic interest groups: Such types of groups are formed in a political system where exclusively organized groups are absent or become unable to secure adequate representation. It is spontaneous unconventional in character and its activities are more or less violent, sudden, unpredictable and, to some extent, uncontrollable. Riots, demonstrations, associations, roadblocks etc. are few instances of activities of such groups.

(2) Non-associational interest groups: It refers to "kinship and lineage groups, and ethnic, regional, status, and class groups which articulate their interests intermittently through individuals, colleagues, family and religious heads, and the like". Lack of regular pattern of articulation, maintenance of unorganized procedure, and the structural in continuity are the features of such groups. Any appeal or complaint of an informal body of people or kinsmen for any preferred treatment for club or family is an instance of non-associational interest group.

(3) Institutional interest groups:

This type of interest group may be characterized as—

- a) Formal organization,
- b) Members with professional skills,
- c) Conducted political or social functions,
- d) Political parties, legislatures, armies, bureaucracies, and churches are such groups.
- e) Articulate groups own interests and in the similar fashion "represent the interests of other groups".

(4) The associational interest groups:

This group can be marked as—

- a) Specialized structures for interest articulation,
- b) Adorned with full-time professionals,

- c) "Orderly procedures for the formation of interest and demands",
- d) Follow legitimate tactics and goals,
- e) Always get upper hand over non-associational groups,
- f) Trade unions, business unions, ethnic associations, religious associations, civic associations etc. are instances of such type of groups.

Duncan Walls explores three-tier classification of groups.

- 1) **The sectoral approach:** S. E. Finer in his book "Anonymous Empire" categorized groups into eight types. These are - 1) The business lobby, 2) The labour lobby, 3) The Co-operative movement, 4) The professions, 5) Civic groups, 6) Special sections of the population, 7) The churches and evangelical groups, 8) Educational, recreational, and cultural groups.
- 2) **Protective and promotional groups:** Here protective groups promote or would like to protect "sectional interest of certain groups in a society". They are aiming at fulfillment of self-interest of their own group which will be lightly organized, well-staffed and well resourced. These are like the groups of doctors, lawyers, farmers, teachers etc. In opposition, promotional groups are looking forward to "promote or propangandise on behalf of particular causes or ideas, arising out of the attitudes and beliefs (rather than the self-interests) of their members. General good of the society is their prime concern. Such group are working with limited resources, inadequately staff and are comparatively short lived. This group includes The Child Poverty Action Group, Friends of the Earth etc.

Typology like protective and promotional has to face criticism, as overlap of the features of both the groups is as clear as water. Therefore, such division emits dissatisfaction among the scholars.

- 3) **Insider and outsider group:** Wyn Grant in his book 'Pressure Groups, Politics and Democracy in Britain' (1989) put forward a typology of groups. He has divided groups into two types. One is incident and the other termed as outsider. The first one is explained as, "legitimate players and are regularly consulted by government, having good-almost cosy-access to the corridors of power. On the contrary, lack of access or legitimacy seems to be the feature of outsider groups.

As such distinction between incident and outsider group had to face enormous criticism, in the first edition of the book W. Grant made some rectifications. He has

divided insider group into three types. These are - 1) high profile insiders which try to contract with government with the help of the mass media, 2) low profile insiders that are not intending publicity, 3) prisoner groups which dependent on government. Moreover, Grant has classified outsider groups into three sections. They are - 1) potential insiders which intend to be insiders, though not yet accepted, 2) Outsider groups by necessity that are "lacking the knowledge and skills necessary to achieve insider status and 3) ideological outsider groups which maintain standpoint to reject the idea that change could be achieved through political process.

Alan R. Ball gives emphasis on the two-fold division of pressure groups. They are -1) Interest groups - it is "characterized by the objective nature of the group's membership". Farmers group, trade unions are example of it. 2) Attitude groups - They are also identified by promotional group or cause group. A shared values or attitudes are the key factors to be united as attitude groups. Advocacy of prison reform, opposition to nuclear energy fall under attitude groups.

Jean Blondel has classified interest groups into two major types. The first one is community interest group and the second one is associational groups. To secure and promote community interest, community interest groups are working. Such groups have been distinguished into two sub-categories. They are - 1) customary and 2) institutional group. Caste groups which intend to protect and promote the customs and traditions of any particular caste groups are marked as an example of customary groups. On the other hand, institutional groups are based on institution. It tries to improve the relationship of the same group and to promote interest of the group members. Welfare associations, Senior citizens associations fall under this group. Associational groups are divided into two sub-categories. One is protective groups and the other is promotional groups.

The protective groups are homogenous in terms of community membership and are looking forward to promoting the interests of the members. In opposition, the promotional group accepts members from across the communities. They are working with a border perspective like environmental section.

Maurice Duverger likes to divide pressure groups on the basis of two criteria. According to first one, he has classified groups into two categories. These are - 1) Exclusive groups and 2) Partial groups. Exclusive groups are the groups which intend to put pressure on the political system exclusively and at regular basis. Such groups are found more in number in the USA. On the contrary, partial groups are like teacher's groups or women activist groups which promote own numbers interest through intermittent activities. According to the second criterion, Duverger classified

groups into two sub-groups. They are - a) Private groups and b) Public groups. He also explores a new category of pressure group called Pseudo-pressure group which include specialists intending use pressure politics for others instead of themselves.

16.7 Role of Pressure Groups

1. Almond and Powell in the book 'Comparative Politics: It Developmental Approach' clearly mentioned one of the most important roles of interest groups or pressure groups. Interest articulation, according to Almond, is an essential duty served by groups. In his words, "If groups within the society do not find open channels through which to express their interests and needs, these demands are likely to remain unsatisfied". Moreover, such dissatisfactions may create violence or suppression or abnormal situation for the society.
2. In the book 'Democracy and Interest Groups: Enhancing Proletariat?' the writers pointed out the argument of few writers like Gray and Lowery about the role of interest groups. According to them, ".....elections are a primary, but inevitably blunt, democratic device'. So, ".....interest groups play an important secondary and supporting rules as an effective 'channel of citizen communication and control". Secondly, according to Berry, "the genda-building function of groups turns problems into issues". Thirdly, groups have educative role. Internet groups are able to "make people aware of policy problems and proposed situations".
3. Duncan Watts explains important role of groups in enhancing democracy.
 - a. Safety Valve: Groups are the scope for persons to get together in order to proclaim their views, rights with each other. It also helps the minority or disadvantaged groups for expressing their problems and would help to overcome the obstacles. So, it protects the society from any revolution.
 - b. Enhancing wider participation: Pressure groups favour participation of common public in the decision-making process. Many are in a position to avoid parties but have the intention to participate in the decision-making process. For them pressure groups are vital source of participation.
 - c. A link between the people and those who govern them: Now group break, the Monopoly of the political process by political parties. Because groups maintain "the two-way link, they inform government of how members feel, and they help to inform their members about government attitudes and the

difficulties involved in making and carrying out policy".

- d. To provide specialist information to government: Groups provide valuable and important data and information to the government for formulating, legislating, and implementing policies.
4. Gatekeeping: It is an important role of interest groups. IGs are going to sort out the valuable as well as relevant demands among the innumerable demands of the society so that the important problems could be identified and solved at the earliest.

16.8 Methods and techniques of PGs

1. Lobbying: It is one of the most important techniques adopted by groups in order to influence the policy-making process of any government. For the "maintenance, protection, furtherance and realization of their specific interest". Lobbying, according to J. C. Johari, occurs mainly in Legislative arena. The groups try to influence various departments or agencies of government sending mail, telephonic conversation, sending delegation to the legislators, personal meeting, deputation, providing monetary or other gifts to the legislator may be the way through which lobbying could be held. Moreover, in the election campaigns groups may provide workers or other resources so that their like-minded people may be elected. Therefore, lobbying seems to be a part and parcel of the activity of any pressure group for its existence and development.
2. Strike: it's another instrument for method on the part of groups to influence the governmental Agencies or departments in policy-making process. According to J. C. Johari, it's a kind of "stoppage of work". Strikes are of many types. these are - 'stay-in strike', 'chalk-down strike', 'pen-down strike', 'tool-down strike', 'regulation strike', 'go-slow strike', 'work-to-rule strike' etc.
3. Bandh: it's an Indian term. Bandh is another technique by which groups may manifest group influence on the government with a view to creating pressure for making any rule or unmaking any one for the sake of group members or the people of a country as a whole. Bandh means a complete closure. That means no offices, government institutions, educational institutions, factories, markets etc. will be opened for a specific time like 24 hours or 12 hours etc. It may be considered as destructive or financially loss-making tactic. But whenever there is a necessity to draw attention of the government

and no other way left behind, groups may follow it for the sake of greater benefit of the people in general.

4. Gherao: Nowadays in India 'Gherao' becomes one of the most popular and easiest tactics to influence the authority to fulfill the demands of the groups. From educational institutions to government offices or factories, it has been a staple diet. Gherao actually means an encirclement of the authority (may be one or few in number) by the persons belong to students, company workers, office staff etc. It may be non-violent or violent. But in an actual sense of the term, it creates coercion directly or indirectly.

16.9 Determinants of group formation and its effectiveness

Alan J. Cigler in his book 'Interest Group Politics' in the context of the USA elaborated few valuable determinants of group formation and expansion. These are as follows:

- (1) Guarantees of free speech, association, and the right to petition for grievance redressal.
- (2) Decentralize political parties;
- (3) Decentralize political power structure;
- (4) Substantial cleavages among a citizens with multiple political interests;
- (5) Cultural values adorned with individualism;
- (6) Technological advancement and new opportunities in communication;
- (7) Increase in affluent members and sponsors etc. one the basic determinants for development of PGS.
6. The book "Determinants of Interest Group Formation" put forward six indicators conducive to group formation. These are - (a) Stability, (b) Development, (c) Political system specifically democratic environment, (d) Size of the nation, (e) Size of the Government and (f) diverse society.
7. In the book "Pressure Groups" Duncan watts identifies few important factors to be essential for the impact and effectiveness of groups. These are -
8. 1) The degree of Government support for the aims and ideas of the group;
9. 2) Bargaining power of group,

10. 3) Sound leadership, organization and funding,
11. 4) Public support,
12. 5) Media attention etc.
13. Another perspective comes from Sunil Ranjan Chakraborty in the context of Indian polity. In the article 'Pressure Groups in West Bengal' he innovates three elements essential for the expansion of groups. These are - (1) attitudes toward authority, (2) The legacy of the nationalist movement, and (3) post-independence government policies to establish national harmony..... ".

16.10 Pressure groups in various countries

On the basis of the Encyclopedia of Associations and other few determinants and Grant Jordan And William A. Meloney in their book, "Democracy and Interest Groups: Enhancing Participation?" explore that "There is a perception that parties are 'damaged goods' as participatory vehicles. Interest groups are regarded as filling this void." According to EA during 2007-08 the number of national, regional, state, and local organization was over 1,35,000. In the book, "The Paradise of Association" Martin Phillip Johnson, from the perspective of legacy of common in France, comments, ".....one find from the 1880s onward an explosion of associations, committees, unions, federations, and syndicate. In this regard, in the book, "Political Parties and interest groups: Shaping Democratic governance" Clive S. Thomas categorizes world countries(13) in order to put forward a clear and comparative conception of pressure groups in relation with parties. These are - 1. The traditional democracies like the USA, Britain, France etc. 2. The Post-World War-ii democracies like Germany, Israel, Japan, Italy and 3. The traditional democracies like Spain, Poland, Mexico, Argentina etc.

Britain: "..... Group influence in party policy making is limited today as it has always been." According to this opinion groups in Britain lay emphasis on influencing government rather than parties. In one word, nowadays the group-parties relationship has been regarded as "less integrated." Another trend has been coming out in this country in name of, as 'Yishai' termed as, an "Interest Party." In spite of being an interest group, Interest Party joins the electoral competition.

France: A plethora of groups has been appeared since 1970s in France. But France has witnessed different waves of development of groups since 19th century. Andrew Appleton described four Major wave of it in France. The first wave appeared

with the emergence of trade unions and occupational groups. During that wave Napoleon 3 was compelled to Grant right to strike in 1864 and to give permission to the creation of the first official France trade Unions, "Confederation Generale du Travail"(CGT) formed in 1895. The second wave began with the creation of the Couseil National du Patronnat Francais (CNPF) in 1919. In the wake of the formation of the Fourth Republic in the third wave of interest group development initiated and The fourth wave has been started since 1970's. According to the ministry of France in 1965 new associations reported 17,450, whereas in 1981 the number estimated 39,000. In concluding remark, Andrew Appleton clarifies, "In particular, although both parties and trade unions are undergoing a crisis of organization and identify, associational life in France is flourishing."

Sweden: Associations or organizations in Sweden are flourishing in a way that more than 90 percent of adults are being a part and parcel of groups. But Anders Widfeldt shows that the "Swedish Model" promoting consensual tradition in decision-making between parties and groups has been broken down due to the emergence of new political parties, increasing decentralization of policy making etc.

The USA: It is commonplace to say that a central role has been played by the interest groups and lobbyists in the American political system. In 1970's the ban on large and direct contributions from individuals to candidate has been executed. But to overcome such banning on the flows of money from the groups Political Action Committees (PACs) have been introduced. Afterwards, with the help of "soft money" groups are enhancing their influence in policymaking. In the USA parties have less capacity and desire to "shape their relationship with groups." In the book, "Encyclopedia of Interest Groups and Lobbyists in the United States" (vol. 1) Immanuel Ness lays emphasis on the drawbacks of the group activities in the USA. Firstly, the Nexus between the members of Congress and interest groups has, according to Ness, "..... bred cynicism among the electorate and cast doubt on the credibility of the American political process. Secondly, the root of democracy that is 'one person, one vote' has been uprooted by the narrow issue-oriented group activity in order to influence government policy-making process. Thirdly vested interest of groups dissuades qualified people in getting involved into the Congress.

