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FOUR YEAR BACHELOR'S DEGREE COURSE
(CBSC in Accordance with NEP 2020)

SEMESTER - IV

POLITICAL SOCIOLOGY

SOCIOLOGY

Surya Kumar Bhuyan School of Social Science
KRISHNA KANTA HANDIQUI STATE OPEN UNIVERSITY

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BACHELOR OF ARTS

POLITICAL SOCIOLOGY

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COURSE INTRODUCTION:

This Course is meant for the fourth semester students of Sociology of BA programme under the revised semester system of Krishna Kanta Handiqui State Open University. The course is titled *Political Sociology.* It is one of the branches of Sociology. Every society is different in terms of the values, norms and other social practices observed/follwed by its members. Political Sociology seeks to understand how these elements shape the politics and governance of a nation. In this paper the learners will be able to learn about some of the concepts and issues that forms the subject matter of political Sociology.

The first unit *Introduction to political Sociology.* This unit will discuss the meaning of political Sociology,how political Sociology emerged as a discipline and its scope of its study

The second unit is *Basic Concepts in Political Sociology*. This unit will discuss some of the basic concepts discussed in Political Sociology.

The third unit is Power. The unit will discuss about the meaning of power and different theories of power.

The fourth unit *is Political Socialisation.* This unit will discuss the process through which the younger generation of a society socialised about the political cultures and political processes of a society.

The fifth unit is *Social Contract theory of State*. This unit will discuss the social contract theory of origin of state.

The sixth unit is *State.* This unit will discuss the meaning, characteristics and its difference from other aspects of society.

The seventh unit *Pressure group and interest group.*This unit will discuss the concept of pressure group and interest group and its sigficance in society in detail.

unit 8 which is titled as *Political Ideology - I.* This unit will discuss about democracy, capitalism and socialism

unit 9 which is titled as *Political Ideology - II.* This unit will discuss about Communism and Fascism.

unit 10, which is titled as *Political Parties.* This unit will discuss meaning, function and classification of Political Parties.

unit 11, which is titled as *Politics in India*. This unit will discuss about the social background of Indian Nationalism.

unit 12, which is titled as *Grassroot Democracy in India*. This unit will discuss about Panchayati Raj System, Decentralisation and Protest movements.

unit 13. This unit is titled as *Communalism and Regionalism in India*. This unit will

discuss about the meaning, causes and consequences of communalism and regionalism.

While going through this paper, you will notice that some boxes are put in the left hand or right hand side of the text. These boxes are meant to serve the purpose of in-text glossary for you. Again, you may find some boxes marked with: “LET US KNOW”. These boxes will provide you with some additional interesting and relevant information. The boxes marked with “ACTIVITY” will help you in making your learning more active and efficient. And, at the end of each section, you will get “CHECK YOUR PROGRESS” questions. These have been designed to self-check your progress of study. It will be better if you solve the problems put in these boxes immediately aftacser you go through the sections of the units and then match your answers with “ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS” given at the end of each unit.

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UNIT-1 INTRODUCTION TO POLITICAL SOCIOLOGY

UNIT STRUCTURE

1.1 Objective

1.2 Introduction

1.3 Meaning and Definitions of Political Sociology

1.4 Nature and scope of Political Sociology

1.5 Significance of Political Sociology

1.6 Development of Political Sociology

1.7 Let us Sum Up

1.8 Further reading

1.9 Answer to check your progress

1.10 Model Questions

1.1 OBJECTIVES

After studying this unit, you will able to:

- know the definition of political sociology.
- discuss the origin and development of political sociology.
- recognise the linkage between political science and sociology.

1.2 INTRODUCTION

Conflict and cooperation are the two important aspects of human behaviour and these aspects have been experienced by man throughout human history. Conflict gives rise to political situation. The process of making decision by the group of people means politics. The interaction between society and politics is the subject matter of political sociology. In this unit we will get a preliminary idea about the discipline, its origin and scope of study.

1.3 MEANING AND DEFINITION OF POLITICAL SOCIOLOGY:

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

Definition of Political Sociology

S.M. Lipset defines political sociology as "the study of the interrelationalship between society and polity, between social structures and political institutions".

In the words of R.Bendix, "Political Sociology starts with the society and examines how it affects the state".

Michael Rush and Philip Althoff define political sociology as "being a subject area which examines the link between social structures and political structures and between social behaviour and political behaviour".

Giovanni Sartori defines "Political Sociology as an interdisciplinary hybrid".

Robert E. Dowse and John A. Hughes define political sociology "as the study of political behaviour within a sociological perspective framework".

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

Some of the essential features of political sociology are discussed below :

- Political sociology is not political science since, unlike the later, it is not a state discipline or a study of the state craft.

- Political sociology concerned with not only with social but with the political as well.
- Political sociology revolves round the belief that there exists an identify of form between the social process and the political process. Political sociology tries to resolve the traditional dichotomy between state and society.

1.4 NATURE AND SCOPE OF POLITICAL SOCIOLOGY

Political sociology in its earlier incarnation came to be identified with the study of social bases of political behaviour and institutions. Political variables such as political factors or variables were deemed to be dependent on sociological variables. Whereas sociological variables such as society, class and status were held as independent factors, political variables such as law, state, constitution and political parties were seen as dependent on them. However in recent years focus shifted from sociological interpretation of politics to politiological and sociological approaches interacting with each other. Political sociology is closely linked with issues which have been raised in political philosophy. Political philosophy has a rich and long tradition of political thought that began with the ancient Indian and Greek philosophers. And then it was Karl Marx however, who brought into sharp focus issues concerning the nature of political power and its relationship with social and economic organisation. He is the one who is renowned as founder of sociology of politics.

Political sociology aims at understanding the sources and the social bases of conflict, as well as process of management of conflict. Conflicts are rooted in human nature and social circumstances. As long as diversity of interests and insatiable demands in a world of scarcity persist, there is no escape from conflicts of interests. Political process is a continuous and dynamics process constantly in a state of flux, and there is no final solution to the problem of conflicts. Political process is a way of processing and controlling social conflict so as to achieve the goal of order. But total elimination of conflicts, even if it were feasible, requires a degree of control that would

destroy human liberty. An ordered society is not a totalitarian society that achieves unity and denies diversity, that imposes discipline and destroys dissent, that orders conformity and subverts spontaneity. Order can be achieved instead through the perception of mutual interests and the evolution of consensus, without compromising the canons of popular participation and due observance of the 'rules of the game'.

SCOPE OF POLITICAL SOCIOLOGY

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

Two scholars have discussed the scope of political sociology in two different manners. According to Greer and Orleans, "Political Sociology is concerned with structure of the state; the nature and conditions of legitimacy; the nature of the monopoly of force and its use by the state and the nature of the subunits and their relation with the state. Andrew Effrat another thinker believed that political sociology is concerned with the causes, patterns and consequences of the distribution and process of power and authority 'in all social systems'. Social system has definitely a broader framework for political

study as it includes family, educational institutions, peer groups and political institutions.

Richard G. Braungart claims that political sociology is concerned with (a) Social origin of politics (b) the structure of politics or the political process (c) the effects of politics on the surrounding society and culture.

It is therefore understood that main concern for political sociologists is to investigate the problem of social order and political obedience. It covers following areas for specific study:

- Social Structure- Role of Caste, class, community, regional language in determining polity, and rural urban divide.
- Political Structure – Three organs of the government, political parties, pressure groups, interest groups etc.
- Political life- Power, authority, legitimacy, political development, political modernization, political socialization, political culture, political participation and political communication all play a crucial role in providing insight into the political life.
- Political leadership- Recruitment policy so as to create elites or political leaders or bureaucracy for an efficient functioning of leaders within the prescribed social base.

A significant concern for political sociology is the analysis of socio-political factors in economic development. The problems of administrative expansion, bureaucratic way of looking into a country's native culture and society, the relationship between the bureaucratic officials and the political leaders, and the role of citizens in development activities, are of such practical significance that governments as well as academicians have been forced to take notice of the sociology and politics of development. It is a kindered field that illustrates urban politics where one encounters problems of social change and mobilization, political institutions and popular participation, organization and management of government functions on an increasing scale. Villages and towns are seen as microcosms of nations that are confronted with problems of social change, political participation and administrative management. There is a growing realization that the problems of development are not merely technical or bureaucratic in the narrow sense,

but essentially socio-political in the wider sense, and that political forces must be organized in a way to ensure effective implementation of development plan.



CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Q A) Fill in the blanks

1) Villages and towns are seen as..... of nations.

2) Political sociology is closely linked with issues which have been raised in.....

1.5 SIGNIFICANCE OF POLITICAL SOCIOLOGY

State and politics are two entwined phenomena and therefore one cannot completely understand the concept of political sociology by considering it as separate entity. Complete understanding of socio- political structures and its implications is possible only with the study of political sociology. The importance of political sociology as a subfield of sociology is that it focuses on the social forces of politics rather than its mechanisms. Political Sociology studies politics at four levels - Political conflict and struggle among nations that is the sociology of international relations. The nature and the role of the state within various societies. The nature and organisation of political movements and parties. The participation of the individual in politics. Other aspects of its study are :

- General nature and functions of the state and its political system.
- Nature of political parties, pressure groups and all other political organisations and movements.
- Patterns of political participation and political behaviour, including non-participation of the people In other words empirical research of popular participation in politics and voting behaviour.
- Power and domination in society, Political elites and masses and the extent to which modern societies can be said to be dominated by a ruling class.

- Comparative analysis on the basis of survey methods has led to cross- national, cross- cultural and cross- societal research of considerable value.

Political sociology studies human being as a socio- political being and his/her behaviour in society. No one denies the fact that human political behaviour in just one aspect of human behaviour in environment, particularly in society. Political behaviour is always influenced by social behaviour, economic well-being and morality. More particularly it is deterministically influenced by the system of social relations and interactions among all the members of a society. Man/Woman is born in a family and gets all his/her initial values and pattern of behaviour and relations. Hence, the study of human political behaviour can be systematically pursued only by studying it in its social context. Political sociology serves this necessity.

1.6 DEVELOPMENT OF POLITICAL SOCIOLOGY

Development of political sociology started since the distinction between social and political was established. Contributions of certain scholars, have led to the emergence of this discipline, With the increase in scientific technology and industrialization, political scientists began to look into political realities from a scientific perspective or perhaps in an empirical manner. This process attracted them towards sociology, which had already established itself as a positive and scientific discipline and had begun to adopt principles to make political science more scientific in its outlook. With the growing realization that problems of development are not merely technical or bureaucratic in the narrow sense, but essentially socio political in the wider sense. It was Karl Marx however, who brought into sharp focus issues concerning the nature of political power and its relationship with social or economic organisation. With his criticism of Hegel's philosophy of state, his materialistic interpretation of history and his conception of class as the basic variable for social or political explanation, started 'Sociology of Politics'. Taking this point into consideration, Runciman correctly identifies the 1840's as the period when this discipline attained a shape.

After Karl Marx, the most significant contribution to political sociology was made by the German sociologist Max Weber. He laid the foundations of political sociology by his original and existing ideas regarding types of authorities, the ideal type of bureaucracy and the concepts of status and party as supplements to that of class. Weber provided brilliant insights into the forces and directions of social and political development, and also offered a liberal modification of the Marxist philosophy of historical materialism. Another important input provided by Weber to the study of political sociology was the concept of legitimacy which authorizes one to exercise power and is widely accepted. Finally Weber also commented on human behaviour, wherein he emphasized that motives and intentions of those involved in the activities must be taken into consideration. However, Weber was also criticized on grounds of lack of historical analysis. Apart from Marx and Weber, who contributed to the growth of Political sociology, there have been other thinkers whose contributions, though not fundamental or stimulating, nevertheless important. One such intellectual was Walter Bagehot, a contemporary of Marx, who examined the links between culture and personality and between political institutions and behaviour. He also distinguished between constitutional theory and practice and claims that the document is a commentary on the parliamentary system of government. Another French sociologist, Gabriel Tarde, stressed that the impact of modern communications in the form of telegraph, telephone, books and newspapers tries to link the individual and the media. The discipline of political sociology was further broadened with inputs from elite sociologist like Vilfredo Pareto and Gaetano Mosca through their works *The Mind and the Society* and *The Ruling Class*, respectively. They claim that the elite need not necessarily have control over the economic forces; in fact, it is only because of the circulation or movement of the elite that there was political and economic change. Later – many scholars emphasized on political parties and their organization. Studies were centred on the process of elections, voting behaviour and electoral statistics. During the 1930's political scientists also examined the role of personality in politics.



CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

QB1) Who criticized the material interpretation forwarded by Hegel?

QB2) Name two scholars who had contributed towards the growth of Political Sociology.



1.7 LET US SUM UP

- The penetration of politics into social life is symbolized by growing disposition among social analysts to use political imagery in studying phenomenon that are usually considered to be non politics.
- Sociology of politics studies the state with the methods applied by sociologists by studying human groups, human behaviour and other social institutions.
- Political sociology in short is treated as a branch of sociology that is mainly concerned with the study of interaction between society and politics.
- The aim of political sociology is to study and examine such topics as the relation between political power and class structure. Political sociology involves an ongoing search for a more comprehensive scope, as well as more realistic, precise and theory conscious analysis.
- It has opened new frontiers of research and has experimented with new methods of analysis.



1.8 REFERENCES AND FURTHER READING

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1.9 ANSWERS TO CHECK PROGRESS

Answer to QA1) Microcosms

Answer to QA2) political philosophy

Answer to QB1) Karl Marx

Answer to QB2) Max Weber and Gaetano Mosca

1.10 MODEL QUESTIONS

Short Questions (Answer the questions within 150 words)

Q1) State the meaning of political Sociology.

Q2) State the significance of political sociology.

Long Questions (Answer the questions within 300-500 words)

Q3) Discuss the nature and scope of political sociology.

Q4) Explain the development of political sociology.

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UNIT 2: CONCEPTS IN POLITICAL SOCIOLOGY

UNIT STRUCTURE

2.1 Learning Objectives

2.2 Introduction

2.3 State

2.3.1 Meaning and Definition

2.3.2 Theories related to the nature of the state

2.4 Civil Society

2.4.1 Functions of Civil Society

2.5 Bureaucracy

2.5.1 Characteristics of Bureaucracy

2.6 Political System

2.6.1 Meaning and Definition

2.6.2 Characteristics of Political System

2.6.3 Forms of political System

2.7 Political Economy

2.8 Political Parties

2.8.1 Meaning and definition

2.8.2 Its Functions and Types

2.9 Pressure Groups

2.9.1 Functions : Pressure Group

2.10 Let us Sum Up

2.11 Further Reading

2.12 Answers to check your progress

2.13 Model Question

2.1 LEARNING OBJECTIVES

After going through this unit, you will be able to-

- explain the concepts in relation to political sociology
- analyse the importance of each of the concepts in political sociology
- understand the interrelation and interdependence between the
- concepts
- understand the working of each of the concepts within societal framework

2.2 INTRODUCTION

In the previous unit, we have discussed about the definition of political sociology and its gradual development as a distinct branch of sociology. This branch of sociology assumes importance as it tries to give us the sociological analysis of the concepts within political sociology. The concepts of state, elite, power, authority, civil society, bureaucracy, political system, political economy, political parties as well as pressure groups assumes central point for discussion under the discipline of political sociology. The theories as well as the different dimensions within these concepts are essential to get a better understanding of the nuances of political sociology. In this unit we will learn about the different concepts under political sociology.

2.3 STATE

2.3.1 MEANING AND DEFINITION

The state is the central point for discussion in political sociology. The state needs to be studied in its varied manifestations. Such a discussion would be followed by a broader understanding of the interrelated concepts like power, authority, pressure groups and political parties. But at first, we need to reflect upon the various definitions of the ‘state’.

According to Aristotle, state is a "union of families and villages having for its end a perfect and self-sufficing life by which we mean a happy and honourable life." According to Woodrow Wilson, "the state is a people organised for law within a definite territory." Burgess defined the state "as a particular portion of mankind viewed as an organised unit." Another scholar Blunctschli gave the definition that "state is politically organised people of a definite territory.



Autocratic Rule means the rule by a single person having unlimited power

Laski gave the definition that state is "a territorial society divided into government and subjects claiming, within its allotted physical area, a supremacy over other institutions. Further Philimore opines that "state is a people permanently occupying a fixed territory, bound together by common laws, habits and customs into one body politic, exercising through the medium of an organised government independent sovereignty and control over all persons and things within its boundaries, capable of making war and peace and of entering into all international relations with the communities of the globe."

In political science, the concept of state has often been used synonymously with terms like government, federation or its related units. Therefore the state as a concept has often been taken for granted to mean simply as an object of political practice and political analysis. The city-states of Ancient Greece were the first impressions of state as an organized political body. Thus, the city-states of ancient Greece and Rome as well as the cities of Renaissance like, Italy have laid the foundation for the emergence of a more organized body of the 'modern state'.



welfare state is that form of state whose major responsibility rests with the provision of basic welfare, social security to its citizens

However, political sociology makes an attempt to understand the social aspect of 'state'; thereby making a distinction between state and other such organisations. The State, both the modern as well as the classical State might promote and restrain human activity at the same time. The varied spheres of human life get influenced by the power exerted by the State. The general tendency is to be skeptical towards the State as a dominating agency in the lives of

the individuals. Yet, at times the State can also through various ways bring in prosperity to the nation at large and to the life of its citizens in particular.

While discussing about the role of the State, it's important that we pay emphasis to its derivations. The Greeks used the word 'polis' to refer to the city-states, similarly the concept of State was first conceptualised by Niccolo Machiavelli in political science. The concept gradually came to be related with the aspects like authority, power in a more neutral manner.

The four main elements or factors of the state are government, sovereignty, population, territory. These are the foundations on which the state relies upon for its sustenance as well as continuity. These factors help in the distinction of a state from other associations. Apart from these factors, social factors also shape the nature or the structure of the state. The outbreak of the two revolutions, that is, the American and the French revolution have paved the way for the setting up of democratic structure of the state; since it made the citizens conscious of their rights, and thus breaking away from the autocratic rule.

2.3.2 THEORIES RELATED TO NATURE OF THE STATE

Till now we have discussed the theories related to the origin of the state. But when we take into account the nature of it, there are different theories related to it. The broad three theories are:

- *The Liberal Theory*: This theory is based on the premise of liberalism. The proponents of this theory supposed that the government is necessary in order to protect the interests of the individuals. However at the same time, the government can also pose as a threat and hence infringe upon the liberty of the individuals. This theory is somewhat related to individualism; laying emphasis upon the free will of the individual. Liberal theory is also known as 'theory of welfare state', 'revisionist', or 'reformist liberalism'.

- *The Marxist Theory*: This theory is in contrast with the liberal theory of the state. While the liberal theory assumed the state to be important and essential, the Marxist theory laid emphasis upon overthrowing of the state entirely. It is based on the conflict model which pre-supposes that the state serves the interests of the ruling class and not the majority. Thus, the state was seen as an instrument at the hands of the ruling class. According to the Marxist theory, a classless society without the state structure needs to be established in order to protect the rights of the majority (or the working class). Marxian theory acknowledges the struggle between the ruling class and the minority (the working class), and hence deems it essential that private property and classes are abolished from the society. The Marxist theory advocated for withering away of the state and establishment of the classless society; such that interests of all citizens, irrespective of them being a minority, are protected.
- *The Gandhian Theory*: Mahatma Gandhi believed in the minimal role of the state, thus giving citizens their due freedom in decision-making. The Gandhian theory laid emphasis upon the decentralization of state powers. The villages were considered to be self republics. Gandhian theory did not advocated for individualism, rather it emphasized upon the inclusion of the community into the decision making process of the government. Gandhi was against the interventionist role of the state, rather he regarded Swarajya as the ideal form of state. Swarajya would imply the self rule or self government by its citizens; who were active as well as aware of their rights as important actors in the state machinery. The panchayati raj systems and decentralized forms of governance have heavily borrowed from the Gandhian ideals/principles of the workings of the state.

2.4 CIVIL SOCIETY



status quo is a Latin term, meaning the present, current, existing state of affairs. To maintain the *status quo* is to keep things the way they presently are.

Civil society as a concept that gained momentum from the 1980s onwards.The recent attention to the civil society can also be traced to the eruption of social movements or resentment of the people against the state. Civil society is the space which exists between the community and the state.

It became popular as a result of the failure of the communist as well as the capitalist regimes across the world. Civil society is seen by many researchers and practitioners as a basic pillar of democracy. Civil society is related to the public life rather than the private or the household-based activities. Civil society has become one of the significant concepts in contemporary political theory. Civil society often relates to the public participation in voluntary associations, the mass media, professional associations, trade unions etc. Civil society adds dynamism to the aspect of citizenship; freedom of speech thus becomes an essential civil right for the citizens.

The absolute power of the state was glorified and both state as well as the civil society was considered as one. The concept of civil society as separate from the state came up only with the disintegration of the feudal societies. Civil society as a concept is a part of the democratic revolution of the eighteenth century, which tried to do away with the absolute power enjoyed by the state. The concept laid emphasis on the individual freedom and highlighting a new spirit of Enlightenment.

John Locke (1632-1704) emphaised on the separation of the affairs of the state with that of the civil society. Civil society is considered a separate unit, and protecting the individuals rights and property against autocratic state's powers becomes an essential function of civil society. Karl Marx states that, 'civil society as such develops only with the bourgeoisie'.

Keane (1998) writes that civil society 'meant a realm of social life-market exchanges, charitable groups, clubs and voluntary associations, independent churches and publishing houses-institutionally separated from territorial state institutions.'

Alexander De Tocqueville emphasised on the development of independent associations so as to develop the true virtues of the civil society. While Gramsci, a Marxist thought of the civil society as a platform for debating and discussing ideas, concepts, establishing values and meanings. Jurgen Habermass focussed on the idea of civil society as a platform for effective communication in the public sphere. The civil society acts as a means for the marginalised groups to articulate their interests.

2.4.1 FUNCTIONS OF CIVIL SOCIETY

According to the German political scientists, Merkel and Lauth's Function Model, there are five essential functions of civil society.

- Civil society as a social sphere, has to protect the rights of the citizens and their private sphere as well.
- Civil society has to become the intermediary between the state and its citizens.
- Civil societies and associations are schools of democracy, imparting to citizens their rights and responsibilities.
- It helps in community building and integration.
- It acts as a platform for public communication in a democratic setting. It thus gives a platform for debating and discussing ideas, or issues concerning the people.

Civil society is thus the sector of voluntary action within institutional forms that are distinct from those of the state/political sphere, family and economy/market, keeping in mind that in practice the boundaries between these sectors are often complex and blurred; it consists of a large and diverse set of voluntary organisations, competing with each other and oriented to specific interests. Civil society is independent from the state and the political sphere, but it is oriented towards and interacts closely with them.

2.5 BUREAUCRACY

According to the Oxford dictionary of sociology, bureaucracy refers to a body of administrative officials, and the procedures and tasks involved

in a particular system of administration, for example a state or formal organization. The term bureaucracy literally means “rule by desks or offices,” a definition that highlights the often impersonal character of bureaucracies. Even though bureaucracies sometimes seem inefficient or wasteful, setting up a bureaucracy helps ensure that thousands of people work together in compatible ways by defining everyone’s roles within a hierarchy. Bureaucracy means the professional groups of individuals organised in a pyramidal hierarchy and functioning under impersonal, uniform rules and procedures. Its characteristics were first formulated systematically by Max Weber, who saw in the bureaucratic organisation a highly developed division of labour. Bureaucracy encompassed an authority which is based on administrative rules rather than personal allegiance or social custom. It also entailed a rational as well as impersonal institution whose members function more as offices than as individuals within the bureaucratic set up. Karl Marx’s views on bureaucracy is that it acts as an instrument by the state machinery to dominate and control the ruling classes. According to Marx, bureaucracy was actually meant to be in opposition to the capitalist’s interests. However, it eventually ended up in serving the interests of only a few, rather the masses.

Bureaucracy or bureaucratic organisation is an essential organisation to reflect upon the working of the governmnet or any political system. In our earlier discussions we have discussed about rational-legal authority; bureaucracy is a reflection of this form of authority within formal organisational settting. The dominance of bureaucratic organisations in modern soceity have led to the growing effectiveness of formal rationality as a way of organising society.

2.5.1 CHARACTERISTICS OF BUREAUCRACY

Weber described some of the ideal characteristics for bureaucracy, so as for effective functioning of the society. Weber developed a theory of authority structures and described organizational activity based on authority relations. He described an ideal type of organization that he referred to as the "bureaucracy". The characteristics of bureaucracy as an ‘ideal type’ formulated by Weber are as follows:

- In a bureaucratic organisation there are strict rules and regulations.These rules are impersonal and impartial. It is the laws which are over and above everything; and not the persons that make the bureaucracy work.
- There are clear and specified functions for each member within the organisation. There's also clear and unambiguous division of labour in bureaucracy.
- In a bureaucratic set-up, there's hierarchy of positions. Under one main leader or bureaucratic head there are several assistants, each of whom has, in turn, many more assistants under them.
- There are also definite set of rules related to the rules of control. The superior officer exercises control over his/her juniors. This control is not due to personal qualities of the officer, but because of the already laid down rules and regulations.
- In a bureaucratic set up, there's separation of administrators and proprietors.
- There's no monopolistic control, as any person who's inefficient can be replaced or suspended.
- All rules, regulations are not verbally formulated but they are written down so as to reduce ambiguity and misuse. This facilitates smooth functioning of the bureaucratic organisation.



ACTIVITY 2.2

With the help of an example, find out the interrelation between the concepts of civil society and bureaucracy.

2.6 POLITICAL SYSTEM

2.6.1 MEANING AND DEFINITION

The concept of political system can be understood through the systems approach. The central proposition of the systems approach is that all social, including political phenomena are interrelated. Hence it's not possible to understand one aspect of the society without understanding the other part. For example, to know about how laws are made, we must study in detail about the legislative machinery.

Political system assumes integral position in the understanding of political sociology. Political system relates to the members of a social organisation who are in power. It is composed of sub-systems which perform specialised functions. A political system is different from the state. Political system provides evidence for the state's sovereignty over a territory and its people. A state throughout the course of history may have different political systems. Political system constitutes a balance among competing interests, capabilities, and a maintains status quo. Political systems comprises of authoritative roles as well as norms and a proper allocation of rights and duties among its members. Within a system itself, David Easton (1957) notes that the efforts of the members to bring in and cope with changes in the environment has an influence on the workings of the political system. The behaviour of any political system can be understood by the kind of system that it is, and by its own structure and the needs of the system.

According to Max Weber, " political system is a human community that successfully claims the monopoly of the legitimate use of physical force within a given territory." David Easton defines political system "as that system of interaction in any society through which binding and authoritative allocation of values are made and implemented." Gabriel A. Almond and James S. Coleman defines

political system as the legitimate order for maintaining or transforming the system in the society. Robert A. Dahl says, "A political system is any persistent pattern of human relationship that involves, to a significant extent, power, rule and authority."

2.6.2 CHARACTERISTICS OF POLITICAL SYSTEM

According to Almond there are four characteristics of the political system:

- Political systems are universal in nature. They exist even in the primitive or modern, developed or underdeveloped societies. Depending upon the degree and form of structural specialisation, the structures of different political systems can be compared with each other.
- There is also universality with regards to the functions of the political systems. These functions may be performed with different frequencies, and by different kinds of structures.
- All political structures, whether in primitive or in modern societies, are multi-functional. A political system, irrespective of its form and specialisation, has the ability to function various functions.
- Political systems are 'mixed' in the cultural sense. Political systems are not 'all modern' cultures or structures, neither they are all primitive ones.

Depending upon the needs of the people as well as the economic resources available to them, different political systems have existed so far. A political system can be open or closed in nature. While in an open system, there is a scope for further changes regarding the rules, regulations as well. It is more open to meeting the needs of the members. Whereas in a closed form of political system, it's more restrictive towards outward changes. A closed form of political system does not believe in adopting new set of regulations, or rules.

2.6.3 FORMS OF POLITICAL SYSTEMS

After discussing about the concept of political system and the characteristics of it, we will now look at the different forms of political system.

- Democracy: This type of a political system allows for full participation of its citizens. The basic premise for democracy is thus, rule by the entire people, rather than, as Shapiro puts it, by any "aristocrat, monarch, philosopher, bureaucrat, expert or religious leader." Democracy allows for free and fair elections for electing leaders, and it acts as a political system of competition for power.

  There are mainly two forms of democracy: Direct Democracy and Representative Democracy. In a direct form of democracy, citizens mainly participate directly in the governmental matters. While in the representative form of democracy, citizens elect representatives who then are involved in the governing process.

- Republic: It is a political system in which the government remains mostly subject to those governed. In some cases, the representative form of democracy is also considered as a republic. Thus, any form of government which is not authoritarian can be termed as a republic. In a republic, the government is answerable to its citizens.

