UG PS S6-04 (DSC/DSE)

Four Year Bachelor's Degree Programme

(CBCS in Accordance with NEP 2020)

SEMESTER VI

POLITICAL SOCIOLOGY

POLITICAL SCIENCE

Surya Kumar Bhuyan School of Social Sciences

Krishna Kanta Handiqui State Open University

Subject Experts

Professor Dhruba Pratim Sharma, Gauhati University

Professor Jyotiraj Pathak, Kumar Bhaskar Varma Sanskrit and Ancient Studies University

Dr. Shantanu Chakravorty, Cotton University(Retd)

Course Co-ordinator

Ankur Jyoti Borman, KKHSOU

SLM Preparation Team

UNITS	CONTRIBUTORS
Unit 1	Dr. Jagdish Ch Mehta, DAV College, and Dr. Deepti Manchanda, Post-Graduate Degree Girl's College
Unit 2	Ankur Jyoti Borman, KKHSOU
Unit 3	Bhargab Barman, Rangapara College
Unit 4	Stuti Parashar, KKHSOU (Former Academic consultant) & Ankur Jyoti Borman, KKHSOU
Unit 5	Dr. Bhrigu Kalita, Ratnapith College
Unit 6	Dr. Deepti Manchanda, Post-Graduate degree college for girls
Unit 7	Dr. Hema Gandotra, University of Jammu and Ankur Jyoti Borman, KKHSOU
Unit 8 & 13	Dr. Krishangi Saikia, Royal Global University
Unit 9	Rajmee Mahanta, Former Assistant Professor, KKHSOU
Unit 10	Dr. Moureen Kalita, KKHSOU
Unit 11	Ashirwad Chakravarty, Research Scholar, Cotton University
Unit 12	Wasim Rahman Saikia, Former Assistant Professor, KKHSOU
Unit 14	Mrinal Sarma, Lumding College

Editorial Team

Content: Professor Jyotiprasad Saikia (Units 1,4,6 & 7)
Dr. Shantanu Chakravorty, Cotton University(Retd) (Units 3,5,9,10,11,12 &14)
Dr. Jahnabi Devi, KKHSOU (Units 2,8 & 13)

Language: Ankur Jyoti Borman, KKHSOU

Structure, Format & Graphics: Ankur Jyoti Borman, KKHSOU

May, 2026

This Self Learning Material (SLM) of the Krishna Kanta Handiqui State University is made available under a Creative Commons Attribution-Non Commercial-ShareAlike4.0 License (International): http.//creativecommons.org/licenses/by-nc-sa/4.0.

Printed and published by Registrar on behalf of the Krishna Kanta Handiqui State Open University.

Head Office: Patgaon, Rani Gate, Guwahati-781 017;
City Office : Resham Nagar, Khanapara, Guwahati-781022;
Website: www.kkhsou.ac.in

The University acknowledges with thanks the financial support provided by the Distance Education Bureau, UGC, for the preparation of this study material

CONTENTS

UNIT 1 :	**INTRODUCTION TO POLITICAL SOCIOLOGY** Meaning, Nature and Scope of Political Sociology; Development of Political Sociology	7-14
UNIT 2:	**BASIC CONCEPTS-I** Power, Authority, State and Elite	15-27
UNIT 3:	**BASIC CONCEPTS- II** Political System, Political Economy, Bureaucracy, Civil Society	28-44
UNIT 4:	**POLITICAL SOCIALISATION** Meaning, Type, Agencies and Functions	45-53
UNIT 5:	**POLITICAL CULTURE** Meaning, Nature, Dimension of Political Culture, Role and Unity of Political Culture	54-60
UNIT 6:	**STATE** Meaning and Characteristics of State; Difference between State and Association; State and Government; State and Society	61- 73
UNIT 7:	**POLITICAL PARTIES** Meaning and Characteristics of Political Parties; Functions of Political Parties; Classification of Political Parties; Political Party System in Democracy; Party System in India	74-84
UNIT 8:	**PRESSURE GROUPS** Meaning and Characteristics of Pressure Group; Difference between Pressure Group and Interest Group; Difference between Pressure Group and Political Party; Pressure Groups in India	85-97
UNIT 9:	**THEORETICAL APPROACHES TO POWER** Marxist Theory; Weberian Theory	98-114