Germany: Winand Gellner and John D. Robertson explained a clear picture of group's activities in Germany. Firstly, ".....interest groups attempt to influence election outcomes directly through voting recommendations to their members. Secondly, for the policy success or electoral gain parties are very much dependent on the

interest groups. These groups lobby the Bundestag with main focus on the committees within it. Parliamentarians have close relation with interest groups.

Japan: Post-second World War Japan has inclined to democratization process. Since then, substantial part of interest group has tried to access to the political system. In the book, "Political Parties and Interest Groups: Shaping Democratic Governance" Ronald J. Hrebernar mentioned "In 1993 the first post war party system died, and the second post war party system began to emerge." For this second partly system, new horizon has been opened up for interest group. In Japan after 1955 groups are mainly from business world or industries.

According to Ronald J. Hrebernar, "Despite some determined efforts, the consumer and environmentalist movements have never developed in Japan as they have in other western industrial nations." On the other hand, religious associations seem to be very weak in secular Japan. But it's pleasant to perceive that in Japan both "Right-wing" and "Left-wing" groups are heard significantly. Teacher's union, antinuclear groups etc., are also getting significance with the industrial groups or trade unions. In conclusion it can be said without any hesitation that in the unitary system of Japan groups are not flourishing in the same as it happens in the western countries or in the USA.

India: A plethora of pressure groups are very much in existence in India. These are ranging from present groups, trade unions to teacher's associations, environmental groups, and women associations. Specifically, caste or religious groups can be considered as important groups in India. But like many other countries in the world. India has been adorned with the interest groups following the political party lines. Trade unions like INTUC (Indian National Trade Union Congress) guided by the National Congress Party, AITUC (All India Trade Union Congress) motivated by CPI(M), INTTUC () dominated by Trinomul Congress, BMS (Bharatiya Majdur Sabha) elevated Bharatiya Janata Party are completely designed by political parties in India. In the similar fashion, students associations like SID, CP, TMCP, ABVP etc. executed by the parties in India. Sunil Rahman Chakraborty in an article "Pressure Groups in West Bengal" transparently shows various types of pressure groups existing in India. According to him Scheduled Caste communities, Gorkha Communities are creating some forms of non-associational interest group. They are not closely associated, but coming together in the name of caste consciousness. West Bengal Civil Service Association, Confederation of the Officials of Technical and Medical Services are the instances of institutional interest groups. Associations like Indian Chambers of Commerce, Bengal Chambers of Commerce and Industry,

Federation of Indian Chambers of Commerce and Industries have been considered as associational interest groups. The anomic interest groups can be seen in the form of movements, meetings, strike, bangs, Cease-work, procession, unlawful activities, signature campaign etc. Such kinds of interest groups' activities are the common phenomenon of Indian political culture.

16.11 Summary

At the end of the discussion, it is commonplace to remark that pressure groups are one of the important characteristics in present democracies in the world. This is simply because, groups help to express citizen's opinions, and negotiates against the government for the governed, encourages people to get involved in the decision-making process, cooperates with the government in order to articulate the demands of the governed and to convert those into the issues so that these could be implemented in the best possible way at the appropriate time. It is equally mentionable that all the groups irrespective of country, politics, and political culture do not and can't serve the same thing equally. Sometimes, groups are criticized for delaying the decision-making, being guided by vested interest and going against democracy. But in the book, "Who Speaks for the Poor?" R. Allen Hays delineated that dozens of interest groups have been testified and a closer examination shows that most of them are speaking on behalf of progress benefiting the poor. But few are not doing the same and may be guided by their vested interests. Now what is to be done to get the benefit of the work process of groups?

"What is needed is balance of power." According to Hays more power of groups encourages them to foist their own views and interest upon the decision-makers and less power of them may aggravate the autocratic attitude of the government. So, groups are supposed to go by the line between excessive and less influence. Reasonable influence of groups should be there in order to maintain the balance in the political system.

16.12 Questions

G A) Short answer type questions:

1. Define interest group.
2. What are the differences between interest group and political party?
3. Mention various techniques used by various pressure groups.

4. Do you think interest group and social movements are alike? If not, show your logic.
5. Put forward main characteristics of pressure groups.

G B) Broad answer type questions:

1. Analyse different approaches to study interest groups.
2. Do you think that the role of interest groups is very much important in democratic countries?
3. How are various interest groups working in different parts of the world?
4. Critically evaluate the role of pressure groups vis-à-vis political party in 21st century.
5. Write a brief note on interest groups.

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Unit 17 □ Political Parties

Structure

17.1 Objectives

17.2 Introduction

17.3 Political Parties

17.4 Characteristics of political party

17.5 Function of Political Parties

17.6 Structure of Political Parties

17.7 Classification of Political Parties

17.8 Change and Party System

17.9 Election and Political

17.10 Conclusion

17.11 Summary

17.12 Questions

17.13 Suggested Readings

17.1 Objectives

After reading this unit learners will be able to understand:

- The definition of Political Parties, their types, their characteristics, their functions, their structures, and nature.
 - The relationship between Pressure Groups and Political Party.
 - The importance of Political Party.
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17.2 Introduction

Society is made up of many organized groups among which political parties have a special place in political sociology. As political sociology views politics as a matter of conflict and its resolution, it is natural that political parties would play a very crucial role in managing conflicts in a society and they will be of importance to the political sociologists. In addition, the operation of political power and authority

cannot be fully understood unless a proper assessment of the role of political parties is made. Political parties have earned immense importance in every kind political system- be it liberal, or socialist. There may be differences in the nature, characteristics, and social and economic role of political parties in various political systems, but there is no doubt that political parties are essential structures of a political system and play an important role so far as the existence of the political system and its changes are concerned. It is easier to comprehend the political processes through the activities of the political parties. A political party is generally described as an organized organization that shares general policies and cherishes some common goals regarding political system. A political party manages and wants political power in a constitutional way to translate its principles into reality. It is a company of the same opinion people about public concerns. Gilchrist "defined a political party as an organized party of citizens who shared the same political views and those who tried to control the government by acting as political units". Another definition given by Gettele is: "A political party consists of a group of organized citizens who act as political units, and those who use their voting power to control the government and manage their generals." From these definitions, it is clear that political parties are o A political party is composed of a specific group who combine to compete against each other to manage a government that will be able to take care of the country's needs for the country's development. There are a group of people to lead it in the country. It is not necessary to mention that it provides the people of the country a special choice for their government to make effective and more evolving decisions about their government. In addition, the desire to win an election drives other political parties to perform better than their contestants and to collect more votes. Thus, it can be said that the work of political parties is certainly important for the country's improvement. Winning the election in which the party will get most votes will end, that is, in India, the majority party runs the government. Sometimes, when a single party does not protect a significant number of seats in Parliament or the State Legislative Assembly, they choose the coalition government. However, in today's political weather, political parties are also driven to facilitate a significant part of power while operating the government. It enables voters to keep a voice and promote common interests and goals in the country. The main role of the political role is to ensure that the parties of India are being formulated and fixed for the welfare of the people and the development of the country. Thus, each single political party believes in their policies and one of the main reasons for them to confirm voting organized companies and mainly related to the acquisition and holding power.

17.3 Political Parties

Social life is composed of many organized groups many of which are of great importance in Political sociology because of the fact that they have a direct bearing on the political processes. Political parties fall in this group. In political sociology, political parties are seen as essentially a social group. Max Weber has called political party "an associative type of relationship, membership in which rests on formally free recruitment". It is a social group in the sense that it acts as a system of interdependent and interpersonal activities and relationships, and it is goal - oriented. Yet a political party differs from social groups because of it having some unique features. The distinctiveness of a political party becomes evident while its functions are taken note of. Political parties are the combined entities that organize competition for political offices. Members of a political party compete for elections under a shared label. In a narrow definition, a political party can only be considered as a party candidate in the office under a party label. In an extensive definition, political parties are the entire equipment that voters and volunteers who are identified with a particular political party, government organizations support the election of party candidates and support the election of a party candidate, including its MLAs, and the government who are associated with the party. In many countries, the concept of a political party is defined in the law, and governments can specify the need to qualify as a political party legally. According to Anson De Morses, a political party is a sustainable organization that is combined with general principles that "the progress of its immediate interest and the perception of the ideals ... the perception of specific groups or groups." Political parties are separated from other political groups and clubs such as political parties or groups of interest, in most cases that the parties concentrate towards selecting candidates, while interested groups are focusing on advanced agenda. It is related to other features that sometimes separate parties from other political organizations, including greater membership, greater stability over time and more deep connection with voters.

17.4 Characteristics of Political Party

From the above-mentioned definition of political parties, the following can be identified as their main feature:

1. A political party is an organized group.
2. Organized groups believe in general policies and general goals.

3. Its objectives revolve around the search of political power through collective efforts.
4. It appointed constitutional and peaceful methods to seek control over the government through elections.
5. While in power, it translates its proclaimed objectives into government policies. Selection of competition.
6. They have their own programmers, policies, and ideals.
7. Political. Political parties play a decision-making role in making laws.
8. Political parties form and manage the government.
9. Play the important role of opponents.
10. The parties turn public opinion.

17.5 Functions of Political Parties

A political party performs a number of important functions among which the most important one is interest aggregation. Firstly, a political party represents varied and diverse interests of the society. Its main function is to harmonize these interests with each other, bridges the conflicting interests of different groups and seeks to affect a consensus among as many groups as possible. Secondly, another important function of a political party is to act as a two-way communication channel between the people and the government. It is through the political parties that the government is kept informed about the demands, attitudes of the people. In the same way, the parties keep people informed about political matters related to governance. The political parties organize the public opinion and through this opinion tries to influence the government in terms of decision-making. People are educated by them on various issues. The party activity does not remain confined only to election issues, it goes on a continuous basis and thus the party acts as an important agency of political participation. Thirdly, political recruitment is another crucial function of the political party. In democratic polity elites are selected through political parties; the leaders of the government are generally the leaders of the political parties. In a one-party system, this recruitment function of political parties assumes greater significance as in such a system, political party can provide the only scope for political power. This party recruitment may be classified into two types- hegemonic and turn-over. In the first instance, the same political party or alliance of parties hold power for a long time. In the second instance, there is

frequent change in the party, or the alliance India is a good example of the first one, that is, hegemonic recruitment while the British politics is an example of the turn-over recruitment. Fifthly, the political party plays a very important role in the process of political socialization in a country. The political socialization function of political parties may take two distinct forms. They either reinforce the existing political culture or they may try to change the prevalent political culture by creating new attitudes, values, and beliefs.

Political parties perform an important task in the government. They combine people to organize and persuade the voters to develop the optimal policies for their interests or their support groups, and to elect voters to be elected to their candidates' office. Although very much is involved in the management of the government at all levels, the political parties themselves are not the government and the constitution does not mention them.

The primary purpose of the political parties is to nominate candidates for the public office and to choose many of them as possible. Once elected, these officials try to achieve their team goals through law and program initiatives. Although many do not think this like this, registering as Democrats or Republicans makes them a member of a political party. Political parties want as much as possible. Most of the members took a fairly passive role, only voted for their party candidates during the elections. Some become more active and work to persuade people to vote as party officers or volunteers. Most ambitious members can decide to be a candidate in the office themselves. Every political party has a number of functions to perform. Here we have listed some of them.

- A political party contests elections by putting up candidates.
- In countries like the USA, the candidates are selected by members and supporters of a party.
- On the other hand, in countries like India, the candidates are chosen by top party leaders.
- Every party has different policies and programmes. Voters make a choice in accordance with the policies and programmes liked by them.
- In a democratic country, a large group of people that has certain similar opinions group together and form a party. Then then, give a direction to the policies adopted by the government.
- Those parties which lose elections form the opposition. They voice different

views and criticize the government for their failures and mobilize opposition to the government.

- Political parties shape public opinion. With the help of the pressure groups, the parties launch movements for solving problems faced by the people.
- Parties even offer access to government machinery and welfare schemes. The local party leader serves as a link between the citizen and the government officer.

17.6 Structure of Political Party

A political party may be administered on its structure and external regulations such as constitution or law and regulations such as internal party rules such as party constitution or both. Practice, however, may be different from the composition or internal rules of the written party. Political parties today perform this important work in democracy, their internal functioning becomes very important. Its aspects include the policies of the political party and the process of making general decisions, the involvement of members and party groups and the accountability of the party leadership. Maurice Duverger in his book 'Political Parties' talks about four structures of political parties- 1. Caucus 2. The Branch 3. The Cell and 4. The Militia.

Caucus: A caucus consists of a small number of members. It is actually a closed group, quasi-permanent by nature which intensifies its activities only at the time of elections and stays inactive at other times. In a word, it can be described as a small group of members whose personal influence and ability matter more than their numerical strength. The American political parties are nothing more than caucuses.

They are all electoral mechanisms formed by a team of experts in winning elections and of professional politicians.