- Monarchy: In a monarchy, a ruler is not usually elected by the people or their representatives. A monarch has the final say in the government, and there's no fix term for his/her rule. The monarch can rule until he or she abdicates or until his/her death.

- Communism: This type of a political system emphasises upon a classless society. The government controls the means of production, and creates a system of common ownership. This kind of a system aims at eliminating the differences between the rich and the poor, and thereby eliminating the concept of private property.

- Dictatorship: It relates to a form of political system where power is concentrated in the hands of a single individual or family. The

individual who holds the position of dictator is able to make decisions and change the functioning of the society over which they rule.

In the next section we will discuss further about political economy, followed by a discussion on political parties as well as pressure groups.



CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Q 1 : State whether the following statements are true or false.

a) The concept of civil society laid emphasis only on the individual freedom.

_____

b) Bureaucracy is a reflection of rational-legal authority within formal organizational setting.

_____

c) Karl Marx described some of the ideal characteristics of bureaucracy.

_____

d) The systems approach helps us to understand the concept of political system.

_____

2.7 POLITICAL ECONOMY

Political economy encompasses more or less matters related to economic questions, arising as a result of the French and Industrial revolution of the eighteenth century. Political economy was the original term used for the study of production, the acts of buying and selling, and their relationship to laws, customs and governments. It developed in the 18th century in order to study the economies of the state. Political economists like John Locke, Adam Smith, David Ricardo and Karl Marx emphasised upon the labour theory of value, according to which labour is the real source of value. Political economy also took into account the development of technology, whose role in social and economic relationships grew ever more important.

Political economy refers to a variety of different, but related, approaches to studying economic and political behaviour, which range from combining economics with other fields of inquiry. Political economy is most commonly used to refer to interdisciplinary studies that draw on economics, law and political science in order to understand how political institutions, the political environment and capitalism influence each other. Political economy basically focusses itself with the study of means of production, specifically capital, and how this manifests itself in economic activity.

The classical political economist Adam Smith defines political economy as 'a branch of the science of a statesman or legislator.' Political economy, according to Engels studies 'the laws governing the production and exchange of the material means of subsistence.' In the literal meaning of the words it is that kind of economy which has relation to the community or state; to the social whole rather than to individuals. Political economy is the study and use of how economic theory and methods influences political ideology. Political economy is the interplay between economics, law and politics, and how institutions develop in different social and economic systems, such as capitalism, socialism and communism. Political economy analyzes how public policy is created and implemented. It is a division of economics that focuses on how the combination of politics and economics influences the economy. For instance, the economy can shift in a different direction depending on the current political party in control.

After this brief discussion on political economy, we will now start with the understanding of political parties as a basic concept in political sociology.

2.8 POLITICAL PARTIES

Political parties are important for a clearer understanding of political sociology. They are important structures between the society and the government. Political parties acts as a bridge between the government and the common public within the society. Democracy becomes unthinkable without the existence of political parties.

In the *Manifesto of the Communist Party* (1848), Marx and Engels assumed that under the leadership of the proletariat (the working class), a political party would be an indispensable instrument to fight for its class interests. While Lenin envisaged party as a combat organisation, a kind of ideological-military army. Mao Zedong believed in the ideals of a revolutionary party. He also emphasised the importance of education in democracy, especially within the party, because such education would help members understand the meaning of a democratic life.

2.8.1 MEANING AND DEFINTION

There have been various definitions as well as conceptual analysis of political parties over time.

According to Democracy Encyclopaedia, 'political parties are groups or organizations seeking to place candidates in office under a specific label. Parties are among the most important organizations in modern politics.

Lukacs calls the party the 'visible and organised incarnation of the (proletariat) class consciousness.'

Joseph A. Schumpeter defines party as 'a group whose members propose to act in concert in the competitive struggle for political power.'

H.D Lasswell and A. Kaplan define party as 'a group formulating comprehensive issues and submitting candidates in elections.'

Edmund Burke gave the definition that, 'a party is a body of men for promoting their joint endeavours for national interest, upon some particular principle in which they are all agreed.' This defintion lays stress on the parties as an ideological group.

There are some others who viewed party as a power-seeking instrument. According to Schumpeter, 'a party is a group whose members propose to act in concert in the competitive struggle for political power.' Similarly, Weber also defined a political party as 'an

associative type of social relationship devoted to secure power within a co-operative group for its leaders in order to attain ideal or material advantages for its active members "which" may consist in the realisation of certain objective policies or the attainment of personal advantages or both.'

Maurice Duverger said, 'a party is a community with a particular structure.' He further stated that 'a party is not a community but a collection of communities, a union of small groups dispersed throughout the country and linked by coordinating institutions.' Andrew Heywood writes that a political party is a group of people that is organised for the purpose of winning government power, by electoral or other means. Political parties may seek political power through elections or revolutions.

2.8.2 ITS FUNCTIONS AND TYPES

Political parties are essential within society. As such they have numerous functions to perform. Andrew Heywood lists out six main functions of political parties. These are

- Representation
- Elite formation and Recruitment
- Goal Formulation
- Interest articulation and Aggregation
- Socialisation and mobilisation
- Organisation of government

Various classifications have been used to characterise political parties. These are:

- Cadre and Mass parties: Cadre parties have trained and professional party members who are focused about their ideologies governing their parties. Mass parties focus more on recruitment, mobilisation and organisation than on ideology and political conviction.
- Representative and integrative parties: Representative parties perceive themselves as election machines. They regard their primary

goal as only being able to secure votes in elections. An integrative party on the other hand tries to mobilise, educate and inspire people rather than merely respond to their concerns.

- Constitutional and Revolutionary parties: Constitutional parties operate within the framework of the established constitutional procedures. This type of a political party strictly follows the rules, regulations as regards the electoral process. However revolutionary parties do not follow any such rules, and instead these parties aim to seize power and overthrow the existing constitutional structure.
- Left-Wing and Right-wing parties: Political parties differ in relation to their ideologies. The parties which are considered as part of 'the Left' are characterised by a commitment to change, in the form of either social reform or economic transformation. The right-wing parties are considered conservative and they stick to the existing social order and resist change. However in the present context, the clear-cut divide between the left and right parties are hard to find; political parties tend to change or bent towards one or the other form of ideology.



ACTIVITY 2.3

Give an example of a political party from your area, list out the ideologies.

2.9 PRESSURE GROUPS

Pressure groups forms an important part in the entire discussions of political sociology. Political parties as we have already discussed have control over power aspect and the running of the governmnet as well. In the functioning of the modern political process, both the political party as well as a pressure group are significant social groups. It was, perhaps, used, for the first time, by Peter Odegard in his book *Pressure Politics: The Story of the Anti-Saloon League* published in 1928. Pressure groups and interest

groups are not to be confused with one another. Interest groups are formed to fulfill their demands. It may be permanent, semi-permanent or adhoc. When such groups venture upon pressure tactics, that is, Bandh, or say Dharna, blockade etc. to pressurise the authority in order to fulfill their demands, then these groups are termed as pressure groups.

Pressure groups have the right to criticise the government. these groups also has the right to hold meetings as well as protests. The methods utilised by the pressure groups mainly include demonstrations, lobbying, petitions, mass-media campaigns. Some of the examples of pressure groups are Amnesty International, Greenpeace, Trade Unions. The activities of the Krishak Mukti Sangram Samiti forms more or less within the framwork of the pressure group. This group has been continually pressurising the government to halt the construction of dams in unstable and hilly regions of Assam.

According to the Oxford Dictionary of Sociology, pressure groups means 'groups of persons, employers or other organisations joining together to represent the interests of a particular sectional group vis-a-vis governments, the public at large, or other interest groups.'

According to Castles (1967), pressure groups are 'any group attempting to bring about political change whether through government activity or not, and which is not a political party in the sense of being represented at that particular time in the legislative body.'

W.J.M. Mackenzie (1955) puts forward that pressure groups are 'the field of organized groups possessing both formal structure and real common interests, in so far as they influence the decisions of public bodies.'

2.9.1 FUNCTIONS OF PRESSURE GROUPS

Pressure groups carry out a range of important functions, which include the following:

- Representation: Pressure groups provide a platform for addressing and focussing upon the interests of those groups whose inetrests have been neglected or not adequately representated through the electoral process or by political parties.

- Political participation: These groups acts as an important agent for political mobilisation. They exert influence by mobilising popular support thrugh petitions, slogans or other forms of political protests.
- Education: Pressure groups also helps in disseminating information related to the political affairs. These groups also helps in generating political consciousness.
- Policy formulation: Pressure groups are essential in the process of policy formulation and although they are not directly related to it. Pressure groups are a vital source of information and advice to the governments.
- Policy implementation: At times, pressure groups also has a role in the policy implementation process, thereby going a step further from merely policy formulation or advising the government. It is often seen that such links further blur the distinction between groups and government.



CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Q 3: Fill in the blanks with appropriate words.

(a) The *Manifesto of the Communist Party* was written by _____ and _____.

(b) _____have trained and professional party members.

(c) _____parties are considered as characterised by a commitment to change, whereas _____parties are conservative in nature.

(d) _____ is an example of pressure group from Assam.



2.10 LET US SUM UP

- The State, both the modern as well as the classical State might promote and restrain human acrivity at the same time.
- The varied spheres of human life get influenced by the power exerted by the State.

- The general tendency is to be skeptical towards the State as a dominating agency in the lives of the individuals.
- Civil society as a concept gained momentum from the 1980s onwards.
- The recent attention to the civil society can also be traced to the eruption of social movements of resentment of the people against the state.
- Civil society is the space which exists between the community and the state.
- The term bureaucracy literally means “rule by desks of offices”, a definition that highlights the often impersonal character of bureaucracies.
- Even though bureaucracies sometimes seem inefficient or wasteful, setting up a bureaucracy helps ensure that thousands of people work together in compatible ways by defining everyone’s roles within a hierarchy.
- The concept of political system can be understood through the systems approach.
- The central proposition of the systems approach is that all social, including political phenomena are interrelated.
- Political economy is most commonly used to refer to interdisciplinary studies that draw on economics, law and political science in order to understand how political institutions, the political environment and capitalism influence each other.
- According to the Oxford Dictionary of Sociology, pressure froups means ‘groups of persons, emploters or other organisations joining together to represent the interests of a particular sectional group vis-a-vis governments, the public at large, or other interest groups.



2.11 FURTHER READINGS

1) Ali Ashraf and L.N. Sharma.(1983). *Political Sociology a new grammar of politics*. Hyderabad: University Press (India) Private Limited

2) Saroj Kumar Jena. (2002). *Political Sociology: A Realistic Approach.* New Delhi: Anmol Publications Pvt. Ltd.

3) P.B. Rathod. (2005). *Fundamentals of Political Sociology*. Jaipur: ABD Publishers.

2.12 ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRES

Ans to Q No 1: (a) false (b) true (c) false (d) true

Ans to Q No 2: (a) Marx, Engels (b) Cadre Parties (c) Left-wing, Right-wing (d) Krishak Mukti Sangram Samiti

2.13 MODEL QUESTIONS

A) Short Questions (Answer each question in about 150 words)

Q 1: Discuss in detail the concept of state.

Q 2: What is want by civil society

B) Long Questions (Answer each question in about 300-500 words)

Q 1: What is a political party? Why is democracy a form of political system?

Q 2: State the difference betwen economic system and political system.

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UNIT 3 - POWER

UNIT STRUCTURE

3.1 Unit Objectives

3.2 Introduction

3.3 Meaning and definition of power

3.4 Theories of Power

3.4.1 Elite Theory

3.5 Authority

3.5.1 Meaning of Authority

3.5.2 Types of Authority

3.6 Let us sum up

3.7 Futher Reading

3.8 Answers to check your progress

3.9 Model Questions

3.1 UNIT OBJECTIVES

After going through this unit you will be able to-

- know the meaning of power
- understand different theories of power
- know the meaning and types of authority

3.2 INTRODUCTION

When we talk about power, we need to specifically relate it to the discipline of political sociology. Power assumes one of the key positions and is an important element in the governance process. The ability of the government to control and curb disturbances as well as protecting the rights of its citizens are some of the important aspects related to power. It is power that enables the state to impose emergency, at times of war. However it is the same power that also provides the citizens the courage to stand up for their own rights and against any form of injustice. Power is a significant unit

of analysis in political sociology and we will learn about this aspect in detail in this unit.

3.3 MEANING AND DEFINITION OF POWER

Power is a special kind of influence, wherein it has the capacity to affect other's behaviour. Power is both relational and behavioural as well as it is situational. In accordance to different situations, and relations between members; the nature of power would vary. It might use force or at times simply the use of persuasion would entail the use of power by one group or person over another. The power theory by Thomas Hobbes in '*Leviathan'* points about the attitude of man desiring more and more power which ultimately would lead to greater conflict in societies. The thirst for power never dies, leading to differentiation amongst classes. Power can be hard or soft, depending on how it is exercised. Hard power relates to coercion, or exercising power through force or punishments. Military power is an example of hard power. Similarly soft power would indicate towards using power through persuasion. Power can also be exercised through the mechanisms of thought and ideology. Buddha as well as Gandhi can be thought of as adhering to this form of power over the masses.

In simpler terms, power relates to rule by a few over a majority. According to Giddens, "by power is meant the ability of individuals or groups to make their own concerns or interests count, even where others resist. Power sometimes involves the direct use of force, but is almost always also accompanied by the development of ideas (ideology) which justify the actions of the powerful."

Max Weber defines power as "probability that one actor within a social relationship will be in a position to carry out his will despite resistance, regardless of the basis on which this probability rests." The discussions on class, status and party are central to the discussions of power according to Weber. He contends that the pursuit of social power is essentially an attempt to acquire social honor. Weber also mentions that power does not always lead to social honour. A person's class determines the social status and

this in return shapes up one's lifestyle. Parties may represent interests determined through 'class situation' or 'status situation', and they may recruit their members respectively from one or the other. This natural progression from class to acquiring a status and further affiliation with a party shapes the structure of the society and power eventually gets transferred between these dimensions.

Foucault opines that knowledge is power; power is not repressive, but productive and is present in every aspects of the social structure. Parsons defines power as the capacity to achieve defined ends, whereas Mills describes power as a relationship in which one side prevailed over the other. Marxian analysis viewed power as a concept being held by the minority (*a few*) at the expense of the rest of the society (*the majority*). According to Steven Lukes (*Power: A Radical View, 1974*), power is basically a contested concept, that is, one whose definition and application will always be a matter for dispute between sociologists.

Power forms the basis for stratification and differentiation between classes. Power is legitimised by the ruling groups and hence domination or authority over the majority is enforced upon by them.

3.4 THEORIES OF POWER

Till now we have learnt about the different meanings of power. Now we shall discuss further about the different theories of power within the framework of political sociology.

- *Elite Theory of Power*: Vilfredo Pareto and Gaetano Mosca were the main proponents of the elite theory. This theory of power is opposed to the Marxian theory of power. According to the elite theory a certain group of individuals controls power and through violence they have an absolute dominance over the society. Pareto terms them as 'the lions'; while in due course of time this elitist rule gets replaced by a more shrewd group of rulers who are termed as 'the foxes'. Thus at one point of time the power is under the control of the elites while at the same time when the atrocities or injustice increases, the same gets replaced by the rule of the 'foxes'. But

this would not continue for long as there would again be a time when there would be the need for a different set of rulers who would again have control over power, that is, the elites. Pareto terms this as the 'circulation of elites'; which implies that the power structure is often managed by the elites and even the overthrowing of one would lead again to a new group of elites and there would be continuity. C.W Mills terms these groups as 'The Power Elite' who comprised of influential people from all walks of life, sharing similar social backgrounds. Power gets circulated between these elite groups, with masses having no say in the political process.

- *Marxist theory of power*: This theory is based on the fundamental division between those who has power and those who are devoid of it. This theory of power is also known as the Social Class theory of power. The class basis of power is the major determinant for political divisions within society. According to Marx, every relation within the society needs to be understood in relation with the economic aspects of it. Classes are political groups, and as such political conflicts are class conflicts. Marx as well as Engels opined that political power is the form of one class oppressing the other; thereby using the political dominance to rule over the oppressed class. The ruling group thus has full control over the power structure. Antonio Gramsci emphasized upon ideological apparatus of the state machinery. Power according to him would be shaped and controlled by the ideology propagated by the ruling class, and the cultural ideological hegemony being enforced on the majority. Thus, economy and class conflict formed the basis for Marxist explanation of power in the social structure.
- *Liberal Democratic Theory*: This theory of power puts emphasis upon the democratic rule by those who have the power. It includes the ideologies of freedom, free speech; creating power as well as a means of controlling it. Such constraints on power help in protecting citizen's freedom as well as their rights. It also puts a check on state's arbitrary rule or dominance over its citizens. Participation is given utmost importance and inclusive practices are adopted for decision making purposes. Libertarianism calls for the maximization of individual's rights and choices. This theory lays down rules so as to establish legitimate rule of power, thereby curbing

any malpractices in its usage. It aims to limit private property and decentralising power in the process. John Locke, John Stuart Mill, Jeremy Bentham and others were the main proponents of this theory. Elections, propaganda, persuasion are all governed by the power of money. In such a scenario, liberal democratic theory emphasises on the democratic form of governance which lays stress on decentralization of power.

In this section we have tried to explain the different theories of power. In the next section we will deal with a brief explanation of elites as an important concept in political sociology.



CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

A1) Who is the author of the the book 'Levithan'?

_____

_____

A2) Who classified the elites as lions and foxes ?

_____

_____

3.4.1 Elite Theory

When we talk about elites, the general notion is that they are a group of persons who are in control of a disproportionate amount of wealth as well as power; and are hence superior to others. With control over such assests, elites are included in the upper strata of the society; with masses occupying minimal positions in the social structure as well as being submissive to them. The earlier sections have dealt with the discussions on power and its related theories. But why is elite considered as an important concept in political sociology? When we reflect upon the meaning of 'elite', we see that the element of power is intrinsic to it. Hence the study on elites would entail a study of inequality and power from above. A study on

elites would automatically follow the understandings of social inequality as regards control over resources. It is power as well as the wealth that gives elites the impression of being superior; thereby creating a form of social stratification in society. Conservatives and who believe in the elite have an impression that elites are necessary to run the society. According to them if anybody tries to overthrow the elites then society would become chaotic and eventually a new group of elites would come up in the society. As we had already discussed under the theories of power, that there's always a continuity amongst the elites.

According to the German Encyclopedia named Brockhaus, the term 'elite' originated from the French word '*elire*' (select) and was later adopted into the German language in the eighteenth century. Elite refers to a social group distinguished by "its high levels of qualification and its ability and willingness to achieve". Elites are seen as groups who have a decisive influence on the development of society.

In the eighteenth century France, the term elites was used to mean individual achievement as opposed to family origin and it was considered a decisive element in matters of leadership in society. However the nineteenth century witnessed the term elite to be used as an opposite of 'masses'. The works of Pareto, Mosca as well as Michels highlighted the position of elites as important leaders in the societal structure; thereby having an authoritarian rule over the masses. C.W. Mills work, '*The Power Elite*' also reflected the continuing dominance of the elite group.

Vilfredo Pareto's theory on Elites: Pareto's theory on elites relates to a class of people who have the highest indices in their branch of activity. Pareto's definition of elites entailed an analysis of facts which are outside, and observable by the individual. Elite class comprised of those individuals or groups who are conisidered as the best as well as are successful in their areas. According to Pareto, there are two types of elites:

- *The Governing Elites*: It consists of those persons who are directly or indirectly concerned with the administration. These persons play highly important role in the society and hence play an active part in the enitre decision making process concerning the governmnent. Pareto's main concern was with this category of the governing elites
- *Non-Governing Elites:* It consists of persons who are not connected with administration but occupy such a place in society that they also in a way have an influence on the features which leads to the formation of elites in societies.

In emphasising upon the *circulation of elites*, Pareto stressed on the psychological and intellectual superiority of the elites. In a way, Pareto emphasised that elites are not static social category; there's always a continuity and change in the elite structure. The individuals thus, always circulate between the elite and the non-elite category; based on their individual merit and hence superiority. All men are not equal, and according to Pareto they differ among themselves in regard to their capacities and abilities. If a particular group is enjoying the elite status, then it may also degenerate into the non-elite structure and a non-elite may rise to the elite status. According to Pareto, "history is the graveyard of aristocracies". This indicates that the superior position of elites or the aristocrats do not last long and new elite structure forms in its place. This circulation of elites may take place in two ways. Firstly, some non-elites may rise to the elite structure through sheer merit or intelligence. Secondly, through revolution the entire governing elites might get dethroned and get reduced to the status of the governed.

***Mosca's theory on Elite*:** Gaetano Mosca's work titled, *'Elementi di scienza politica'* or *The Ruling Class* can be linked to the concept of elites. His work was a reaction against socialism which was increasingly becoming popular during his time. According to Mosca, with the progress in society there emerged two classes in society; a class that rules and a class that is ruled. He advocated the theory

of *elite domination*. Power, wealth and all other material assests within the society were in the hands of a few, who ruled. As such he considered almost impossible for the masses to organize themselves and raise their voice against the oppression. He considered that the organised minority (the elites) would continue to rule whereas the ideals for democratic freedom would be overshadowed in the background as the conitnuation as well as domination of the elites would continue. According to Mosca, elites are an organised minority; whereas the masses are unorganised. Mosca was of the opinion that rule by an elite which is organised would be of inevitable in nature. The first class is always less in number but performs all political functions, monopolies power and hence enjoys the advantages that power brings whereas the second, the more numerous class, is directed and controlled by the first. Mosca believed that the ruling minority is superior to the most of the population because they possess certain qualities that give them material, intellectual as well as moral superiority. However, the content of these qualities may vary from society to society. In some societies courage and bravery in battle provided access to the elite; whereas in others the skills and capacity needed to acquire wealth were valued. Democracies though reflected the representative form of government, yet according to Mosca, it eventually led to a kind of elitist rule in society. The ruling group is supposed to be a representation of the masses, but eventually it changes into yet another form of elite group.

***Michels theory of Elites*:** Michels' work, 'Political Parties' tries to understand the role of the elites among the political parties. He developed the 'iron law of oligarchy' to explain that it is the organization which acts as means for creating collective will. According to him, organizations work under the 'iron law of oligarchy' and the leaders in the organizations have a natural greed for power. Michels advocated that all organizations, regardless of whether they have a democratic constitution or agenda, in practice develop into

oligarchies. The concentration of power in the hands of the elite are hence considered as the necessary outcome of the complex organization structure. Even within the organization, Michels opined that the parties would be dominated by the 'iron law of oligarchy'. The parties become highly organised as well as oligarchic and are ruled by the main leaders aided by a few bureaucrats. As such the majority of the members of the party are excluded from the decision-making process. The leaders take active part in framing of main decisions and become an integral and inevitable part of the party. The leaders become powerful such that without them the party would collpse; hence an oligarchic kind of rule emerges. They become the elites within the party itself.

***Mills" theory of Elite*:** C. W. Mills explains rule of elites in institutional terms in his work entitled "The Power Elite" in 1956. He developed the concept of power elite on the basis of America's social, political structure. He thus opined that the elits in America were self-perpetuating elites. According to him, people who are in politics, industry or commerce occupy a elitist position and they also have control over power. Hence they are termed as power elites. According to Mills, the structure of the organization is such that the top of the organization monopolizes power. Mills opined that the elites in the United States of America were mainly drawn from three interlocking elements in American society; business, politics and military. These institutions occupy pivotal positions in the society and hence have control over power. Those who occupy the key positions or points of command in these institutions are thus the elites or Power Elites, according to Mills. The mass media is also at the disposal of the power elites and hence they use this medium as an important instrument for controlling the masses. The power elite uses the media to persuade the men in the street to think, act and behave in certain ways; such that the power element is always under the control of the elites in the society.

So far we have discussed the theories related to elite, and we have tried to understand the manipulation and control of power by the elite groups. In the next section we will discuss further about authority which is another important concept in political sociology.



ACTIVITY 2.1

Identify elites in your society, and illustrate with examples.

3.5 AUTHORITY

3.5.1 Meaning and definition

Authority is a concept which is closely associated with the understandings of power. It is not only present in the political sphere, but also in social and economic level. Authority is a different aspect of power; power which is legitimised. So, authority relates to the capacity to exercise power over individuals and also a right to do so (since it is legitimised). Hence authority would entail a duty of obedience and compliance from the masses. Authority as legitimate power would not be required to use force or coercion as it would automatically indicate towards a duty on the part of the followers to obey their leaders without any protest as such. Legitimacy and authority are closely related and legitimacy converts power into authority. Power can be equated with authority when we speak of it in the legal terms, or legal power. An individual who has authority would mean that he is holding a special position, say a minister. The person would have the authority and is able by virtue of that position to get others to do what he tells them to do; his power is the exercise of authority. In this way, power can be used to mean authority. To get a better understanding of authority, it is essential that we look into the different definitions of authority.

According to Herbert Simon, authority comes into existence when the subordinates give up their own fredom to choose one of the various alternatives available to them. The superior takes the decision and communicate those to the subordinates with the expectation that they will be accepted by the subordinates so authority relation involves a two way relationship-an expectation of obedience and an willingness to obey.

According to E.A. Shils, "authority is that form of power which orders or articulates the actions of other actors through commands which are effective because those who are commanded regard the commands as legitimate."

MacIver says, "authority is often being defined as power, the power to command obedience." Michels regards authority as "a capacity innate or acquired, for exercising ascendancy over a group." Frederich defines authority as "a quality of communication that possesses the potentiality of reasoned elaboration."

Weber defines authority as legitimate forms of domination, that is, forms of domination which followers or subordinates consider to be legitimate. Legitimate does not necessarily imply any sense of rationality, right, or natural justice. Rather, domination is legitimate when the subordinate accept, obey, and consider domination to be desirable.

3.5.2 Types of Authority

In a complex societal structure, its not possible to have clear cut divisions of authority; as most of the divisions would overlap one another. In this regard Max Weber have provided three types of authority, which are basically 'ideal types' because in reality there will be a mixture of the characteristics of each of these authorities.

- **Traditional Authority:** Power in traditional authority is legitimised through the force of tradition. In such societies, long-standing customs and traditions formed the source of political legitimacy. The sanctity of this legitimacy derived from the fact that such systems

of authority had been acknowledged and obeyed by earlier generations. A particular class or a group is regarded as superior because it has been so in the past. There's no established procedure for determining the authoritative position of an individual in the society. As such there are certain classes which are regarded inferior because they have always been given the lower position and hence no rational justification is needed. Some examples of traditional authority would be chiefs, warlords, and kings.

- **Charismatic Authority:** This form of authority is based on the versatility as well the calibre of the particular individual to motivate and inspire others. Charismatic authority is found in a leader whose mission and vision inspire others. It is based upon the perceived extraordinary characteristics of an individual. Charismatic authority derives legitimacy from an individual's charismatic or appealing personality. According to Weber, a charismatic leader is like the head of a new social movement. A charismatic leader is thought of as being bestowed with divine or supernatural powers, such as a religious prophet. The literary and scientific geniuses are also persons of charismatic authority. Mahatma Gandhi, Martin Luther King etc. are examples of persons of charismatic authority.
- **Rational-legal Authority:** This form of authority is derived from the social status of the individual. It has formal rules and regulations laid down for its functioning. In a complex and modern administrative set-up, this form of bureaucracy exists. It is a form of leadership in which the authority of an organization or a ruling regime is largely tied to legal rationality, legal legitimacy and bureaucratic structure as well. Authority of the leaders here are not based on any charisma or tradition, but rather exercised through formal set of rules, regulations and even the suthority of the leaders are decided accordingly.

Now let us discuss further about civil society as another important concept of political sociology.



CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

B1) In which year the book 'Power Elites' was published ?

_____

_____

B2) Mention the types of authority as advocated by Weber.

_____

_____



3.6 LET US SUM UP

- Power assumes one of the key positions and is an important element in the governance process.
- The ability of the government to control and curb disturbances as well as protecting the rights of its citizens are some of the important aspects related to power.
- The power theory by Thomas Hobbes in '*Leviathan'* recalls about the attitude of man desiring more and more power which ultimately would lead to greater conflict in societies.
- The thirst for power never dies, leading to differentiation amongst classes.
- *Marxist theory of power* is based on the fundamental division between those who has power and those who are devoid of it.
- This theory of power is also known as the Social Class theory of power.
- Liberal Democratic Theory of power puts emphasis upon the democratic rule by those who have the power.
- It includes the ideologies of freedom, free speech; creating power as well as a means of controlling.

- Pareto's theory on elites relates to a class of people who have the highest indices in their branch of activity.
- According to Mosca, with the progress in society there emerged two classes in society; a class that rules and a class that is ruled.
- Michels advocated that all organizations, regardless of whether they have a democratic constitution or agenda, in practice develop into oligarchies.
- The concentration of power in the hands of the elite are hence considered as the necessary outcome of the complex organization structure.
- Authority is a concept which is closely associated with the understandings of power.
- It is not only present in the political sphere, but also in social and economic level.
- Authority is a different aspect of power; power which is legitimized.