UNIT 10:	**MARXIST AND WEBERIAN TRADITION IN POLITICAL SOCIOLOGY** Marxian Understanding of State; Weberian Understanding of Authority and Bureaucracy	115-127
UNIT 11:	**MAJOR POLITICAL IDEOLOGIES-I:** Nationalism; Liberalism; Fascism	128-144
UNIT 12:	**MAJOR POLITICAL IDEOLOGIES-II** Radicalism; Socialism; Multiculturalism	145-159
UNIT 13:	**REGIONALISM, COMMUNALISM, NATIONALISM AND NATIONAL INTEGRATION** Meaning, Characteristics, Causes, Implications, National Integration and Challenges	160-175
UNIT 14:	**STATE AND SOCIETY IN NORTH EAST INDIA** Society and Polity in North East India; Colonialism and Emergence of Political Elites; Issues of Governance	176-184

COURSE INTRODUCTION

The course titled “Political Sociology” in Political Science of the UG Programme of KKHSOU is designed to help the learners understand the relationship between society and politics. Political Sociology studies how political institutions, processes and behaviour are influenced by social structures and how political life, in turn, shapes society. Thus, it occupies an important place in Political Science by linking political analysis with social realities.

Political Sociology examines important themes such as power, authority, state, political institutions, political behaviour, ideologies, and social groups. Accordingly, the first unit of the course discusses the meaning, nature and scope of Political Sociology and traces its development as a distinct area of study.

The study of Political Sociology requires an understanding of certain key concepts that help explain the functioning of political life in society. The second unit deals with the concepts of Power, Authority, State and Elite, while the third unit discusses Political System, Political Economy, Bureaucracy and Civil Society. These concepts provide the basic framework for analysing political institutions and their social foundations.

Political attitudes and values are shaped through social processes. The fourth unit therefore discusses Political Socialisation, including its meaning, types, agencies and functions. Closely related to this is the concept of Political Culture, which refers to the beliefs, values and orientations of people towards politics. The fifth unit discusses the meaning, nature, dimensions, role and unity of Political Culture.

The State occupies a central place in Political Sociology. The sixth unit discusses the meaning and characteristics of the State and explains the distinctions between State and Association, State and Government, and State and Society.

In democratic systems, political life is organised through institutions such as Political Parties and Pressure Groups. The seventh unit discusses the meaning, characteristics, functions and classification of Political Parties, along with the party system in democracy and the party system in India. The eighth unit discusses the meaning and characteristics of Pressure Groups, their distinction from Interest Groups and Political Parties, and their role in India.

The concept of Power is central to Political Sociology and has been interpreted differently by major thinkers. The ninth unit discusses the Marxist and Weberian approaches to power. The tenth unit further examines the Marxian understanding of the State and the Weberian understanding of Authority and Bureaucracy, which are foundational to the discipline.

The course also includes the study of important political ideologies. The eleventh unit discusses Nationalism, Liberalism and Fascism, while the twelfth unit deals with Radicalism, Socialism and Multiculturalism. These ideologies are important for understanding political thought and political change in society.

In the Indian context, issues such as regionalism, communalism, nationalism and national integration have great significance. The thirteenth unit discusses their meaning, characteristics, causes and implications, along with the challenges of national integration.

The fourteenth unit focuses on State and Society in North East India. It discusses the society and polity of the region, the impact of colonialism, the emergence of political elites, and important issues of governance. This unit enables learners to relate the concepts of Political Sociology to the specific socio-political realities of North East India.

The course Political Sociology seeks to provide learners with a systematic understanding of the social foundations of political life and helps them analyse political institutions and processes in relation to the wider social environment.

UNIT-1 INTRODUCTION TO POLITICAL SOCIOLOGY

UNIT STRUCTURE

1.1 Learning Objectives
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 LEARNING OBJECTIVES

After going through 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 politico logical 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

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. I 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. Introduction to Political Sociology 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

3) Who criticized the material interpretation forwarded by Hegel?

4) 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. l 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.

1.9 FURTHER READING

- Ashraf, Ali and Sharma, L.N.1983. Political Sociology- A New Grammar of Politics. Madras Universities Press (India).
- Ralhan, S.S and Lambat, S.R. 2006. Political Sociology. New Delhi: Common Wealth Publishers.
- Rathod, P.B. 2005. Fundamentals of Political Sociology. Jaipur: ABD Publishers. Faulks, Keith. 1999. Political Sociology: A Critical Analysis. Edinburgh University Press.
- Biswask K, Dipti. 1978. Political Sociology: An Introduction. Calcutta: Firma KLM Private Ltd.
- Mukhopadhyay, A.K.1997. Political Sociology- An Introduction Analysis. Calcutta: K.P. Bagchi and Company.