The Branch: While the caucus is a union of the few notables chosen for their individual qualities and capabilities, the Branch appeals to the people at large. Unlike the caucus, the branch is not a closed group, and it puts emphasis on not only quality but also on quantity. Thus, the branch is keener on winning over as many members as possible and it carries on its activities on a continuous basis. As the branch is an assembly of much larger members, its internal organization is more perfect than a caucus and it is more organized than a caucus. The continental socialist parties can be said to be typical examples of the branch.

Cell: The cell, which is an invention of revolutionary political parties, is a much smaller group than a branch and it is based on occupational criterion. It unites all party members belonging to the same place. Thus, there can be factory, workshop, shop, office, and administration cells. As a cell comprises members having same occupation who meet on a daily basis, there is constant contact among the members and the party solidarity is much stronger. The members of a cell share the same future as they are in the same occupation. The cell functions by using vertical links. As such, the cells do not have contact with one another, but each cell has to be in contact with the higher echelons of the party. Unlike the branch, the cell is perfectly suited for clandestine activities which are impossible in a branch. The activities of the cell are political, and it demands more from each individual member. Through the cells, the political parties become instruments of agitation, propaganda, discipline, and also clandestine activities.

The Militia: The militia can be likened with private army whose members are selected on military lines and the members are subjected to discipline and training as in a military organization. Its structure resembles the military, and they are organized in army-like squads, companies, battalions and so on and so forth. The militia is interested more in dismantling of a democratic regime than in electoral and parliamentary activities. If the cell is a creation of communist parties, the militia is an invention of the fascistic forces. Hitler's Storm Troopers and Mussolini's fascist militia are examples of militia.

Most political parties try to hold branches of local and regional parties, sometimes up to five levels below the national level. Internal Party rules determine who is in control of the decision-making process—the local level or the local level of the party.

Local and regional parties' branches can be more or less independent from the national party organization in leadership, budget, and promotion. Local levels often play an important role in connecting with voters, nominating candidates, and conducting local election campaigns.

17.7 Classification of Political Parties

The structure of a political party is conditioned by a number of criteria like, ideology, general governmental structure, socio-economic conditions, urban and rural societies, political culture, and political history of a country. But the fact is that political parties can be classified not only on the basis of their structure, but also in terms of other factors.

A very frequently adopted criterion is the number of parties in the party system of a country. There may be a single-party system, two-party system, or multi-party system. Each category has further variations. Thus, there may be authoritarian one-party system as it existed in Franco's Spain, Nkrumah's Ghana, and Diem's South Vietnam. Again, there may be pluralist one-party system- pluralistic in organization, less ideological in outlook and having destructive relationship with other political groups. Totalitarian one-party political system may also exist where power is monopolized by a single powerful political party having all-round control in all aspects of social, economic, and political engagements. China, the former Soviet Union, North Korea, and several other former east European countries are examples of this type of one-party political system.

Two-party system may be classified into distinct two-party system and indistinct two-party system. Britain, Australia, and the former West Germany are examples of the former and the United States of America is an example of the latter. In the distinct two-party system, the parties are more centralized and, ideology-based, hierarchical in structure and their activities are not limited to election time. In the indistinct two-party system, the political parties are not mass parties; they are less ideologically based and more interested in defeating their opponents in elections and coming to power.

The multi-party system can be divided into working multi-party system and unstable multi-party system. Norway and Sweden belong to the former and France and Italy belong to the latter. In the working multi-party system, parties behave more on the lines of distinct two-party system hardly affecting the working abilities of the government while the latter leads to frequent changes in government. Sometimes, a dominant one-party system may emerge within the framework of a multi-party system and this one party establishes its dominance in the political system. The Congress party in India was once such a dominant political party for a long time. On the basis of the ideological rigidity, parties may be classified as Pragmatic and Ideological. The American parties and the Congress party in India belong to the first type. On the other hand, the Communist parties are based on ideology, and they are more doctrinaire-dogmatic. The variations in the party system are indicative of the fact that societies may have different ways of managing conflict. A developed industrialized society primarily thrives on division of labor and specialization of occupational activities. On the contrary, a society which is industrially backward, is constrained by circumstances to achieve a consensus and it is more traditional, particularistic, and parochial. In such a society, political parties exist in a great

number representing various sectional interests, thereby affecting severely the stability of the political system.

Indeed, the political party system works as the most important agency of political control over the entire society. That is, the party system is used as an effective instrument of achieving desired social and political change. As such, what is revealed by a political party system is that a political party is not only a reflection of the socio-economic forces within a country but it may as well as be the determinant of the character of a society.

17.8 Change and Party System

Party system is subject to change. That is why the nature of changeability of the party system needs to be studied. Without any conception about this changeability, one cannot analyze the true nature of any political system. Firstly, the nature of the elements causing changes in the political system is very complex. According to Alan Ball, in spite of comprehensive and fundamental changes in the social and economic systems and other parts of the political system, party system may not see commensurate changes. Secondly, changes in the party system may be slow. Thirdly, changes in the party system may be very swift and dramatic.

Many think that even during economic development and industrialization in the USA, there could not be found any worthwhile changes in its party system. But it cannot be denied that party system is change-oriented. In Great Britain, changes in the party system have been very slow during the last one hundred years. Again, party system can have swift changes if revolution takes place in a country or if foreign domination is established on any country. Party system can never be static. Changes in the party system are inevitable. Many factors can cause changes in the party system and sometimes, these factors may be very complex.

17.9 Election and Political Parties

The existence of political parties and elections from time to time have become essential characteristics. Political parties are life blood of electoral politics. Political parties control the election processes as well as the election results. Likewise, political parties influence the electoral methods. That is why the methods of election should be analyzed briefly. There are a number of electoral methods which are called forms of representation. These are- 1. One member constituency and second ballot system. France has this system. 2. One member system and single transferable vote. The President of India is elected through this system.

3. Proportional Representation. John Stuart Mill was a proponent of this system. Proportional system has two forms- a. List system and b. Single transferrable vote. Proportional system is conducive for countries with multi-segmental population. In this system, each and every group can have their representation in proportion to their numerical strength. This system is not without limitations. It can encourage class legislation. Due to the presence of multiplicity of political parties, this system can create uncertainties for a political system. 4. Professional or Occupational Representation according to which, representation of various interests and groups is the true system of representation in modern societies. The proponents of this system think that this system is completely commensurate with democracy. During French revolution, Mirabeau declared that legislature should be a mirror of society. Duguit opined that representation of various interests is critical for manifestation of 'General Will' as the combined opinion of these interests constitute collective will. According to experts, Professional or Occupational representation has its limitations. There is no certainty that the voters would think that the directives of various groups or interests are more important than the political parties. Besides, this type of representation can make the legislature a place for debate of varied interests. As a result, the legislature will fail to do justice to its core activities related to legislation. Moreover, this type of representation may encourage in the spread of such groups or interests and thereby may make the entire system of representation more complex. Political parties and elections play an important role in the analysis of politics in developing countries, especially in democracy, and especially in the unification of democratic political governance. The existence of free and fair elections among political scientists is considered as the minimum condition for democracy. A political party is defined as a political party that is officially recognized as part of the electoral process and who can support candidates for regular elections. In this way, political parties and elections are used as a measure of the integration of democracy in society. As an external value, there is a "bi-turnover" criterion. By these criteria, democracy can be considered as integrated if a party that takes power in an election during a change in democracy loses the next election and subsequently the ruling party loses an election. The point of view, when elections are involved in the real competition of political parties based on their proposed policies and platforms, and the union of democracy is improved, not voting on the popularity or special interest of separate political candidates. Authority of governments in many countries, have political parties and elections. In many cases, these national countries established a direct parliamentary government after the colonial power gained independence or after the Soviet Union division. Later,

although the citizen government was united or replaced by the autocratic, political institutions, including electoral and party, were not removed after the coup, as most of the time the avenger systems were not removed, as the elimination of these national institutions would significantly damage the validity of the current political administration. People in power use the political party as a vehicle to promote the rule of rule among the citizens and to form the basis of political support. Furthermore, it is not unusual to "display" for the "elections" for the ruling forces that they were elected by the people, thereby the participation of other political parties was under constraint. It also influences the division of moderate and hard- liner anti-groups, resulting in weakening the entire opposition's governance system. However, such illegal elections can even trigger mass protests that can even be the cause of the government change in the Philippines, Georgia, Ukraine, and Kyrgyzstan.

17.10 Conclusion

Political parties are significant social groups having a great deal of relevance to the functioning of the modern political processes. They perform important functions in any political system. They have a definite structure consisting of various elements. The political parties can be divided into many types, that is, they can be classified. Some parties are ideological, and some are practical or pragmatic. They may seek radical social and political changes or may seek reformist changes and many of them may be resistant to any change. In a democratic system, election is the life blood and holding of election is possible only with the existence of political parties. Political parties are important for Political Sociology for the reason that they are not only political groups, but they are also social groups. As Max Weber called political party, 'an associational type of social relationship, membership in which rests on formally free recruitment'. The type of interdependent activity and the type of goals it is directed to varies according to social and political environment. After all, political parties are nothing but a structural response to the patterns of social and political needs of a society. So, after reading the above text, it can be safely said that having a political party is truly important. They are the backbone of our country. We choose to protect our constitution and to serve us. The socio-economic rise of our elected representatives.

17.11 Summary

A political party is an organization that coordinates candidates to compete in the elections of a particular country. It is common to have a similar idea about the

politics of any party and parties can promote the goals of certain ideological or principles. Political parties have become a major part of the politics of almost every country, as modern party companies have developed and spread around the world in the last few centuries. It is rare for a country to have a political party. In some countries there is only one political party and others have several. Autocracy often has a single party that runs the country, and some political scientists consider competition between two or more parties as an essential part of democracy. Parties can develop from existing departments in society such as divisions between the lower and upper classes, and they encourage them to cooperate with their members and flows the process of making political decisions. Political parties usually include a party leader, who has the primary responsibility of the party's activities. Party executives, who can choose the leaders and those who can perform administrative and organizational work; And party members, who can volunteer to help the party, can donate money, and vote for its candidates. There are various ways that political parties can be structured and interacting with voters. The contributions that citizens make to political parties are often controlled by law, and parties sometimes governing the way for people who donate time and money for them. Political parties, individual parties are organized to acquire and enforce political power. All parties develop a political program that defines their ideals and determines the agenda they will follow if they can win the variant office or gain power in an outward parliamentary way.

17.12 Questions

A. (5 marks each)

1. Define political party.
2. What are the functions of political party?
3. What is a caucus?
4. What is a militia?

G-A (10 marks each)

5. Write a note on the structure of a political party.
6. How would you classify political parties?
7. How is change related to party system?
8. How political parties are related to election?
9. What are the methods of representations?

17.13 Suggested Readings

1. Political Sociology- An Introductory Analysis- Prof. Amal Kumar Mukhopadhyay, K.P.Bagchi, Calcutta, 1977.
2. Political Sociology- Concepts, Approaches & Theories- Baral and Baral, Vidyapuri, Cuttack, Bhubaneswar, 2001.
3. Political Sociology- Prof. Pradip Basu, Setu Prakashani, Kolkata, 2015.
4. Rajnaitik Samajtattwa (in Bengali), Prof. Nirmalkanti Ghosh and Prof. Pitam Ghosh, Shreebhumi, Kolkata-2001.
5. Political Sociology- Prof. Satyabrata Chakraborty (ed), New Delhi, Macmillan, 2005.
6. Modern Comparative Politics: Approaches, Methods and Issues- S.N.Ray, New Delhi, PHI Learning Pvt. Ltd, 2009.

Unit 18 □ Military in Politics

Structure

18.1 Objectives

18.2 Introduction

18.3 Foundations of Military Sociology

18.4 Reasons for Military Intervention in Politics

18.5 Changing Dynamics of Military Sociology

18.6 Civil-Military Relations in India

18.7 Conclusion

18.8 Summary

18.9 Questions

18.10 Suggested Readings

18.1 Objectives

After reading this section you will be able to

- 1) Understand the roots and development of the discipline of military sociology
 - 2) The various types of military intervention in politics and the changing nature of military intervention.
 - 3) Civil - military relations in India.
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18.2 Introduction

Military interventions in politics constitute one of the most neglected aspects in traditional studies of Political Science that tended to focus more on the State and formal institutions of governance. Although the intellectual roots of the subject called 'Military Sociology' can be traced in the works of August Comte, Herbert Spencer, Alexis de Tocqueville, Karl Marx and Max Weber, the origins of the discipline as a subfield of political science or sociology are traced back to the United States during the period of the Second World War.

18.3 Foundation of Military Sociology

1. Positivist utopia in late nineteenth century sociology lent itself to the view that war was becoming increasingly outdated due to the development of the emerging industrial society. However, such a view was dramatically challenged by the two world wars of the twentieth century. The entry of the United States of America into the Second World War meant that an army of few hundred thousand men was transformed into a force of seven million individuals drawn from all sections of society. The process of general mobilization nearly put a whole generation including the highly educated into uniform. The American Government set up a 'Troop Attitude Research Program' to be implemented by an Army Research Branch headed by Samuel Stouffer with another 130 social scientists. This group conducted a series of surveys informally called the American Soldier which focused on group processes such as cohesion, leadership, dealing with attitudes and morale of soldiers and other small groups. Some of the findings of this group were that primary groups were important to combat motivation and effectiveness, soldiers' attitudes were governed by relative deprivation, role expectations, status and levels of aspiration, the lower salience of ideology and the high relevance of institutional constraints and norms in predicting soldiers' behavior. Such a study was essentially designed as a major program of applied social psychological research on the Army and apart from introducing a strong policy orientation into the field, reinforced the view of military sociology as social engineering and contributed to methodological advances in the social sciences thus removing the inhibitions that had kept the social sciences away from the military field. Before we go on to survey the rich body of literature that developed in the United States of America, it is worthwhile to mention that during the 1960s and the 1970s, third world countries were plagued by coups and counter coups and scholars attempted to develop theoretical frameworks for understanding such phenomena. The 1970s saw the military receding from certain areas of political life in some countries whereas the 1980s saw attempts by the military to come back to power. Thus, despite the celebration of democracies, the military continued to play an important role in political affairs. Two reasons can be identified for such a transformation. First, the concept of 'politics has acquired newer meanings over time. Second, politics in the third world countries has not moved in a unilinear pattern whereby liberal democracy is automatically accepted by the ruling class or civil society to address political problems.