3.7 FURTHER READING

1) Ali Ashraf and L.N Sharma. (1983). *Political Sociology a new grammar of politics*. Hyderabad : University Press (India) Private Limited.

2) Saroj Kumar Jena. (2002). *Political Sociology : A Realistic A proach*. New Delhi : Anmol Publications Pvt. Ltd.

3) P.B. Rathod. (2005). *Fundamentals of Political Sociology*. Jaipur : ABD Publishers.



3.8 ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Answer to Q A1) Thomas Hobbes.

Answer to Q A2) Vilfreds Poreto

Answer to Q B1) 1956

Answer to Q B2) Traditional authority, Rational legal authority and charismatic authority.



3.9 MODEL QUESTIONS

QA) **Short questions** (Answer within 150 words)

Q1) Define power.

Q2) Who are known as elites ?

QB) **Long Questions** (Answer within 300-500 words)

Q1) Discus the different theories of power.

Q2) Explain the different types of authority.

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UNIT 4: POLITICAL SOCIALISATION

UNIT STRUCTURE

4.1 Learning Objectives

4.2 Introduction

4.3 Meaning and Definition

4.3.1 Forms of Political Socialisation

4.4 Agents of Political Socialisation

4.5 Political Culture

4.5.1 Meaning and Definition

4.6 Political Socialisation, Political Culture and Public Opinion

4.7 Let Us Sum Up

4.8 Further Readings

4.9 Answers to Check Your Progress

4.10 Model Questions

4.1 LEARNING OBJECTIVES

After going through this unit you will be able to

- understand the concept of political socialisation
- know about the various forms of political socialisation
- explain the agents of political socialisation
- know the meaning of political culture
- explain the inter-relationship between political socialisation, political culture as well as public opinion

4.2 INTRODUCTION

The discussion of political socialisation would not be clear if we do not discuss the concept of socialisation at the very beginning. What is socialisation? According to the Oxford Dictionary of Sociology, socialisation is the 'process by which we learn to become members of society, both by

internalising the norms and values of society, and also by learning to perform our social roles (as worker, friend, citizen and so forth).' We have already discussed about the concept in detail in our earlier units. Yet socialisation ought to be distinguished from mere learning. Learning as such may not always have a social relevance. We know that the earth moves and the sun does not, but this learning is no part of the process of socialisation since it has no bearing on the social role to be assumed by an individual. Socialisation indicates that part of learning which is releavant to the social life. Now we need to try and relate the term to understand the meaning of political socialisation. This would be followed by the discussion on political culture, which also is a related concept of the enitre concept of political socialisation. It would be more appropriate to say that it maintains, transforms and sometimes creates the political culture of people. It maintains a political culture by successfully transmitting it from an old generation to a new one.

In the next section we will learn about the meaning and agents of political socialisation in details.

4.3 MEANING AND DEFINITION

Political socialisation means the transmission of political culture across generations and across groups. It is a process through which people develop the attitudes, values, beliefs, opinions, and behaviors that are essential to becoming good citizens in their country. The adults as well as the media help in socialising the young people and hence help them gain an understanding of the political world. The individual learns the values as well as his/her roles and responsibilities as a citizen. The concept of political socialisation becomes important in the discussion of political sociology. It is through this that elements essential to the field of political sociology are put into the minds of the young generation.

Political socialisation became popular during the 1950s as a result of shift in political science research to the focus on political behaviour. This kind of a shift highlighted the fact that political behaviour is infact a learned behaviour. Awareness and participation did not begin with the individuals

becoming ***adolescents***. According to Herbert H. Hyman, political scoialisation is a continuous process, which began even in the early childhood period.



Adolescent relates to the process of developing from a child to an adult.

Political socialisation can also be defined as "the process by which an individual is acquainted with the political system." Another definition is that "political socialisation is the process which shapes and transmits a nation's political culture."

Fredrich I. Greenstein has defined political socialisation both from a narrow as well as a broader perspective. In a narrow sense, political socialisation relates to the process of passing on the political values as well as training the young minds by well defined agents who are formally given this responsibility. From a broader perspective, political socialisation encompasses all sorts of political learning-formal and informal, deliberate and unplanned-at every stage of the life cycle. In a broader sense, the process of political socialisation includes the politically relevant attitudes as well as the politically relevant personality characteristics. According to Greenstein, socialisation is interpreted as "the basic social process through which an individual become integrated to a social group by essentially learning the group culture and his/her role in the group."

Political scientists, Gabriel Almond and James Coleman have described political socialisation as a process through which we learn our role and to 'fit in' in our political culture. Political learning is a broad concept that encompasses both the active and the passive and the formal and the informal ways in which people mature politically.

Political socialisation is an ongoing process. It is a "process by which political culture is shaped at the individual level, at the community level and is passed on from generation to generation."

After this discussion on political socialisation, we will now move on to our discussion about the forms of political socialisation.

4.3.1 FORMS OF POLITICAL SOCIALISATION

Political socialisation may be categorised into two forms. These are direct or manifest political socialisation and indirect or latent political socialisation.

Direct or manifest political socialisation refers to the process in which the context of the transmitted information, values or feelings is clearly political. When an individual is influenced by their family, teachers, or some other agencies, then he/she learns about the pattern and functions of the government, the views of a political party or gets convinced of the superiority of a particular political ideology. Manifest political socialisation may operate through imitation, anticipatory behaviour, political education or political experiences.

Latent political socialisation refers to the process through which values, information, or feelings are transmitted, but it may not have any political side to it. However in the long run, these non-political attributes would ultimately result in serving a greater political aim.

In the next section we will discuss about the agents of political socialisation. It is only with the help of these agents that values, culture, and other such elements of political life are ***inculcated*** into the minds of the young generation.

4.4 AGENTS OF POLITICAL SOCIALISATION

Agency is very important in political socialisation. Rather than a single agent, at times there are a network of agents which are responsible for political socialisation. The combination of power as well as persuasion is involved in the socialisation process.

When we talk about political socialisation, we cannot just restrict it to a particular time period. We need to acknowledge that such kind of a socialisation begins rather early. For example, one's attachment to the national flag or anthem is a form where the individual is politically socialised.

The agents of political socialisation mainly can be categorised under the groupings like:

- **Family**: This is the primary group for any individual. Family as a primary unit helps in instilling and socialising the individuals within their closed set up. It plays a crucial role in transmitting political values, ideas to the

individual; which forms one of the first social group to which an individual belongs. Much of the individual's political personality is shaped at home. The members of the family have both manifest and latent influence on the ideas of the children which subsequently help in the formation of political opinion. Family is one of the important agencies for political socilaisation, as it is this unit which holds a crucial role in the life of the child. The children becomes heavily dependent on his/her family and thus also have a natural tendency of imitating their parents. The child subscribes readily to the familial political beliefs and attitudes because of the fact that the child also accepts the parental version of what is right and wrong, what is good and bad, what is proper and improper. But the political socialisation process within the family is likely to be conservative in nature, becuse one of the striking features of a family is its tendency to preserve and perpetuate traditional practices and ideas.

Family influence does not remain uniformly strong throughout the life span of an individual. It's influence will vary as the child grows up. Jennings and Neimi have indicated that the transmission of party identification from the parents to the children has been less successful today than it was a generation ago. This is mainly because family influence does not remain uniformly strong through out the life span of an individual. As the child grows up, along with the mental and physical growth and also because of the interaction with the outside world, the impact of family as core agents for political socialisation assumes a backseat. The individual acquires as well as adapts to the interpersonal communication of new values, and new experiences etc. and in a way new elements related to the political process gets inculcated into the individual.

- **Peer Groups**: Peer group is the one whose members have interests, social position and age in common. Unlike in a family, within a peer group there is no direct supervision of adults. In a rapidly changing society, peer groups have great influence on an individual. These groups are known as 'reference groups'. Childhood playgroups, friendship circles, small work groups, brothers and sisters, neighbours and neighbourhood friends etc. are included in the peer group structure. Peer groups are very



Inculcate means teaching a person the values, beliefs, ideas thrugh instructions.

much friendly in nature and thus can change the very attitude and outlook of any person. The peer groups become an agency of **enculturation** and learning. Peer groups teaches an individual on how to play his/her political role and socialise him/her into new ways of thinking, feeling and behaving. If members of a peer group follow the same profession, they may share the same political views. For example teachers belonging to a union may share similar views on matters affecting their profession. With the help of the peer group, the individual is more exposed to the world outside and thus become politically more aware.

- **Schools or Educational Institutions**: As the individual grows up and begins undertaking his/her formal education, the school as well as the other educational institutions start working as another important agent of political socialisation. The schools become important agents for socialising the individual either directly or indirectly. Direct socialisation takes place when there are nationalistic values included within the school curriculum. The teachers while highlighting the glory as well as the traditions, achievements of the state helps in making the students politically aware of their country and their governmental system.

Schools are also powerful opinion shapers, where students are given an introduction to democratic practices and ideologies. The school is the official place where the society transmits its accumulated knowledge and skills from one generation to the next. The curriculum within the school often reinforces what was learned within the family, but at the same time it can also challenge socialisation acquired within the family structure. Again, a student becomes politically socialised during his/her school life not only by what the school curriculum deliberately teaches him/her, but also by the ***inferences*** he/she derives form his/her school experiences.



Inference is the act or process of deriving logical conclusions from premises known or assumed to be true

- **Mass Media:** The mass media plays as an important platform for political socialisation. Mass media provides a good deal of political information and often add their own interpretation of the things they inform. The mass media includes radio, TV, magazines, newspaper and the like. They provide a good deal of political information to the individuals, and thereby have an impact on the individual personality as well.

The social setting in which the mass media operates is also an important determinant of the way in which a person would interpret and react to the performance by the mass media. The nature of mass media is not uniform in all societies. Its importance varies with the type of social setting in which it operates. In a society, which is characterised by one dominant class, it is likely that the mass media would represent the views of the economically dominant sections of the society. A controlled system of media politically socialises the listener in a particular way. A free mass media propagate different set of values and thus has a tremendous impact on the political behaviour of an individual. The mass media, in most cases, are not themselves an agent of political socialisation, but only an instrument used by the various agents of political socialisation. Thus the mass media are not the source from which the information originated. They collect news and information from different sources, systematise them and transmit them to the mass public. The mass media are thus, not the agents for primary socialisation, they rather reinforce the already established orientations. The mass media through their activities, more or less, try to maintain the status quo within the society.

- **Political Party, Trade Unions and Interest Groups:** These three groups are also very important agents of political socialisation. Political parties are constantly engaged in the task of ***infusing*** the population with political values, mobilising people for political action and recruiting the political leaders. With the help of electoral campaigns, posters, propaganda etc., the views and ideologies of different political groups are disseminated among the citizens. The trade unions as well as the interest groups are also engaged with the task of carrying out a major role as agents of political socialisation. Mere participation in their routine affairs gives the members opportunities to develop orientation that have political relevance. Thus, through these agents people get a regular opportunity to be involved in political actions of the society. It is by way of such involvement that people are politically socialised.



Infusing means instilling (a quality) in someone or something, to put into or introduce.

The process of political socialisation is however not a homogeneous one. If the agents of political socilaisation complement one another, then there's greater stability within the political system. However there is,

disharmony, at times between the agents of socilaisation, which is quite natural. As it is is not a static one, rather it is a continuous process.



ACTIVITY 4.1

Which agent of political socialisation have had a greater impact on your life?

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.....

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CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Q1: What are the two forms of political socialisation?

.....

.....

Q2: What are the agents of political socialisation?

.....

.....

4.5 POLITICAL CULTURE

Culture can be defined as the ways of thinking, the ways of acting and the material objects that together shape a people's way of life. It is transmitted from one generation to the next.

Similarly, political culture relates to those elements of culture which is concerned with politics. The modern use of the term dates from the period after the Second World War. Political culture has become a device for political analysis. Through political culture, we can try to understand and analyse the political systems. Political culture refers to "the values and norms concerning political life, and the beliefs people entertain about political

legitimacy. Such values, norms and beliefs are reflected in people's attitudes and orientations towards political action, institutions and processes. " Recent research has tried to distinguish between 'real' political cultures (which citizens actively believe in and support) and 'imposed' political cultures (which are no more than artificially created ideologies imposed on citizens by threat or forces).

4.5.1 MEANING AND DEFINITION

Political culture has been defined by various scholars in different ways.

According to Beer and Ulam, "certain aspects of the general culture of the society are especially concerned with how government ought to be conducted and what it shall try to do. This sector of culture, we call political culture. "

A.R. Ball is of the opinion that the "political culture is composed of the attitudes, beliefs, emotions and values of a society that relates to the political system and political issues. "

Political culture, according to Almond and Powell, is "the pattern of individual attitudes and orientations towards politics among the members of a political system. " Lucian Pye, one of the main theorist of political culture, puts forward that political culture is "the set of attitudes, beliefs and sentiments which given order and meaning to the political process and which provide the underlaying assumptions and rules which govern the political behaviour in the political system. "

Political culture has now acquired the status of a heuristic device as a tool of analysis. It has started playing an important role in the realm of analysis of political systems.

According to Gabriel Almond and Sidney Verba, the term political culture "refers to the specifically political orientations-attitudes towards the political system and its various parts and attitudes towards the role of the self in the system. " Political culture is accompanied by the power structure of a country account for the decision making infrastructures and policy outputs.

Dowse and Hughes points out that the focus of political culture is less on the formal structures, like politics, governments and others. The focus is more towards studying and analysing as to what people believe about these structures and behaviours.

After discussing about the different definitions of political culture, in the next section we need to understand the relationship between the two concepts, that is, political socialisation and political culture.

4.6 POLITICAL SOCIALISATION, POLITICAL CULTURE AND PUBLIC OPINION

In the previous discussions we have tried to explain the concept of political socialisation as well as political culture.

However as we discuss the different defintions of the two concepts, it is important that we also look at the concept of public opinion. While political socialisation as well as political culture tries to shape an individual's opinion, it also helps in the formation of public opinion on various issues.

Political socialisation as a concept helps in the shaping up of the individuals ideas as well as instilling in them specific political values and norms. This helps in creating a definite form of political culture amongst the individuals as responsible citizens. A political culture is a reflection of a government, but it also incorporates elements of history and tradition. Political cultures matter because they shape a population's political perceptions and actions. Governments can help to shape political culture and public opinion through education, public events, and commemoration of the past. Political cultures vary greatly from state to state and sometimes even within a state. Generally speaking, however, political culture remains more or less the same over time.

Public opinion consists of the views held by the population of a state that influence those in power. In a democratic state, politicians must listen to public opinion if they wish to keep their jobs. Dissatisfied constituents can vote out those who ignore their views. But regimes with other types of

governments also need to pay attention to public opinion. If the public overwhelmingly opposes the government, the regime could be in serious danger of revolution or collapse.

When a person is growing up, he/she is taught to follow certain rules as well as values of the political life. This forms the basis for political socialisation. Accordingly the set of values, ideas gets transmitted form one generation to the other (political culture). Public opinion develops in the process which possesses the power to even overthrow the existing government. Thus during election campaigns, and polls, creating and influencing public opinion becomes the sole way to generate more vote banks.



ACTIVITY 4.2

With the help of an example form your own locality, how do you think public opinion is getting shaped during the times of elections?

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4.7 LET US SUM UP

- Political socialisation means the transmission of political culture across generations and across groups. It is a process through which people develop the attitudes, values, beliefs, opinions, and behaviors that are essential to becoming good citizens in their country.
- Political scoialisation is a continuous process, which began even in the early childhood period.
- Political socialisation may be categorised into two forms. These are direct or manifest political socialisation and indirect or latent political socialisation.

- The agents of political socialisation are family, peer groups, schools, mass media, political parties, trade unions and interests groups.
- Political culture relates to those elements of culture which is concerned with politics.
- Recent research has tried to distinguish between 'real' political cultures (which citizens actively believe in and support) and 'imposed' political cultures (which are no more than artificially created ideologies imposed on citizens by threat or forces).
- Public opinion consists of the views held by the population of a state that influence those in power. Public opinion possesses the power to even overthrow the existing government.



4.8 FURTHER READINGS

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2) Marshall, G (2006). *Dictionary of Sociology*. Oxford University Press.
3) Ashraf, Ali and L.N. Sharma (2007). *Political Sociology*. University (Press) India Pvt. Ltd.
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4.9 ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Ans to Q No 1: Manifest and Latent are the two forms of political socialisation.

Ans to Q No 2: The agents of political socialisation are family, peer groups, school or educational instituions, mass media, political party, trade unions and interests groups.

4.10 MODEL QUESTIONS

A) Short Questions (Answer within 150 words)

Q1: What is meant by socialisation?

Q2: What is meant by direct and indirect forms of political socialisation?

Q3: How can you link political socialisation with political culture and public opinion?

B) Long Questions (Answer within 300-500 words)

Q1: Discuss with the help of examples the various agents of socialisation.

Q2: What do you mean by political culture? Examine its relationship with the concept of political socialisation.

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UNIT 5 : SOCIAL CONTRACT THEORY OF STATE

UNIT STRUCTURE

5.1 Learning Objectives

5.2 Introduction

5.3 The Social Contract Theory of the Origin of the State

- 5.3.1 Thomas Hobbes' Theory of Social Contract
- 5.3.2 John Locke's Theory of Social Contract
- 5.3.3 Jean Jacques Rousseau's Theory of Social Contract

5.4 Criticisms of the Social Contract Theory

5.5 Let Us Sum Up

5.6 Further Reading

5.7 Answers To Check Your Progress

5.8 Model Questions

5.1 LEARNING OBJECTIVES

After going through this unit, you will be able to-

- explain the main argument of the Social Contract theory regarding the origin of the state
- examine Thomas Hobbes' view on the Social Contract Theory
- explain John Locke's view on the Social Contract Theory
- discuss Jean Jacques Rousseau's Theory of Social Contract.

5.2 INTRODUCTION

The social contract theory firmly believes that the state has come into existence as a result of the contract or agreement among people. This Social Contract theory is mainly associated with three great thinkers- Thomas Hobbes, John Locke and Jean Jacques Rousseau. In this unit, effort will be made to have an understanding of the Social Contract theory

with reference to the views of Thomas Hobbes, John Locke and Jean Jacques Rousseau.

5.3 THE SOCIAL CONTRACT THEORY OF THE ORIGIN OF THE STATE

Regarding the origin of the state, the Social Contract Theory holds that the state is the outcome of a contract or an agreement made by people among themselves. This theory considers the state of nature as the original condition of mankind. In the state of nature, there was no organization or authority to regulate human behavior and their relation with one another. To escape from such a deregulated life, people felt the need of some sort of authority or civil society where everyone could lead a life of stability and peace. So the people entered into contract or agreement which was deliberate and with this, the state came into existence. Thus, according to the social contract theory, the state is a human institution and an outcome of a contract among people. The state is created by the people for their welfare. Thomas Hobbes, John Locke and Jean Jacques Rousseau are the main exponents of the Social Contract theory.

5.3.1 Thomas Hobbes' Theory of Social Contract

In his book "Leviathan" (1651), Thomas Hobbes, an English political philosopher, discussed the origin of the state through the theory of social contract. According to him prior to the emergence of the state, people lived in the state of nature. According to Thomas Hobbes, the state of nature was both pre-social and pre-political. Thomas Hobbes depicted a very negative picture of human beings living in the state of nature. In the state of nature, human beings by nature were poor, nasty, brutal and selfish. Human beings had no sense of what is right or what is wrong. Principles of law, justice and tolerance were absent and fraud and force were the basic principles in the state of nature. Everyone was an enemy of everyone else and people lived in the fear of constant war. However, with the

passage of time, to get rid of such type of miserable life in the state of nature, people themselves entered into a contract to form a civil government. Under this contract, people surrendered their natural rights, except the right to self preservation, to a person or a group of persons who remained as sovereign. The sovereign was not a party to the contract. He was not subject to any conditions and possessed unlimited power. The sovereign was responsible for the protection of the lives and rights of the people. And since the people had voluntarily entered into the contract, they had no right to break the terms of the contract. People had no right to revolt against the sovereign. The sovereign was the only source of law and his commands were considered as laws. According to Hobbes, power and authority of the sovereign under this social contract was absolute, inalienable, indivisible and unlimited. Thus, Hobbes was of the view that a contract among people led to the establishment of a state and sovereign authority.

CHECK YOUR PROGRESS



Q.1: Mention the names two important exponents of the social contract theory.

.....

Q.2: According to the Social Contract theory, the state is the result of an agreement among people. (True/False)

.....

Q.3: Who is the author of the book “Leviathan”?

.....

Q.4: Write briefly about the nature of human beings as opined by Thomas Hobbes.

.....

.....

5.3.2 John Locke's Theory of Social Contract

English political philosopher John locke who was and another exponent of the Social Contract theory, through his book "Two Treatises on Civil Government" (1690) explained the emergence of the state. Locke was also of the view that people lived in the state of nature prior to the emergence of the state. Locke opined that the state of nature was pre-political. But regarding the nature of human beings, his views were different from those of Hobbes. According to Locke, people lived in peace without any fear of warfare in the state of nature. They enjoyed equal rights and liberties. There was mutual cooperation and understanding among the people. There was the presence of natural laws in the state of nature. But during that time there was no law court or judge to interpret the laws. As a result, people interpreted laws in their own way which ultimately fulfilled their self interest. This created problems like anarchy in the state of nature. To get rid of this problematic situation people entered into two contracts- one is the civil contract and the other is the governmental contract. The state came into existence as a result of these two contracts.

At the first stage, the people formed the civil society whereby the people agreed to respect one another so as to live in peace and harmony. They did so by surrendering some of the natural rights (except for the right to life, right to liberty and right to property) that they enjoyed against one another in the state of nature. This is the civil contract.

At the second stage, people pledged to obey one person or assembly of persons in the form of the king or the sovereign authority indicating the government or the state, which in turn was empowered to protect the right to life, the right to liberty and the right to property of the people. If the sovereign authority failed to protect these rights, the people would have the right to remove the government from power. This is the governmental contract. Thus, according to Locke the sovereign authority was not absolute and it was responsible for ensuring protection of the people.



CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Q.5: According to John Locke, there was peace and cooperation among people in the state of nature. (True/False)

.....

Q.6: According to John Locke, the state of nature was both pre-social and pre-political. (True/False)

.....

Q.7: Mention any two defects of the state of nature as pointed out by John Locke.

.....

Q.8: What are the two types of contracts mentioned by John Locke?

.....

.....

5.3.3 Jean Jacques Rousseau's Theory of Social Contract

Jean Jacques Rousseau, the great French philosopher, another prominent advocate of the social contract theory, in his book "The Social Contract" (1762) discussed the origin of the state. Like the other advocates of the social contract theory, Rousseau also held that prior to the formation of the state, people lived in the state of nature. In the state of nature, people led their lives peacefully with unlimited liberty. There were no competition and conflict among people. There was equality among the people in the state of nature. The concept of personal property or the question of right and wrong were absent in such a state of nature. However, with the passage of time, population in the state of nature increased and the idea of private property also came into existence. This led to disputes and conflicts in the state of nature. People became selfish and they began to hate each other. To get rid of such miserable condition of

the state of nature, people entered into contract among them selve and that led to the formation of a civil society. People surrendered all their natural rights to themselves or to the community and not to some other higher person or group of persons to be considered a sovereign authority. So the people themselves remained sovereign. Thus, according to Rousseau, sovereign authority remained with the community or the common people. This sovereign authority of the community is indivisible and inalienable.

Rouseau used the term general Will to indicate the sovereign power of the people and basically, he emphasized popular sovereignty through his theory of social contract. Rousseau opined that people unconditionally surrendered all their rights to the will of the community. People surrendered all their rights to the community for their own welfare. The majority will is reflected in the General Will. So General Will is for the general welfare. The General Will is indivisible, inalienable and permanent.

By discussing the above mentioned views of Hobbes, Locke and Rousseau, it can be said that the social contract theory firmly holds that state came into existence as a result of a contract concluded between the people and the sovereign at a particular period in history.

5.4 CRITICISMS OF THE SOCIAL CONTRACT THEORY

The social contract theory has been criticised on various grounds. In this regard, the following can be mentioned:

- According to the critics, the social contract theory is unhistorical. There is no evidence in history that the state had come into existence as a result of mutual agreement among the people.
- Criticizing the social contract theory, the supporters of the evolutionary theory said that the state is not an artificial institution. It is a product of evolution and has natural growth.

- The critics have pointed out that Hobbes has presented a one-sided picture of human nature. He described human nature very negatively by stating that human beings were poor, nasty, brutal and selfish. But critics have said that Hobbes ignored the positive virtues of human being, such as- human sympathy, love and cooperation.
- At the same time, critics have also criticized the views of John Locke and Rousseau regarding the nature of human beings. They opined that in the state of nature, human beings were full of all positive values and attributes. But in reality, both positive virtues and negative elements are found in human beings.
- The social contract theory has considered all people as equal in the state of nature. But according to the critics, this assumption is not correct and inequality, instead of equality, was the common feature in the state of nature.

Though there are criticisms against the social contract theory, this theory has its own significance in explaining the origin of the state. This theory has put forward the concept that the state is a human institution, created by people for their own welfare and well-being. It has also established the fact that people's consent is the foundation of the state.



CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Q.9: Mention the name of the book authored by Jean Jacques Rousseau regarding the origin of the state.

.....

Q.10: What did Rousseau mean by the phrase 'General Will'?

.....

Q.11: State any two criticisms of the Social Contract theory.

.....

.....



5.5 LET US SUM UP

- Regarding the origin of the state, the Social Contract theory holds that the state has come into existence as a result of a contract or agreement among people. This Social Contract theory is mainly associated with three thinkers- Thomas Hobbes, John Locke and Jean Jacques Rousseau.
- The Social Contract theory considers the state of nature as the original condition of mankind. In the state of nature, there was no organization or authority to regulate human behavior and their relation with one another. To escape from such deregulated life, people entered into contract or agreement which was deliberate and with this the state came into existence.
- Thomas Hobbes was one of the chief exponents of the social contract theory. According to him in the state of nature, the life of human beings was miserable. In the state of nature, human being by nature was poor, nasty, brutal and selfish. In simple words, we can say that Thomas Hobbes presented a very negative picture regarding human nature.
- Thomas Hobbes opined that to get rid of such a type of miserable life in the state of nature, people themselves entered into a contract by surrendering their natural rights, except the right to self preservation, to a person or group of persons who remained as sovereign and thus the state came into existence.
- Thomas Hobbes, through his social contract theory provided that the sovereign was not a party to the contract. The sovereign was responsible for the protection of the lives and rights of the people. According to Hobbes, power and authority of the sovereign under this social contract was absolute, inalienable, indivisible and unlimited.
- Another prominent exponent of the social contract theory was John Locke. According to John Locke, prior to the emergence of the state people lived peacefully in the state of nature.

- According to Locke, natural laws were present in the state of nature. But during that time, there was no law court or judge to interpret the laws. As a result, people interpreted laws in their own way which ultimately fulfilled their self interest. This created problems like anarchy in the state of nature and to get rid of this problematic situation, people entered into two contracts.
- Locke opined that people entered into two contracts - one is the civil contract and the other is the governmental contract. The state came into existence as a result of these two contracts. According to Locke, the sovereign authority was not absolute and he was responsible for the protection of people.
- Jean Jacques Rousseau was another chief exponent of the social contract theory. Rousseau also held that prior to the formation of the state people lived in the state of nature. In the state of nature, people led lives peacefully with unlimited liberties. However with the passage of time, population in the state of nature increased and the idea of private property also came into existence. This led to disputes and conflicts in the state of nature. To get rid of such miserable condition of the state of nature, people entered into a contract among themselves.
- According to Rousseau, in the social contract people surrendered all their natural rights to themselves and not to some other higher person or group of persons to be considered a sovereign authority. So the people themselves remained sovereign.
- To refer to the sovereign power of the people, Rousseau referred the term General Will and basically, he emphasised popular sovereignty through his theory of social contract.



5.6 FURTHER READING

1. Agarwal, R.C. (2006). Political Theory. New Delhi: S. Chand & Company Ltd.
2. Asirvatham, E. and Misra, K.K. (2006). *Political Theory*. New Delhi: S. Chand & Company Ltd.

3. Jayapalan, N. (2002). *Comprehensive Political Theory*. New Delhi: Atlantic Publishers and Distributors.
4. Kapur, A.C. (2006). *Principles of Political Science*. New Delhi: S. Chand & Company Ltd.
5. Sharma, R.K. (2011). *Modern Political Science*. New Delhi: DPS Publication.

5.7 ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Ans to Q. No 1: Thomas Hobbes and John Locke

Ans to Q. No 2: True

Ans to Q. No 3: Thomas Hobbes

Ans to Q. No 4: Thomas Hobbes presented a very negative picture regarding human nature. In the state of nature human being by nature was poor, nasty, brutal and selfish. Principles of law, justice and tolerance were absent and fraud and force were the basic principles in the state of nature. Everyman was enemy to everyone and people lived in the fear of constant war.