- Roy, Shefali.2014. Society and Politics in India: Understanding Political Sociology. Delhi: PHI Learning Pvt. Ltd.
- Greer,S. And Orleans, P. 1964. Political Sociology in Faris, R.L (ed) Handbook of Modern Sociology. Chicago: Rand Mcnally.

1.9 ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Answer to Q1) Microcosms

Answer to Q2) political philosophy

Answer to Q3) Karl Marx

Answer to Q4) Max Weber and Gaetano Mosca

1.10 MODEL QUESTIONS

Q1) State the meaning of political Sociology.

Q2) State the significance of political sociology.

Q3) Discuss the nature and scope of political sociology.

Q4) Explain the development of political sociology.

*****

UNIT 2: BASIC CONCEPTS – I

UNIT STRUCTURE

2.1 Learning Objectives

2.2 Introduction

2.3 Power
- 2.3.1 Nature and Characteristics of Power
- 2.3.2 Types and Forms of Power

2.4 Concept of Authority
- 2.4.1 Characteristics of Authority
- 2.4.2 Types of Authority

2.5 State
- 2.5.1 Essential Elements of the State
- 2.5.2 Theories of the Origin of the State
- 2.5.3 Functions of the State

2.6 Elite
- 2.6.1 Elite Theory
- 2.6.2 Types of Elites

2.7 Let Us Sum Up

2,8 Further Reading

2.9 Answer to Check Your Progress

2.10 Model Questions

2.1 LEARNING OBJECTIVES

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

- understand the meaning and nature of power in political theory
- distinguish between different dimensions and forms of power
- explain the concept of authority and its types
- analyse the concept of the State and its essential elements
- explain the concept of elite and elite theory.

2.2 INTRODUCTION

Political science is primarily concerned with the organisation and use of power in society. Political science focuses on how power is organised and used in society. It seeks to understand how decisions are made, who makes them, and whose interests they serve. This study revolves around various key concepts like power, authority, state, and elite. These ideas are interconnected and help us understand how political systems and institutions function.

Power refers to the ability to influence or control the behaviour of others. The term authority refers to legitimate power, power that is recognised and accepted as rightful. The State is an organised political community with sovereign authority over a certain territory. The concept of elite refers to a limited group that holds prominent positions in society and has great influence over political decisions.

This unit will try to explore these concepts by examining their meaning, characteristics, theoretical foundations, and relevance in contemporary politics.

2.3 CONCEPT OF POWER

Power is one of the fundamental concepts in political theory. In simple words, power refers to the ability of an individual or group to influence the behaviour of others or to achieve desired outcomes despite resistance. Power is not confined to governments. It exists in families, religious institutions, economic organizations, and social groups. In politics, power determines who governs, how policies are framed, and whose interests prevail.

Many scholars have defined power in different ways. Some important definitions are given below:

Robert A Dahl defined power in relational terms. According to him, *"A has power over B to the extent that A can get B to do something that B would not otherwise do."*

Max Weber according to, power is the probability that one actor within a social relationship will be able to carry out his own will despite resistance.

According to Harold D. Lasswell, politics is the study of "who gets what, when, and how," which explains power in terms of the distribution of resources and benefits.

According to Talcott Parsons, power is a general capacity of a social system to achieve collective goals.

These definitions highlight the relational nature of power. It exists only in the context of interactions between individuals or groups.

2.3.1 Characteristics of Power:

Power has several important features. The main characteristics of power are discussed below:

- **Relational:** Power exists in relationships between individuals or groups. It cannot exist in isolation. One person or group exercises power over another. One person or group exercises power over others. According to Robert A. Dahl, power is a connection in which one actor influence another to act in a specific way.
- **Situational:** Power depends on time, place, and circumstances, as an individual who is powerful in one context may not possess the same power in another; for example, a Chief Minister exercises authority within his or her own state but does not hold the same power beyond that state's jurisdiction.
- **Dynamic**: Dynamic: Power is neither permanent nor static. It is dynamic and continually influenced by changing social, economic, and political factors. The distribution and exercise of power varies with historical circumstances, public opinion, institutional developments, and economic resource changes. Thus, power is fluid in nature, constantly changing in reaction to the larger environment in which it acts.
- **Intentional:** Power typically entails a purposeful and conscious endeavour to influence the behaviour, decisions, or actions of others. Power is exercised with a specific goal or target in mind. Individuals or groups utilise power to achieve certain objectives, such as influencing public policy, securing economic rewards, maintaining social order, or propagating specific ideologies.
- **Unequal Distribution:** Power is not distributed equally in society. It is distributed unequally among individuals and groups. This disparity exists because not everyone has equal access to resources such as wealth, education, organisational control, social reputation, or political position.

2.3.2 Forms of Power

Power is a multidimensional concept. It is not always based on force or authority, but may also operate through influence, persuasion, knowledge, or control over resources. Sometimes power is exercised through coercion, while at other times it works through consent and acceptance. The form that power takes depends on social, economic, and political conditions. Therefore, to understand how political systems and society function, it is necessary to examine the different types of power and the various ways in which it is exercised.

Different political thinkers have classified power into various types depending on its source, method of operation, and sphere of influence. These are discussed below:

Coercive Power: One important type of power is coercive power, which is based on force, threat, or punishment. It compels obedience by creating fear of negative consequences. According to Max Weber, power is the probability that one actor within a social relationship will be able to carry out his own will despite resistance. Coercive power clearly reflects this definition because it operates even when people are unwilling to comply. The use of police force, military action, or legal penalties by the state are examples of coercive power. Although coercion may ensure immediate compliance, it may not generate long-term stability unless supported by legitimacy.

legitimate Power: Another significant type is legitimate power, which is based on recognized authority and accepted as rightful by the people. Unlike coercive power, legitimate power is obeyed voluntarily because people believe in its validity. According to Max Weber, legitimate authority may take three forms: traditional authority, charismatic authority , and legal-rational authority). Modern democratic governments mainly function on legal-rational authority. Legitimate power is more stable and enduring than coercive power because it is supported by consent.

Economic Power: Economic power is another crucial type of power. It is derived from the control over economic resources such as wealth, property, capital, and the means of production. According to Karl Marx, the class that controls the means of production also controls the political and ideological institutions of society. In Marxist theory, economic power forms the foundation of political dominance. Business corporations, industrialists, and financial institutions often exercise economic power by influencing government policies, elections, and public opinion. In contemporary society, economic power plays a decisive role in shaping public life.

Political Power: Political power specifically refers to the ability to influence government decisions, public policies, and the allocation of resources. It is exercised through political institutions such as the legislature, executive, and judiciary. According to Harold Lasswell, politics is about “who gets what, when, and how,” emphasizing the distributional aspect of power. Political power determines the formulation and implementation of laws, policies, and welfare measures. It is often closely connected with economic and social power.

Social Power: Social power arises from social status, prestige, cultural norms, and community influence. It may be exercised by religious leaders, caste elites, traditional authorities, or influential social groups. According to C. Wright Mills, power in modern society is concentrated in the hands of elites who occupy strategic positions in political, economic, and military institutions. Social power often shapes public opinion and influences political behaviour, even without formal authority.

Ideological power: Ideological power refers to the ability to shape beliefs, values, ideas, and perceptions of reality. It operates through institutions such as education, religion,

media, and culture. According to Antonio Gramsci, the ruling class maintains dominance not only through force but also through cultural hegemony, which secures the consent of the governed. Ideological power is subtle and long-lasting because it influences how people think and interpret the world around them.

Apart from that, in the field of international relations, scholars distinguish between hard power and soft power. According to Joseph Nye, hard power involves the use of military strength and economic sanctions to influence other states, while soft power is based on attraction, persuasion, diplomacy, and cultural influence. A country may use military intervention as hard power, whereas cultural exchange, foreign aid, and global media influence represent soft power. Both forms are important in global politics.