Concern over the role of the military in politics has been an important line of research in military sociology. A line of scholars ranging from Harold Laswell,

Samuel Huntington, Janowitz, Samuel Finer and Abrahamsson have put forward contending theories that deal with the propensity of military intervention in politics and the nature and conditions for civilian control over the military. In democratic societies, civil - military relations are subject to an inherent tension between a functional and a social imperative. On the one hand, armed forces should be able to protect the State and society against potential external threats. For this purpose, the military has to ensure professional effectiveness in order to achieve their missions and to respond to changes in the strategic context. On the other hand, the military must be responsive to wider societal values and to the society in which they are embedded, and which pays for them. Thus, the central issue has been the extent to which the military can or should be differentiated from society and the organizational and professional attributes that are a logical corollary of such a role. The question whether the military can keep a separate and autonomous cultural and organizational sphere to maintain effectiveness or whether the armed forces need to comply with social values and norms to maintain legitimacy. Another question has been as to how civilian control can be ensured over the military so that democratically elected officials who hold political power shall not be ousted by the military who protect the polity from its enemies in pursuit of its own narrow interests. Before we proceed to this section it is worth mentioning that the sharp demarcation between the civilian and military is not always true. C Wright Mills argued in the American context that military leaders, industrialist, and politicians are closely interlinked. This is what he calls the 'power elite' in his book by the same name published in 1956. Thus, the military even in a liberal democratic system becomes a part of State power and does not exist merely as a pressure group. US President Dwight Eisenhower argued that a military industrial complex existed wherein both military and industry are linked by mutual interests. The military continuously demanded armaments for national security and the armament industry was in itself a lucrative business.

However, most proposals on civil military relations seem to build on the seminal contributions of Samuel Huntington and Morris Janowitz who built up a debate on civil military relations. Both scholars concentrated on military professionalism and the officer corps, but their views diverged on factual trends in civil military relations in American politics in the context of the US - Soviet rivalry and the mechanisms for ensuring civilian control of the military. In his famed book 'The Soldier and the State' written in 1957, Samuel Huntington argued that civilian control of the armed forces has to do with the relative power of the civilian and military groups. Civilian control is achieved to the extent to which the power of the military groups is

reduced. So, the basic problem in defining civilian power is the fact of how military power can be reduced. Control occurs through two different mechanisms. Objective control which is a desirable form of control in democratic societies refers to a clear separation of power between the two spheres and requires 'the recognition (from civilian authorities) of autonomous military professionalism'. Civilians have to acknowledge that the military has an expertise that they should not tinker with. The politician sets the goal, and the soldier is free to achieve it. Such an approach maximises military effectiveness while obtaining civilian control. This is made possible courtesy the professionalism of the military which in turn is dependent on the relative autonomy of the officer corps. The civilians would not interfere in the military and the military would not intervene in civilian operations. Subjective control is a feature of undemocratic societies where civilian power is maximized through politicizing the military and biding their interest to those of the civilian regime. Subjective control aims at maximizing civilian power by 'civilianising the military, making them the mirror of the state'. It presupposes military participation in politics and denies the existence of an independent sphere of purely military imperatives. Huntington believes that more professional the military organisation, lesser is the propensity for intervention. He goes on to identify four types of military coups namely a guardian coup wherein the military replaces the civilian regime with little or no changes in the existing economic and political system and tries to restore political stability before transferring power to civilian authority, the veto coup wherein the military tries to replace a civilian government that initiates radical socio economic reform, the anticipatory veto wherein military intervention is on the grounds of anticipation of the emergence of a reform oriented civilian regime and the reforming coup wherein the military itself plays a radical role through the initiation of changes in the social order and places the state and society on a new ideological foundation. However, Samuel Finer supplants this view when he says that since the military considers itself the sole guardian and protector of national security, a perceived threat to national interest may compel the military to give up its neutrality and intervene politically.

Morris Janowitz in his book 'The Professional Soldier' written in 1966 underlined a gap between Huntington's predictions and the empirical experience of an increasingly politicized military. Due to social, technological and mission transformations, Janowitz believed that 'the military becomes a constabulary force when it is continuously prepared to act, committed to the minimum use of force and seeks viable international relations, rather than victory.' It is in this context that the professional socialization of the military towards social norms and values and its adhesion to these values in

the form of a professional ethos that ensures civilian control that prevents the military from interfering in politics. The critic of Huntington has been taken even further by Bengt Abrahamson in 'Military Professionalization and Political Power' written in 1971 in which he rejected the view of the military as inherently apolitical. Rather he considered the military as an active usually conservative and often politicized group. The key for democratic control would be to acknowledge the politicization and establish institutional control mechanisms. While proposing different understandings of how best to ensure civilian control, the burgeoning literature has focused on the above aspects. Studies of civil - military relations in transitions from authoritarian rule and in new democracies have shown that traditions of military involvement in politics ranging from co-opted partnership in a civilian led regime coalition to open military rule, have left the armed forces in almost all 'third wave' democracies as powerful political actors even after the installation of the new democratic rules. So, the political influence and institutional autonomy needed to be circumscribed in order for democracy to be consolidated. An exploration of the different configurations of civil - military relations in diverse settings have led various authors to propose competing explanations for the varying degrees of success these countries had in institutionalizing civilian control over the military. These range from ideational factors like military internal norms and values or the dominant political culture in society to institutional factors like the legacies of the prior regime or the institutional set up of the State to material conditions like socio - economic performance and the security situation of the new civilian democratic regime. Alan Ball in 1971 in his book 'Modern Politics and Government' identified three types of military involvement in politics namely direct intervention, limited intervention, and control by the military. Ball sees the military as a pressure group in politics. However, the traditional focus of scholarship on the topic of civilian control over the military has been broadened by recent scholarship on the topic. In the case of consolidated democracies, the focus has moved from understanding the institutionalization of civilian control to explaining different degrees of civil-military conflict and cooperation. James Burk in 'The Adaptive Military: Armed Forces in a Turbulent World' (1998) called for a new kind of conceptualization of civil - military relations around a triad including not only military and political elites but also citizens contending that in mature democracies the important question is whether civil - military relations effectively sustain and protect democratic values. Rebecca Schiff in her book 'The Military and Domestic Politics: A Concordance Theory of Civil - Military Relations' in 2009 also proposed in the same vein a concordance theory of civil - military relations holding that the military, political elites, and the citizenry should work together around four

areas of social composition of the officer corps, the political decision-making process, recruitment method and military style. Anthony Forster in "Armed forces and Society in Europe" in 2006 proposed to focus his analysis on the governance of the armed forces 'at the heart of which stands the issues of how best to ensure accountability between the armed forces and the societies they serve'. He assumes that the most pressing issues relate to the day-to-day nature of the relationship between civilians and the military, in the funding, organization and conduct of the armed forces and not on a distorted assumption of a constitutive military ambition to intervene in politics. Deborah Avant in her book "The Market for force: the consequences of privatizing security" (2005) extended the question of control to an inquiry into the complex issue of privatization while Bruneau and Matei in their article "Towards a new conceptualization of democratization and civil-military relations" (2008) have proposed to extend the concern over control to include effectiveness and efficiency which are the two aspects deemed necessary to ensure legitimacy and effective civil - military relations. Recent contributions have also brought refreshing insights to the analysis of civil - military relations. Ruffa, Dandeker and Venesson in an article "Soldiers drawn into politics? The influence of tactics in civil- military relations in 2013 study the potential impact that the tactical level may have on domestic civil - military relations. In the conduct of contemporary complex military operations certain mechanisms have had new effects by making it possible for soldiers to influence politics in unforeseen ways. The question whether the more politicized role of soldiers in operations will make them play an active role in domestic politics is a germane field for future analyses. However, as Risa Brooks points out in an article "Beyond Huntington: US Military Professionalism today" (2021) that the US military even today operated on the principles envisaged by Huntington.

18.4 Reasons For Military Interventions in Politics

Based on the rich body of literature that developed during the 1960s, the 1970s and the 1980s we can identify the main reasons for military intervention in politics. We explain these reasons by taking help of certain theoretical standpoints:

First, the modernization approach describes the military both as an organization as well as a part of the new middle class. Lucian Pye opines that the army was the institution that was most likely to introduce modernizing attitudes, encourage foreign aid and thus pave the way for development. The army was a vehicle of social mobility, more receptive to modern life and less suspicious of the Western countries than the civilian rulers. Moriz Janowitz shows that the army is recruited from a

middle or a lower middle-class background and thus shows no allegiance to a particular political class or any conservative social group. Thus, when the political institutions appear to be weak, military officers develop a sense of duty and national guardianship as a consequence of their training and experience. Although a large number of empirical studies have supported the modernization argument, there are discordant notes within the modernization school also. Eric Nordlinger in "The Soldiers in Mufti: The impact of military rule upon the economic and social change in non-western societies" (1970) believes that membership of the middle class makes military officers oppose economic and social change, Ulama Eleazu in "The role of the army in African politics; A reconsideration of the existing theories" (1973) argues that in the African context it was not nationalism but loyalty to imperialist powers that motivated the soldiers and Alan Rouquie suggests in "Military revolutions and national independence in Latin America (1968 - 1971)" in 1973 that in the Latin American context the theory of ideological frontiers elaborated jointly by the Argentinian and the Brazilian staffs is the logical conclusion to the process of denationalization. Huntington gives us the reason as to why the military intervenes in politics. He says that the political order of a given society depends on how social mobilization and political institutionalization vary with each other. Since in modernizing societies, modernization proceeds at a faster rate than political institutionalization, the ensuing political instability paves the way for military intervention.

Second, the economic approach argues that the extension of the state supported import industrialization policy followed in newly independent countries in the 1950s and 1960s brings about a greater reliance on the world market. Guillermo O'Donnell in his book "Modernization and Bureaucratization in Latin America" (1979) used the term "bureaucratic- authoritarianism" to explain military intervention in third world countries. To him the emergence of BA lies in the crisis of the import substitution industrialization process. ISI occurs in two phases. In the first phase emphasis is placed on the development of consumer goods and in the second phase there is a move towards 'vertical integration of property concentration in industry and the productive structure, basically benefitting large organizations, both public and private, national and foreign'. Excessive diversification as far as the production of consumer durable goods is concerned, the lack of a capital and intermediate goods sector, the limited market for the ISI goods and the neglect of the agricultural sector led to a crisis of the ISI strategy and in this context, there is an 'elective affinity' between the process of 'deepening' and the emergence of a BA state. The increasing communication between the military and civilian technocrats and their

growing frustration with existing political and economic conditions encourage the emergence of a 'coup-coalition' that ultimately establishes a BA system to end the political and economic crisis.

Third, those who believe in the corporatist approach view military intervention as an elite response to crisis situations. Phillippe Schmitter in an article in Janowitz edited 'On military intervention' (1971) opines that the failure of the liberal democratic state to offer a viable solution to social demands due to weaknesses of the internally divided and externally dependent bourgeoisie as well as the lack of adequate resources lead to the formation of a corporatist state. Under such conditions, social peace can be obtained not by co-opting and incorporating but by repressing and excluding the autonomous articulation of subordinate class demands. Alfred Stepan in his book "Authoritarian Brazil: origins, politics and future" (1973) states that many of the new techniques of economic planning share with the new military a penchant for social engineering and share with the multinational corporations and the new military a desire for social peace that will allow state designed projects that benefit the MNC's to go forward. Working arrangements with international capital is seen as crucial for financing of the projects. However, despite corporatism doing away with political pluralism and seeking a more centralized state society relation, there might be instances as Stepan shows in his book "The state and society: Peru in comparative perspective" (1978) wherein new social groups might be incorporated. This is called inclusionary corporatism as seen in Chile whereas the exclusionary brand is seen in Brazil, Mexico and in Peru.

Fourth, the new professional approach views military intervention in the third world as an outcome of the adoption of a broader definition of national security by the military as well as the transferability of skills between military and civilian operations. Stepan points out that the military institutions began to study such questions as the social and political conditions, facilitating the growth of revolutionary protest and to develop doctrines and training techniques to prevent or crush insurgent movements. Thus, highly professional armies became much more concerned with political problems when the civilian government had low legitimacy and was unable to supervise a peaceful process of development. Howard Wiarda in "Latin American Politics and development" (2013) opines that the role of the military in Latin America changed after the 1950s and the 1960s. The success of guerilla revolutions in China, Indo China, Algeria, and Cuba led to a new emphasis on the military's role in counterinsurgency and internal defense functions. Latin American militaries encouraged by growing aid from the USA began to assume responsibility for civic action programmes and assisting civilians in construction of roads, schools etc.