Ans to Q. No 5: True

Ans to Q. No 6: False

Ans to Q. No 7: (i) There was no law court

(ii) There was no judge to interpret the laws.

Ans to Q. No 8: The civil contract and the governmental contract.

Ans to Q. No 9: "The Social Contract''

Ans to Q. No 10: Rousseau referred to the term General Will to indicate the sovereign power of the people. The General Will is indivisible, inalienable and permanent.

Ans to Q. No 11: (i) According to the critics the social contract theory is unhistorical. There is no evidence in history that state has come into existence as a result of mutual agreement among people.

(ii) Criticising the social contract theory, the supporters of the evolutionary theory said that state is not an artificial institution. It is a product of evolution and has natural growth.



5.8 MODEL QUESTIONS

A) Very Short Questions

Q.1: Who is the author of the book "Two Treatises on Civil Government"?

Q.2: According to the social contract theory, what was the original condition of mankind?

Q.3: In the opinion of Thomas Hobbes, who was the only source of law?

B) Short Questions (Answer each question in about 150 words)

Q.1: Write briefly about John Locke's view regarding human nature.

Q.2: Write a short note on the criticisms levelled against the Social Contract theory.

C) Long Questions (Answer each question in about 300-500 words)

Q.1: Explain Thomas Hobbes theory of social contract.

Q.2: Write a note on John Locke's social contract theory.

Q.3: Examine Jean Jacques Rousseau's theory of social contract.

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UNIT- 6 STATE

UNIT STRUCTURE

6.1 Learning Objectives

6.2 Introduction

6.3 Meaning and Definition of State

6.4 Characteristics of State

6.4.1 Some Other Characteristics of State

6.5 The State and other associations

6.5.1 Difference Between State and Association

6.5.2 Difference Between State and Association Government

6.5.3 Difference Between State and Association Society

6.6 Let us Sum Up

6.7 Referrence and Further Reading

6.8 Answers to check your progress

6.9 Model Questions

6.1 LEARNING OBJECTIVES

After going through this unit, you will be able to:

- define the meaning of state.
- distinguish between state and association.
- distinguish between state and government.
- distinguish between state and society.
- discuss the various characteristics of state.

6.2 INTRODUCTION

The concept of State is crucial in order to understand the nature and distribution of power in society. It plays an important part in our lives. It regulates social relationships. It provides a range of services, such as hospitals, schools, transportation, etc. In the previses unit we have discussed about the origin of State. In this unit we will learn about the state in detail.

6.3 MEANING AND DEFINTION OF STATE

In our everyday conversation we used the term “State” many times. In political science, the term “State” has a more specific and definite meaning- “word State means a community or society politically organised under one independent government within a definite territory. It alone has the prerogative of making laws. The lawmaking power derives from sovereignty, which is the most distinctive characteristic of the State. According to MacIver, “a State is the fundamental association for the maintenance and development of social order, and to this end its central institution is endowed with the united power of the community”.

According to Max Weber, “A State is a human community that (successfully) claims the monopoly of the legitimate use of physical force within a given territory”.

Ogburn says, “A State is an organization which rules by means of a supreme government over a definite territory”.

According to Bluntschli, “State is the politically organized people of a definite territory”.

According to Brewster, “State may be defined as an organized group of people who occupy a territory and a sovereign government”.

According to Garner, “State is a community of people occupying a definite form of territory free of external control and possessing an organized government to which people show habitual obedience”.

According to Sidgwick, “State is a combination or association of persons in the form of government and governed and united together into a politically organized people of a definite territory”.

Aristotle defined the State as a “union of families and villages having for its end a perfect and self- sufficing life by which it meant a happy and honourable life”.

Burgess defines the State as “a particular portion of mankind”.

According to Holland, the State is “a numerous assemblage of human beings generally occupying a certain territory amongst whom the will of the majority or class is made to prevail against any of their number who oppose it”.

Prof. Laski defines State as a 'territorial society divided into government and subjects whose relationships are determined by the exercise of supreme coercive power".

Willoughby says, State is "where there can be discovered in any community of a person a supreme authority exercising control over the, social actions of the individuals and groups of individuals and self subject to no such regulation".

On the basis of above definitions, we can summarise that State is a political form of human association by which a society is organized under the agency of a government that claims legitimate sovereignty over territorial area, authority over all the members of the society, and the right to use physical force when necessary to ensure the effective exercise of its legitimate control.

6.4 CHARACTERISTICS OF STATE

State has four essential characteristics They are population, territory, sovereignty and government. There characteristics are discussed below.

- **Population: A** State is made up of people but the question arises, how many people are needed? Can a state have too small or large population? What are the factors influencing population changes and its impact on the State. A State with a very small population may find it difficult or impossible to maintain its independence against States with greater man power. But it has been seen that small States with technological progression balance the scale against populous but backward rival. Another important aspect is culture. Cultural aspects distinguish people into homogenous and heterogeneous groups and it is observed that homogeneity is an important factor in State survival. Homogenous people are likely to fully agree the fundamental political system hence they are able to communicate better and get along together. On the other hand, a State made up of people of diverse races, nationality, religion, languages and customs may be subjected to greater internal cleavage and experience periods of domestic and international difficulty. Homogenous group may, however, not enjoy political

independence but be merely a part of a larger State or empire. If nationality (culturally homogeneous group) achieves political unity and independence it becomes a nation and national State.

Hence population may or may not share general political beliefs but the ones that do are the most stable. Mobility of the population can affect its political and government's stability.

- **Territory:** It is another important factor which is responsible for constituting a State. Mere population does not Stabilize a State because we know that the nomads, gypsies and roaming Jews did not from a State unless they settled down permanently on some piece of land. In fact, common territory is a great unifying force and creates oneness of an action and behaviour. It forges and strengthens sense of unity both, in social and political life.

There is also another need for the State to have its territory. All States require revenue which will not be forthcoming if it does not have a territory. The economic base is provided by the land (including water) under the authority of the State. The State can establish authority over its subjects only if they live in a territory. Territory is very important because it identifies a certain population within it. As such it provides physical limits. It is quite evident that Government of India cannot have any control over citizens staying outside its territory except with the help of State of their residence. Territory is therefore a pre- requisite.

Again, as in the case of population, there cannot be any rule regarding the minimum area required for a State. There are States like the Soviet Union with an area of 12.4 million sq.km. and there are small states such as Maldives with an area of only some hundred square kilometres.

- **Government:** Government is "an essential instrument or contrivance of the State" or "the organisation of the State which in addition to administrative agencies, normally consists of three great branches, executive, legislature and judicial".

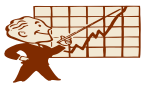
In other words, government is the important- and, indispensible- machinery by means of which the State maintains its existence, carries on its functions, realizes its policies and objectives. But "government" is never

identical or coterminous with State, because the later is the entire "community of persons" whereas the government includes only relatively small proportion of the population. Moreover, the State is a continuing virtually permanent entity while a particular government may be completely obliterated (as by revolution) without destroying the existence, sovereignty or rights of the State as such. Though States may disappear as a result of conquest by other States, new States may be formed out of old ones or out of their colonies.

The rights, obligations of States under international law are not cancelled or altered by revolutionary changes in their government. Governments may change but States are immortal.

- **Sovereignty:** The State possesses sovereignty, i.e., the supreme political power deriving from its capacity to monopolize the use of force within its borders. A State's sovereignty- its power and independence- is recognized by other States. According to Jellinek, sovereignty is "that characteristic of the State by virtue of which it cannot be legally bound except by its own will, or limited by any other power than itself"'. Sovereignty of the State has two aspects, internal sovereignty and external sovereignty. Internal sovereignty is the State's monopoly of authority inside its boundaries and is unlimited. External sovereignty is limited by international laws and regulations because it deals with the relations of a State with other States or nations. It is by virtue of its sovereignty that a State declares- through the agency of the government- its laws and decisions and issues commands which is a binding on all citizens, claims obedience thereto, and punishes the offenders. It is also by virtue of its sovereignty that a State similarly deals independently with other States. A State continues to exist so long as it is armed with sovereignty.

Thus, the basic components of the State are population, territory, government and sovereignty within its territory. Through its government on the basis of its sovereignty, the State performs certain functions for its population.



CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Q A Fill in the blanks

1) The basic components of the State are population,....., government and sovereignty within its territory.

2) State is made up of ……..

6.4.1 SOME OTHER CHARACTERISTICS OF THE STATE

Some social scientists are of the view that a State has certain other attributes in addition to the four characteristics/ elements/ features mentioned above. These are:

- **Permanence**- State is a permanent organization. According to Garner "People once organized as a State remain always under same State organization." Sometimes, the existence of some State is abolished or a portion of the territory of a State is given to some other State due to war or peace treaties, but in all such cases, it is the change of sovereignty, and the people continue to inhabit the same territory. For example, Bangladesh was made separated from Pakistan. In this case, sovereignty goes to Bangladesh and people were started to be called as citizen of Bangladesh. Thus, it is clear that change of rule cannot change the State. That's why State is always permanent.
- **Unity**- It means that the people inhabiting the territory of the State should have one political organization. The people and the territory of one State cannot become the part of any other State.
- **Necessary Membership**- Membership of the State is not an optional rather compulsory. All those persons who are living in its specific geographical territory are its members. No one can become member of more than one State at a particular time.
- **International Recognition**- Many scholars are of the view that recognition of the State by the international community is absolutely necessary for a State. It is after attainment of international recognition

that a State becomes the member of the 'Community of Nations' and establishes diplomatic relations with other States. However, some scholars do not accept this view point and say that international recognition does not affect the status of States.

- **Continuity**- State is not a static institution. It always remain in continuity. The form of government in a State may undergo frequent change but it does not affect the existence of the State. Monarchy may be replaced by a democratic form of government, the government by one political party, but it will not affect the existence of the State. According to the law of State Succession, the succeeding government has to take up the responsibility of fulfilling its obligations arriving out of the treaties and contracts concluded by the outgoing government. Thus, the State remain in continuity despite of change in government.

Conclusion- From the foregoing discussion, it is evident that, these additional features of the State may be regarded as the qualifications of an ideal State but not the essential attributes of a State because State can exist even in the absence of these attributes. In order to be called a State, the institution should have the four essential attributes viz. Population, fixed, territory, government and sovereignty. If it misses any of them, it cease to be a State.

6.5 THE STATE AND THE OTHER ASSOCIATIONS

Generally, the meaning of the State, Society and Government has been taken as the same. Though interrelated, however, all these terms have different meaning and therefore, differ from each other. Here, in the following discussion, efforts are being made to differentiate State from other similar associations.

6.5.1 DIFFERENCE BETWEEN STATE AND ASSOCIATION

Though, the State is regarded as the highest of all human associations, yet there is a marked distinction between the State

and Associations. An Association, as defined by MacIver, is an organisation deliberately formed for the collective pursuit of some interest or set of interest which its members share".

G.D.H. Cole defined it as "Any group of persons pursuing a common purpose by a course of cooperative action extended beyond a single act and for this purpose agreeing together upon certain methods of procedure and follow certain rules of common action."

Thus, it will be seen from the above definitions that an Association is nothing but only the product of natural instinct of man to come together, to make groups and to make rules and regulations which are common for all and accepted to all members of association. The State is also a group of human beings. Like other groups, it also exists to satisfy human needs through the concerted action of the Government. It is as a result of desire of man to save his/her life and property from possible foreign aggression and internal disorder, that he/she joined the State and obeyed its laws. Many of the thinkers believe that the State is one of the associations and nothing beyond that. However, despite the close affinity between the State and Associations there is definite distinction between them-

- **Membership of the State is compulsory, but that of an association is voluntary**

The membership of the State is obligatory. The mere fact that one is born in a State confers upon him/her its membership which cannot be resigned under normal conditions. The membership of an association, on the other hand, is voluntary. One can acquire the membership of an association at will and surrender it whenever he/she so chooses.

Further, one can, at one time, be a member of one State only. If one acquires the citizenship of another State, he/she automatically relinquishes the citizenship of the first State. On the other hand, one can acquire the membership of as many associations as one likes. As a matter of fact, one does associate oneself with a number of associations.

- **The State is permanent but an association may be temporary**

  The State is a permanent association. Once formed, it does not come to an end so easily. On the other hand, associations are formed when need be and dissolved when their purpose is served.

- **The State is the supreme association and all other associations are controlled by it**

  The State is the supreme association. Its controls and co-ordinates the activities of all other associations. Sometimes, it creates associations like the universities, trade union, etc. The State is, therefore, an all- pervasive, all – embracing and all- inclusive association. It brings harmony by controlling the external behaviour of these associations.

- **State possesses Sovereignty but other Associations do not Posses Sovereignty**

  The State possesses sovereignty whereas other Associations do not possess it. The will of the State rule is supreme. The collective will of the State is expressed and executed through the government. All the citizens of the State are bound to obey the commands of the State. The State can make the use of power also. But other associations do not have any such power. They cannot forcibly impose their decisions on the people nor can they get their will executed with force. The only strictest step which they can take is to cancel the membership of the person concerned.

- **The state possesses territory while an association does not Posses Territory**

  One of the central features of the State is that it possesses territory. Without territory, the State cannot come into existence. On the other hand, an association does not possess any territory.

- **The State has wide and varied purpose, an Association has only limited purpose**

  An Association has only limited ends to achieve. It can be say Cultural Association or Political Association and in that capacity it is required to pursue only cultural or political ends alone. But on the contrary,

State has wider and varied ends to achieve. It is multi- purpose body with ever increasing functions. All human activities- social, economic, political etc. fall directly or indirectly in its purview. In short, it is charged with care of general rather than particular interests.

Conclusion- State is thus the most powerful vehicle. It is quite different from other Associations, though some of the thinkers believe that State is only one of the associations. As State is different from society, similarly it is also different from association as well.

6.5.2 DIFFERENCE BETWEEN STATE AND GOVERNMENT

The term "State" and "Government" confuse the layman. People generally use them in an identical sense. Even Kings like Louis XIV confused State with government. He used to say "I and the State". He could claim that he was government as he was an absolute monarch and all governmental authority vested in him. But he himself could not claim to be the State as the State is altogether a different concept. The Stuart Kings of England too laboured under the same misconception.

It is not only the kings and monarchs who have used the terms State and government in an identical sense. Even in ordinary life, we find that the two terms are used interchangeably, as if there were no difference between the two. It is most noticeable when a classification of governments is mistaken for classification of States or when acts of the government are treated as if these were the acts of the State.

The State is politically organised "entity" for the promotion of common ends and the satisfaction of common needs, while, the government is an essential element of the State through which the will of the State is expressed, formulated and realized. The State and the government are two different terms having altogether different meanings. The following points bring out the distinction between the two-

- **The State is the Whole, the Government is a part it of**

  As has already been stated that the State is a combination of four essential elements. They are Population, Territory, Government and Sovereignty. Thus, Government is just one of the organs of the State and is not the whole. It is the agency of the State through which the will of the State is formulated, expressed and executed. Thus, the Government is only a part of the State.

- **The State is permanent, the government is temporary**

  The State is permanent. A State remains a State so long as it fulfils four conditions, viz., population, territory, government and sovereignty. Obviously, these factors are not easily destructible. But governments are temporary. They always go on changing. They come and go but states continue forever. The death of a monarch or ruler or the forcible overthrow of a government or its peaceful replacement through a democratic election does not mean the extinction of the State. This means that a change in the government does not constitute a change in the State because the State is permanent and the government is temporary.

- **State is abstract, but the Government is concrete**

  State has no fixed form and it cannot be seen. It is a concept, which is felt. Opposite to it, Government which is concrete and we can see individuals involved in the process of it.

- **Territory is the essential characteristics of the State but not of the Government**

  Fixed territory is essential constituent of the State but not of the government. No State can exist without territory but a Government can function without territory. Sometimes, the Government of a State is established in some other State. For example, during the Second World War, when Norway was defeated by Germany, the Government of Norway was established in England and functioned from England.

5. **An individual can have rights against the Government but not against the State**

An individual may have rights against the government, but he/she can certainly have no rights against the State, because the State is the source of all power. The government and the individuals are both under it. Further, individuals can have complaints and grievances against the government but not against the State. The State never acts by itself. It always acts through the government which alone can inflict injury on others.

- **Sovereignty belongs to the State, not to the Government**

  Sovereignty is the exclusive characteristic of the State, whereas, the government is only an agent of the State. Whatever authority or power belongs to the government is derived from delegated by the State. The State can increase or decrease this power. Thus, the relationship between the State and the government is that of a master and a servant.

- **States are similar, but Governments differ**

  All the States are similar, having four essential elements. It is only in size that the States can be small or big, but in nature all states are alike. But the Governments of all the States are not similar. In India, we are having Parliamentary form of Government; in U.S.A., there is the Presidential form of Government.

- **The State includes the whole population but The Government includes only a few people**

  The States consists of all the people who inhabit it and thus their number can be in millions. For e.g in India, there are about 100 crore citizens who constitute the State. On the other hand, the Government consists of only few persons, for example Indian government consists of few hundred ministers and few thousands public servants.

  Conclusion- Thus, it is quite clear that the State and the Government are not the same. Government is an agency of the State and the State works through it. Though different, they both are necessary for each other's existence.

6.5.3 DIFFERECE BETWEEN STATE AND SOCIETY

The terms State and Society are sometimes used as synonymous, but they differ from each other in several respects. The State exists within the society, but it is not even a form of society. The State is a political organization. It is different from society both, structurally and functionally. The main points of distinction between the State and Society are given below-

- **The Scope of Society is wider than that of the State**

The State is a community of persons organized for law within a definite territory. It has definite scope. The State is only concerned with the political relations of organized communities. Society, on the other hand, is comprehensive and covers the whole range of human relations, i.e., social, economic, political, religious, etc. All relationships between man and man, whether direct or indirect, conscious or unconscious, organized or unorganized are covered by society. It is a universal, all-pervading and all-inclusive group of human beings. The purpose of the State is to maintain only the external conditions of society. Therefore, we can easily conclude that the scope of society is much wider than that of the State.

- **The State has territorial reference but Society has no territory**

The State is a territorial organisation. It has well defined boundaries of its own. But Society is not restricted to any geographical area. The Jews, for example, constitute a society, although they are spread all over the world. So is the case with the Hindu society, the Islamic or the Christian society. It has, thus, no territorial reference as the State always has. Its scope may cover the entire world transcending the boundaries of various States. Further, in the same State, the people may be organized into different societies having different social traditions. But the State always has a defined territory.

- **State possesses sovereignty but the Society does not**

Every State possesses sovereignty, while Society does not possess it. The State rules over its territory. It can forcibly impose its decisions

on its population and can make use of power in order to get its orders carried out. But Society does not possess any such power. The State employs its Police, Army and the Court of law in order to get collective will executed. But society does not have any such formal agency for the same.

- **The State creates order in Society**

  It is clear that society is not the same thing as the State, but it is the State which maintains the framework of social order. The Society is held together by the State which is the highest form of social organization. It makes the individual obey certain laws without which ordered social life would not be possible.

- **Society is prior to State**

  Now it has been universally acknowledged that society is prior to the State. Society existed before the political organization of the State. Society existed even when people were not socially organised and wandered from one place to another in the form of tribes. As the Society evolved, people started becoming civilized and organized. People learnt the art of cultivation and felt the need of a properly organized political institution- the State. In this way, the State came into existence. Thus, all evidences show that State emerged out of society alone.

6. Society determines the purpose of the State

Since Society came prior to State, therefore, it is Society which determines the purpose of the State. In fact, in a healthy Society, no State can function effectively and can execute and enforce laws passed by the government, without the approval of the Society. On the other hand, a State has only little hand in determining course of action of Society.

- **Organization is essential for the State but not for Society**

  Society can be both organized and unorganized. When men lived in families and tribes even before the dawn of the State when they used to wander from one place to another, Society existed, though it was not in an organized form. The State or the Government organized

the society. The State and then Government cannot exist without social organization. The State came into being with the establishment of the government.

Conclusion- The foregoing discussion shows that there is a marked distinction between the State and Society. Apart from these differences, the relationship between the two is quite intimate. One depends upon the other. Society cannot progress unless the State takes upon itself the task of its welfare. Conversely, the State cannot function properly if society does not furnish it with the right type of human resources and proper social milieu.



CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

QB Fill in the blanks

Q1) Society existed before the……of the State.

Q2) Fixed territory is essential constituent of the ……but not of the ……



6.6 LET US SUM UP

- "State is the politically organised people under one independent government within a definite territory.
- State is the sovereign community of all the people who live in the territory of the State.
- An association is a non-sovereign organisation of only some people. It is specially organised for serving a particular need or some needs.
- Associations always work under the laws of their respective States.
- There are several well defined and well recognised differences between the State and Government.
- In common usage no distinction is made between the two. A government department is often referred to as State department.
- In spite of said differences the State and Society have some common features as well.

- The State and Society sometimes include practically the same persons and in most cases, an overwhelming majority of the members of a society may be included in the same State.



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6.8 ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Answer to QA1) territory

Answer to QA2) people

Answer to QB 1) political organisation

Answer to QB 2) state, government



6.9 MODEL QUESTIONS

A. Short Questions (Answer in 150 words)

Q.1 State the meaning of State.

Q.2 State the characteristics of State.

B. Long Questions (Answer in about 300-500 words)

Q.1 In what way State is different from Association.

Q.2 Explain the difference between State and Government.

Q.3 Write five points of difference between State and Society.

****

UNIT-7 PRESSURE GROUPS AND INTEREST GROUPS

UNIT STRUCTURE

7.1 Learning Objectives

7.2 Introduction

7.3 Meaning and Definition of Pressure Groups

7.4 Characteristics of Pressure Groups

7.5 Types of Pressure Groups

7.6 Difference between Pressure Groups and Interest Groups

7.6.1 Difference between Pressure Groups and Political Parties

7.7 Pressure Groups in India

7.8 Let us Sum Up

7.9 Referrences and Further Readings

7.10 Answers to check your Progress

7.11 Model Questions

7.1 LEARNING OBJECTIVES

After going though this unit you will be able to:

- define the meaning of pressure group
- differentiate between pressure/ interest groups and political parties
- elaborate the various characteristics and role of pressure groups in India

7.2 INTRODUCTION

Pressure groups have become a very important part of an administrative system. Pressure groups are association of interest groups as well as influence groups which are formed to promote the interest of their members by exercising all sorts of direct and indirect pressure on government. They are different from political parties. A political party has a

broad national base. Political parties carry on their activities openly. No system can function effectively without taking their view point into consideration, Political parties they publicise their policies of programmes and solicit public support. But pressure groups do not carry on their activities so openly. All their activities are kept away from public view by a veil of secrecy. They provide a stabilizing mechanism and form a crucial component of structural equilibrium which means they perform the system maintenance function. Naturally, the members of the public are not even aware of the existence of pressure groups. But the influence they exercise over the decision- making process is enormous. In this unit we will learn about pressure groups in detail.

7.3 MEANING AND DEFINITION OF PRESSURE GROUPS

A pressure group is an organised social group whose members share common attitudes, beliefs or interests and which seeks to influence public policies without ever trying to take over any responsibility for government actions. This formal definition indicates not only what a pressure group is but also what it is not.

A pressure group can be understood as an association of persons with a common interest who try to influence government and judicial decisions. These pressure groups pursue their political goals through lobbying- the process by which individuals and groups communicate with public officials in order to influence decisions of government. They also distribute persuasive literature and launch public campaigns to built grass root support for their political objectives. According to Functionalists, such groups play a constructive role in decision- making. They prepare the ground for the orderly political participation. Conflict theorists, on the other hand, argue that although a few organisations work on behalf of the poor and disadvantaged, most of the pressure groups represent the vested interests of the business leaders, the lobbies of multinational companies, rich professionals and political leaders. They further assert that these powerful

lobbies discourage political participation by the individual citizens. The pressure groups have greater say in democracy than in the totalitarian setup.

Definitions

According to H.Z. Zeigler, "A pressure groups has been defined as an organised aggregate which seeks to influence the context of the government decisions attempting to place its members in formal governmental capacities."

According to B.K. Gokhle, "Pressure groups are private associations formed to influence public policy. The aim of these groups is to uphold their interests by trying to influence the government."

According to S.E. Finer, "Pressure groups are, by and large, autonomous and politically neutral bodies which bargain with political parties and the bureaucracy irrespective of political complexion of government in power."

According to Lieserson, "A pressure group usually declares itself to be non-partisan organisation of persons united for achievement of certain principles and for the protection or promotion of material activities and of ideal causes deemed vital to the group's existence or survival."

According to N.C. Hunt, "A pressure group is an organisation which seeks to influence governmental policies without at the same time being willing to accept the responsibility of public office."

According to Dillon, "In simplest terms an interest group is an association of people having mutual concern. They become in turn pressure groups as they seek governmental aid in accomplishing what is advantageous to them."

According to Robert A. Dahl, "Any association that tries to secure from the state policies favourable to its members or followers is a pressure group."

After studying the above definitions, we come to the conclusion that a pressure group is such a group of people having common interests that exerts pressure on the government for the fulfilment of its interests. The aim of these groups is not to grab political power, but to influence the governmental policies in their favour. The policy of pressure group is the policy of opportunism as they get prepared to enter into an alliance with every political party for the protection of their interests.

7.4 CHARACTERISTICS OF PRESSURE GROUPS

The following are the characteristics of pressure groups:

- **Formal Organisation**: Pressure groups are formal organisations and their strength lies in their organisation. They have their own constitutions, office bearers and office, etc wherefrom they carry out their activities to contact members and issue them special instructions.
- **Based on Certain Interests**: Each pressure group organises itself keeping in view certain interests and thus tries to adopt the structure of power in the political systems. In every government and political party there are clashing interest groups. These groups try to dominate the political structure and to see that groups whose interests clash with theirs are suppressed. Thus, each political party and system is pressurised by certain interest groups which may be similar or reactionary to each other.
- **Voluntary Membership**: The membership of a pressure group is voluntary. In other words, it depends on the sweet will of a person and no pressure is exerted on him/her to become its member. For example, every student is not the member of student unions. Moreover, any member can leave the membership of the pressure groups whenever he/she desires so.
- **Use of Modern as well as Traditional Means:** Another characteristic feature of pressure groups is that they try to follow modern means of exerting pressure, without fully giving up the traditional or old ways of operation. They adopt techniques like financing of political parties, sponsoring their close candidates at the time of elections and keeping the bureaucracy also satisfied. Their traditional means include exploitation of caste, creed and religious feelings to promote their interests.
- **Influencing Public Policy:** In order to protect and promote their interests, the pressure groups try to influence public policy by adopting different methods. They establish contacts with legislators,

ministers and government officials and acquaint them with their problems. Through means of propagation they try to win public opinion over to their sides. Because to promote their interests they influence the policy makers by putting different pressures, they are called pressure groups.

- **Non- political Character:** Pressure groups are non- political in character. Ordinarily they do not directly participate in the politics of the country. They do not have any political ideology. They do not field their candidates in elections directly. In order to promote their interests, they strike bargain with the ruling party or the bureaucracy. Sometimes they support those candidates who promise to protect their interests.
- **Lack of Responsibility:** Pressure groups, like the political parties are not answerable to the people. They do not derive power from the people, but they get it from their members. So, they are responsible to their members, but not to the common people.
- **Universality:** Pressure groups are universal and they are found almost in almost in every country of the world. There is abundance of pressure groups even in totalitarian states. The difference is that the pressure groups are free in democratic states whereas they work within certain limits in totalitarian states.
- **Pressure Groups and Economic Development:** The pressure groups are intimately connected with the economic development of the country. As the society develops and differentiation is found in its work, the number and activities of pressure groups begin to grow. For example, America, England and France are industrially developed countries. Therefore, the pressure groups in these countries are not only large in number but also well organised and active. On the other hand, countries like India, Pakistan, Myanmar and Sri Lanka are industrially less developed. In these countries, the pressure groups are small in number, and also they are not so organised and active as they are in the developed countries.



CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

QA Fill in the blanks

Q1) A pressure group can be understood as an …….of persons with a common economic interest.

Q2) The pressure groups try to influence……. by adopting different methods

7.5 TYPES OF PRESSURE GROUPS

Different writers on comparative government have classified pressure groups or interest groups on the basis of their structure and organisation. According to Almond and Powell, interest groups can be classified into four categories,

(i) Institutional Interest Groups

(ii) The Associational Interest Groups

(iii) Anomic Interest Groups

(iv) Non- associational Interest groups

Institutional Interest Groups

The groups are formally organised which consist of professionally employed persons. They are a part of government machinery and try to exert their influence. But they do have much autonomy. These groups include political parties, legislatures, armies, bureaucracies and churches. An example of institutional group can be the West Bengal Civil Services Association. Whenever such an association raises protest it does so by constitutional means and in accordance with the rules and regulations.