2.3.3 Sources of Power

Power comes from different sources that enable individuals or groups to influence others and shape decisions in society and politics. The major sources of power are discussed below:

- **Wealth:** Wealth is an important source of power because money, land, property, and capital help individuals or groups influence politics and society. Economic strength often leads to political influence.
- **Knowledge:** Knowledge gives power through expertise, education, and technical skills. Experts, intellectuals, and administrators often influence decisions because of their specialized understanding.
- **Organisational Control:** People who control political parties, unions, corporations, or social organizations gain power by directing activities and mobilizing people. Leadership within organizations often creates strong influence.
- **Physical Force:** Physical force is a traditional source of power based on coercion and the ability to ensure obedience. The state uses this through institutions like the police and military.
- **Charisma:** Charisma is a personal source of power that comes from a leader's exceptional personality, appeal, and ability to inspire followers. Charismatic leaders often gain support without formal authority.
- **Legal Position:** Legal position gives power to individuals who hold official offices such as judges, ministers, or administrators. Their authority comes from law and is recognized as legitimate by society.

2.4 CONCEPT OF AUTHORITY

Authority refers to legitimate power, or power that is recognised as rightful and accepted by those who govern. While power refers to the ability to influence or control others, authority indicates that such control is justified and recognised as appropriate. Authority exists when people obey an order not out of fear but because they believe it is lawful or morally correct.

The sociologist Max Weber provided one of the most comprehensive analyses of authority. According to him, authority is probability that a group of people would accept specific demands. Weber emphasised that authority is based on legitimacy, or the conviction that the rule or ruler has a valid right to govern. Thus, authority differs from mere power in that it requires assent. Citizens, for example, observe traffic laws not only out of fear of punishment, but also because they believe the legal system is legitimate.

Authority has several distinctive features.

Authority has several important and distinctive features that differentiate it from mere power:

1. **Legitimacy**: The most essential feature of authority is legitimacy. Those who are governed regard it as rightful and justified. People accept the authority-holder's right to give commands.
2. **Institutional Basis**: Established institutions, such as laws, norms, traditions, or constitutional frameworks, typically serve as the foundation of authority. It is not personal or arbitrary, but rather backed by established structures.
3. **Voluntary Compliance**: In authority, compliance is offered voluntarily. People follow laws and orders not just out of fear of punishment, but because they believe they are valid and appropriate.
4. **Stability and Durability**: Authority is more stable and durable than coercive power. Since it is based on acceptance and belief in legitimacy, it ensures continuity and order in society.
5. **Right to Command and Duty to Obey**: Authority implies the right to issue orders and the duty to obey them. Authority grants a person or organization the recognised authority to issue orders, and others accept their responsibility to obey them.
6. **Limited and Regulated Nature**: Authority is typically limited and regulated in modern constitutional systems, with legal norms determining its reach.

2.4.1 TYPES OF AUTHORITY

According to Max Weber, there are three ideal types of authority: Traditional, Charismatic, and Legal-Rational. These are "ideal types," meaning they are analytical categories used to understand real-world systems, though in practice they may overlap.

(a) **Traditional Authority:** Traditional authority is founded on norms, traditions, and long-standing practices. People comply because "it has always been so." The legitimacy of power stems from historical continuity and inherited status. Monarchies, feudal regimes, and hereditary monarchs are prime examples. In such systems, obedience is required to the monarch since tradition honours their position.

(b) **Charismatic Authority:** Charismatic authority stems from a leader's exceptional qualities or personal charm. Followers obey because they believe the leader possesses outstanding qualities, heroism, or divine inspiration. Charismatic authority is based on emotions and personal experiences. It frequently appears at times of crisis, when people demand strong leadership. However, it may be unstable unless it is institutionalised.

(c) **Legal-Rational Authority:** Legal-rational authority is founded on existing laws, regulations, and formal procedures. Authority in this context is associated with an office rather than a person. Modern democratic regimes rely heavily on this type of authority. Individuals are not obeyed; instead, laws and organisations are. Bureaucracies and constitutional governments operate on the basis of legal and reasonable authority.

LET US KNOW

The Greek word *charisma* means "favor" or "gift." It comes from the verb *charizesthai*, which means "to show favor," and this verb comes from the noun *charis*, meaning "grace." In early English usage, especially in Christian contexts, *charisma* referred to a special gift or power given by the Holy Spirit for the benefit of the Church. However, this religious meaning is now rarely used. Today, the word *charisma* usually refers to a person's personal charm or social appeal.

CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

1. Write the meaning of Power.
2. Write a two main features of Power.

3. Make a note on traditional authority.

2.5. STATE

The state is a structured political community with sovereign authority over a certain territory. The state governs social life, enforces law and order, protects citizens, and assures internal and foreign security. It differs from other associations in that it has supreme authority within its territory.The Greek philosopher Aristotle viewed the state as a natural institution arising from human needs. According to him, human beings are "political animals," and the state develops naturally from the family and village. For Aristotle, the ultimate purpose of the state is not merely survival but the achievement of the "good life." Thus, the state is both a moral and political institution. In modern political thought, the State is often defined as a political structure with four key components: people, territory, goverment, and sovereignty. These characteristics set the state apart from other organisations.

The state performs several essential functions for the smooth functioning of society. These include the maintenance of law and order, defence against external aggression, and the administration of justice. In addition to these basic functions, the state also carries out various welfare functions, such as providing education, ensuring public health, regulating the economy, and promoting social security.

2.5.1 Essential Elements of the State

The State consists of four essential elements without which it cannot exist.

Population: Population refers to a group of people who reside permanently within a particular territory. There is no fixed number required for a state, but a stable population is necessary because the state exists to govern people.

Territory: Territory means a fixed geographical area with clear boundaries. This includes land, water, and airspace under the control of the state. Without a defined territory, sovereignty cannot be exercised effectively.

Government: Government is the political machinery through which authority is exercised. It includes institutions such as the legislature, executive, and judiciary that make, implement, and interpret laws. Government is the agency of the state, but it is not identical to the state. Governments may change, but the state continues.

Sovereignty: Sovereignty is the most important element of the state. It refers to supreme authority within the territory and independence from external control. Internally, sovereignty means the state has the ultimate authority over all individuals and organisations within its territory. Externally, it means freedom from the control of other states. Without sovereignty, an entity cannot be considered a full-fledged state.

Theories of the Origin of the State

Political thinkers have proposed various theories to explain how the state originated.

- **Divine Origin Theory: Divine Origin** holds that the state was created by God and that rulers govern by divine will. According to this theory, obedience to the ruler is a religious duty. This theory was widely accepted in medieval Europe.
- **Force Theory: Force Theory** argues that the state emerged through conquest and force. According to this view, strong individuals or groups imposed their authority on weaker ones, leading to the formation of political organization. The state, therefore, originated from domination and coercion.
- **Social Contract Theory: Social Contract Theory** explains that the state arose from an agreement among individuals. Thinkers such as Thomas Hobbes, John Locke, and Jean-Jacques Rousseau argued that in the "state of nature," life was insecure and uncertain. To overcome these problems and protect their rights, individuals mutually agreed to establish a political authority. Although these thinkers differed in their views about human nature and the extent of state power, they agreed that the state is based on consent.
- **Historical or Evolutionary Theory: Historical or Evolutionary theory** suggests that the state developed gradually over time through social evolution. According to this theory, the state was not created at a single moment but evolved from family to clan, tribe, village, and eventually to complex political organizations. Customs, religion, economic needs, and social developments all contributed to the growth of the state.

2.6 ELITE

The term elite refers to a small minority of individuals who occupy positions of power, prestige, and influence in society. These individuals control key institutions and play a decisive role in shaping public policy and social direction. Elites may emerge from political, economic, military, bureaucratic, or intellectual spheres. Elite theory challenges the belief that power in democratic societies is widely distributed.

2.6.1 Elite Theory:

A. Classical Elite Theorist: The foundations of elite theory were laid by classical thinkers in Europe. Vilfredo Pareto argued that society is divided into two groups—the ruling elite and the non-elite. According to Pareto, elites are those who possess superior qualities such as intelligence, skill, or leadership capacity. He introduced the concept of the "circulation of elites," which means that while elites may change over time, minority rule remains constant.

Gaetano Mosca maintained that in every society, a minority, which he called the "political class," rules over the majority. This minority maintains control because it is better organized and more cohesive than the masses. Robert Michels formulated the "Iron Law of Oligarchy," arguing that all organizations, including democratic parties, inevitably come under the control of a small group of leaders. According to Michels, leadership and specialization make oligarchy unavoidable.

B. Modern Theories of Elite: In the twentieth century, elite theory was further developed to explain power concentration in modern democracies. C. Wright Mills, in *The Power Elite*, argued that power in the United States is concentrated among political, military, and corporate leaders. According to him, these elites are interconnected through social background, education, and shared interests, enabling them to dominate national decision-making. Modern elite theorists argue that even in democratic systems, real influence often rests with a limited group rather than with the masses.