Thus, military functions were no longer seen as separate from civilian skills and the implication was that the military would be required to ensure the implementation of social and economic reforms necessary to prevent insurgency if the civilians were incapable. Thus, the long-term rule by military institutions had its basis in the new professionalism during the Cold War years and was closer to Latin American political culture according to Wiarda.

Fifth, the Marxist view is found in the writings of Rosa Luxemburg who believed in her work 'the Accumulation of Capital' (1951) that from the economic point of view militarism is not merely a means for the realization of surplus value but also a province of accumulation. She argued that militarism was being employed by capital for implementing a foreign and colonial policy to get hold of the means of production and labour power of non-capitalist societies. Paul Baran in 'The political economy of growth' (1957) argues that an atmosphere of imaginary danger is created by comprador regimes in underdeveloped countries as a pretext for the maintenance of the armed forces who are used for suppression of popular national and social liberation movements.

18.5 Changing Dynamics of Military Sociology

Thus, from the original focus on social - psychological dimensions of cohesion, leadership, group processes and attitudes characteristic of the American school in the 1950s, military sociology expanded its inquiry into a wide diversity of content areas. This widening accentuated after the end of the Cold War when the nature of the armed forces and their relationship with societies began to change markedly with the downsizing of military establishments, military budgets being diminished, and missions being redefined. Thus, the priority shifted from national territorial defense to contingency and multinational interventions aimed at supporting peace and stability at a more global scale. The armed forces were asked to do with fewer resources, be ready to take on new missions and deploy more frequently. Military sociologists followed the intensification of the so-called new missions, namely peacekeeping and humanitarian interventions with particular attention and thus a large body of literature emerged. Several dimensions of military involvement in politics have changed with time. In most countries militaries do not forcefully remove chief political executives or have a say in non-military matters and the question whether the military can remove an incompetent president who has violated the rules of the game is important. In this context Peter Smith in his book "Democracy in Latin America: Political change in comparative perspective" in 2005 classified

patterns of civil - military relations in Latin America on the basis of direct military control (probably none with the exception of Guatemala), military tutelage wherein in case of a crisis of the civilian government, the armed forces supervise civilian authorities and play key roles in decision making (Ecuador, El Salvador, Guatemala, Venezuela), conditional military subordination wherein the armed forces keep careful watch over civilians protecting military prerogatives (Bolivia, Brazil, Chile, Colombia, Dominican Republic, Honduras, Nicaragua, Paraguay, Peru) and civilian control. Thus, the categories of military and civilian rule seem to be looked at differently.

The field of organizational studies provided some of the most innovative approaches. In the Nordic countries, The Netherlands and in the UK long held assumptions about the sociology of the military have been questioned. This has led to a proliferation of work on critical views of command, application of new organizational concepts like action sets to network centric warfare, use of science fictional texts to examine the dynamics of headquarters and command posts, the uniqueness of managing military organizations, modular organizational design and expeditionary operations, sense making in operations, partnering with joint civil - military operations and cohesion in a context of increased professionalization of the armed forces.

Another area of focus has been on the organizational change in force structure and personnel policies. During the second half of the twentieth century, military sociology was concerned with predictions about the end of the mass army and related theoretical debates. After the end of the Cold War, the question of whether universal conscription was still the appropriate organizational recruitment pattern for the armed forces gained a new impetus. As most countries started processes that would lead to the abolition of the draft, different authors anticipated the end of the end of universal conscription in the Western countries before the end of the millennium. However the debate has remained open ended with the works of Boene 'Military sociology: The richness of a discipline' (2000) and Tresch and Malesic in 'Conscripts vs all volunteer forces in Europe' (2003) who talk of the end or possible return of conscription. Scholars have also dealt with issues of diversity in the Army with regard to the issues of age, race and ethnicity, women in the armed forces, social class, sexuality, and sexual orientation and even religion. Debates have been particularly intense around the issues of sexual orientation or of women in combat as a variety of western military establishments eliminated restrictive practices in these areas and a new gender agenda in international security developed. Enquiries into military culture, values and even the military family remain strong. The research

on the military profession developed into new concerns moving the focus from only active-duty corps officers to ask whether soldiers and noncommissioned personnel should be included in the profession or whether specialization requires a review of dominant professional classifications. The effects of outsourcing and the use by states of private military and security companies became a relevant issue. The fact that contractors were allowed to offset the downsizing of the active military forces has raised multiple challenges from the point of view of civil - military relations and the military profession. Military sociologists have also studied the military in a context of mass media and public attitudes on defense issues. Changes in communication technologies have had a major impact on the relationship between the militaries deployed and the societies they defend as well as between deployed soldiers and their families. This fostered the rise of the study of new communication contexts including the role of social media. Thus, the field of military sociology is dominated by three important characteristics. One is the development of comparative work done by interdisciplinary research teams mainly by international professional associations both in the USA and Europe like the Research Committee on Armed Forces and Conflict Resolution of the International Sociological Association, the European research Group on Military and Society and the Interuniversity Seminar on Armed Forces and Society. Two is the scope and innovative character of much research conducted in regions of the world outside the USA particularly in Europe. According to Ben Ari there are three trends that can be identified in this newer scholarship. First is a move from seeing the military as a entity that has to withstand the pressure of missions to an appreciation of the contingent often contradictory organizing processes that constantly take place within units and headquarters. Second, there is a much greater appreciation of both the combinatorial formations through which the armed forces now operate and the hybrid nature of the roles they are tasked with. Third the newer perspectives explicitly marry external models developed in a variety of disciplines to the core expertise of the military which is the preoccupation with violence. Three, we can notice a reflexive turn in military sociology.

18.6 Civil - Military Relations in India

Coming to the studies of the military in India, extensive literature exists on the rise and development of the Indian Army as a professional organization. We can identify the predecessor of the Indian military forces in the armies created by the English East India Company in the 18th century. The Company was divided into the three presidencies of Bombay, Bengal and Madras each of which had their own units. By the late 1750s, the British had developed the French practice

of recruiting local Indians as sepoys and training them in continental or traditional linear warfare style. Recruitment was done from members of all classes. However, the situation changed with the Sepoy Mutiny in 1857 after which following the findings of the Peel Commission, gradual steps were taken to foster the concept of 'divide and rule' in the Army. For example, the recruitment of Brahmins and Rajputs was downsized in response to their perceived involvement in the mutiny while recruitment of Gurkhas was increased due to their loyalty throughout the Mutiny. Another step taken by the British was that regiments were to recruit and serve only in their local areas. During the First World War, the class-based recruitment of soldiers was expanded to include more 'martial classes' from the Punjab which provided about 40% of the recruits. By the 1930s, nationalist Indians were of the opinion that democracy could not function in India till the basis of recruitment policy was drastically changed and so during the Second World War, there was a massive expansion in the Indian Army though recruitment of non-martial races though conscription was not imposed. We find a gradual Indianization of the Army during this time as there were about 7546 Indian officers in the combatant arms of the Indian Army. The number of non-combatant officers was close to 13000. Upon the Partition of India and Indian Independence in 1947, the Indian Army was in for a major haul. Four of the ten Gurkha regiments were transferred to the British Army and the rest of the Army was divided between India and Pakistan. The study of the relation between military and civilian power in India to underscore the nature of democracy in India has been carried out by scholars in recent years. One such path breaking study was carried out by Steven Wilkinson in his book "The Army and Nation: The military and Indian democracy since Independence" (2015) who searched the reason as to why ethnically imbalanced armies that were the norm in colonial societies proved stable to Indian democracy whereas in other countries , the minority controlled militaries sought to control the majority democracies. For example, in Africa there were much larger number of coups attempts due whenever there was a mismatch between the proportion of the ethnic group in the Army and that in charge of politics. The reasons identified by Wilkinson for India being able to solve the problem of 'army and nation' in India are that India inherited a professional British style military in which politics was kept out of the mess, generals out of politics and the lines of civil military authority being made clear. Wilkinson contrasts the civil- military divergence in India and Pakistan. Both India and Pakistan inherited imbalanced armies, but the similarity ends there. India has been able to keep military influence out of politics whereas Pakistan witnessed military coups in 1953/1954, 1958,

1977, 1999 along with at least three failed attempts in 1951, 1980 and in 1995. Whereas India has been under continuous civilian rule, Pakistan has been under military rule from 1958 to 1971, 1977 to 1988 and from 1999 till 2008. The Indian Army had greater strategic depth and greater fiscal strength in contrast to Pakistan. India was led by the Indian National Congress in the early years after independence which was a strong internally democratic party with broad ethnic support and legitimacy and thus there was a ban on religious claims, caste reservations and linguistic states within the Army. The recruitment pattern of the Army was changed to explode the myth of the martial classes and that the Army should reflect the diversity of India. On the other hand, Pakistan was led by a weak party with narrow ethnic, geographic and class support. Furthermore, there was acceptance of religious claims in the army. The Indian Army had strategies in place to coup proof and reduce the Army's ability to coordinate against the State. There were fixed class units at the battalion level, attention was given on the creation of the officer level with diversified recruitment and multiple recruitment streams, the top command level was characterized by the ethnic diversity of officers and restricted tenures, the command and control level was replaced by a command in command structure with three separate commands with a strong civilian oversight and finally civilian controlled paramilitaries were to act as strong indirect and a direct hedge. In Pakistan on the other hand, the officer corps was much less diverse with single stream entry and the centralized leadership structure was overwhelmingly dominated by Punjabi and Pashtun officers and there was no substantial civilian controlled paramilitary hedge. Autobiographies of Generals in post independent India show a firm commitment to civilian rule and never harbouring any ideas of a coup. Thus what Samuel Huntington called a professional army under objective civilian control in his book 'The Soldier and the State' perfectly fits in with the Indian context. Ayesha Ray in her book 'The Soldier and the State in India: nuclear weapons, Counterinsurgency and the Transformation of Indian Civil - Military Relations' (2013) points out that external wars, insurgency, and nuclear weapons have shifted the balance in civil - military relations in India. In her opinion civilian control over the military is 'complete' in India and the military in India continues to function as a professional army. Certain strands can be identified in the civil military relations in India. First, military strategy and doctrinal innovation find themselves in confrontation with political objectives especially during periods of brief crises or during wars. This makes a smooth implementation of military and political strategy much more challenging. Indian military responses must be calibrated to meet long term military aims in the face of regular border

skirmishes with Pakistan. Second, in addition to preparing against external threats, the Indian military faces the additional burden of being involved in fighting internal security challenges such as the Maoist insurrection and similar operations in the Northeast and in Kashmir. This additional responsibility along with issues like the unabated militancy in Kashmir, casualties inflicted by Government personnel by Maoists or separatists in the Northeast and responses to disaster management places a severe burden on its capacity to work like a professional war fighting force due to severe strain of poor resources, inadequate manpower and scarce equipment in meeting these challenges. Although the USA has been particularly interested in working with India on the issue of Counter insurgency, Ray believes that India should be careful to embrace counter insurgency as a model for its own doctrinal development as contextual and ideological differences might complicate victories on the ground.

Third, the bureaucracy's role as an intermediate agency between the political leadership and the military severely impedes direct civil military communication. Thus, the growing sense of disappointment and alienation within the military takes the shape of higher officials expressing public disapproval of civilian policy on issues like defense procurement and defense reorganization.

Fourth, given the unpredictable nature of Pakistan's internal politics, its unstable governance structure and the very real threat posed by Islamic fundamentalists to India's external security, Indian civil - military responses towards Pakistan require a serious debate on reorganizing doctrinal and strategic goals. Pakistan continues to bleed India through proxy wars that are fought by groups like the Jaish - e - Mohammad. Ceasefire violations continue unabated and there have been reports of the rise of Al Qaeda's South Asia unit with ties to the ISIS. Thus, surveillance missions and sophisticated reconnaissance has to be maintained by three services of the Army in coordination with security agencies and the local administration.

Fifth, the nature of civil - military relations and the way it evolves has serious implications for democratic governance. Indian political leaders have always been wary of designating too much power to the military in order to keep the armed forces under democratic control. However, the need of the hour is to formulate clear political goals that do not compromise the internal and external security threats of the country while striking the correct balance between civilian and military control.

Maya Tudor in "The promise of power: the origins of democracy in India and autocracy in Pakistan" (2013) points out in the context of Israel that it does not

necessarily follow that a state with a large, militarized population or a high proportion of military officers cannot create a stable or a democratic regime. This holds true in the Indian context also as demonstrated above.

18.7 Conclusion

Thus, it becomes clear that the military should not be viewed as a completely apolitical organization. Rather the military is an integral part of any political system. There are several kinds of military intervention of which some are more overtly political than others. Although the processes of globalization that have swept the world even as we keep talk of increasing nationalistic fervor, there is no guarantee that developing states would be free from military interventions in politics though the nature might be different than in earlier times. Marketisation and democratization have changed the nature of politics and perhaps military intervention.

18.8 Summary

18.9 Questions

Answer the following in your own words

GA (5 marks each):

1. Objective and subjective control
2. Coup de etat.
3. Power elite
4. Corporatist approach and military intervention.
5. The modernization argument and military intervention.
6. Any 2 criticism of Huntington's understanding of civil - military relations.

GB (10 marks each):

1. Write an essay on the various reasons for military intervention in politics.
2. Examine the nature of civil - military relations in India.
3. Highlight the changing nature of military intervention in politics after the Cold War.