Associational Interest Groups

These are organised specialised groups formed for interest articulation, but to pursue limited goals. These include trade unions, organisations of businessmen and industrialists and civic groups. Some examples of Associational Interest Groups in India are Bengal Chamber of Commerce and Industry, Indian Chambers of Commerce, Trade Unions

such as AITUC (All India Trade Union Congress), Teachers Associations, Students Associations such as National Students Union of India (NSUI) etc.

Anomic Interest Groups

These are the groups that have analogy with individual self-representation. In such type of groups, perpetual infiltrations such as riots, demonstrations are observed. These groups are found in the shape of movement demonstration and processions, signature campaigns, street corner meetings, etc. Their activities may either be constitutional or unconstitutional.

Non- Associational Interest Groups

These are the kinship and lineage groups and ethnic, regional, status and class groups that articulate interests on the basis of individuals, family and religious heads. These groups have informal structure. These include caste groups, language groups, etc.

7.6 DIFFERENCE BETWEEN PRESSURE GROUPS AND INTEREST GROUPS

It is important to understand that pressure groups are different from interest group. Generally, interest groups and pressure groups are considered synonyms, but actually they are not. Pressure group is an interest group which exerts pressure on the government or the decision- makers for the fulfilment of their interests. It is important to make a distinction between an interest group and a pressure group. Interest groups may exist without even exerting pressure on the government or the decision –makers.

A group that does not exert pressure to influence or pressurize the authorities in order to achieve the desired objects, is not called a pressure group. An interest group that exerts pressure on the government to achieve its goal is called a pressure group. All pressure groups are interest groups while all interest groups may not be pressure groups. Interest groups as defined by Almond and Dillon, is a group of individuals who are linked by a particular bond of concern or advantage, and who have some awareness of these bonds. Their characteristics are -they are well organised; they have certain common interests, the interest that unites the members is specific

and particular; the members of such organised groups seek to attain, protect and promote their interests for which they are united. The following differences between the two groups are significant:

- Interest group is a group of those persons who are bonded with each other by particular interest or gain motive and remain conscious of these bonds. Whenever some interest group puts pressure on the government for its benefit, it assumes the form of pressure group. Generally the interest groups work in the form of pressure groups.
- Pressure groups are strictly structured whereas interest groups are formally organised.
- Pressure groups are pressure focussed. Interest groups are interest oriented.
- Pressure groups must influence the policies of government. Interest groups may or may not.
- Pressure groups are harsher in attitude whereas interest groups are softer in outlook.
- Pressure groups are protective and promotive. Interest groups are more or less protective.
- Pressure groups usually work for the benefit of their members, while in interest groups their members may or may not be benefitted.

7.6.1 DIFFERENCE BETWEEN PRESSURE GROUPS AND POLTICAL PARTIES

As discussed earlier pressure groups are those informal organisations that come into existence for the protection of special interests and influence the activities of the government by different methods, yet there is distinction between the pressure group and political parties. Political party, as defined by Maclver, as an association organized in support of some principle or policy which by constitutional means it endeavours to make the determinant of government".

A Political Party is an organized group of people; the organized group of people believe in common principles and common

goals; its objectives revolve around seeking political power through collective efforts; it employs constitutional and peaceful methods in seeking control over the government through elections and while in power, it translates its declared objectives into governmental policies.

Political parties perform an important task in government. They bring people together to achieve control of the government, develop policies favourable to their interests or the groups that support them, and organize and persuade voters to elect their candidates to office.

Political parties and pressure groups are not same. However, both of them play an important role in a democracy. Therefore, their relationship is markedly close and clear, For example, the trade unions help their respective political parties by providing them workers during elections. On the other hand, it is the political parties which advocate legislation in respect of the interests of the workers. Do you know that the National Students Union of India (NSUI) provides future leadership to the congress while the Akhil Bharatiya Vidyarthi Parishad (ABVP) does so for the Bharatiya Janta Party? While some pressure groups are linked to particular political parties, there are many which have no linkage to any political party. It is important to understand that the pressure groups are different from political parties. The distinction between the two can be stated as under:

- Pressure groups are not primarily political in nature. For example, although Rashtriya Swayamak Sangh (RSS) supports the Bharatiya Janata Party, it is, by and large, a cultural organization. The political parties are basically political.
- Pressure groups do not seek direct power; they only influence those who are in power for moulding decisions in their favour. The political parties seek power to form the government.
- Pressure groups do not contest elections; they only support political parties of their choice. Political parties nominate candidates, contest elections, and participate in election campaigns.

- Pressure groups resort of agitations demonstrations etc, to get their demands implemented. To achieve their aim political parties use constitutional means.
- Pressure groups do not necessarily have political ideologies. Political parties are always wedded to their ideologies. For example, the Congress party is wedded to the ideologies of socialism, secularism and democracy; the communists advocate their interests of workers, peasants and other weaker sections.
- The membership of pressure groups is limited where as the membership of political parties is very broad based.
- Pressure groups are an informal institution. Political parties are a formal institution.
- The interests of the pressure groups are usually specific and particular, whereas the political parties have policies and programmes with national and international ramifications.

7.7 PRESSURE GROUPS IN INDIA

There are different types of pressure groups found in India. They can be classified as:

- Business Pressure Groups
- Students Pressure Groups
- Professional Association
- Women Pressure Groups
- Tribal (Regional Groups)
- Caste, Community and Religious Pressure Groups
- Linguistic Pressure Groups
- Village Panchayat Pressure Groups
- Joint Family
- Miscellaneous Pressure Groups
- Gandhian Pressure Groups
- **Business Pressure Groups:**

These pressure groups play an important role in those countries which have free or mixed economy. In these countries pressure groups

have vast financial resources at their disposal and they protect their interests by the utilization of these resources. Traders Association was organised in India in 1830. In 1834, Calcutta Chamber of Commerce was established, but its membership was limited only up to the British traders. The Indian traders organised Indian Chamber of Commerce in 1887 for the protection of their interests, but the sphere of its activity was limited up to Bengal. In 1907, the traders of Bombay established a similar organisation. After this a Chamber of Commerce was established in South India in 1909. A renowned industrialist Sh. G.D. Birla combined all these trade organisations and organised Federation of Indian Chambers of Commerce and Industry (F.I.C.C.I) in 1927. F.I.C.C.I represents the big industrial houses such as Tata, Birla, Dalmia, D.M.C, Reliance and Hindustan Levers etc and is the biggest business pressure group of India.

The name of the organisation of medium scale and small scale industries of India is All India Manufactures Organisations.

Functioning- F.I.C.C.I is the most important national organisation of Indian traders and industrialists. This organisation helped in the national movement under the leadership of Mahatma Gandhi. This organisation protects the interests of both, big and small traders and industrialists. It influences the industrial policy of the government and offers suggestions to the government regarding the production of goods and import and export policies.

- **Student organisations as Pressure Groups**:

The Student Organisations in India have also acted as pressure groups both prior to Independence and after Independence. The All Bengal students Association was formed in 1928. The All India Students Federation (AISF) was established in 1936. During the war, the congress dominated students union took part in the 'Quit India Movement'. After Independence the political parties continue to be affiliated with student organisations. The All India Students Congress and later on the National Students Union of India (NSUI) is affiliated to the Congress party. Other parties too set up their Students Unions. The Communist 'All India Students Federation' was already in existence. The Socialist established 'Young Socialist League', the Marxist

'Progressive Students Union', The Radical Students Union, Democratic Students Union, Akhil Bharatiya Vidyarthi Paridhad (ABVP) etc are all affiliated to different Political Parties. They try to pressurise governmental policy on various crucial issues, their activities are not just confined to educational issues. In Assam all Assam Student's union (AASU) acts as pressure group.

- **Professional Pressure Groups**:

These pressure groups are formed to protect the interests of people who are engaged in different professions. The number of such pressure groups is large in India. Of these, Indian Medical Association, 'All India Bar Association', 'All India Federation of Employees', 'All India Railwaymen Federation', 'ALL India Postal and Telegraph Workers Union', ' All India Bank Employees Association', 'All India Federation of University and College Teachers' are very famous. These organisations place professional problems before the government, suggest solutions to these and sometimes influence the government policies.

- **Women Pressure Groups:**

Some women pressure groups are also working to protect the interests of women. The most prominent of these groups is 'All India Women Conference'. At first it was under the influence of the communists but now it is free from it. This group is active for the welfare of women and improvement of their legal and social condition. This group had played an important role as a pressure group to get the Hindu Code Bill passed in the Parliament.

- **Tribal (Regional Groups)**:

There are several tribal interest groups have been active in India. For example: the United Mizo Federal organisation. All Assam Tribal Sangha. The Hill Tribal League of Assam, Jharkhand Mukti Morcha etc.

It is owing to the result of agitations and pressure of the tribal groups that in the North- East Region of India – Assam was reorganised in 1971.

- **Caste, Community and Religious Pressure Groups:**

Indian society is divided into several castes and communities and the pressure groups are formed by every caste and community for the protection of their interests. People of Kahma caste in Andhra, Lingayats in Karnataka, Christians and Muslims in Kerala, Gorkhas in Bengal and people

of Bhoomihar in Bihar are continuously demanding that seats should be reserved for them in educational institutions and government services. Jat Kisans are playing a very important role in the policies of West Uttar Pradesh and Haryana. Scheduled Castes Federation safeguards the interests of the scheduled castes. A renowned scholar named Myron Weiner has given the status of pressure group to D.M.K. and Akali Dal, whereas these are regional parties. Similarly Hindu Maha Sabha and Muslim League are considered political parties whereas their realm form is that of the pressure groups to a great extent.

- **Linguistic Pressure Groups:**

A number of pressure groups in India have come into existence on linguistic basis also. The formation of States on the basis of regional languages has been a powerful element of Indian politics. The linguistic pressure groups insist on the formation of new States for the protection and development of their language. 'Sampuran Maharashtra Samiti', 'Telangana Praja samiti', Nag-Vidarbh Andolan Samiti' and ' Gorkha League' are placed in this class.

- **Village Panchayat Pressure Groups:**

In the matters concerning the whole village particularly in Political and economic matters the village panchayat is the most important pressure group in the villages of India. The present system of village panchayat started in 1947. After the Independence of the country, panchayats were reorganised in the villages. The Gram Panchayat cultivated among the village people the habit of working together,, owing responsibility for the various activities of the village, understanding things of public interest and living in cooperation and charity. The Panchayati court taught them to resolve misunderstanding through mutual negotiations. The panchayats did much towards increasing the community feeling by decreasing the effects of urbanisation which had been manifested in the village youths in the form of a lack of responsibility, selfishness and impetuously. The tendency to look upon the entire village as a family was born in the village people as a result of the communal contribution of labour in the construction of roads, drains, tanks, schools and panchayat houses. In this way panchayat has a major role in removing the irresponsibility. By arranging for radio sets and lectures etc., the

panchayats created awakening in the villages to spread education among the children. In order to educate the older members of the community, adult education centres and night schools were opened. Literacy weeks were organised and resolute efforts were made to remove illiteracy from the country.

- **Joint Family:**

An important pressure groups in Indian society particularly in the villages, is the joint family. A joint family are includes husband, wife, uncles, aunts, sons and nephews etc. In a joint family, the authority vests in the oldest male member in the family. The property is deemed to be the common possession of all members of the family. The head of the family runs a common kitchen and every member shares common lodging.

- **Miscellaneous Pressure Groups:**

There are some pressure groups which do not represent a particular caste, religion, class or occupation, but came into existence to eliminate social evils like untouchability, dowry system, child marriage, infanticide, sati etc. They put pressure on the government. Besides sometimes organisations are formed to combat the situations created by floods and drought. They hold rallies, dharnas and demonstration with an aim to get help for the floodstriken or drought affected people. Such pressure groups disappear after achieving their aims. Almond and Powell has called these pressure groups Anomic Pressure Groups.

- **Gandhian Pressure Groups:**

In the political field of India there are such groups also as are the staunch supports of Gandhian ideology and want to give it a practical shape. They insist on government's adopting Gandhian policies. Of these groups the name of 'Sarva Seva Sangh' is associated with Bhoodan Movement. Gandhiji himself presented the elements of the pressure group principles by saying 'Banish the idea of capture of power and you will be able to guide power and keep it on the right path.' The Panchayati Raj and Community Development Programmes have been influenced by Gandhiji.



7.8 LET US SUM UP

- Pressure groups are now considered as an indispensable and helpful element of the democratic process.
- It is not a political group seeking to capture political power though it may have a political character of its own.
- Political parties and pressure groups are dependent upon one another. Interest groups find the parties an important method of gaining access to those in public authority, and the parties need the support of groups to elect and maintain themselves in power.
- They need the support of other fellow beings in order to gain greater bargaining power; this gives rise to pressure groups based on common interests.
- For a long time these groups remain unnoticed, initially they were considered as harmful for the democratic process, but now their role in the political process has become very important.
- Democratic politics has to be politics through consultation, through negotiation and some amount of bargaining is also involved.
- It is very essential for the government to consult those organised groups at the time of policy formulation and implementation.



CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

QB1) Name one pressure group associated with the bhoodan movement.

_____

_____

Q B2) The Lingayats belong to which state ?

_____

_____



7.9 FURTHER READINGS

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7.10 ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Answer to QA1) Association

Answer to QA2) Public Policy

Answer to QB1) Sarva Seva Sangh

Answer to Q B2) Karnataka



7.11 MODEL QUESTIONS

A) Short Questions (Answer each question within 150 words)

Qa. Define pressure group

Qb. Mention four characteristics of pressure group

B) Long Questions (Answer each question within 1300-500 words)

Qa. Explain the difference between pressure groups and interest groups.

Qb. Name some pressure groups that are existing in India.

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UNIT 8 POLITICAL IDEOLOGIES - I

UNIT STRUCTURE

8.1 Learning Objectives

8.2 Introduction

8.3 Democracy

- 8.3.1 Meaning and Definitions
- 8.3.2 Kinds of Democracy
- 8.3.3 Principles or Requisites of Democracy
- 8.3.4 Merits and Demerits of Democracy

8.4 Capitalism

- 8.4.1 Introduction
- 8.4.2 Perspectives of Capitalism

8.5 Socialism

- 8.5.1 Definitions of Socialism
- 8.5.2 Essentials of Socialism
- 8.5.3 Criticism of Socialism
- 8.5.4 Merits of Socialism

8.6 Let us sum up

8.7 Further Reading

8.8 Answer to check your progress

8.9 Model Questions

8.1 LEARNING OBJECTIVES

After going through this unit you will be able to –

- know the meaning of democracy, its different types, principles or requisites and the merits and demerits of democracy.
- explain capitalism and its different perspectives
- explain socialism with its meaning, essentials, criticism and merits

8.2 INTRODUCTION

There are several ideologies which guide political actions. The ideologies are important while studying diferent aspects in the field of political sociology. Some of the important political ideologies are democracy, capitalism, socialism, communism and fascism. In this unit we are going to discuss about democracy, capitalism and socialism. In the next unit we will discuss about communism and fascism.

8.3 DEMOCRACY

8.3.1 Meaning and Definition

The term democracy is derived from the Greek word **demos** and **kratos**. The word **demos** means 'the people' and **kratos** means 'power'. Democracy thus means 'power of the people. ' There are different definitions of democracy given by different scholars. Some of these definitions are:

Abraham Lincoln defines democracy as the government of the people, by the people, for the people.

According to **Bryce,** "Democracy is that form of government in which the ruling power of a state is legally vested, not in any particular class or classes but in the members of the community as a whole."

According to **Dicey**," Democracy is a form of government in which the governing body is comparatively a large fraction of the entire nation."

Gettell defines democracy as, "that form of government in which the mass of the population possesses the right to share in the exercise of sovereign power."

Thus we can say that democracy is a form of government in which the sovereign power of the state is in the hands of the people. The people are the source of the state power. They take part in the

government directly or through their representatives. It is evident that people cannot themselves run the administration, and it is not possible to have **unanimity** of views on political matters. Thus, generally speaking democracy is the government of the majority and the majority safeguards interests of the people. In this government, the interests of the minorities are not ignored.

8.3.2 Kinds of Democracy

There are two types of democracy. They are Pure or Direct democracy and Indirect or Representative democracy.

- **Pure or Direct Democracy**: When the people themselves directly express their will on public affairs, that type of government is called pure or direct democracy. The people formulate laws in mass meeting. Direct democracy was established in ancient Greek city- states. In India, direct democracy was seen during the Buddhist period. Today in the complex societies this type of democracy is impractical.
- **Indirect or Representative Democracy**: In a Representative or Indirect democracy, people do not directly express or formulate their will. They express it through their representatives to whom they delegate power of deliberation and decision-making. In this regard John Stuart Mill has said that "Indirect or Representative Democracy is one in which whole people or some numerous portion of them exercise the governing power through deputies periodically elected by themselves. "

This type of government was established in England in the 17th century. In France it was established in 1830 and in Italy in 1948. Today this system is seen in many countries like Japan, Sri Lanka, India, Canada, etc.

8.3.3 PRINCIPLES OR REQUISITES OF DEMOCRACY

- **Liberty**: It is one of the basic principles of democracy. In this system the people enjoy maximum liberty. This is reflected in the

fact that criticism by people is not only tolerated, but it is also encouraged.

- **Equality**: In democracy special emphasis is given to the principle of equality. There is no disparity among the people on the basis of caste, creed, religion, position or status. For example, in India there is no privileged class. Untouchability has been abolished in India. All people are equally treated before law.
- **Fraternity**: This is another important principle of democracy. Democracy can become successful only in a peaceful environment; otherwise democracy can face many difficulties.
- **Sovereignty**: In democracy people are the ultimate source of sovereignty and the government derives its power from them. For this purpose in democracies, elections are held; where people select their government by voting power.
- **Fundamental Rights to the People**: In a democracy fundamental rights are given to the people because in the absence of these rights the development of an individual is not possible. In our country also, citizens are entitled to fundamental rights granted by the constitution.
- **Independence of Judiciary**: In a democracy, the protection of the fundamental rights of the people is vested with the judiciary system. So, if the judiciary is not free, the protection of the rights is not possible. In our country the Supreme Court and the High Court protect the Constitution and fundamental rights of the people.
- **Welfare State**: In a democratic state, special attention is paid to the welfare of the people as a whole and not to a particular class as such.

8.3.4 Merits and Demerits of Democracy

The merits of democracy are as follows:

- **It pays special attention to the interest of the people.** In democracy, the interest of the common people are considered supreme.

- **It is based on equality**. In democracy, no special right is granted to any class of society. All are equally treated and there is no discrimination on the basis of colour, sex or creed. India is the largest democracy of the world and there is no discrimination found on any ground.
- **It is based on public opinion.** Democracy is based on public opinion. It provides maximum opportunity to the people in a self-government. The representatives of the people run the administration in the democracy. The legislature enacts laws according to the wishes of the people. Democratic government pays special interest to the people.
- **It is an efficient form of government**. In democracy the representatives of the people themselves run the administration and they are afraid of doing any thing wrong. This is because they are directly responsible to the parliament and the people. They consult many experts in efficient running of the administration.
- **It raises the moral standard of the people**. In democracy government believes that the people are the ultimate source of sovereignty and their leadership is essential. For this elections are held periodically. All the adult members have the right to vote and also to choose their leader. With this people realize their power as citizens and a sense of responsibility is also developed among them. People as responsible citizens realise that choosing a wrong person, in the long run, affects the administration badly. It would then have a negative impact on their lives as well.
- **It promotes patriotism and national unity and creates the interest of the people in the administration**. In democracy, the government is run by the representatives elected by its people. As a result, citizens have a sense of participation in relation to government matters. Participation (indirect) in government makes the people responsible and the spirit of patriotism is inculcated among them.

The **demerits** of democracy are as follows:

- **Democracy is the rule of incompetent person**. Democracy is considered as the rule by fools, incompetent and illiterate persons. According to Plato, administration is an art which cannot be acquired by the common man. Only intelligent and competent persons can fully understand the administration.
- **Democracy gives more importance to quantity rather than quality**. Democracy is also criticised for giving importance to quantity rather than quality, because in democracy the decision of victory and defeat lies on the number of votes one secures.
- **In democracy administration is very costly**. In a democracy, elections are very costly. There's a huge amount spent on elections. Besides elections, the numerous bodies of legislature and ministers are also very expensive.
- **Political parties spoil the harmonious atmosphere and corruption becomes rampant**. During the elections, moral considerations are subordinated to securing the largest number of votes. After elections the ruling party becomes autocratic and the elected representative owes responsibility to the party on whose ticket he/she contested the election. He/she must say and do what he/she is told to do. The ruling parties also try to please the voter by going out of the way. Thus, dishonest persons dominate the society and the moral standard of the country deteriorates owing to widespread corruption.
- **Sometimes the government is not stable in a democracy**. In a multiple party system, the government is not stable as was the case during the Third and the Fourth Republics in France.
- **Local conflicts are predominant in democracy which harms national interest**. Conflicts within various groups, or communities do more harm than good. In order to upheld the ideas of democracy, such conflicts needs to be checked.

In the next section we will discuss another political ideology, that is, capitalism.



CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Q1: What are the two words from which democracy is derived from?

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.....

Q2: What are the two kinds of democracy?

.....

.....

8.4 CAPITALISM

8.4.1 Introduction

Capitalism is an economic system that is based on private ownership of the means of production and creation of goods or services for profits. The term capitalism gradually spread throughout the Western world in the 19th and 20th centuries largely through the writings of Karl Marx.

Economists, political economists and historians have taken different perspectives on the analysis of capitalism. Economists usually emphasise the degree to which government does not have control over markets (laissez faire), as well as the importance of property rights. Most political economists emphasise private property as well, in addition to power relations, wage labour, class, and the uniqueness of capitalism as a historical formation. The extent to which different markets are free, as well as the rules defining private property, is a matter of politics and policy. Many states have mixed economies referring to the varying degree of planned and market-driven elements in a state's economic system. In the next sub-section let us discuss some of the perspectives of capitalism.

8.4.2 Perspectives of Capitalism

The various perspectives of capitalism are:

●Classical Political Economy

In the 18th century the classical political economic thought emerged in Britain. In this perspective Adam Smith, David Ricardo, Jean-Baptiste Say and John Stuart Mill published analysis of the production, distribution and exchange of goods in a market.

Adam Smith in his work '*The Wealth of Nations*', said about mercantilism and his reasoning for the system of natural liberty. This is usually regarded as the beginning of the classical political economy approach. Smith devised a set of concepts that remains strongly associated with capitalism. He crticised monopolies, duties and other state enforced restriction of his time and believed that the market is the most fair and efficient **arbitrator** of resources. This view was shared by David Ricardo.

●Marxist Political Economy

Karl Marx considered capitalism to be a historically specific mode of production in which it has become the dominant mode of production. The capitalist stage of development or the corresponding bourgeois society represented the most advanced form of social organisation of that time. But he also thought that the working classes would come to power in worldwide socialist or communist transformation of human society.

●Weberian Political Sociology

In our understanding of capitalism, the views expressed by Weber are of great importance. According to Weber, market exchange, a voluntary supply of labour, and a planned division of labour within the enterprises are the important features of capitalism.

Weber argued that the development of a capitalist spirit is very important for the development of capitalism. In his book *'The Protestant Ethic* and *Spirit of Capitalism*', he pointed out how a particular form of religious spirit, **infused** with traditional modes of

economic activity. Weber pointed out that it helped in paving the way for the possibility of modern mode of western capitalism.

- **Institutional Economics**

According to this school, capitalism cannot be separated from the political and social system within which it is embedded. It emphasizes the legal foundations of capitalism and the evolutionary, habituated and volitional process by which institutions are created and changed. Thorstein Veblen was one of the key figures of this school who analysed the motivations of wealthy people in capitalism.

- **German Historical School and Austrian School**

From the German Historical School perspective, capitalism is primarily identified in terms of the organisation of production for markets. In the late 19th century, this perspective diverged with the emerging school of economics.

- **Keynesian Economics**

The British economist, J.M. Keynes, in his book 'The General Theory of Employment, Interest and Money' in 1937, argued that capitalism suffered a basic problem in its ability to recover from periods of slowdowns in investment. According to him, capitalist economy could remain in an indefinite equilibrium despite high unemployment.

- **Neoclassical Economy and the Chicago School**

Today the majority of academic research on capitalism in the English speaking world draws on neoclassical economic thought. It favors extensive market coordination and relatively neutral patterns of governmental market regulation, aimed at maintaining property rights; deregulated labour, corporate, governance dominated by financial oneness of firms; and financial systems depending mainly on capital market-based financing rather than state financing.

8.5 SOCIALISM

Another political ideology is socialism. Now let us look at some of the definitions of socialism as well as the concept in details.

8.5.1 Definitions of Socialism

There is difficulty in defining socialism. However there are many definitions given by different scholars.

According to Encyclopedia Britannica, 'Socialism is that policy or theory which aims at securing, by the action of democratic authority, a better distribution and in due to sub-ordination thereto, a better production of wealth than now prevails. ' In Dictionary of Politics, socialism is defined as 'a political and economic theory, according to which the means of production, distribution and exchange should be owned and controlled by the people. Everyone should be given an equal opportunity to develop his talents and the wealth of the community should be fairly distributed.

8.5.2 Essentials of Socialism

In spite of the numerous definitions of socialism, there are certain essentials of socialism which are common to all forms.

- Socialism puts more emphasis on society than on individuals. It subordinates individual interests to the higher interests of society as a whole.
- Socialism aims at the elimination of capitalism. The capitalists and entrepreneurs are considered to be the natural enemies of the working class. As state is the guardian of the masses and the repository of the interests of all, it must protect the people from the tyranny of capitalism and that can be done only by destroying it from its roots. Under the capitalist system of production, there is competition for the sake of profits alone, that is both unhealthy and anti-social. It also results in over production. Sometimes the prices are fixed very low with a view to drive out the small producers. A lot of money is spent on the advertisement of goods.
- Socialism is opposed to capitalism which is based on the principle of profit making and not increased production for the sake of common good. Capitalism leads to unequal distribution of wealth among the different classes.

- Socialism stands for the elimination of competition which involves too much of economic waste. Moreover, there is no fair competition between the rich and poor on account of the existing economic inequality.
- Socialism stands for equality. The socialists condemn the existing inequality created by the present capitalist system.
- Socialism stands for the elimination of private property on land. Land is a free gift of nature and no individual should be allowed to use it for his personal and selfish purpose.
- Socialism stands for the elimination of private enterprise. With the abolition of capitalism, private enterprise is also to be abolished. All factors of production are to be put under the control of the state. There needs to be nationalisation of all the factors of production.
- Socialism emphasises the organic unity of society. It aims at achieving individual freedom. This freedom does not mean complete absence of any form of restraint. Rather it relates to the provision of those opportunities which would enable an individual to live a full and free life and to do that which is considered to be right by him/her.
- The socialists consider the state as an instrument of exploitation and compulsion and hence they want to do away with the state. They believe that the state will wither away.

8.5.3 Criticism of Socialism

Socialism has been criticised on many grounds. These are:

- The socialist description of human nature is not correct. It kills the individual initiative. The socialists' stand for the elimination of private enterprise and private property, but the acquisitive instinct of man requires them. Likewise, competition is in the blood of every individual.
- According to socialism, the state should not only take up protective functions like maintenance of law and order, justice and protection against foreign aggression, but it should also increase the

production. As such under socialism, functions of the state would be so much enlarged that it would not be possible to discharge them well.

- Socialism divides society into two classes, capitalist and workers. Their interests are conflicting and there can be no unity between them. This brings about conflicts and clashes in the society.
- Socialism kills individual freedom. Socialism gives much power to the state and it interferes with every sphere of individual activity. This restricts individual freedom.

8.5.4 Merits of Socialism

- The socialists depict; vividly and effectively, the evils of the existing system and thereby focus the attention of the people to remedy them. They arouse the conscience of the people towards the misery and suffering of the poor.
- Socialism has emphasised the importance of environment in determining the character and destiny of individuals and nations. The socialists do not attribute the sufferings of the people to the doctrine of predestination or the will of God, but to the capitalist regime under which they live. They hold the existing circumstances of the society responsible for the ills of the society.
- Socialism promotes social welfare. It aims at the welfare of all and not of a few. The functions of the state are not restricted in a socialist society. Most of the functions of the state are welfare functions. Socialism provides equal opportunity to all. The sufferings of the people are removed and they live in happiness and prosperity.
- Socialism achieves rapid progress in the economic field. The social evils like unemployment, over-production, wastage, slums and monopoly are not seen in socialism. Planning is a part of socialism. The state diverts all its resources in a planned and systematic manner. It avoids wastage and extravagance which are the result of a competitive economy. It stands for cooperation and not competition.

- Socialism puts emphasis on society and not on the individual. The selfish interests are not allowed to have their way. The whole society is organised in such a way that maximum benefit is achieved, within the minimum possible time.



CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Q3: What are the various perspectives under capitalism?

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.....

Q4: According to Encyclopedia Britannica, what is the definition of socialism?

.....

.....