2.6.2 Types of Elites

Elites can be classified into different types based on the sphere in which they exercise influence. Let us discuss it:

(1) Political Elite

Political elites consist of top political leaders such as presidents, prime ministers, cabinet ministers, legislators, party leaders, and influential political strategists. They play a decisive role in policy formulation, law-making, and governance. Political elites control state power and shape national and international policies. In democratic systems, they are usually elected, but once in office, they may exercise significant authority over decision-making processes.

(2) Economic Elite

Economic elites include industrialists, corporate executives, business magnates, financiers, and owners of large enterprises. They control major economic resources such as capital, industries, banks, and markets. Their influence extends to shaping

economic policies, investment decisions, and even political agendas through lobbying and financial contributions. In capitalist societies, economic elites often wield substantial indirect political power.

(3) Military Elite

Military elites consist of high-ranking officers and commanders who control the armed forces. They are responsible for national security and defense policies. In some countries, military elites directly intervene in politics, leading to military rule or coups. Even in democratic systems, military leaders may influence strategic and security-related decisions.

(4) Bureaucratic Elite

Bureaucratic elites include senior civil servants, administrators, and top officials within government departments. They possess technical expertise and administrative authority. Although they may not be elected representatives, their role in implementing policies gives them considerable influence over governance. In modern welfare states, bureaucratic elites play a central role in policy execution and public administration.

(5) Intellectual Elite

Intellectual elites consist of scholars, academics, writers, media personalities, scientists, and thought leaders who shape public opinion and ideological discourse. They influence society by producing knowledge, guiding debates, and framing issues. Through education, media, and research institutions, intellectual elites contribute to shaping cultural and political narratives.

(6) Social and Cultural Elite

These elites derive their influence from social prestige, cultural authority, or religious leadership. Religious heads, cultural icons, and prominent social reformers often fall into this category. They shape societal values, norms, and collective identities.

CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

4. What are the essential components of the state?
5. Make a note on Political Elite.

2.7 LET US SUM UP

- In simple words, power refers to the ability of an individual or group to influence the behaviour of others or to achieve desired outcomes despite resistance. Power is

not confined to governments alone; it exists in different social, economic, and political relationships.

- The main characteristics of power are that it is relational, situational, dynamic, intentional, and unequally distributed in society.
- Power may take different forms, such as coercive power, legitimate power, economic power, political power, social power, and ideological power.
- The major sources of power include wealth, knowledge, organisational control, physical force, charisma, and legal position.
- Authority refers to legitimate power, that is, power which is recognised as rightful and accepted by those who are governed.
- Authority has several important and distinctive features, such as legitimacy, institutional basis, voluntary compliance, stability and durability, the right to command and duty to obey, and a limited and regulated nature.
- According to Max Weber, there are three ideal types of authority: traditional authority, charismatic authority, and legal-rational authority.
- The state is a structured political community with sovereign authority over a certain territory.
- In modern political thought, the state is generally understood through its four essential elements: population, territory, government, and sovereignty.
- Political thinkers have also proposed various theories to explain the origin of the state, such as the Divine Origin Theory, Force Theory, Social Contract Theory, and Historical or Evolutionary Theory.
- The term elite refers to a small minority of individuals who occupy positions of power, prestige, and influence in society.
- Elites can be classified into different types based on the sphere in which they exercise influence. These include political elite, economic elite, military elite, bureaucratic elite, intellectual elite, and social and cultural elite.

2.8 FURTHER READING

Gauba, O. P. (2012). *An introduction to political theory* (5th ed.). Macmillan.

Heywood, A. (2015). *Political theory: An introduction* (4th ed.). Palgrave Macmillan.

Mills, C. W. (1956). *The power elite*. Oxford University Press.

Verma, S. P. (2004). *Modern political theory*. Vikas Publishing House.

2.9 ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Answer o Question No 1: In simple words, power refers to the ability of an individual or group to influence the behaviour of others or to achieve desired outcomes despite resistance. Power is not confined to governments. It exists in families, religious institutions, economic organizations, and social groups. In politics, power determines who governs, how policies are framed, and whose interests prevail.

Answer to Question No 2: i) Relational
ii)Situational:

Answer to Question No 3: Traditional authority is founded on norms, traditions, and long-standing practices. People comply because "it has always been so." The legitimacy of power stems from historical continuity and inherited status. Monarchies, feudal regimes, and hereditary monarchs are prime examples. In such systems, obedience is required to the monarch since tradition honours their position.