18.10 Suggested Readings

1. Huntington, Samuel, 1957, *The Soldier and the State*, Belknap Press, United States.
2. Finer, Samuel, E, 1962, *The Man on Horseback: the role of the military in politics*, Pall Mall Press, London
3. Janowitz, Morris, 1964, *The Military in the Political development of New States*, Chicago University Press, Chicago.
4. Wilkinson, Steven, 2015, *Army and the Nation: The Military and Indian Democracy since Independence*, Harvard University Press, Massachusetts, United States.

Unit 19 □ Political Participation, Electoral Process and Electoral Behaviour

Structure

19.1 Objectives

19.2 Introduction

19.3 Political participation

19.4 Electoral Process and Electoral Behaviour

19.5 Conclusion

19.6 Summary

19.7 Questions

19.8 Suggested Readings

19.1 Objectives

The objectives of this unit are:

- To introduce the concepts of political participation, voting process and electoral behaviour to students. Each of these concepts have great significance in the way in which politics is conducted, who participates in politics and what kind of political system exists in a particular society.
 - To explain how these concepts are not just relevant to the working of democratic political systems as may appear at first glance but are important across all types of political systems. It may further be noted that though these concepts appear to be modern at first glance, they have a long history to their credit.
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19.2 Introduction

Political participation means the participation of the common people in the political process of the country, directly by voting in elections or standing as candidates in elections or, indirectly by becoming members of political parties and organizations, participating in political meetings, rallies, marches, making financial contributions to party funds etc. The electoral process indicates the procedures through which the government of a country is elected. It has two sides to it: the

legal-procedural aspect - the set of legal and procedural provisions that determine who can vote, who can contest elections, age of voters and other legalities to be followed during elections. The second aspect is the practical aspect - the numerous non-legal factors that govern elections. The electoral process varies from country to country and is determined by social, economic, cultural, and political factors. Electoral behaviour explains the various factors that affect the voting patterns in a given society. These factors are social, ideological, cultural, political, economic. We shall look at each of these concepts in details in the subsequent sections of this chapter.

19.3 Political Participation

The participation of people in the political processes of their countries is not a modern phenomenon. We must recall that in ancient Greece and in the Roman empire too, people did participate in politics. Ancient Greece, which is known as the cradle or the birthplace of politics, was divided into administrative units known as 'polis' (from which the English word 'politics' was derived), or city-states. The adult men who were Greek by birth enjoyed citizenship rights or the right to participate in political debates and discussions, to vote on all matters that came up for deliberation and to take decisions by a majority. In case of the Roman empire too, we see that the residents of Rome too, enjoyed similar rights. We must note at this point that all residents of ancient Greece or Roman empire did not enjoy political rights. Citizenship was limited on the basis of descent, class, and gender. Yet, the fact remains that the tradition of political participation existed in both these ancient cultures.

The disciplined study of political participation was initiated in the post Second World War times, especially with the emergence of the Third World Countries as independent sovereign states that were trying to establish political and economic stability within their territorial borders. Another factor that catalysed the study of political participation was perhaps the fact that most of the Third World Countries also chose to become political democracies. Since democracy is all about mass political participation, regular elections, accountable governments, and decentralization of political power (besides other features), the understanding of political participation and what shaped it became important to understand. Further, high political participation renders greater legitimacy and stability to governments. This too, made the study of political participation extremely relevant.

Political participation, according to Michael R. McCluskey, is the spontaneous

participation of people in the various political processes and activities of their country. Almond and Powell believe that any action of the people which may be categorized as affecting the input functions of the political system, i.e., acting as demands or support to the existing political system, may be counted as political participation. Political participation broadly includes the following functions:

- a. Participating in the electoral process through voting
- b. Participation in the electoral process through contesting elections
- c. Being an active or passive member of a political party
- d. Being an active or passive member of a political organization
- e. Participating in political protests, marches, rallies etc.
- f. Contributing financially to the funds of a political party or political organization
- g. Becoming/ being elected to a public office
- h. Expressing and disseminating political opinion through any medium.
- i. Participating in any such activities that influence the making or adoption of public policy.

Classification of political participation: Political participation may be classified on the following bases:

1. Based on intensity of participation, political participation may be classified as active or passive political participation. Active political participation indicates frequent and direct political participation in the electoral process or as active members of political parties or organizations. Passive political participation is the opposite, it indicates that an individual does not actively engage in politics but has a well-defined political opinion, subscribes to a particular political ideology, and may contribute financially to political party or organization but does not participate directly or regularly in its everyday meetings and activities.
2. Based on objective of participation, political participation may be classified as instrumental or expressive political participation. Instrumental political participation means participation in politics with certain objectives in mind, such as, helping a particular political party to win an upcoming election or campaigning about a particular issue, in consonance with the declared stand of a particular political party to create consensus on an issue. Expressive

political participation is such participation in politics which is general and long-term and not confined to any immediate goal or objective.

3. Based on attitude towards the ruling party, political participation may be classified as supportive or non-supportive political participation. Supportive political participation, as the name suggests, refers to all political activities that support the actions and policies of the party in power and helps to make governments stable and further, ensure political continuity. Non-supportive or protest political participation is obviously then, any political activity that opposes or resists the actions and policies of the party in power. Such political participation is clearly aimed at creating opposition and resistance to the existing government. When non-supportive political participation is strong, cohesive, and well-organized, it may lead to changes in government, either peacefully or through violence.
4. In his famous essay 'Political Participation', in the Handbook of Political Behaviour, L. Milbraith spoke of four kinds of political participation: (a) Gladiator Political Participation: referring to the select few individuals who actively and aggressively participate in politics and are capable of taking on leadership roles and responsibilities in the political sphere. (b) Transitional Political Participation: refers to the large sections of people who participate sporadically in politics, may be only during elections or in case of any extraordinary events. There is lack of consistency and direct activity on part of these people. (c) Spectator Political Participation: as the term suggests. This refers to such political participation which is predominantly passive in the sense that though such individuals are regular voters and engage in political discussions in informal circles, they do not actively or directly participate in politics. (d) Political Apathy: this implies utter lack of interest in politics, indifference towards politics or actions and speeches of political leaders, for a variety of reasons.

Political Apathy is also an important concept that needs to be discussed while discussing political participation. Apathy is an emotion of indifference or even disinterest. Political apathy therefore implies indifference towards what is happening in the political sphere. This is a phenomenon that has been found across all types of political systems, ranging from totalitarian/authoritarian systems to political democracies. The reasons may vary across political systems as well as political cultures. It is often noted that the educated section of any population is usually more politically conscious and hence more prone to political participation. However,

there is no hard and fast rule. All educated people do not feel the inclination to be politically active at all times. If the political system is authoritarian and suppresses adverse political opinion brutally, then too, political apathy may be created. In democratic countries of the first world, the structures and processes of government are so well-established that often people do not feel the need to actively participate in politics directly or passively, as indicated through the low voter turn-outs at the elections in some of the most developed countries of the world. In contrast, the developing countries of the world, with political instability, lack of structural differentiation and functional specialization of the various organs of government and a typically elitist or divisive political culture usually record high voter turn-outs during most elections. This may be indicative of the need for political alternatives that people in these systems seek. Moreover, if the predominant political ideology of a country opposes change and the party or individual in power can successfully manipulate public expectations, then too, political participation may seem redundant and political apathy may grow. If political change seems impossible or undesirable, or if the government delivers its promises, then too, people are bound to become complacent, and this may lead to political apathy in the long run.

There are numerous factors that affect political participation. These may be discussed under the following headings:

- 1. Social and Cultural factors:** the level of economic development and the homogeneity or heterogeneity of a population plays a very important role in determining the nature and type of political participation that a country experiences. A country that is economically unstable or backward is bound to create grievances amongst people and create conditions where they feel the need to participate in politics in order to change the political leadership in order to change the economic policies of the country. An economically stable or developed country on the other hand, is mostly able to satisfy the economic needs of the people and hence, generates more supportive and passive political participation or even political apathy. Similarly, a country that is highly diverse in terms of cultural indices like religion, race, ethnicity, caste and language is bound to face problems in creating a cohesive political culture. The conflicts and competition amongst the various cultural groups is bound to create more scope and need for political participation, whether in support of or in protest against the government. On the other hand, in a country that is culturally homogenous or largely so, the political sphere is dominated by the cultural majority and hence the need for political participation might lessen.

- 2. Psychological factors:** since politics is an activity driven by either the quest for power or on the basis of a particular political ideology, psychological factors play an important role in determining the nature and type of political participation. On one hand, political participation creates the scope for collective action in the political process in order to promote a particular political ideology or for the sake of supporting or protesting against a particular political ideology. Politics creates the space for working together for large numbers of people who may be different on other grounds but are united by a common political ideology. Moreover, for many people, political participation paves the way for gaining offices of political power. This leads to the psychological drive that some people have for power. Since the political sphere in most modern- day democratic regimes are usually open and unrestricted by considerations of caste, religion, language, and class (also gender, to some extent), many people who wish to acquire power, find conducive circumstances in the political sphere. Also, if one is a firm believer in any specific political ideology, then political participation becomes the perfect means to put to practical use the values of that political ideology.
- 3. Political factors:** these are perhaps the most direct factors that influence the intensity and mass of political participation. As mentioned before, any political system which is characterized by cultural diversity, is bound to see more political participation due to the constant conflicts and competition amongst the diverse groups. This is so because each group will try to acquire political power so that they may gain from the laws and policies made by the government. In large countries regionalism as a factor in national politics also creates the scope and need for political participation. When the political system is open and a strong opposition exists, then too, people feel the possibility of changing the political system in their own interest and thus participate in politics more willingly.

19.4 Electoral Process and Electoral Behaviour

Election is the process through which governments are elected. This too has a long history that can be traced right back to the city-states of ancient Greece. Within the city-states, direct democracy was practiced. The adult males, who were Greek by birth participated in political debates and discussions and also decision-making at the local level. However, in the present age, with growing geographical size and population as well as increasing complexity of issues, direct democracy is

no longer found (with the exception of Switzerland). In modern times, representative or indirect democracy is the most common form of government. In representative democracy, people participate in the election of their representatives who occupy political offices and perform political functions on behalf of the electorate. The laws and conditions for conducting elections vary from country to country and collectively form the electoral process. In authoritarian countries too, rulers who come to power through the use of armed forces and violence, sham elections are held to prove that these leaders actually enjoy the support of the masses. In communist countries, elections are held at regular intervals. However, through these elections, only the people who are elected to different posts change, not the ruling political ideology, since communism does not tolerate or permit the existence of any political party other than the Communist Party. Thus, we understand that the process of elections, involving the electorate and the elected is a very important phenomenon that shows the support base, popularity and efficacy of a party in power. Elections are also important because they provide the scope for peaceful political changes.

The study of electoral behaviour attempts to understand why people tend to vote or not vote in favour of a particular political party or ideology. It attempts to identify patterns in the behaviour of the electorate at upcoming public elections so that a certain amount of predictability may be brought about in the elections. Voting behaviour is also an analysis of individual psychological make up as well as the way the individual perceives himself in relation to the political system. The study of voting behaviour is known as Psephology which has emerged as one of the most interesting and engaging areas of study in recent times.

Approaches that are commonly used to explain electoral behaviour are:

1. **Sociological/Structural Approach:** this approach looks at the socio-cultural factors like religion, language, regional demands, economic demands, rural urban divide, nationalism as well as the political structures and their efficacy in dealing with the demands and needs of various groups and tries to explain how specific groups are expected to behave in any specific election.
2. **Socio-psychological Approach:** this approach attempts to understand the psychological orientation that different groups in a country have, towards the government or ruling elite. If the ruling class/party enjoys positive response and support from the masses, the elections may be presumed to be peaceful and ensure political continuity. If the masses are dissatisfied or disinclined toward the ruling party or dissatisfied with the functioning of the ruling party, elections are likely to pave the way for change in government.

3. **Geopolitical Approach:** this approach looks at the internal structural arrangement and decentralization of power across union, state and local level governments and the relations amongst these different levels of government to explain the various factors that are bound to affect the election outcomes and electoral behaviour of the electorate in elections.
4. **Rational Approach:** this approach considers individuals to be rational beings who analyse the political manifestos, political plans and programmes of parties before deciding who to vote for. This approach looks upon voters as rational beings who compare the policies and programmes of different political parties and make rational choices of those that meet their specific interests. These choices are reflected in the electoral behaviour.

Besides the afore-mentioned approaches, there are also some factors that affect the electoral behaviour of individuals. Some of these important factors are:

1. **Ideological belief:** the first and the most basic factor that influences electoral behaviour is the loyalty or faith that one has in a particular political ideology. It has often been observed that inclination towards or faith in a particular political ideology is often passed down from one generation to another through the process of political socialization and contributes towards the creation of a stable and cogent political culture. Ideological belief may change in case of exceptional circumstances of political inefficiency (also known as Efficiency Gap or the gap between promises made and actual performance on these promises) or corruption or exceptional political crisis. But under ordinary circumstances, individuals have the tendency to continue to vote for a particular political ideology or party that they have initially been loyal to, giving the party numerous chances to prove its worth or deliver on its promises.
2. **Regional politics:** in countries like India regional economic imbalances or demands for separate statehood creates a distinct impact on political participation and electoral behaviour. Regionalism in politics also impacts electoral behaviour. Often, regional political parties highlight the deprivation that the region has been suffering from due to the lack of sensitivity or responsiveness from the central government over a long period of time and hold this as the main reason for the relative backwardness of the region. Regional political parties may also uphold that the language, religion or traditional beliefs and customs of the region are particularly under threat of extinction or suppression and hence convince voters to vote in favour of

the parties that highlight the needs and demands of the region and not those of a national character. Emergence and strengthening of regional politics is thus an important factor that affects the electoral behaviour of the masses.