8.6 LET US SUM UP

- Democracy has been defined by different scholars differently. But in simple sense it means the power of the people.
- Democracy has two types: pure or direct democracy, where people themselves directly express their will, and indirect or representative democracy; here people expressed their will by their representatives.
- Liberty, equality, fraternity, etc. are some important principles of democracy.
- Democracy has some merits like it is based on interest of the people, equality among the people, public opinion, etc. On the other hand, there are also some demerits found in democracy like it gives importance on quantity than quality; at times there is the chance that it is ruled by some incompetent person who gains majority.
- Capitalism is an economic system that is based on private ownership of the means of production and creation of goods or services for profits.

- There are different perspectives of capitalism given by different scholars. These are Classical Political Economy, Marxist Political Economy, Weberian Political Sociology, Institutional Economy, German Historical School and Austrian School, Keynesian Economy, and Neoclassical Economy and The Chicago School.
- Socialism is another important ideology under political sociology. It puts more emphasis on society than individual. Elimination of capitalism is an important aim of socialism. The socialists condemn the existing inequality created by the capitalist system.
- However, socialism was criticised on various grounds like it kills the individual initiative and their freedom. It divides the society into two classes – Capitalist and Worker and there is no unity among them which ultimately brings conflicts in the society.



8.7 FURTHER READINGS

1) J.C. Johari. (2009). *Principles of Modern Political Science*. New Delhi: Sterling Publishers Private Limited.

2) R.C. Agarwal. (1991). *Political Theory: Principles of Political* Science. New Delhi: S. Chand & Company Ltd.

3) Vidya Dhar Mahajan. (1975). *Principles of Political Science*. New Delhi: S.Chand & Company Ltd.



8.8 ANSWER TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Ans to Q No 1: The term democracy is derived from the two Greek word **demos** and **kratos**.

Ans to Q No 2: The two kinds of democracy are Pure or Direct Democracy and Indirect or Representative Democracy.

Ans to Q No 3: The various perspectives under capitalism are Classical Political Economy, Marxist Political Economy, Weberian Political Sociology, Institutional Economics, German HIstorical School and

Austrian School, Keynesian Economics, Neoclassical Economy and the Chicago School.

Ans to Q No 4: According to Encyclopedia Britannica, 'Socialism is that policy or theory which aims at securing, by the action of democratic authority, a better distribution and in due to sub-ordination thereto, a better production of wealth than now prevails. '



8.9 MODEL QUESTIONS

A) Short questions (write within 150 words)

Q.1 What do you mean by democracy?

Q.2 Define socialism.

B) Essay type questions (write within 300-500 words)

Q.1 Discuss about the principles of democracy and also merits and demerits of democracy.

Q.2 Discuss about the different perspectives of capitalism.

Q.3 What are the essentials of socialism? Write about its criticism.

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UNIT 9 POLITICAL IDEOLOGIES- II

UNIT STRUCTURE

9.1 Learning Objectives

9.2 Introduction

9.3 Communism

- 9.3.1 Meaning
- 9.3.2 Theoretical Dimensions
- 9.3.3 Practical Dimensions
- 9.3.4 Distinctive Features of Communism
- 9.3.5 Criticism of Communism
- 9.3.6 Common Features of Socialism and Communism

9.4 Fascism

- 9.4.1 Definition of Fascism
- 9.4.2 Rise of Fascism
- 9.4.3 Salient Features of Fascism

9.5 Let us sum up

9.6 Further Readings

9.7 Answer to check your progress

9.8 Model Questions

9.1 LEARNING OBJECTIVES

After going through this unit you will be able to –

- discuss communism and its two dimensions as well as identify its distinctive features and can criticise it.
- identify common features of socialism and communism
- explain Fascism with its definitions, rise of Fascism and its different features

9.2 INTRODUCTION

In the previous unit we have discussed about democracy, capitalism, socialism. In this unit we are going to discuss about another two important political ideology and they are communism and fascism.

9.3 COMMUNISM

9.3.1 Meaning

In a general sense, communism is a very old idea having its sanction in religious and philosophical books of the world. But in a special sense, it is a doctrine which originated from the Communist Manifesto of Marx and Engels of 1847-48. It is also known as *Scientific Socialism* or *Marxism*. In his **Communist Manifesto**, Marx says, 'Communism, in this sense of word, is essentially a theory of method, it seeks to lay down the principles upon which the transition from capitalism to socialism is to be accomplished and its two essential doctrines are the class war and revolution, that is forcible transfer of power to the proletariat. ' It saw its further elaboration in the subsequent writings of Marx and Engels. As such, Marxism is the ideological foundation of communism. But since it was applied to the conditions of Russia in 1919 by Lenin, it came to have its applied form in the ideas and actions of the great Russian leader. As such, Marxism means communism in its theoretical form with Leninism being its practical counterpart. It has witnessed its development in other countries of the world under the leadership of their prominent figures, the names of the great national leaders of such countries has also been added to the title of Marxism-Leninism. As such, communism has two dimensions- theoretical and practical. The theoretical dimension has its form in the Communist Manifesto of Marx and its practical dimensions can be seen in the actions and programmes of its great leaders. Now let us discuss these two dimensions of communism in the next section.

9.3.2 Theoretical Dimension

According to Marx and Engels and their interpretations made by Lenin and others, all social progress is caused by law of contradictions in which material forces play the decisive role. The society is divided into two contending classes. Since the dominant and the exploiting class becomes the thesis, the dominated and the exploited class becomes its anti-thesis and, as a result of contradiction between the two classes, social development takes place. On the basis of this explanation Marx and Engels could prophesise that capitalism would be replaced by socialism. It was, indeed a great message of hope for the oppressed and the exploited working class.

Revolution is inevitable because the capitalist class has its enemy in the form of the working class. The whole system established by the capitalist and imperialists would be turned against this very class of monopolist and exploiters by the proletariat and that would mean the advent of Marxian socialism in a particular country under the leadership of the communist party- the vanguard of the working class.

The Communist Manifesto hails emergence of capitalism after the termination of the feudal system as a “democratic revolution”, because it clears the way for the eventual advent of socialism that would signify the first victory of the exploited class in a country and also open the way for the victory of proletariat in other parts of the world.

9.3.3 Practical Dimension

As is already pointed out, communism is mainly a practical doctrine whose aim is to bring about socialism as given by Marx and Engels. For this a revolution is required. In the view of the communists, such a revolution can be done by the proletariat under the leadership of the Communist party. As the bourgeois class would leave no stone unturned in suppressing the revolution of the working

class, the working class is compelled to make use of every possible means of violence and **insurrection** to achieve its aim.

There are two stages in the doctrine of communism. They are

- **Transitional Stage**: It would come into existence just after the victory of the working class in the revolution and the new kind of state would be known as the "dictatorship of the proletariat". The aim of this state would be to crush the capitalists, feudal lords, reactionaries and counter-revolutionaries. It would use all means of force and coercion to establish a classless society. This kind of state came into being in Russia in 1917 and in China in 1949. But the difference between Russian and Chinese experiments shows that while the Russian line is to have a "total state" with all economy in the hands of the state, the Chinese way is to consolidate socialism through the course of 'mixed economy. ' However, all communists endorse the view that the state would have a coercive and oppressive character so as to do away with all kinds of enemies of socialism. Thus the new state, called "quasi-state" by Lenin emerged, which would be a class organization, and, as such, act as the representative of the revolutionary working class. " It follows that the State during this period will be oppressive and autocratic; it will exercise compulsory powers, and it will not be purely democratic; that is to say, it will not represent all the parties within the state. On the contrary, it will represent one party only, that is, the proletariat. This will be definitely used by that party to suppress the bourgeoisie.
- **Final Stage**: This stage is also known as the "post-revolutionary stage "or the last phase of social development ensuring full freedom of man. It is the goal towards which needs to be achieved under the communist state regime. The Anarchists call this as "future society" ensuring complete emancipation of man from yokes of the state, of the capitalists, and of religion. It is the period in which state will wither away and the classless society would be established. Under the dictatorship of the proletariat, it would be transformed into stateless condition of life. The communists hope that a day would

come when man is free from all sorts of coercion, exploitation and oppression. All public affairs would be managed by the free and voluntary associations of the people. So as long as class struggle continues, the state would continue; it would cease to have any *raison d' etre* as soon as it has suppressed class distinctions. According to Engels, "since the state is only a temporary institution which is to be made use of in the revolution in order to forcibly suppress the opponents, it is perfectly absurd to talk about a free and popular State: so long as the proletariat needs the State, it needs it not in the interests of freedom, but in order to suppress its opponents; and when it becomes possible to speak of freedom, the State as such ceases to exist. "

9.3.4 Distinctive Features of Communism

- A communist mode of production envisaging a single (public, that is, belonging to the whole people) form of ownership of the means of production.
- The all-round development of society will make it possible to realise the great principle, which is, *from each according to his abilities, to each according to his needs.*
- People will be engaged in communist labour, and will receive no wages for their work. They will experience a vital necessity to work for the good of society putting the abilities of each to the greatest use for the people.
- As a result of the disappearance of classes in society, the complete social equality of all members of society will be reached.
- Public self-administration means drawing the free and socially conscious working people into managing all the affairs of society and all spheres of social life.
- Well-being and all-round harmonious development of people will become the goal of existence and development of a communist society.

9.3.5 Criticism of Communism

- Since communism is mainly based on the premise of class war, it presents a dangerously over simplified view of our social life. A harmful objective may be traced behind the attempt of first dividing society into two hostile classes and putting them at war against each other with the aim of seizing power of the state not for the interest of the working class but for the communist themselves.
- The use of violent means by any doctrine cannot and should not be appreciated. As such playing with means of violence is to tread the path of fire. Violence always gives rise to violence. It would pose as a great harm to the society. A violent revolution may lead to an unimaginable loss to the life and property of the people.
- The real character of the state after the revolution is dictatorial and to call it dictatorship of the proletariat i.e., it makes it democratic. Dictatorship is always a dictatorship whether it is the rule of one man or of a class and the like. It is a great evil. Thus, theoretically it is the dictatorship of the working class, but in a real sense it is the autocratic rule of a very small clique of the communist party led by Lenin and others. It may be termed democratic for the working class and dictatorial for its enemies. The state of any communist country is the most oppressive and the most coercive organisation that is used by the section of communist leaders so as to overthrow the socialist doctrine.

9.3.6 Common features of Socialism and Communism

- The mode of production of material values in both phases is based on public ownership of the means of production and on relationships of friendly cooperation mutual aid between working people who are free from exploitation.
- There are not exploiter classes, no exploitation of man by man, no form of social, racial, or natural oppression.
- Social production is for the well-being of the working class, to meeting their growing material and cultural needs, to developing their abilities and talents. This is achieved by the working people themselves.

- Socialist production as well as all sides of social life develops on a planned and proportional basis.
- Society is an integral organism, free from antagonism and conflict. The spiritual life of society is based on scientific outlook.
- Social progress, peace and friendship among nations are promoted constantly.



CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Q1: Who was the founder of Communism?

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.....

Q2: What are the other terms used for communism?

.....

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9.4 FASCISM

9.4.1 Definitons of Fascism

Fascism is considered as one of the great mass movements launched during the 20th century. According to **J.S.Barnes**, "Fascism may be defined generally as a political and social order based upon the current of traditions that have formed our European civilization; traditions created first by Roman Empire and subsequently by the Catholic Church. Conversely, Fascism may be described as the repudiation of that individualist mentality that found expression first in the pagan Renaissance, then in the Reformation, and later in the French Revolution. " **Ebenstein** holds that Fascism is a revolutionary totalitarian revolt against the liberal way of life. Thus,fascism is the totalitarian organization of government and society by a single party dictatorship, which is intensely nationalist, militarist and imperialist. Rajni Palme Dutt writes, "Fascism is, in fact, no peculiar independent

doctrine and system arising in opposition to existing capitalist society. Fascism, on the contrary, is most complete and consistent in working out in certain conditions of extreme decay; of the typical tendencies and policies of modern capitalism. ”

9.4.2 Rise of Fascism

Italy was on the side of England and France during the World War I (1914-18). Therefore, she had to suffer a great loss at the hands of Germany and Austria. Under the Secret Treaty of London, England agreed to give Italy sufficient money and a large territory, but when England became victorious in the war, the claims of Italy were completely ignored. Italy faced a great loss in the First World War. Therefore, there was great resentment among its people.

Secondly, there was a widespread discontentment in Italy because after the war, retrenchment took place in the army. There was falling in matters of production because the Communists were instigating the workers to resort to strike in order to bring in Communism.

Thirdly, there was indiscipline and chaos in all walks of life in Italy.

Fourthly the democratic government, which was established in Italy after the First World War, could not solve any of her problems satisfactorily.

In such a situation, Mussolini established the doctrine of Fascism. Thus fascism as a political party gained great power till 1929.

9.4.3 Salient features of Fascism

Fascism was not a doctrine and had no elaborate programme. It was a technique of gaining and retaining power by violence. To quote Mussolini, “Our programme is simple; we wish to govern Italy. They ask us for programmes, but there are already too many. It is not programmes that are waiting for the salvation of

Italy but men and will power. Formal principles are iron and tin fetters. The Fascists are the gypsies of Italian politics; not being tied down to any fixed principles, they proceed unceasingly towards one goal, the future well being of the Italian people. ”

- The Fascists glorified the nation. According to them the nation had a personality, a will and an end of its own, apart from those of the individuals. They did not believe in an **atomistic** conception of society. They believed in the organic nature of the state and society. According to them, a nation was a harmonious group of persons who were united together by a common language, customs, traditions and religion. The individuals had a meaning only in the context of national life and were merely abstract entities when separated from it. The nation was a self–sufficient entity and its life was continuous and ever-lasting.
- The Fascists glorified the state which was regarded as an end in itself. The state was glorified even at the cost of the individuals.
- The Fascists did not believe in reason. Such distrust of reason was perhaps the most important trait of Fascism. The Fascists regarded man as an irrational animal and his social and political activities were based on that principle. As such fascism was a revolt against reason. It stood in favour of the superiority of the instinct over reason, action over talk.
- Fascism believed in myths. Instead of scientific education, emphasis was put on the propaganda.
- There was not much scope for liberty under the fascist state because the fascists had put more emphasis on the might of the state than on the liberty of the individuals.
- The Fascists believed in an authoritarian, totalitarian and an omnipotent state. They put emphasis on the duties of the citizens and not on their rights. They were always prepared to sacrifice the individual at the altar of the state.
- The Fascists were the enemies of democracy and liberalism. They had no faith in a parliamentary form of government which they described as stupid, corrupt, slow-moving, impracticable and

inefficient. They called it a decaying corpse. They accused the parliaments of not being able to accomplish anything substantial. They considered democracy as something unnatural and denied the very basis of democracy. They did not believe in the inherent worth of man and held the view that the greatest virtue of man was to obey the state and ultimately merge oneself into it.

- Fascism believed in the existence of one party in the state and the entire administration was to be run by that party. The basic slogan of fascism was: "One party, One Leader. "
- Fascism gave utmost regard to leaders who were worshipped as heroes or supermen. Hitler in Germany and Mussolini in Italy were virtually worshipped and wide publicity was given to their photographs and greatness. It was maintained that Hitler was Germany and Germany was Hitler. Fascism was anti-revolutionary and anti-democratic. It resisted all changes and crushed all movements which stood for a change. It used naked force to resist change and maintain the *status quo*.
- Fascism was opposed to all human values and feelings. It took a stand against intellectualism. The Fascists wanted absolute obedience from all. All were to behave like faithful dogs to the Duce who had no use of the intellectual power of the people.



CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Q3: Give an example of a mass movement that was launched during the twentieth century?

.....

.....

Q4: Did the fascist regime give importance to the state or the individual?

.....

.....

Q5: What kind of a state did the fascist regime believed in?

.....

.....



9.5 LET US SUM UP

- Communism is another political ideology which is also known as Marxism or Scientific Socialism.
- It originated from the Communist Manifesto of Marx and Engels. Karl Marx is regarded as the founder of communism.
- Fascism was one of the great mass movements. Mussolini established the doctrine of Fascism.
- Fascism as a political party gained great power till 1929.
- It did not believed in reason. It believed in myths. There was not much scope of liberty.
- Fascism was against the ideals of both democracy as well as liberalism.



9.6 FURTHER READINGS

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9.7 ANSWER TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Ans to Q No 1: Karl Marx is regarded as the founder of communism. Marxism is regarded as the ideological foundation of communism.

Ans to Q No 2: Communism is also known as *Scientific Socialism* or *Marxism*.

Ans to Q No 3: Fascism is an example of a mass movement that was launched during the twentieth century.

Ans to Q No 4: The fascist regime gave importance to the state rather than the individual.

Ans to Q No 5: The Fascist regime believed in an authoritarian, totalitarian and an omnipotent state.



9.8 MODEL QUESTIONS

A) Short questions (write within 150 words)

Q.1 What do you mean by Communism?

Q.2 Mention two futures of Fascism?

Q.3 Write about the rise of Fascism.

B) Essay type questions (write within 300-500 words)

Q.1 Discuss about the different dimensions of communism with its criticism.

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Unit-10 POLITICAL PARTIES

UNIT STRUCTURE

10.1 Unit Objectives
10.2 Introduction
10.3 Meaning of Political party
10.4 Functions of Political parties
10.5 Classification of political parties
10.6 Political Parties in Democratic set up and in India
10.7 Let Us Sum up
10.8 Further Reading
10.9 Answers to check your progress
10.10 Model Questions

10.1 UNIT OBJECTIVES

After going through this unit you will be able to:

- define the meaning of political party and how it differs from other social groups.
- discuss its characteristic features and classify it into different types.
- understand the structure and importance of political parties.
- understand the party system in India

10.2 INTRODUCTION

You must be familiar that the social life is made up of many organized groups. Some of them enjoy a special attention in Political Sociology because of their direct bearing on the political process. Since Political Sociology provides a new vista in political analysis so it examines social power and focuses on the political attitudes, values and behaviour of people in different societies. In this unit we will learn about an important unit of analysis in political sociology and that is, political parties.

10.3 MEANING OF POLITICAL PARTY

Besides, the operation of political power and authority-which happens to be the central theme around which has grown much of the content of Political sociology, it cannot be fully understood -without a proper assessment of the role of the political party. One of the few reliable means for satisfying one's queries about how the aspirants after power compete for it, how the actual power holders come to acquire power and how, further, power, is formally acquired, flows through the institutional channel. With regard to political parties, the political sociologist's focus is, however, different from that of a political scientist. While the political scientist views the political party as nothing but a political institution having immense relevance to the question about the formation and working of government in a modern state, the political sociologist, in addition, looks upon the *party as essentially a social group, as, what Max Weber has called, "'an associative type of social relationship, membership in which rests on formally free recruitment".*

Gabriel Almond defined political party as the socialized aggregation structure of modern societies.

In the words of Bruke, "a party is a body of men for promoting their joint endeavors the national interest, upon some particular principle in which they are all agreed."

It is a social group because, firstly, it embodies a system of interdependent activity and interpersonal relationships. Secondly, it operates in terms of goal-oriented coordinated actions in as far as it demands from its members a rational direction of their behaviour towards commonly acknowledged goals. The range of this interdependent activity and the type of goals it is directed to, varies depending on the social and political environment. It is because, political parties are nothing but a structural response to the patterns of social and political needs of a society.

Thus of all the social groups, the political party is the most preamble and adaptive organisation. The party, however, is not only keen on expanding its clientele for the sake of its own power aspirations; it brings advantage to the latter. Since the party is a clientele-oriented organization, it naturally

accommodates different types of sector-economic interests. Further, a political party is always marked by a hierarchical structure. There is, however, a speciality in this hierarchy in as far as it does not give rise to highly centralized control and keep power strictly confined among the members placed at the top of this hierarchy. Actually, the fact that a political party is, by nature, adaptive and that it has to accommodate heterogeneous interests forces it to diffuse power and devolve responsibility up to the local structural strata.

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

10.4 FUNCTIONS OF POLITICAL PARTY

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

- Aggregation of Interests: A political party performs a wide range of functions. An important function among which is *aggregation of interests*. A political party, as we have seen, is a multi-interest group that represents diverse interests of the society. But what is more important is it harmonizes these interests with each other, bridges the antagonisms between the

different groups of society and thereby seeks to produce a consensus among as many groups as possible. Thus, sectional interests, once they are brought within the fold of the party, no longer remain sectional. Geographical diversities under the purview of the party tend to be blurred and it is just for this that a party is able to arrive at a consistent and clear-cut policy. Once the diverse interests are thus made to converge within the frame work of the party the political process is made much simplified and there emerges order and, therefore, stability in it. Political parties thus act as a very effective mediator in settling disagreements in society in a peaceful and institutional manner.

- Two-way communication process: Another important function of the party is to ensure a *two-way communication process* between government and the people. It is mainly through the parties that the government is constantly kept informed about the general demands of society, about the interests and attitudes of the people in relation to the governing process. Similarly, it is through the parties that people get their political information. The parties organise and articulate public opinion in order to bring this opinion to hear on governmental decisions, They educate and instruct the people on public issues and simplify and clarify issue alternatives. The party activity in this regard, however, is not left confined merely within election times. It, in fact, goes on continuously and thus the party becomes an important agency of political participation.
- Political Recruitment*: Political recruitment* is another important function of the political party. In a democracy political elites are recruited mainly through political parties; leaders of government are normally the leaders of political parties. In a one-party system, this function of the political party assumes greater dimensions since in such a system political party happens to provide the only avenue to political power. The general patterns of party recruitment may, however, be classified as: hegemonic and turn-over. In hegemonic recruitment pattern the same party or the same coalition of parties hold governmental power over a long period of time. In the turn over,type, on the contrary, there is a more frequent change in the party that rules or the party that dominates a coalition. Thus, recruitment is more

permanent in the hegemonic pattern than in the turn-over pattern. India provides a good example of the hegemonic recruitment while the turn-over recruitment is well illustrated by the British politics.

- Political Socialization: Fourthly, the party plays a very significant role in the *process of political socialization* in a country. We have already seen that the party is a very important instrument for ensuring political involvement of the people. It is in course of extending the opportunities of this political involvement to the people that the party socializes them. The political socialization performed by political parties may, however, assume two distinct forms. The party may either reinforce the existing political culture or it may try to alter the established political culture pattern by germinating new attitudes and beliefs.

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

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



CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

A) Fill in the Blanks:

Q1 Divisive …… that may seriously affect the stability of the political system.

Q2) Political party is always marked by a ……..structure

10.5 CLASSIFICATTION OF POLITICAL PARTIES

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

a dominant ideology, ruthlessly controls all aspects of social, economic and political activity. China, the Soviet Union, Vietnam, North Korea and several of the East European states provide examples of this type.

- *Two-party system* may further be classified into distinct two-party system to be found in Britain, Australia and West Germany and indistinct two-party system as illustrated by the United States. In the former the parties are more centralized and ideology-based; They have a hierarchical structure and their activities are not merely confined to election times. In the latter the parties are not really mass parties; they give less emphasis on ideologies and are more interested in winning elections. "
- *Multi-party system* may also be classified into working multi-party system and unstable multi-party system as represented respectively by Norway and Sweden, on the one hand, and France and Italy, on the other. In the former the parties behave more on the pattern of the distinct two-party system, hardly affecting the workability of government while in the latter multiplicity of parties leads to a frequent change in government, altering the stability of the governmental order. Sometimes, within the framework of a multiparty system, there emerges a dominant party system. In a dominant party system, one party emerges much stronger than all the other parties and institutionally establishes its dominance in the political system. The Congress party of India with its continuous dominance over the Indian political scene provides an Ideal illustration of this type.

On *the basis of the rigidity of party doctrines*, parties may further be classified as *pragmatic and ideological.* The pragmatic parties are more programmatic and less ideological. They are also broker-bargaining parties in as they seek to accommodate as many groups as possible in order to win an electoral majority. T he American parties are clearly of this type. The Congress party of India also very much comes under this cate gory. The ideological parties are more doctrinaire-dogmatic. They avoid political bargaining and compromise and, naturally, are intolerant of any form of political opposition. The Chinese and Russian Communist parties are of this type. In between these two types there may be a third type represented by a generally flexible and broker-bargaining party which is keen on getting

as many supporters as possible, but which, at the same time, limits its appeal by representing only certain groups of voters or embracing certain doctrines. The United Malays National Organization of Malaysia illustrates this type.

The variations in the party system are only indicative of the fact that different societies may have different modes of candid-management. In most cases, the mode of this candid management, on its part, is found to be dependent on the type of socio-economic environment in the context of which these conflicts emerge. A developed industrial society essentially thrives on division of labour and specialisation of occupational activities which naturally give birth to too many diverse interests. In the face of these diverse interests an industrial society manages to survive just because all these interests are threaded together in terms of coordinated social actions. Thus, an industrial society works well just because, forced by the objective needs, it manages to arrive at a consensus, an agreement that the paramount goal is decidedly to increase economic productivity at any cost. Thus to keep the society going and for the sake of the goal the diversity of social interests must never be led to a point of open belligerence among them. It is for this reason that in a widened industrial society one comes across either a bi-party system. or a multi-party system since it is impossible for a single party to represent the myriad interests of such a society. Moreover, since such a society functions in the context of a general consensus the competition among the political parties never leads them to an irreconcilable hostility that may endanger the ability of the political system. In such a society, the homogenizing effect of urbanization that accompanies industrialization and an effective network of communications, further facilitate the process of conflict-management.

When, on the contrary, the society is industrially backward it is constrained by circumstances to achieve a consensus. Further when, it is more subjected to the traditional particularistic and parochial forces it is likely to be marked by a bitter clash of interests. In such a society many political parties representing various sectional interests are likely to take the political competition in a spirit of hostility thereby seriously affecting the stability

of the political system. Sometimes, the resulting disorder may be so frustrating that it may corrode the ability of the parties to compete effectively for political power and in the midst of this confusion and disorder a particular political party may suddenly assume unusual strength. Recent experiences of most at the Afro-Asian states illustrate this point.

It is, however, worth-noting that the correlation between socioeconomic variables and party development cannot be so easily established in case of the totalitarian one-party system. The totalitarian one-party system certainly belies the thesis that increasing diversity of interests generated by an industrial society and the general social climate of consensus necessitate the growth of more than one party that does not, affect the stability of the political order. This exception with regard to the totalitarian one-party system can perhaps be explained by the fact that a totalitarian system is more interested in evolving a uniformity of interests than in working out a synthesis between the conflicting interests and this is sought to be secured by harnessing the society towards a rigid uniformity by bringing it under the strictest control of the state. Indeed, the political party in this system works as the most important agency for wielding political control over the whole of society. In other words, the party here is used as an effective instrument for bringing in the desired social change. And this is what reveals that a political party is not only a reflection of the socio-economic forces, but it is the character of a society. Although this is more evident in totalitarian systems, in liberal democratic systems too this function of the party may often be noticed. Thus the effective working of a bi-party system within a democratic political framework may make a society a great believer in the art of compromise and peaceful negotiations and abhorrent of violence and ultra radical ideas and activities.

Duverger in his book *Political parties* said that a party is a community with political structure. He classifies party into *Externally created and Internally created parties*. The externally created political parties are more centralized, coherent and more disciplined. The development of internally created parties starts at the base. Since local committees create a central

body to coordinate their activities, they naturally see to it that they maintain their autonomy and grant limited powers to the central body.

10.6 POLITICAL PARTIES IN DEMOCRATIC SETUP AND IN INDIA

The establishment of Indian National Congress in 1885 in India is generally considered as the beginning of the formation of parties. To begin with, the Indian National Congress which led national movement was an umbrella organization representing interests of all sections of society. The formative phase of the Indian National Congress was dominated by the Moderates like Dada Bhai Naoroji, Surendra Nath Banerjee, Gopal Krishna Gokhale and others as well as the extremists like Lala Lajpat Rai, Bal Gangadhar Tilakand Bipin Chandra Pal. After the First World War, the Indian National Congress steered the path of India's independence under the leadership of Mahatma Gandhi. There also emerged some other political parties during this period like the Muslim League, the Communist Party of India, the Hindu Mahasabha, etc. After independence in 1947, the Indian National Congress transferred itself into a political party in the sense of contesting elections and forming government. It remained a dominant political party up to 1967, as it continued to win elections held in 1952, 1957, 1962 and 1967 at the Centre as well as in almost all the States. This period is known as 'one party dominant system' in view of the Congress winning majorities whereas the large number of other political parties contesting elections and winning only few seats. Since 1967 the party system in India has been in constant flux. In 1971 although the Congress won a majority in the Lok Sabha, in many states various other political parties formed governments mostly in coaltions. After 1977, it appeared that India had moved towards a 'two party system' – the two parties being the Indian National Congress and the Janata Party. But it was only for a very short period. The Janata Party which was in fact a coalition of various factions like the Congress O, the Jana Sangh, the Socialists, the Bharatiya Lok Dal, and the Congress for Democracy split into different factions. The Janata Dal split

once again and gave advantage to the Congress which returned to power at the Centre in 1980 and remained there until 1989. However, the Congress has not been able to regain its dominant position ever since 1989. Indian party system witnesses a coalition system of government from 1989 onwards. Since 1999 two broad coalitions have come up – one, known as the National Democratic Alliance (NDA), led by the Bharatiya Janata Party, and the second, known as the United Progressive Alliance (UPA), led by the Congress Party. At present in India in fact there is a multi-party system as very large number of parties participates in political process.



CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

QB1) Name two major political coalitions in India.

_____

_____

QB2) Name two countries where multi-party system can be found.

_____

_____



10.7 LET US SUM UP

- The operation of political power and authority-which happens to be the central theme around which has grown much of the content of Political sociology.
- It is a social group because, firstly, it embodies a system of interdependent activity and interpersonal relationships.
- Secondly, it operates in terms of goal-oriented coordinated actions in as far as it demands from its members a rational direction of their behaviour towards commonly acknowledged goals.
- A political party is different from other social groups like families, churches and business firms; it has some special features that distinguish it from the latter.

- One such feature is to be found in the pattern of the goal a political party strives for the primary goal of a political party is to secure political' power and to hold it either singly or in cooperation with other political parties.
- Parties may be classified not only on the basis of their structure but also in terms of other criteria.
- A very frequently used criterion is the number of parties in the party system. Thus, there can be the single-party system, the two-party system and the multi-party system.
- The establishment of Indian National Congress in 1885 in India is generally considered as the beginning of the formation of parties.
- The Indian National Congress which led national movement was an umbrella organization representing interests of all sections of society.
- Indian party system witnesses a coalition system of government from 1989 onwards.



10.8 FURTHER READING

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6) Nash, K. 2000. *Contemporary Polotical Sociology- Globalization, Polotics and Power.* Blackwell Publishers.

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10.9 ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Answer to QA1) Particularism

Answer to QA2) hierarchical

Answer to QB1) National Democratic Alliance (NDA), led by the BharatiyaJanataParty, and the second, known as the United Progressive Alliance (UPA).

Answer to QB2) Norway and Sweden.

10.10 MODEL QUESTIONS

QA) Short Questions (Answer within 150 words)

Q1: What is meant by political party?

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

QB) Long Questions (Answer within 300-500 words)

Q1: Write an essay on Multi-party system.

Q2: Explain the functions of political party.

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UNIT 11: POLITICS IN INDIA

UNIT STRUCTURE

11.1 Learning Objectives

11.2 Introduction

11.3 Social Background of Nationalism

- 11.3.1 Pre-British Village Economy
- 11.3.2 Pre-British Village Culture
- 11.3.3 Pre-British Urban Economy
- 11.3.4 Pre-British Urban Culture
- 11.3.5 Transformation of Economy
- 11.3.6 Decline of Village Artisan Industry
- 11.3.7 Decline of Town Handicrafts
- 11.3.8 Modern Means of Communication and Transformation
- 11.3.9 Introduction of Modern Education

11.4 National Integration and challenges

11.5 Ideals of the Indian Constitution

11.6 Let Us Sum Up

11.7 Further Reading

11.8 Answers to check your Progress

11.9 Model Questions

11.1 LEARNING OBJECTIVES

After going through this unit you will be able to:

- know about the social background of Indian nationalism
- know the ideals of Indian constitution.

11.2 INTRODUCTION

In any country or a nation-state, a lot of importance is attached to the political scenario. The politics and the events surrounding it occupies a

central theme of discussion in political sociology as well as discipline political science. It is the 'politics', the parties as well as the bureaucracy and the public which ultimately shapes a nation's future. In this unit, we will discuss the issues surrounding politics, like nationalism and look into the ideals of the constitution and its role in securing the democratic rights of the common public in India.

Now let us begin our discussion with the concept as well as social background of nationalism in India.

11.3 SOCIAL BACKGROUND OF NATIONALISM

Nationalism has emerged as one of the central issue in the discussion of politics in India. However, it is really difficult to find out an widely accepted definition of the term 'Nationalism' . Nationalism can be defined as the consciousness of belonging to a group which possesses certain common characteristics or we may define it as a state of mind; a psychological and cultural concept.

At times, the concept of nationalism is also related with patriotism, which means intense love for one's country. Again, some define it as a force which holds together a community in a defined territory. It is a sentiment of similarity among the people belonging to the same group. It means a feeling of common consciousness. Further in the Indian context, the idea of nationalism is of immense importance while discussing the area of political sociology.

According to *A.R. Desai,* "*Indian Nationalism came into being during the British period as a result of the action and inter-action of numerous subjective and objective forces and factors, which developed within the Indian society, under the conditions of the British rule and the impact of world forces*."

The rise and growth of Indian Nationalism has a multidimensional, complex and a peculiar social background. It is because of various reasons.

India is a vast country with large population having varied culture,

language, religion amongst others. In Pre-British India, the social and political structure was quite unique. Although for their own interest, yet the new measures under colonial rule radically changed the economic structure of the Indian society. The British introduced new land revenue systems, as well as modern education, modern means of communication and other institutions. In reality, it basically made the process of exploitation much easier.

This indirect way of exploitation by the colonial powers, resulted in the emergence of new social forces. These social forces by their very nature came into conflict with British colonialism. Hence it became the basis for the rise and growth of Indian Nationalism. As such, it is very essential that we look into the economy at various stages of Indian History. This will help us in understanding the spirit of nationalism in the Indian context.

11.3.1 PRE-BRITISH VILLAGE ECONOMY

The pre-British villages were like little republic. The self-sufficient village economy was basically agro-based and self dependant. These villages produced for themselves. The motive for profit making or concept of mass production was not present. Hence, before the colonial era, the village population led an independent life.

11.3.2 PRE-BRITISH VILLAGE CULTURE

The villages in the Pre-British India were conservative, unchanging, **autarchic**, people having beliefs on superstitions, religious mysticism and crudest forms of worship of natural forces. The villages, in that period were a platform for considerable inner society activity. The villagers celebrated their social occasions such as *Ramlila* (a rudimentary stage), *Kathas* (religious gathering) and other occasions. The religious sentiments among the villagers were very strong. However as Indians the sentiments esentiments differed. **The villagers got united in the name of religion. As an individual belonging to a particular community, say as a Hindu, or a Muslim that they got united in the name of religion as**

Hindus, as Buddhist, as Muslims, but not as Indians. In this regard, *D.P. Mukherji* has put forward that "*it was the consciousness of a religious- ideological unity and not that of a politico-economic unity (nationalism)*. "

11.3.3 PRE-BRITISH URBAN ECONOMY

The economy, before the coming of the Britishers, was developed and self sufficient. According to *Calverton*, "*The industries of India, far more advanced than those of west, were the product of clever brains, fine abilities, creative genius*. " The industries of India including textiles, cotton, and cloths were well developed. There were other industries such as stone work, metal work, sugar, indigo, paper industry, wood work, pottery etc. The artisan industry was also developed, and produced luxury articles for the aristocratic society. The town's handicrafts also reached a level of development and became known for its variety and great artistic quality. As such, the Indian economy was developing and at the same time it was also benefitting the local population as well.

11.3.4 PRE-BRITISH URBAN CULTURE

There was rich, complex and a relatively progressive culture in the Pre-British Indian urban centers. It was not stationary and stereotyped; instead it had constant contact with the outside world. The towns were the mosaic of scientific, artistic, and philosophic culture. "In fact, it was in towns that great philosophic and artistic movements grew and got nourishment. " Indian culture was primarily religious in nature, developed in towns and under the patronage of kings and nobles.

However, this culture was not inspired by national sentiment and was instead always religious in its orientation. If it had any secular character, it was related to the glorification of the greatness of rulers and such. Hence as we can observe there was hardly any kind of national sentiment in this culture.

11.3.5 TRANSFORMATION OF ECONOMY

The British colonial land revenue policies totally broke the existing self sufficient village as well as the town economy. The new revenue system brought by the colonial power completely superseded the traditional right of the village land. The new colonial policies broke down the traditional, self-sufficient, self governing, and communal character of the villages. This is because of the new land relations under the colonial regime and revenue payment in the form of fixed money commercialisation became important. Thus the basic objective of the village agriculture was to serve the village requirement but instead it was replaced by the demand of the market. The peasants started to produce for the market to earn maximum cash to enable themselves to pay the land revenue to the state which was fixed at a high rate. The commercialisation of village agriculture along with the destruction of village industry; which was replaced by the cheap, machine products, broke down the village economy. Thus, the self sufficient village economy was destroyed. In the new land policies, the villagers were no more owner of the land and they were directly connected to the centralised state system. In the new state system, there were courts with new rules and regulations and it replaced the traditional Panchayats. Thus, the British policies not only affected the village economy but also other aspects of the villages. For all other judicial functions, panchayats were replaced by the modern courts.

The transformation of the collective ownership of the village on the land and forest came under state or went to private ownership. This resulted in the villagers losing their rights to use pasture and forest land in its proximity. At all “the villages slowly but steadily became transformed from a self-governing community into an administrative unit of the centralised state and a dependent economic part of the national economy, even of the world economy. “ Thus, the village agriculture and village economy entered in to the

sphere of all India and world economy. When it became a part of national economy, problems in village agriculture started affecting the whole country. Thus, the decline in agriculture and the other problems related to it such as those related to debt, poverty became national problem. Again decline in agriculture seriously affected the industry sector and the economic position of the industrialist, and became a common problem. Since the problem of Indian agriculture became common and national problem, and conditioned by the same causes, it became a common genuine sentiment and a force for mobilisation on a national basis.

11.3.6 DECLINE OF VILLAGE ARTISAN INDUSTRY

The development in communication and transportation, such as introduction of railways, buses made transportation easier. It became easier for goods to reach the villages. The Britishers collected raw materials from villages and pushed the finished products to the villages in an easier way. This influx of machine made cheap finished products was the basic cause of decline of village artisan industry. As a result some of the artisans migrated to towns and became factory and workshop employees. Some became peasant proprietors and the artisans, who survived but, had to depend on the market. With the decline in village agriculture and artisan industry the village lost its autarchic nature and became dependant on national as well as on world economy. Hence, they organized themselves for economic self-defense on a national level.

11.3.7 DECLINE OF TOWN HANDICRAFTS

Similarly the exploitative colonial policies of the Britishers became the main cause of decline of Indian town handicrafts also. The influx of the cheap machine products were the primary cause behind this decline. According to A. R. Desai the rule of East India Company proved disastrous to the handicraft industry in India for a number of reasons:

- It destroyed the native states, which were the greatest customers and patrons of this industry.
- The East India Company, which was the successor of these states, could have given **impetus** to the industries, but being a foreign company under the control and direction of a foreign power; it adopted measures under the pressure of the British government which proved detrimental to the interests of Indian manufactures.
- The East India Company was a trading company and it wanted to produce things in a lower cost and sell them profitably in other markets. The heavy duties levied on Indian goods in England further necessitated the lowering of the cost of goods which it bought to maintain the level of profit.
- It imposed customs and adopted transit measures in India which created unfavourable conditions for the Indian merchants for which they were unable to carry on internal trade effectively.

At the same time there was not sufficient industrial development in India. The destruction of handicrafts carried untold misery to the operator of these industries. Though some joined modern Indian industries and became factory and transport worker but with the lack of sufficient industrial growth they were compelled to join agriculture and became land labourers instead. These factory or transport workers, or land labourers or peasants at this point became a community with common interests and having common problem in a uniform Indian Economy.

11.3.8 MODERN MEANS OF TRANSPORTATION AND COMMUNICATION

Lord Dalhousie initiated a programme of railway construction in India which made a lasting contribution. The interests of the British colonial power forced them to establish railways and construct roads. There are various reasons why British established railways and constructed roads in India. The economic reason was to accumulate a part of British surplus capital through railway construction and to

make India a proper market. Secondly, they wanted an easier process of transportation and communication to maintain the politico-administrative unity of India. Also building of railways paved the way for rapid mobilisation and transfer of troops.

Though construction of railways and development in communication (telegraph as well as new mode of postal system) were motivated by colonial interests, it had a lasting contribution on the growth of Indian nationalism. It made agricultural production marketable and accelerated the process of industrialisation. It made mass migration of people from one part to another possible. Railways and buses also made it possible to spread progressive social and scientific ideas among the people.

11.3.9 INTRODUCTION OF MODERN EDUCATION

"The introduction of modern education in India was primarily motivated by the political administrative and economic needs of Britain in India." There were mainly three forces that led to the spread of modern education in India namely Christian missionaries, the British government and the progressive Indians. The Christian missionaries promoted education to spread Christianity, and the British government was motivated by economic need, that required sufficient staff. Another motivating power behind it was the spread of British culture.

The third powerful agency in spreading modern education in India was the Indians themselves. Raja Ram Mohan Roy pioneered it and was followed by Swami Vivekananda, Ferozshah Mehta, Dadabhai Naorozi etc. Subsequently Braham Samaj, Arya Samaj, Ramkrishna Mission, The Aligarh movement started a motivating people for modern education. Gradually, the educated Indians became the torch bearers of Indian nationalism.



CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

A) Fill in the blanks

1) Pre-British villager were like little _____

2) Indian culture was primarily _____ in nature.

11.4 NATIONAL INTEGRATION AND CHALLENGES

The focus on national integration assumes importance in our understanding of the politics in India. the concept ofnational integration has been defined by different scholars. The are various interpretations by Social Scientist like *Karl Deutsch, Edward Shils, Binder, Emerson, Daniel Lerner on national Integration. Dr. S Radhakrishnan says " national integration is not a house which could be build by mortar and bricks. It is not an industrial plan too which could be discussed and implemented by experts. National Integration, on the contrary, is a thought which must go into the heads ofthe people. It is the consciousness which mist awaken the people at large."*

In simple words, we can define national integration as a process that entails a general patriotic consciousness and rationally constructive endeavour of various groups to achieve common welfare, solidarity, identification and involvement. National integration is the creation of a feeling of oneness where the diversities are recognised and respected by imbibing a sense of nationhood.

But to achieve national integration in a diverse nation like India is a major challenge. To what extent India is integrated? It has always been a question mark in the post independent period why a part of people does not feel integrated with India.

India is a country with innumerable diversities, an entity composed of many communities, races, classes, languages and sub-cultures. In India the following hindrances are obstructing the growth of national feeling. casteism, communalism, linguistic fanaticism, social disparity, economic inequalities, and regionalism etc. There are however some other factors

which too standing as blocks in the process of national integration. According to *National Integration Council-1961* there are three main forces which continue to cut at the roots of National Integration. These are regionalism, communalism and casteism. Besides these, there are also other factors related with challenges to national integration.

11.4.1 Variation in Language

One of the most formidable obstacles in the way of national integration of our county is language. India is a multi-lingual country. We have seen that the Indian constitution recognizes 22 languages. About 2000 languages are being spoken by vaious sections of the Indian society. When India became free the decision tomake Hindi asthe national language was opposed by many people. there was an anti-Hindi agitation in Tamil Nadu. In south India people revolted against this and demanded secession from India. Another problem faced by India was the linguistic re-organization of the states. In 1956 the states were recognized on linguistic basis. Linguistic variety has become an important factor that hinders national integration process.

11.4.2 Casteism

Caste determines the socio-economic and political status of an individual. Casteism relates to a blind group loyalty towards one's own caste or sub-caste. Such a form of blind loyalty often gets translated into caste-based politics. As such unity and integrity has become a dream in a caste ridden society. The socially neglected scheduled castes under the suppressionof upper caste were not able to identify themselves in the nation building process. They felt neglected and hence there arose a gap with the mainstream India. The tensions between various castes as well as sub-castes posed as a problem for national integration. At times, to unite all castes on a common platform becomes a challenge for a diverse nation like India.

11.4.3 Economic Inequalities

If we look at the economic status of the various regions, we see a vast difference amongst them. all the states do not enjoy the same or equal economic status. Even in a particular state distribution of wealth is not properly done. As a result, day byday poor are becoming poorer and rich are becoming richer. This leads to tensions and conflicts and the growing unstability based on economic issues eventually hampers the process of national integration.

Thus all the factors mentioned in the previous section contributed towards uniting diverse sections of the earlier fragmented Indian society. It evoked a sense of nationalism among the people.

While framing the constitution of India the policymakers tried to incorporate certain ideals which could keep the sense of nationalism among the people intact. In the next section we will discuss about some of those ideals.



ACTIVITY 5.1

List out certain steps for managing the process of national integration.

.....

.....

.....

.....

11.5 IDEALS OF INDIAN CONSTITUTION

Indian Constitution is an unique document which in turn became an example for many other Constitutions, most notably South Africa. It came into force on 26th January 1950. Indian Constitution is an unique mixture of values. “It resists any single label because it is liberal, democratic, egalitarian, Secular and federal, open to Community Values, Sensitive to the needs of

religion and linguistic minorities as well as historically disadvantaged groups and Committed to building a common national identity." At the same time there is a clear emphasis on peaceful and democratic means for putting these values into practice. This is reflected on several provisions / ideals of the contitution which are discussed below.

- **Individual freedom**: The constitution of India is committed to Individual freedom. It is the product of continuous intellectual and practical activity of over a Century. The Constitution makers were very much concerned about the need of individual freedom, probably because of their colonial experience. Accordingly they had incorporated rights that would be specially protected called 'Fundamental rights'. These rights are enshrined in Articles 12 to 35 and have been broadly grouped in to six categories. Again fundamental rights are justifiable. People can approach the courts for the enforcement of these rights if they are violated by the legislature or the executive. Freedom of expression is an integral part of the Indian constitution.
- **Secularism:** Secularism means exclusion of state and religion in order to protect values such as individual freedom and citizenship rights of Individual. Secular states treat religion as only private matter. State has nothing to do with religion. Constitution makes India a Secular state. Initially the constitution of India did not contain the term 'Secularism' but by the 42nd amendment it was incorporated.
- **Universal Franchise**: In India from the very beginning of exercise for a constitution, Universal franchise was considered as the most important and legitimate instrument to properly express the will of the nation. In the year 1895 the first non-official attempt at drafting a constitution for India declared that 'anyone born in India had a right to take part in the affairs of the country.' Motilal Nehru report (1928) said that "every person of either sex who has attained the age of twenty one is entitled to vote for the House of Representatives or parliament".
- **Respect for diversity:** It was a huge challenge before the constitution makers how to maintain unity amongst diversity in a country like India. India is a vast country with diverse cultural communities having its own culture, values, traditions, customs language, etc. While framing

Constitution, it has to be given importance that no one community systematically exploits and dominates the other.

- **National Identity:** Indian Constitution Constantly reinforces a common national Identity. Rather than forced unity Indian Constitution tried to maintain true fraternity and unity in diversity. We already discussed that India is a vast country with diverse Culture. So here it is not possible to project only one culture, one language, one religion as national Identity. While Indian Constitution tried to balance the various identities, preference was given to common Identity under certain conditions.
- **Unity and integrity of the nation:** Indian Constitution emphasizes the need of preserving the unity and integrity of the country. To attain unity and Integrity in diversity, feeling of brotherhood has been promoted among various sections of the Society.
- **A Socialist State:** Constitution declares Indian a socialist state. The term Socialist was added in the preamble by the 42nd amendment in 1976. The Constitution emphasized the need of establishing a Socialist Society by placing emphasis on Social, Economic and political justice by including specific directive principles of state policy to this effect.
- **Democracy:** Constitution declares Indian a Democratic state. The government is carried out by elected representatives of the people. It also implies the system of universal adult franchise and periodical elections. It also implies availability of a number of fundamental rights which are justifiable.
- **Republic:** The preamble of Indian Constitution declares India a Republic which implies that the highest executive authority in India is vested in a person who shall be either directly or indirectly elected for a specific period.
- **Justice:** As India was subjected to injustice of all kinds political, economic and social under the colonial rule, constitution naturally insisted on the need of providing justice in all spheres and to all of the Society. Government does not pay attention only to the well-being of a particular sections of Society; rather it tries to promote the welfare of all the sections

of the society. So Constitution makes Special provision for the betterment of weaker sections of Society.

Though we have discussed several ideals of our constitution, yet we cannot directly term Indian constitution as a perfect document. Given the socio-Economic and political conditions within which the constitution was made, it was only natural that there may be many controversial matters, areas that requires careful revision. But while discussing the limitations we have to remember the exigencies of the time.



CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

B1) In which year Indian constitution came into force.

_____

_____

B2) In which amendment act the term secularism was incorporated?

_____

_____



11.6 LET US SUM UP

- The pre-British villages were like little republic. The self-sufficient village economy was basically agro-based and self dependant. These villages produced for themselves.
- The villages in the Pre-British India were conservative, unchanging, **autarchic**, people having beliefs on superstitions, religious mysticism and crudest forms of worship of natural forces.
- The industries of India including textiles, cotton, and cloths were well developed. There were other industries such as stone work, metal work, sugar, indigo, paper industry, wood work, pottery etc.
- There was rich, complex and a relatively progressive culture in the Pre-British Indian urban centers. It is not stationary and stereotyped; instead it had constant contact with the outside world

- The British colonial land revenue policies totally broke the existing self sufficient village as well as the town economy.
- The new revenue system brought by the colonial power completely superseded the traditional right of the village land
- Indian Constitution is a unique document which in turn become an example for many other Constitutions, most notably South Africa, Come into force on 26th January 1950. Indian Constitution is a unique mixture of values.
- The constitution of India is committed to Individual freedom. It is the product of continuous intellectual and practical activity of well over a Century.
- Constitution makes India a Secular state. Initially the constitution of India did not contain the term 'Secularism' but by the 42nd commandment it was incorporated.
- While framing Constitution, it has to be given importance that no one community systematically exploits and dominates the other.



11.7 FURTHER READING

1. Desai, A.R. (2010). Social Background of Indian Nationalism.Polpular Prakashan: Mumbai.
2) Chatterjee, Partha. 1993. Nationalist Thought and Colonial world: A Derivative Discourse.



11.8 ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Ans to Q A1 republic.

Answer to QA2 religious

Answer to QB1 1950

Answer to QB2 42nd amendment act.



11.9 MODEL QUESTIONS.

QA) **Short Questions** (Answer within 150 words)

Q1) Mention two causes which led to the decline of the artisan industry in India.

Q2) What is meant by Secularism.

QB) **Long Questions** (Answer within 300-500 words)

Q1) Discuss the ideals of Indian constitution.

****

Unit 12- GRASSROOT DEMOCRACY IN INDIA

UNIT STRUCTURE

12.1 Learning Objectives

12.2 Introduction

12.3 Panchayati Raj System

12.4 Decentralisation

12.5 Protest Movements

12.6 Decentralisation of power and Social Change

12.7 Political Participation at the Grassroots Level

12.8 Let us Sum Up

12.9 Further Reading

12.10 Answer to Check Your Progress

12.11 Model Questions

12.1 LEARNING OBJECTIVES

After going through this chapter, you will be able to

- understand the idea of decentralization, its advantages and disadvantages
- understand the significance of the Panchayati Raj System in facilitating the idea of decentralization in India
- understand protest movements and their manifestation
- understand the social impact of decentralisation
- understand how political participation takes place at the ground level.

12.2 INTRODUCTION

Democracy, as is known, refers to a system of inclusive governance wherein all citizens take part in the process of election of their representatives. India, considered to be the largest democracy, has been exercising the privilege ever since its independence from the British in 1947.

The democratic structure of the country has provided equal opportunities to its citizen in this regard, irrespective of their socio-economic backgrounds. However, with time, the need for a more inclusive system arose, whereby the need for a more active political participation of the citizens was deliberated. The idea of grassroots democracy gained prominence. Among several measures undertaken for this purpose, the 73rd and 74th amendments shall be discussed in this unit in regards to its significance in facilitating the growth of grassroots democracy in India.

12.3 PANCHAYATI RAJ SYSTEM

Mahatma Gandhi envisioned the idea of 'Gram Swaraj', i.e. self-governance of villages, to be the philosophy of rule in India. The Panchayati Raj system was introduced in India through the 73rd Constitutional Amendment Act, 1992. It was the Balwant Rai Mehta committee that suggested the introduction of democratic decentralization in the country. As a result, the Panchayati Raj system came into force. At the regional level, it was Rajasthan which was the pioneer in terms of establishment of the Panchayati Raj System. Gradually, the other states of the country too established it. However, the system was not uniform across the country in terms of its features, specificities and mode of operation. For example, while Rajasthan adopted a three-tier Panchayati Raj System, Tamil Nadu on the other hand adopted a two-tier Panchayati Raj System. Also, in some states, the Nyaya Panchayats (judicial) were established which were meant for trying criminal and civil cases.

The 73rd Amendment Act clearly outlines the specificities of the Panchayati Raj System. According to it, the Panchayati Raj System would be based on the Gram Sabha. The Gram Sabha would be composed of the registered voters who confide in the Panchayat area. It would be entrusted with performing functions and duties as that of the state legislatures.

The Act also clearly states that the Panchayati Raj System in the country would be a three-tier system, comprising of the village level, the intermediate level and the district level, in all the states that the Act would be

applicable to. The members of the Panchayats would be directly elected by the people, except the chairpersons.

It is significant that the Act has a provision for reservation of seats in the Panchayats. It provides for reservation of seats for scheduled castes, scheduled tribes, women and backward classes.

According to the Act, the term of the Panchayat office at every level would be five years. It also entrusts the State Election Commission with the duty of conducting elections at the Panchayats.

The Act also provides that the powers, functions of the Panchayats are endowed to them by the State Legislatures. The financial issues of the Panchayats are looked after by the State Finance Commissions of each state. It must be noted that the 73rd Amendment Act does not apply to some states like Mizoram, Meghalaya, Nagaland, Jammu and Kashmir and some other areas.



CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Q1: Through which Act was the Panchayati Raj System introduced in India?

_____

_____

Q2: What are the levels in the three-tier Panchayati Raj System in India?

_____

_____

12.4 DECENTRALISATION

The literal meaning of the word decentralization refers to the idea of delegating or distributing out the activities, responsibilities, etc of a body from a designated centre to the outside. Often, decentralization is illustrated through different types or categories, like, political decentralization, fiscal

decentralization, administrative and market decentralization, etc. Although the different types are interlinked and need to be comprehended in terms of their interdependence in matters of governance and order in a nation, territory, etc., yet they have been often defined with individual specificities.

In that context, political decentralization is defined as the devolution of powers to the citizens so as to enable them to play an active role in the public decision making process, in the election of representatives, etc.

Further, administrative decentralization refers to the process of distributing resources, authority, etc, with the aim of management of public events, functions, etc.

Fiscal decentralization means the devolution of financial resources from a centralized authority to the outside, with the aim of providing economic power and privilege.

Again, economic decentralization is often illustrated through the ideas of privatization of market. Here, the resources and their management and ownership are attempted to be shifted from the public sector to the private sector.

Decentralisation, as the above account implies, is characterized by numerous benefits and advantages for, especially, a country like India. However, it also has some disadvantages. Discussed below are some of the advantages and disadvantages of decentralization.

Advantages of Decentralisation

- Decentralization helps in diversifying the activities and functions at various levels. While in a centralized system all the activities are directed and carried out by a single individual authority, hence there is less scope of variety and diversity in the nature of the work performed. In a decentralized system, it is not so. Due to multiplicity of stakeholders, the activities carried out are of a diverse nature, which further enriches the process.
- Often, a centralized authority fails to take note of the specific requirements and demands of those at various levels of development, due to the lack of exposure to the ground reality of people. This problem can be solved through decentralization as it enables the authority to reach to the targeted subjects.

- The above can also be looked at from the other way. Often, those at the receiving end tend to feel isolated and unattended to by the centralized authority, giving rise to the notion of 'us versus them'. The authority seems to be inaccessible and hence alien. Thus the activities, policies, etc designed by the authorities become objectionable. The devolution of powers at the local level enables easy communication and hence builds an affirmative relationship between the authorities and those at the receiving end.

Disadvantages of decentralization

- In a decentralized system, it is difficult to follow a definite, uniform or standardized manner of functioning as the source of authority are multiple, which may sometimes lead to mismanagement and lack of coordination.
- Decentralisation demands a larger workforce, an elaborate authoritative structure, and hence increases the financial burden for carrying out the entire process.
- A decentralised system requires efficient, trained and well equipped personnels for the devolution of work.
- In a decentralized system there is a high possibility of conflicts that may arise between the different levels of authority in terms of functioning of the system.



CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Q3: Mention two types of decentralization.