- 3. Cultural factors:** religion, caste and language are some of the most important factors that influence electoral behaviour and the entire gamut of political activities. Political parties that conform to or promote specific religions, caste or language are common across countries and cultures. Especially right wing and conservative political parties often exhibit the tendency to frame their political programmes, plans and propaganda based on these factors. Politics based on religion, caste or language inevitably creates divides amongst the various communities within the country, rather, they posit one community against the other and try to gain political leverage from these divides. In the name of upholding traditions and heritage, these political parties end up striking at the very roots of the unity of the country. Yet, experience shows that across countries, such right -wing parties have been in power, through majority votes in democratic elections. Thus, even in democracies where plurality and secularism are presumed to be virtues, extremist and exclusionary politics is a reality.
- 4. Gender:** one of the lesser known and emergent factors that influence electoral behaviour is the gender question. With increasing participation of women and third gender in politics due to increasing levels of literacy and political consciousness of their rights, political parties are also including gender issues in their manifestoes. The social perception regarding the rights and dignity of women as well as of members of the third gender is slowly but surely undergoing positive changes and that has forced political parties to incorporate the interests and demands of these sections of the population into their plans and projects. In fact, in such regions where the percentage of women voters is considerably high, it is often noticed that the political parties (both in power and in opposition) try to incorporate such schemes that will specifically cater to the needs and interests of the women. This in turn ensures that more women go out to vote and cast their vote in favour of that party which caters more to their specific interests.
- 5. Class:** most parties of national or regional importance support one or the other class of people and work to promote the specific interests of that class in an implicit manner. It is understandable that political parties need

funds to conduct their activities and the class that provides these funds are obviously catered to by these parties once elections are won.

6. **The personality and character of politicians or candidates contesting elections:** this corresponds to a combination of charismatic authority and the trust that individual candidates are able to generate in the masses. Leadership qualities, untainted character and credibility often influences electoral behaviour in favour of a particular candidate. Personal charisma of the leader too, cannot be ignored. It has often been observed that particular leaders manage to remain in power because of their personal charisma and the credibility they have created in the hearts and minds of their followers rather than actual performance or delivery of the promises they made before elections.
7. Age is yet another factor that influences the electoral behaviour of voters. More aged people are likely, though not necessarily, to be more conservative in their political choices whereas younger people are more likely to be open to political experiments and are less likely to exhibit continued faith in a political system that is not performing as per expectations. Moreover, the youth are more prone to take into consideration such factors as the quality of the education system, the opportunity for employment, the environment for ease of doing business and such other factors while deciding to vote for rather than vote only on the basis of a political ideology.

19.5 Conclusion

In this chapter we have looked at some basic yet important concepts of Political Sociology. The study of political participation, electoral process and electoral behaviour are important to understand and analyse the political present and future of societies. The understanding of these concepts also helps render a certain degree of predictability to the future events that may emerge in the political sphere. However, one must keep in mind the fact that though broad definitions and general determining factors of political participation and electoral behaviour have been mentioned in this chapter, these are not the only factors that condition political participation and electoral behaviour. Each country has unique political cultures and exceptional circumstances may arise from time to time that shape both these phenomena differently.

19.6 Summary

In this unit we have discussed in detail the meaning, definition, types, determinants, and importance of political participation. We have become conscious of the extreme importance of political participation in ensuring the good health and efficacy of a political system. A country that has active and widespread political participation can ensure that those who occupy positions of power remain accountable to the people. This also helps check corruption at all levels of administration as people are politically conscious and actively participate in politics, any flaws on part of power-holders are immediately punished by the people. Political participation also helps create, nurture, and pass on a strong and stable political culture. This in turn helps the country survive any unforeseen or sudden political crisis. Political participation also provides the proper scope and platform to the ordinary citizens of a country to augment their understanding and knowledge of politics. It also provides the opportunity to such people who have an inclination for politics to participate in politics. In other words, it helps individuals to express their political views, work for realization of their vision for their country and express their leadership qualities by directly participating in politics. For those who lack the qualities, time or means to actually participate in politics, indirect participation through membership of political parties and organizations, financial contributions towards the political parties or organizations that they favour also creates a strong bond of accountability between the ruler and the ruled. Political apathy, on the other hand, can be equally damaging for a political system because in the long run, it can lead government to become corrupt and misuse or abuse power. This obviously leads to unending misery for the people themselves. Electoral process is yet another concept which has been dealt with in this unit. It is the process through which governments are elected to power. Each country has a separate set of laws, procedures, and systems that it follows to elect its government. The more open and transparent the electoral process of a country, the more democratic the political system will be. Electoral behaviour is the set of attitudes, beliefs, emotions, and values that the electorate displays towards their political system. To understand the various factors that influence voting behaviour is the job of both political analysts and psychologists. Psephology helps predict the probable outcome of an upcoming election. It helps explain whether a particular political party that has been in power will remain in power, how much support it has managed to retain among the masses during its tenure or whether it has lost support of the masses due to its underperformance. The study of electoral behaviour also helps measure the actual level of political participation or political

apathy and help identify causes of both these phenomenon in a given political system. Political parties can understand and analyse their own performance and the response of the masses to them by taking the help of psephologists. In fact, examining voting behaviour can help explain the changes that take place in the political system of a country. Thus, we see that all the concepts discussed in this unit, political participation, electoral process, and electoral behaviour are extremely crucial to the understanding of the political system as well as changes in the political system across countries.

19.6 Questions

Group A: 5 marks:

1. Define Political Participation.
2. Define Electoral Behaviour.
3. Define Political Apathy.
4. Discuss the various types of political participation.
5. Discuss the various factors that influence political participation.
6. What do you understand by electoral process?

Group B: 10 Marks

7. Discuss the various approaches that analyse electoral behaviour.
8. What are the various factors that influence the individual's electoral behaviour?
9. What are the various causes of political apathy? How can political apathy affect the quality of a political system?
10. What, in your opinion, is the link between political participation and electoral behaviour?

19.7 Suggested Readings

1. Chakraborty, S (ed). (2005). Political Sociology. New Delhi: Macmillan India Ltd.
2. Chatterjee, R. (2006). Introduction to Comparative Political Analysis. Kolkata: Sarat Book Distributers
3. Milbraith, L., (1981) 'Political Participation' in The Handbook of Political

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4. Ashraf, A. & Sharma, L.N. (1983). Political Sociology: A New Grammar of Politics. Hyderabad: Hyderabad University Press
5. McCluskey, Herbert 'Political Participation' in International Encyclopedia of Social Sciences, Vol 12, Sybills, D.L. (ed). Macmillan and Free Press
6. Rush, M. & Althorp P., (1971). An Introduction to Political Sociology. London: Nelson

Unit 20 □ Political Change and Development

Structure

20.1 Objectives

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20.3 Causes for the emergence of the concept of political development

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20.1 Objectives

The purpose of this module is to give the readers an idea about:

- The context in which the concept of Political Development emerged, in the academic discourse of Politics and Political Sociology, to discuss the meaning, definitions, features and various approaches to the study and understanding of Political Development.
 - In the course of this chapter the reader will also get an idea of why all political change cannot be considered to be Political Development as well as understand how this term and phenomena has essentially Western connotations.
 - Undoubtedly, the concept of Political Development has not been uncontested, there are numerous debates and critiques of the classical ideas related to Political Development. These too, shall be dealt with here.
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20.2 Introduction

As the term itself suggests, Political Development refers to the positive growth or change in the political sub-system of a state. Simple as this meaning is, it is

vague in the sense that it does not clarify what constitutes "positive change or growth". There are multiple ways of looking at and understanding Political Development, of these the one developed by Samuel P. Huntington and J.I. Dominguez in their essay titled 'Political Development' (1975) wrote: " Political development has thus been variously defined as a pattern of change which occurs in a particular type of society, which is produced by a particular cause, which is directed towards particular goals, or which is functionally required by particular social and economic conditions." This happens to be one of the most commonly used definitions of Political Development as it is quite comprehensive and indicates some of the most basic aspects of the concept. These are:

Geographical: Political Development as a concept applies specifically to politics, functions of political institutions of what is called, the developing world, or the non-Western countries. In this sense the term has particular geo-political underpinnings.

Derivative: The concept and ideology of Political Development is essentially derived from the West. Only Western models of industrialization, organization and functioning of government, the liberal democratic ideology is considered to be the indices or yardsticks of measuring Political Development of the non-Western countries.

Teleological: Political Development is a process and a phenomenon that is driven towards the achievement of specific goals like modernization, industrialization, democratization of the economic and political sub-systems of the Third World or non-Western societies.

Functional: Political Development assumes the performance of certain functions to be compulsory if a society is to be considered as politically developed. In simple terms, it assumes that there must be structural differentiation and functional specialization in the political structures of a country for it to be considered politically developed.

Having looked at this preliminary yet comprehensive definition of Political development, let us now look at the circumstances, historical and theoretical, that gave birth to this concept.

20.3 Causes for the emergence of the concept of political development

Political Development as a concept came into usage in the backdrop of the end of the Second World War and the beginning of the process of decolonization that

led to the emergence of the erstwhile colonies of Asia, Africa, and Latin America as free and sovereign countries in the mid-1940s to 1950s. On one hand, the end of the Second World War signified the beginning of the Cold War, with two power blocs, one led by the United States of America and the other led by the Soviet Union, each trying really hard to increase its respective sphere of influence and on the other hand emerged the newly independent countries which were looking for speedy development. Most of these NICs adopted Western models of economy and political ideologies as the sure way to attain their development goals. However, in a matter of a decade or so, it became evident that the models of economy and polity that had worked successfully in the developed countries of the West were not equally effective in their own countries. It became evident that the Western models of development were not universally effective and hence, the need was felt to study the unique features or systems or ecology of the Third World Countries that resisted the efficacy of the Western economic and political models.

At this juncture some of the theoretical sources of the concept of Political Development may be briefly mentioned. Classical Evolutionary Theory of Social Change considered change to be an inevitable part of social evolution, unilinear progress from pre-modern to industrial society was considered by the proponents of this theory to be unavoidable. Auguste Comte, Emile Durkheim, and Herbert Spencer are some of the most notable evolutionary theorists. Moreover, the pre-modern society was considered to be regressive or backward and the industrialized society was seen as not just the inevitable movement forward towards modernity but also the only desirable course and goal of any society. Obviously, this was an essentially "Western", specifically American view of what was to be considered 'developed' or 'modern' and what was 'desirable'.

Auguste Comte's Positivism was another influence on the emergence of the studies on Political Development. His idea that the principles that governed the natural sciences could be applied equally to the study and understanding of society and ultimately could ensure that social progress could be achieved in an empirically tested manner further endorsed the ideas of what constituted development and modernization.

The studies on Political Development borrowed heavily from Talcott Parson's views on Structural Functionalism and insisted that structural differentiation and functional specialization were essential features of a politically developed society. In other words, any society that wished to become politically developed would

have to ensure that its political sub-system was sufficiently structurally differentiated to perform specialized functions.

With all the above-mentioned influences, a series of studies of the Third World Countries was undertaken in the United States of America by The Committee on Comparative Politics of the Social Science Research Council to compare and understand the exact specifics of these countries that had not responded sufficiently to the Western models of economic and political development. This school of researchers were commonly known as the Princeton school and comprised of such notable theorists as Gabriel Almond, Lucien Pye, D. Rostow, Myron Weiner, Sydney Verba, James Coleman and LaPalombara.

20.4 Theories of political development

One of the most important theories that laid the foundation of development studies was the Structural-functional theory, first put forth by Almond and Coleman in *The Politics of Developing Areas* in 1960 and later a revised version emerged in 1966, presented by Almond and Powell in their work, *Comparative Politics: A Developmental Approach*. This theory assumes that politics is one of the sub systems that constitute society. The word system is used to refer to a whole comprising of various parts. Each of these parts perform specific functions. Each of these parts are interdependent and interrelated. All the functions put together help the entire system to sustain itself and achieve its goal. The political system too, according to this theory comprised of the political apparatus of the state, having three specific organs, i.e., the executive, the legislature and the judiciary which perform the specific functions of law and policy execution and policy formulation, law making and justice dispensation respectively. Added to these differentiated structures are political parties, other political organizations, pressure groups which play explicitly political roles and make up the political system. Notably, no system operates in vacuum. Other systems (like the economic system, social system, cultural system) influence each other and constitute the environment within which a particular system operates.

According to the proponents of Structural functionalism, there are four main indicators that help to measure the degree of Political Development of any given society. These indicators are: (a) political structure, (b) political culture, (c) political functions and (d) developmental problems. Thus, a politically developed society is one which has differentiated political structures to perform specialized political

functions that change in consonance with changes in the environment and the changing demands of the time. One must remember that a developed political structure performs functions that are rational, analytical, and empirical. The political functions described by Almond for developed political systems are: (1) Capability of the political system to deal with the various elements of the environment. Capability is of four types, extractive, regulative, distributive, and responsive. (2) Conversion of Inputs into Outputs that is done through the following steps: interest articulation, interest aggregation, rulemaking, rule application, rule adjudication, communication and political socialization and recruitment. Further, Almond, and other Structural-functionalists have identified four major problems that transitional or developing societies are often faced with. These are: state building, nation building, participation, and distribution. They call these problems the 'developmental problems. To summarize, political development indicates a process through which the political system of a developing country is made capable of responding effectively to and managing the 'developmental problems' through structural differentiation, functional specialization, and cultural secularization.

The other important theory that looks into the causes of underdevelopment is the Dependency theory. Traditionally, the Liberals had believed that the causes of the lack of underdevelopment of the Third World Countries lay within those countries themselves. They held that population explosion, illiteracy, corruption, political instability, communal and ethnic problems, overall economic backwardness, lack of cohesive policies in different sectors of public life were some of the causes that led to and perpetuated the underdevelopment of these countries. In other words, the 'victims' of underdevelopment were themselves responsible for their lack of development. This Liberal narrative was openly challenged by the Dependency theorists. The Dependency theory owed its origin to a number of factors amongst which was the creation of the Economic Commission on Latin America by the United Nations Organization to specifically study the causes of the backwardness of the countries collectively referred to as Latin America. A search for non-Liberal explanations of the causes of backwardness of these countries began. Further, the 1960s were globally a time characterized by political unrests, especially in the fort of Liberal-Capitalism itself, the USA. Students' protests, civil protests, ethnic strife, economic slowdown and most importantly, the rebuff at Vietnam led to a loss of face for USA and the ideologies it had propagated globally.

Against this background rose the Dependency Theory propounded by the likes of Andre Gunder Frank, Raul Prebisch, F.H. Cardoso and Enzo Faletto. The main

statement of the Dependency theory was that historically, the countries in the 'periphery' or the Third World Countries had been treated as 'satellites', their agricultural raw materials were bought at low prices, at unfair terms of trade and machine-made, manufactured products sold to them at high prices. These 'peripheral' countries had acted as both the source of cheap raw materials and as ready markets for the industrialized 'core' or 'metropole' countries. It was this long tradition of lop-sided trade relations that had pushed the underdeveloped countries to the 'periphery' of international trade and had created conditions for the economic development and political stability of the First world. Of course, the Dependency theory met with its own set of criticisms. It was alleged that Dependency theorists focussed exclusively upon the external causes, international trade relations, so much that they failed to pay attention to the probable internal causes of underdevelopment that surely existed within these 'peripheral' countries. Moreover, by assuming that the Third World Countries were indeed underdeveloped, they had subscribed to the same tradition-modernity dichotomy as propagated thus far by the Liberals. However, one cannot ignore that the Dependency theory did provide a new lens through which to look at the causes of underdevelopment of the Third World.

The views of Lucien W. Pye with regard to the concept of Political Development also deserves special mention here. In his work, *Aspect of Political Development*, Pye looks at Political Development as a composite and comprehensive process of change that can be identified by what is known as the 'development syndrome'. By 'development syndrome' Pye refers to three features of a political system: (1) Equality: which demands that all citizens within a political system are given equal opportunity to participate in the political processes and institutions of the country, at all levels and without any discrimination on the basis of identity. This principle helps expand the notion of citizenship and social justice and also implies equality in the eyes of law. (2) Capacity: Pye here refers to the capacity or capability of the political system to successfully conduct 'the authoritative allocation of values', to ensure that any problems that arise in the work of the state and the implementation of its laws, policies, plans and projects can be dealt with in an effective and efficient manner. Moreover, this feature further demands that the political system has the capacity to function in a manner that is acceptable to the masses. (3) Differentiation: This obviously refers to the differentiation of political structures such that each political organ or institution can perform specialized functions smoothly, quickly and with expertise. Structural differentiation and functional specialization would in fact, enhance the efficacy of the political system and help to meet the demands of

the citizens as well as ensure decentralization of power and increased opportunity of political participation on part of the people. According to Pye, these features should be inculcated in a political system in exactly this order, i.e., first equality, then capacity, followed by differentiation in order to achieve Political Development in a balanced manner.

20.5 Political modernization and political development

Very often these two terms are used interchangeably, however, there have also been some efforts at the theoretical level to distinguish between the two. Eisenstadt has defined Modernization as a process of change towards such social, economic and political systems that were found in Western Europe and United States of America, beginning from the seventeenth century and in the Newly Independent Countries (NICs) since the nineteenth century. D.A. Rustow thought that a modern society was one which exhibited 'rapidly widening control over nature through closer cooperation among men.' David Apter, in his book, *The Politics of Modernization* identified three important characteristics of Modernization. According to him a modern society was one which was creatively changing or evolving, yet stable. Secondly, such a society had differentiated political structures to perform specialized functions in different spheres. Thirdly, highly developed technology, knowledge and expertise are notable features of such a society. Samuel P. Huntington pointed out that "Modernization is a many-sided process involving changes in all aspects of human thought and activity."

Political Modernization is characterized by (a) equality of opportunity to participate in politics at all levels, (b) capacity of the political system for making and implementing policies, (c) specialization of political functions and (d) the prevalence of a political culture that is secular in the sense that not religion but reason forms the basis of a rational, analytical and critical political culture. These characteristics of Political Modernization may be found in the works of Lucian W. Pye, C.H. Dodd and a few others. Such modernization in the political sub-system was first noticed in the countries of Western Europe in the post- Renaissance age. However, Political Modernization was not a uniform phenomenon across the different countries of Western Europe. It shaped out differently in different countries. The path of Political Modernization, needless to say, has not been without its own set of hurdles either, more so, in case of the countries of the Third World which embarked on their journey towards development way later than the Western European countries.

Lucian W. Pye has identified some of the problems commonly faced by countries on their path to achieving Political Development. These problems are collectively called the 'developmental problems'. These problems are: (a) Legitimacy Crisis: the inability of a political sovereign to gain equal political allegiance from the different or diverse groups of people residing within the territorial boundary of the state, (b) Identity Crisis: the situation where minority groups (based on language, religion or any other cultural index) fails to identify with the mainstream population of the state, (c) Penetration Crisis: refers to the challenge faced by a state in delivering all necessary goods, commodities, services to the remotest corners of its territory, (d) Participation Crisis: despite structural and procedural provisions for democracy, most Third World or developing countries have failed to ensure that all people, across all axes of identities like gender, caste, class have equal level of participation in the political sphere of the country, (e) Integration Crisis: refers to all the hurdles in the path towards nation building and (f) Distribution Crisis: similar to the Penetration Crisis, this refers to the capacity for equitable distribution of goods and services (including legal/judicial services) and implementation of laws, policies, plans and projects by the government in such a manner as to ensure that no section of the population is excluded from the fruits of development. C.H. Dodd sums up Political Development as the capacity of the political system of a society to overcome these 'development problems'.

With regards to the relation between Political Modernization and Political Development, Samuel P. Huntington pointed out two things: (a) modernization in the social and economic sphere was not necessarily related to Political Development, neither was there any guarantee that socio-economic modernization would necessarily lead to Political Development and (b) Huntington very interestingly introduced the concept of "political decay". He believed that rapid modernization in the socio-economic sphere could occasionally lead to political decay if the political sphere could not ensure structural differentiation and functional specialization and the creation of a secular political culture at the same pace. In other words, the increased social mobility that results from socio-economic modernization demanded a political system that had the capacity to deal with these changes through adequate institutionalization. In Huntington's opinion therefore, the countries of the Third world needed political stability and order than liberal democracy. In the 1980s, Huntington would change his stance on the need for democracy in the Third World and propose ways and means to expedite the spread of both, free market economies and the need for liberal democratic political systems as the remedy for all the

problems that the Third World was struggling with. Thus, broadly speaking, the development discourse in the West, rested upon two essential premises: (a) the tradition-modernity dichotomy and (b) that transition from the traditional to the modern was indeed the only desirable path towards development.

Since 1960s, the modernization theories too have been critiqued. Some of the common criticisms levelled against the Western understanding of modernization were: (a) Modernization essentially meant Westernization, (b) The tradition-modernity dichotomy on which the Western conception of Modernization was based was artificial and created with the express purpose of making the West look like the only best, (c) The presumption that the indices of modernization would be universally applicable to all countries was a part of the homogenizing mission of the West, (d) these theories were ethnocentric to the core.

20.6 Social change and political development

It is obvious to all keen observers that all change is not development. Taken literally and practically, development indicates positive changes, growth, improvements in almost all sectors of society. Huntington identified five specific goals of development, viz, (a) equity, (b) growth, (c) democracy, (d) national autonomy and (e) stability. To explain the relations amongst these five goals, he identified three theories: (1) Compatibility Theory: this theory was popularly used by thinkers like Karl Deutsch, Cyril Black and S.M. Lipset. They tried to establish positive relations or compatibilities between the five goals of development. Lipset for example could positively link economic growth and development. Huntington, however, found that in most of the Third World Countries, the five goals of development were found to be negatively linked or there was 'negative compatibility' in the sense that there were countries that had managed to establish some semblance of political democracy yet failed to register economic growth or national autonomy. In others he found that a certain degree of economic growth had been achieved yet, political stability and democratization were missing. (2) Conflict Theory: this theory pointed out a paradoxical relation amongst the developmental goals, especially in the context of Third World Countries. Huntington observed that democratic regimes registered a slower rate of economic growth whereas development-oriented authoritarian regimes registered greater and quicker economic growth. In most of these countries the development goals seemed to stand in conflict with the other goals. A commonly cited example in this regard is the brief span of rapid economic growth seen in Brazil that actually led to greater economic disparities and political violence and instability. (3) Reconciliation Theory:

this view or theory proposes that all the five goals of development cannot and need not be simultaneously achieved by any country. What is required is to prioritize the different goals according to the specific requirements of each country. But, here too, there is no unanimity in which goal to pursue first and which later. While some thinkers proposed economic growth precede economic equality, others contested that giving precedence to economic growth would create so much economic inequality that it be impossible to mitigate these differences later. Similarly, democracy has had a contentious fate in the developing countries. While few like Japan managed to achieve democracy as well as economic growth, others like India gave precedence to democracy and economic equality and suffered a lower rate of economic growth. Thus, we see that though the goals of development identified by Huntington seem to be simple and clear, yet the achievement of all these goals in the developing world has practically been impossible and erratic at best.

20.7 Conclusion

The above discussion on Political Development has made it obvious that traditionally, it was the nation-state which has traditionally been looked upon as the sole actor in bringing about Political Development. Yet, by the middle of the 1990s, in the backdrop of new challenges posed by globalization and liberalization, the traditional Liberal narratives on development itself began to be challenged. Phrases like 'post-development' and beyond post-development emerged in the works of thinkers like Gibson-Graham and David F. Ruccio. These challenged the traditional Liberal position that the state alone could bring about Political Development. The problems of the Third World, like rampant poverty, illiteracy, allegiance to parochial identities like religion, caste, language or in brief, the dominance of identity politics, the widespread corruption in all spheres of society, political instability, widening income gaps and the lack of a conscious and active civil society all posed serious hurdles on the path to political development. Moreover, a new debate emerged that even if the state could no longer be considered to be the only creator of Political Development, should it not have any role at all in the process of achieving political development? The neo-Liberal prescription of the minimalist state definitely left a lot of scope for action to the private players in the economic sphere and the communities and civil society networks in the socio-political sphere to ensure that the journey towards Political Development continued. Further, the traditional notion of development was debunked as a Western notion and the scope for alternative perceptions of development, based upon the unique cultural systems of specific

countries were allowed to flourish. Lastly, post-colonialist theorists like Sudipta Kaviraj identified how the nation state in the developing countries had emerged as hurdles to rather than facilitators of democracy, Rajni Kothari suggested that non-party politics, decentralization and growth from the grassroot level could help countries like India to unify economic growth and political stability, while Partha Chatterjee emphasized upon the need to develop and encourage the growth of a 'political society' which could actively work towards protecting community or group rights in the era of world capitalist expansion. All of these are efforts towards a redefinition of both modernization and development, conceived from the perspective of the non-Western countries.

20.8 Summary

This unit has dealt in detail the meaning and various definitions of political development. It has also discussed the context or the social, economic, and political causes for the emergence of the concept of political development. The various theories related to political development, like, the systems theory, the structural-functional approach and the dependency theories have also been briefly explained here. The distinction and the relation between the seemingly synonymous concepts of political change, political development and political modernization have also been discussed here in the course of the unit. Students shall also find a discussion on the numerous limitations or 'crises' of political development, which shows that like all other sociological concepts, political development too, has its own contradictions and limitations. Also, the perception and understanding of political development varies from country to country depending upon the levels of economic development of each of these countries. The unit ends with a discussion on how political thinkers and sociologists from the Third World, especially, India, have looked at the concept of political development and how their perceptions vary from the core Western understanding of this concept.

20.9 Questions

- **Answer the following questions in your own words:**

Group A: 5 marks each

1. Define Political Development.
2. Define Modernization.

3. What are the goals of Political Development according to Samuel P. Huntington?
4. Define 'political decay'.
5. How is political development different from political change?
6. What, in your opinion, is the importance of the concept of Political Development?

Group B: 10 marks each

7. What are the differences between Modernization and Political Development?
8. Discuss the Structural-Functional theory with respect to the question of Political Development in the Third World Countries.
9. Discuss the Dependency theory.
10. What are the 'developmental problems', according to Lucien W. Pye?
11. Discuss the various problems with the traditional Liberal notion of Political Development.
12. Discuss, in details, the views of Lucien W. Pye on Political Development.

20.10 Suggested Readings

1. Chakraborty, S (ed). (2005). Political Sociology. New Delhi: Macmillan India Ltd.
2. Chatterjee, R. (2006). Introduction to Comparative Political Analysis. Kolkata: Sarat Book Distributers.
3. Almond, G.A., Coleman, J. (1960). The Politics of Developing Areas. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
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