_____

_____

12.5 PROTEST MOVEMENTS

Protest literally means an action of objection or disapproval to something. A protest movement is characterized by a mass non-compliance to a particular stance or cause, and hence leading to an open and visible form of opposing the move. Further, it can be seen that a protest movement is featured by the collective participation of the particular group. A protest

movement can be organized in several forms. Some of the commonly seen methods of protesting are :

- Demonstration of protest is through display of relevant pictures, artistic performances like street plays, songs and poetry recitation, etc. Techniques like destruction of objects, etc., are highly symbolic of the resistance of the people towards a particular issue.
- Another method of protest commonly used is through silent marches, candle light marches, prayers, silent rallies, etc. In such forms of protest, the use of violence and force are rarely seen.
- Protest may also be demonstrated against a particular subject in a more formal manner, say by organizing conferences, holding press meets, etc., where the objections against the issue are discussed and placed in an open platform, making it open for mass discussion.
- The use of techniques like road blockades, non-compliance with given rules and regulations are often used. Such activities also give the message that the given order is being questioned. Moreover the presence of electronic media enables easy publicity of such actions in present times, bringing to light the issues and problems.
- Sometimes, though very rarely, people also resort to collective forms of violence to place their issues. Damaging public property, physical abuse, are some common forms of such protest demonstrations. It can also be seen that such actions are responded to by equally violent measures.
- Another form of demonstration of resistance is through the use of written documents like petitions, letters, etc.



CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Q4: Mention two commonly used methods of protesting.

_____

_____

12.6 DECENTRALISATION OF POWER AND SOCIAL CHANGE

Political decentralization or decentralization of power is intended to provide the people more power in the process of decision making. Thus, power devolution takes place from the central authority to the lower levels, not only through measures like voting power, but also through fiscal empowerment. Decentralisaion of power assumes particular significance in diverse and large countries like India, so that the needs of all sections of the society could be addressed. Advocates of decentralisaton argue that power decentralization facilitates better decision making as it takes into account the opinion of the majority. In the context of India, the 73rd and the 74th Amendment Acts have become synonymous with political decentralization, with the devolution of powers to both the urban and the rural areas. The inclusiveness of these measures is particularly precise because of the special provision of reservation for the women, the Scheduled castes and the schedules tribes. This allows the mentioned sections of the people who have been pushed to the periphery over a period of time, to be a part of the mainstream governance system. For example, it has been seen that approximately two million women from the rural areas of the country have been part of governance at the local levels, due to the provision of reservation made for women, after the introduction of the 73rd and 74th Amendment Acts. However, it must be mentioned that discrepancies have been observed in this regard, especially in the cases of women and backward classes/castes participation. The issues and problems associated with women's participation in politics are discussed in the next theme. In a similar manner, it was seen that the scheduled areas have been subject to injustice as far as their contribution to grassroots politics is concerned. Therefore, in an attempt to include the scheduled areas, the Panchayati Raj Extension to Scheduled Areas Act, 1996 (PESA Act) was introduced, as per the recommendations of the Dileep Singh Bhuria committee. As per the PESA Act, those states having scheduled areas in their jurisdiction would have to provide special attention in order to include tribal people in the decision

making process. The Act also recognizes the significance of the customary and traditional laws of the tribals, and directs the state governments to maintain consistency with the traditional tribal customs while undertaking legislations, etc. However, it has been seen that in practice, the objectives of the Act have not been achieved in their true sense. Some of the common problems that have been noticed in this regard are that

- The gram sabha is often sidelined by the state governments in terms of decision making.
- It has also been seen that the tribal people are often not preferred for leadership roles, instead the members of the Panchayat take the forefront, in terms of holding significant positions.

In this regard, it is essential that the attitude of people towards fellow citizens must be objective. In order for all to progress it is significant to provide each a chance to express themselves through their work. It is the responsibility of all to uphold the spirit behind the introduction of decentralisation, so that the benefits of it can reach to all.

12.7 POLITICAL PARTICIPATION AT THE GRASSROOTS LEVEL

It is needless to mention that measures like the 73rd and the 74th Amendment Acts have facilitated common people to be a part of the operational political processes in the country. It has enabled people living at remote villages, and also in urban areas who could not directly participate in the political activities, to actively contribute to the political processes. Often questions are raised regarding the effectiveness of the decentralization process in India in terms of the actual details of the political participation scenario at the grassroots level. In this regard, the participation of women can be considered a robust indicator. Various studies have shown that the participation of women have increased in the arena of politics in India, at different levels. It can also be seen that a majority of the women now associated with politics in the country belong to the young age group of approximately 24-45 years. This has also led to led to some other positive

changes at the social level. For example, women's participation outside the home has also made them more aware of the necessity of high literacy skills, etc. However, despite the affirmative results of the decentralization of power, it can be seen that there are some limitations that have to be overcome in order to make the decentralization process fruitful in the truest sense. Discussed below are some of the limitations that women's participation at grassroots level politics in India are facing, and need to be addressed soon.

- It has been seen that the literacy level of the women who are at the grassroots level politics, both at urban and more so in the rural areas is very low. This not only reflects the social status of women in the country, but also throws challenges regarding the qualitative effectiveness of women's participation in politics.
- Studies have shown that although women have reached the public sphere and are contributing to the political processes actively, yet they are burdened with equally heavy responsibilities in the private domain. It is often seen that women are overburdened with work both outside and in their homes.
- The above account has mentioned about the lower literacy level, and hence lower exposure of the women to the outer world, especially in the rural areas of the country. These factors have inherently led to lower self-confidence among the women in most parts of the country. Such tendencies obstruct the women from coming forward in matters of public importance, despite fulfilling eligibility conditions, in many cases.
- Patriarchy is a widely discoursed term today. In the context of women's participation at politics it can be seen that a strong patriarchal system has been playing an active role in the deterrence of women's participation at the public sector. The deterrents may be the social norms, the members of the family, or the women themselves, who have been acquainted with domestic chores and household responsibilities, and fear to step out of the house.
- Stereotypical attitude towards women's efficiency have not deceased, it has been seen. The notions that women would not be able to handle public matters have even led to instances when women are only the titular

head of a Panchayat and the entire decision making process and administrative functions are carried out by either their husbands or their brothers, in several cases.

The Government of India has undertaken several measures over a period of time to address such issues. Some of the schemes that were launched in this regard are the Swashakti (1989), Swayamsiddha (2001), Swadhar (2002), Domestic Violence Act (2006), Beti Bachcao Beti Padhao (2015). These are only some of the schemes taken by the Government of India which either directly or indirectly have an impact on women's qualitative growth and development, which further will impact their role in the public domain.

It is needless to state that while steps by the government or other concerned bodies are essential, however, it is our collective attitude towards human development and growth that must be introspected upon.



12.8 LET US SUM UP

- Democracy is a system to promote inclusive governance, whereby all citizens of a particular country enjoy the privilege of electing their representatives. India is considered to be the largest democracy.
- Grassroots democracy means exercising democracy at the ground level. In India the 73rd and 74th Amendment Acts are exemplifications of promoting grassroots democracy.
- The 73rd Amendment Act, 1992, introduced the three-tier Panchayati Raj System in India.
- Decentralisation means distributing activities, powers, responsibilities from a central body to other levels.
- Decentralisation can be of different types, like, fiscal, political, administrative and economic. Decentralisation is comprehended both by its advantages and disadvantages.
- Protest movement means non-compliance and opposition to a particular issue. Protests can be manifested in various forms.

- Political decentralisation or decentralisation of power provides decision making power to the people. In the context of India, it has led to several social changes, the significance of which have been particularly prominent in the case of women and scheduled groups and their participation in grassroots politics.



12.9 FURTHER READING

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2) Singh, Satyajit & Pradeep K. Sharma; 2007; *Decentralisation: Institutions and policies in Rural India*, Oxford Publications.



12.10 ANSWER TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Ans to Q1: 73rd Constitutional Amendment Act, 1992.

Ans to Q2: Village level, Intermediate level, District level.

Ans to Q3: Political, Economic.

Ans to Q4: Non-compliance with given rules, Silent march.



12.11 MODEL QUESTIONS

A. Short Questions (Answer within 150 words)

Q1. What is the Gram Sabha ?

Q2. What is meant by Fiscal decentralization ?

B. Long Questions (Answer within 300-500 words)

Q1. Mention an advantage and a disadvantage of decentralization.

Q2. Discuss two limitations faced by women participating in political processes in India.

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UNIT 13 COMMUNALISM AND REGIONALISM IN INDIA

UNIT STRUCTURE

13.1 Unit Objectives

13.2 Introduction

13.3 Meaning of Communalism

13.3.1 Causes of Communalism

13.4 Regionalism

13.4.1 Causes of Regionalism

13.4.2 Rise of regionalism in different parts of India

13.4.3 Forms of regionalism

13.4.4 Some key issues of Regionalism in India

13.5 Let us sum up

13.6 Answers to check your progress

13.7 Model questions

13.1 UNIT OBJECTIVES

After going through this unit you will be able to-

- know the meaning of communalism
- know the cause of communalism in India
- know the meaning regionalism.
- understand the causes and issues related to regionalism in India

13.2 INTRODUCTION

It is seen that Communalism and regionalism has been one of the most important factors at the root of the major crisis in the twentieth century Indian Society. In this unit we will learn about this two aspects in detail.

13.3 MEANING OF COMMUNALISM

Communalism means an ideology which basically emphasizes the superiority of the particular religious group in relation to other groups, having a tendency to promote its own interest at the cost of the other.

According to Bipan Chandra "The concept of communalism is based on the belief that religious distinction is the most important and fundamental distinction and this distinction override all other distinction. Communalism is basically and above all an ideology on which the communal politics is based. Communal violenceis a conjectural consequence of communal ideology.' He says communalism consists of three basic elements as follows:-

- Peoples from the same religion have common political, Economic, Social and cultural interest. It helps in the growth of Socio-cultural, Political community based on religion. Communalism stats with this stage, People find a separate identity based on religion and tries to fulfill his interest in selfish manner which become uncomfortable to the other religious group and vice-versa.
- In India, where there is a multi-religious society, there is dissimilarity among interests of various religious communities.
- The interests of the various religious communities are incompatible, antagonistic and hostile.

Communalism is a product of British colonialism in India. Communalism arose as result of transformation of Indian Society in the colonial period and the need to straggle against it.

13.3.1 Causes of Communalism

It is a natural question why India after Six decades of Independence has not been able to overcome the problem of communalism. Bipan Chanda says that "the social economic and political vested interests deliberately encouraged or unconsciously adopted communalism because of its capacity to distort and divert popular struggles, to prevent the masses from understanding the

socio-economic and political forces responsible for their social condition, to prevent unity on national and class lines, and to turn them away from their real and socio-economic interests and issues and mass movements around them."

British divide and rule policy is the prime responsible factor for the growth of communalism in modern India. British used communalism as a force to make division among people and tried its best to replace growing nationalism by communalism. Thus by using communalism they tried and could succeed, to weaken the national movement. They stopped the process of unifying the people in to an "Indian Nation".

British projected communalism as necessity for the defense of minority interests. British justified it by saying tha minorities are suppressed and dominated by the majority and therefore for the sake of the minority interests some special privileges should be given to the minorities.

British encouraged and nurtured communalism by different ways and policies. These are -

- Consistently Treating Hindus, Muslims, and Sikhs as Separate Communities and socio political entities.
- Official favour and patronage were extended to the communalists.
- The communal press and persons and agitations were shown extraordinary tolerance.
- Communal demands were readily accepted.
- British readily accepted communal organizations and leaders as the real spokespersons for their communities while the nationalist leaders were treated as representing a microscopic minority
- Separate electorates served as an important instrument for the development of communal politics.
- The colonial government encouraged communalism through a policy of non-acting against it. Certain positive measures which the state alone could undertake were needed to check the communalism.

The failure to undertake them served as an indirect encouragement to communalism.

Hindu Religious Fundamentalism: - Hindu religious fundamentalism was another factor that contributed in the growth of communalism in India. Many Hindu extremist nationalist tried to provide Hindu Ideological base to Indian nationalism or used Hindu Culture in the day to day political agitation. Thus because of the Hindu religious element in nationalist thought and propaganda Muslims found it difficult to identify them in this process. Colonial power encouraged this process in an indirect way by encouraging the Muslim Communalist against it. British by doing so kept a large Sections of Muslims away from the national movement. They were understood that success of the movement means success of the Hindus and not Muslims and this feeling has a lasting effect not only on the national movement or pre independence India but also on the post independence India. It helped also to spread Muslim tinge among Muslim nationalist.

Unscientific Interpretation of History: - A communal, Selfish, Distorted, unscientific interpretation of Indian history basically the Ancient and medieval period was also another factor that contributed a lot to spread communalism. “The teaching of Indian history in schools and colleges from basically a communal point of view made a major contribution to the rise and growth of communalism.” The communal understanding of history was so strong that it penetrated at a large, even sometimes sturdy nationalist accepted it, however unconsciously.’ British historian Games Mill introduced a communal understanding on history describing “the ancient period of Indian history as the Hindu period and the medieval period as Muslim period.” And this process was followed by other British and Indian Historians. They identified “The basic character of a polity in India with the religion of the ruler” and have not been given importance on the status of the common masses.

Hindu nationalist and communal understanding of History: - The Hindu communal leaders of national movement accepting the colonial communal understanding of history, termed the ancient period as the best period as the period was ruled by the Hindu rulers. They adopted the view that the medieval period as the period of Hindu Muslim conflict where Hindus were always oppressed. The communalist Hindu leaders termed the medieval Muslim rulers and rule as foreign rule.

Muslim nationalist and communal understanding of history: - Similarly, Muslim fundamentalist's understanding on the medieval history was quite opposite to that of Hindu. They turned the Muslim rule in medieval period as the 'Golden age of Islamic achievement.' They said that Muslim community as a whole declined because of their lost of political power.

As we have already discussed that all factors, mentioned above have a lasting effect on the growth of communalism not only on the pre-independence India, but also on the post independence period. The present day communalism in India has its root on it. In the post independence India various other factors nurtured communalism, but all these factors are product of the colonial policies and of the communal elements of the freedom straggle. In the post independence period again the majority-minority concept, while the Hindus are majority and the Muslims are in the minority position, Pakistan's divisive policy towards India, uneven development of the all sections of the society and finally whatever failure or unwillingness of the ruling class to play an impartial role etc. are other causes that nurtured communalism in India, that has its root on the colonial period.



CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

QA Fill in the blanks

1) British…….and rule policy is the prime responsible factor for the growth of communalism in modern India.

2) The interests of the various religious communities are …….incompatible, antagonistic and hostile

13.4 REGIONALISM

Regionalism has been a dominating factor in Indian Politics since Independence. But in the late Sixties and seventies the regional demands for secession, statehood, autonomy grew so strong that become a serious threat to the unity of the country. Generally, the term regionalism means counter movement to any exaggerated or oppressive form of centralization. In simple understanding the term regionalism has two connotations. In the negative sense it implies excessive attachment to one's region in preference to the country or the state. In a positive sense it is a political attribute associated with peoples love for their region, culture, language, etc. with a view to maintain their independent Identity.

But if we go for deeper understanding of the term we found a number of perspectives that has been used for understanding regionalism. One such perspective views regionalism as a manifestation of centre-state relations. Paul R. Brass identifies regionalism as a source of conflicts between the centre and the states. He said, "By regionalism in the political sense, I mean patters of politics in the states that are best explained primarily in terms of conflicts and issues that arise within the states rather than in the national political area and that deviate in easily discernible ways, such as in political party formations and voting patterns, from national trend." Another perspective views regionalism as a subsidiary process of political integration in India. Kousar J. Azam looks upon regionalism as a 'manifestation of those

residual elements which do not find expression in the national polity and national culture and being excluded from the centrality of rational polity, express themselves in political discontent and political exclusionalism.' This definition reflects an entirely negative perspective onregionalism. Regionalism, after all, is a positive instrument of protest as far as the people of a certain region is concerned.

13.4.1 Causes of growth of Regionalism

In India a number of factors have contributed to the growth of regionalism.

- Internal Colonialism is the basic factor that nurtured regionalism in post independent India. Though India got freedom in 1947 the nature of Indian politics more or less remain the same. Some regions, communities feel exploited in the post independent India also. They felt that have been exploited since independence. Some regions or some communities having advantage started exploiting the other regions or communities and tried to maintain its superior position. It's a relation based on domination and exploitation.
- Centre-periphery relation based on dominance is another factor that responsible for growth of regionalism in India. In the post independent period the peripherial regions felt that they are neglected by the centre. The peripherial regions are lagging behind. There are uneven developments. The peripherial regions felt a sense of a negligence and exploitation in the hands of the centre.
- India is a mosaic of various languages, culture, ethnicity, religion etc. In India regionalism made its appearance as reaction against the efforts of the central government to impose a particular ideology, language or cultural pattern on all people and groups.
- Excessive centralizing tendency is another factor that contributed towards the growth of regionalism in India. Concentration of administrative and political power at one centre has given rise to the demand for decentralization etc.

- Sometimes it has been said that the desire of certain regional parties to capture power has also led to rise of regionalism. Lewis P. Fickett. Jr. comments 'one of the most significant developments in Indian politics since the 1967 general election has been the emergence and success of several regional parties.' It is true that regional consciousness often manifest itself in an organized manner through some movements lunched by regional leaders or regional issues by them. In course of time such movements may transform into a political party. It can be said that the movement which articulate regional sentiments require some kind of political organization, which is not necessarily a political party, but eventually takes the shape of a political party when the movement gathers momentum.
- Again in some parts of India there was no consensus about being a part of India. They started movements demanding separation from India.
- Sometimes it has been seen that dominance of a particular community, class or region has become a cause of regionalism.

13.4.2 Rise of regionalism at different parts of India

While India got freedom in 1947, many observers, both from within and outside the country predicted that India as one unified country cannot last long. Though fortunately the prediction was not fulfilled, we cannot say that India is completely successful to face all the threats to its nation building process. Soon after the independence the issue of Jammu and Kashmir comes up. Similarly, in parts of north-east India there was no consensus about being a part of India. Again in Southern India, different groups either demanded separation from Indian state or statehood or greater autonomy. These events were followed by mass movements in many parts for formation of linguistic states. Andhra Pradesh, Karnataka, Maharastra and Gujrat were among the regions affected by this movement. Again there were mass movements in different parts regarding making Hindi the official national language. While

the southern states, mainly Tamil Urdu, strongly protested against making Hindi the official national language, but in the northern part there were strong pro-Hindi agitations. Again from the late 1950's people speaking the Punjabi language started agitating for a separate state for themselves. Indian state tried its best to face these challenges of diversity and re-drawed the internal boundaries of the country. Yet this did not lead to resolution of all problems and for all times. Again in some regions the issues were so complex that it could not be resolved only by redrawing internal boundaries. At the same time new challenges came from states like Assam, Mijoram and Panjab etc.

13.4.3 Forms of Regionalism

In a very simplistic way we can categorise regionalism into various forms as follows -

- **Demand for secession from Indian state:** Demand for secession from the Indian state is one of the most serious manifestations of regionalism and made its appearance on a number of occasions. Most probably the first demand in a concrete form for secession came from the former state of PEPSU (Patiala and East Punjab States Union), a pre-dominantly Sikh region. Then it was followed by demand for Dravid Nad, demand for secession by Mizos and the Nagas.
- **Demand for state hood:** - Demand for separate statehood to protect their indigenous culture and language or a protest against the domination of a particular community, is a form of regionalism in India. Their demand is for creation of separate state within the Indian state. This type of regionalism gained strength only after the re-organisation of the states.
- **Demand for full statehood by union territories:** - Another form of regionalism appeared in the shape of demand for full-fledged statehood in certain areas which were accorded the states of union territories under the constitution. Some of the union territories which raised such demand include Himachal Pradesh, Manipur, Tripura, Pandichery, Goa, Delhi, etc.

- **Inter-state disputes**-Regionalism in India has appeared in the shape of numerous disputes over territory, boundary, water etc. among different units of Indian union. The dispute over the city of Chandigarh arose as a result of bifurcation of the state of Punjab which was solved by handing over Chandigarh to Punjab; in return Punjab had to surrender 114 hindi speaking villages of the Fazilka tehsils well as the towns of Fazilka and Abohar to Haryana. The dispute over Marathi speaking territories of Bijapur, Belgaum, North Kanara and Dharwar, which at present constitute part of Mysore, is another manifestation of regionalism. But these disputes were ultimately resolved in 1975. In recent years a fresh border dispute has been seen between Assam and Arunachal Pradesh. Arunachal government started claiming that some areas at present falling within Assam were originally part of Arunachal Pradesh boundary. Again there has been a long standing border disputes between Assam and Nagaland. Very recently a fresh border dispute appeared in Assam Meghalaya border.
- **Dispute over river waters**-Regional feelings also came in to being in the various states over the sharing of river waters. The distribution of water of river Krishna continued to be source of tension among the states of Maharastra, Madhya Pradesh, Orissa, Mysore, and Andhra Pradesh before the issue was settled according to D.M. Bhandari report. Similarly there has been a continuous dispute between Tamil Nadu, Karnataka and Kerala over the utilization of water of river Cauvery.
- **Demand for state autonomy**-Regionalism has also manifested itself in the demand for greater state autonomy. This demand has specially been voice by the states as Jammu and Kashmir, West Bengal, Assam, Tamil Nadu, Andhra Pradesh, Punjab etc. within the states also certain regions have demanded greater autonomy because their development has been neglected. Thus demand for greater autonomy has not only been raised by the states but also by

various regions within the state also. All this is a clear manifestation of the assertion of regionalism.

13.4.3 Some key issues of Regionalism in India

Jammu and Kashmir: The issue of Jammu and Kashmir is not only an issue of conflict between India and Pakistan. It is more than what we think in a very simple way and involves the question of Identity and political aspirations of the people of Kashmir valley. Before 1947 Jammu and Kashmir was a princely state ruled by a Hindu ruler having a majority of Muslim population. Though the king tried his best to maintain independent status of his country, yet because of the tribal infiltration sent by Pakistan, he was forced to ask India for Military help, and signed an "instrument of Accession" with the government of India. And it was also agreed that ones the Situation become normal the views of the people of the Jammu & Kashmir will be as ascertained about their future. Because of the tribal invasion one part of the state came under Pakistan control. Pakistan describes this area as 'Azad Kashmir'

Since then Jammu and Kashmir always remained controversial and conflict ridden region both for external and internal reasons. While we are saying that Jammu and Kashmir is an integral part of India, opposing it Pakistan claimed that Kashmir Valley should be a part of Pakistan.

Unlike all other states, Kashmir was given a special status by article 370 of Indian Constitution. But this special status failed to fulfill the expectations of a section of Kashmiris. They are expressing mainly three major grievances

- The promise made at the time of signing the "Instrument of Accession" was not fulfilled. This has generated the demand for a 'plebiscite.'
- Article 370 of Indian constitution declaring a special status for Kashmir has been eroded in practice. This has generated the demand for greater autonomy.

- Democracy has not been properly institutionalized in this state. It has generated the demand for establishment of democracy in true sense etc.

Dravidian Movement: - It was one of the first regional movements in Indian politics. Though, initially the Dravidian movement spoke in terms of the whole of the south India, has to limit it to Tamil Nadu only on later period. It strongly protests against the political, economic and cultural domination of the north. The movement strongly opposed the Brahminical hegemony on society. Dravidar Kazagam, the offshoot of the Dravidian movement later splitted. Then dravida Munretra Kazhagam (DMK) led the movement. There were mainly three strong agitations.

- The first agitation was against the economic and cultural domination of the North. In this movement DMK demanded the restoration of the original name of *Kallakudi* railway station which has been renamed *Dalmiapuram.*
- Second agitation was basically for preservation and development of Tamil culture. It demanded for giving Tamil cultural history greater importance in school curriculum.
- The third agitation was against making Hindi country's official language. It also strongly protested the Brahmical hegemony on the society.

The continuous movements made DMK popular and brought to power in 1967 assembly election. But later on DMK got split and as a result various other regional parties come to the scene. But all these parties have been giving more importance on regional issues in the politics of Tamil Nadu.

Punjab: Secession from Indian state is one of the most serious manifestations of regionalism. Probably the first demand in this line, in an organized way, came from the former state of PEPSU (Patiala and East Punjab States Union), a predominantly Sikh region. From the very beginning of Independence, Punjab got a serious socio-cultural transformation. The transformation began first in the partition

of 1947 followed the carving of Haryana and Himachal Pradesh. While the rest of country was reorganized on linguistic lines on 1950s, Punjab had to wait till 1966 for the creation of a Punjabi speaking state. After the reorganization the Akali Dal, formed in 1920 as the political wing of the Sikhs came in to power in 1966 and in 1977. But even after this the Sikhs were not satisfied and started struggling. The basic cause behind this was centre's domination and over entry in the state administration. Then they started insisting on greater decentralistion of political power. They joined other states like Tamil Nadu, West Bengal and Kashmir in demanding greater autonomy for the states. In the Anandpur Sahib resolution they demanded that the authority of the center should be confined only to the defense of the country, foreign relations, communication, railway and currency. The resolution wanted to redefine the centre state relation in India. The resolution was "a plea for strengthening federalism. But it could be interpreted in as a plea for a separate Sikh nation." As the implementation of this resolution was bound to affect the neighbouring states, the centre could not implement it fully. This led to agitation by the Akali Dal. This provided an opportunity to the extreme elements to step up their activities and started misuse of religious places. They indulged in killings and such activities and the central government has undertaken operation 'Blue Star" to evacuate the golden temple from the extremist. Though the central government was successful to evacuate the golden temple but it also damaged the temple and deeply hurt the sentiments of the Sikhs. A large portion of Sikhs in India and abroad saw the operation as an attack on their religious faith and it again became a pushing factor to the extremist elements. On 31 October 1984 they managed assassination of Mrs. Indira Gandhi, the P.M of India through her security guards. This led to a serious backlash in several cities of India. More than two thousand Sikhs were killed in Delhi, the worst affected area, including the killings of hundreds of Sikhs in other parts of the country. "What hurt the Sikhs most was that the

government took a long time in restoring normalcy and that the perpetrators of this violence were not effectively punished."

The North-East: The North East India, a cultural hub, has a unique Socio-cultural and geographical existence in India. Though we use the term 'North East India' in a generalize way, actually it is not such. The region within it has variety of culture, ethnicity, language and lifestyle. The region has a special geographical as well as political importance as the region connects with India only by a small corridor of about 22 kilometers sharing the whole boundary with China, Myanmar and Bangladesh and serves as India's gateway to South East Asia. The region has only 4 percent of countries population but about twice as much share of its area. There has been continuous change in this region since independence. While the princely states of Tripura, Manipur and Khasi hills of Meghalaya merged with India after Independence at the same time the entire region has to face complete reorganization starting from 1960s.

One of the regions highly suffered by partition was North East. Partition made North East a land locked region and affected its economy badly. 'Cut off from the rest of India, the region suffered neglect in developmental terms. Its politics too remained insulated. At the same time most states in this region underwent major demographic changes due to influx of migrants from neighbouring states and countries.'

The complex social character, isolation of this region from the other part of the country, economic backwardness, vast international border and weak communication between North East and the rest of India all resulted in the complicated set of demands from different states of the North East. There are basically three issues dominating the regional aspirations of the states of North East. These are demands for secession from Indian state, demands for greater autonomy, and opposition to outsiders.

India is a vast country with a vast population. The vast population follows different cultures and religions; and; belongs to different castes and sub-castes, races and communities. So, the national

integration of India invariably depends on the integrity of its citizen. Therefore, integration of nation is only a mere manifestation of the integrity of the individuals. In India, it means unity in diversity in which the components and the whole are equally valid and mutually inter-dependent. In order to achieve the dream of national integration in India, it is very much necessary to integrate its citizens. And integration of its citizens is not a chore. The citizens are facing with the problems of economic disparity and rampant poverty; persistence of socio-economic inequality between and within the rural and the urban segments of the people; casteism, communalism and religious fundamentalism; and political populism and political exploitations. Due to these problems, national integration in India still remains as a myth.



CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

QB1) In which year Akali Dal was formed ?

_____

_____

QB2) Name two state which experienced the demand by autonomy by different groups.

_____

_____



13.5 LET US SUM

- Communalism means an ideology which basically emphasizes the superiority of the particular religious group in relation to other groups.
- British divide and rule policy is the prime responsible factor for the growth of communalism in modern India.
- British used communalism as a force to make division among people and tried its best to replace growing nationalism by communalism.

- Thus by using communalism they tried and could succeed, to weaken the national movement.
- Hindu religious fundamentalism was another factor that contributed in the growth of communalism in India.
- Many Hindu extremist nationalist tried to provide Hindu Ideological base to Indian nationalism or used Hindu Culture in the day to day political agitation.
- Muslim fundamentalist's understanding on the medieval history was quite opposite to that of Hindu.
- In simple understanding the term regionalism has two connotations. In the negative sense it implies excessive attachment to one's region in preference to the country or the state.
- In a positive sense it is a political attribute associated with peoples love for their region, culture, language, etc. with a view to maintain their independent Identity.



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13.7 ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Answer to Q A1) incompatible

Answer to Q A2) divide

Answer to Q B1) 1920

Answer to Q B2) Assam, Bihar.



13.8 MODEL QUESTIONS

A) Short Questions (Answer within 150 words)

Q1) Define communalism.

Q2) Define Regionalism

B) Long Questions (Answer within 300-500 words)

Q1) Discuss causes of Regionalism.

Q2) Write an essay on Communalism in India

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