Answer to Question No 4: Population, Territory, Government and Sovereignty

Answer to Question No 5: Political elites consist of top political leaders such as presidents, prime ministers, cabinet ministers, legislators, party leaders, and influential political strategists. They play a decisive role in policy formulation, law-making, and governance. Political elites control state power and shape national and international policies. In democratic systems, they are usually elected, but once in office, they may exercise significant authority over decision-making processes.

2.10 MODEL QUESTIONS

1. What is power? Discuss its nature, forms, and sources.
2. Define authority. Explain the main characteristics and types of authority with reference to Max Weber.
3. What is the State? Discuss its essential elements and major theories regarding its origin.
4. Who are elites? Explain the main ideas of classical and modern elite theory.

*****

UNIT 3: BASIC CONCEPTS – II

UNIT STRUCTURE

3.1 Learning Objectives
3.2 Introduction
3.3 Meaning of Political System
3.4 Characteristic of Political system
3.5 Meaning of Political Economy
3.6 Evolution of Political Economy
3.7 Components of Political Economy
3.8 Introduction to Bureaucracy
3.9 Origin of the Term
3.10 Meaning of Bureaucracy
3.11 Role of Bureaucracy
3.12 Max Weber on the Rise of Bureaucracy
3.13 Characteristic of Bureaucracy
3.14 Introduction to Civil Society
3.15 Meaning of Civil Society
3.16 Role of Civil Society
3.17 Let Us Sum Up
3.18 Further Reading
3.19 Answer to Check Your Progress
3.20 Model Questions

3.1 LEARNING OBJECTIVES

After complete this unit, you will be able to-

- discuss the meaning and characteristic of Political System
- discuss meaning, evolution and components of Political Economy
- explain meaning and origin of Bureaucracy
- discuss the role and Max Weber's concept of Bureaucracy
- explain the role of Bureaucracy

3.2 INTRODUCTION

Political system is the collection of formal institutions of law that make up "***government"***[1] or "state." Many studies of the legal or constitutional frameworks of highly developed political systems have followed this notion. However, when the term is used more generally, it includes both actual and prescribed political behaviour, as well as the state's actual organisational structure and operational reality and also the political system is a set of institutions and agencies concerned with formulating and implementing the collective goals of a society or of groups within it.

LET US KNOW

A government is the system or group of people governing an organized community, generally a state.

3.3 MEANING OF POLITICAL SYSTEM

The term "political system" broadly refers to the procedures used to enact laws, distribute public funds, and establish interpersonal ties in a community. Governments are the political system's decision-making organs. Governmental choices are typically supported by legal compulsion, and submission to authority may be demanded.

In a political system, certain essential activities are required for the formulation and implementation of policies. These include:

- **Interest articulation**: engaged individuals and groups expressing their needs and demands.
- **Interest aggregation**: combines different demands into policy proposals backed by significant political resources.
- **Policy making**: decides which policy proposals are to become authoritative rules.
- **Policy implementation**: carries out and enforces public policies; while **policy adjudication** settles disputes regarding their application.

The idea of a political system has undoubtedly been widely popular because it "directs attention to the entire scope of political activities within a society, regardless of where such activities may be located". Defining this term, Almond and Powell say: "when we speak of the political system, we include all the interactions which affect the use or threat of use of legitimate physical coercion. The political system includes not only governmental institutions such as legislatures, courts and administrative agencies, but all structures in their political aspects. Among these are traditional structures such as kinship ties and

caste groupings, an anomic phenomenon such as assassinations, riots and demonstrations; as well as formal organisations like parties, interest groups, and media of communication".

Political system is the combination of two nouns. We begin by discussing what is meant by the term "political." We can discover a lot of variation and some assistance if we examine the current literature for an adequate definition of the politics and political. For instance, Max Weber says that a state "is a human community that claims the monopoly of the legitimate use of physical force within a given territory". Weber further says that the right to use physical force "is ascribed to other institutions or to individuals only to the extent to which the state permits it". A prominent sociologist Marion Levy Jr. says that political allocation may be defined "as the distribution of power over and responsibility for the actions of the various members of the concrete structure concerned, involving on the one hand coercive sanctions, of which force is the extreme form in one direction and on the other accountability to the members and in terms of the structure concerned, or to the members of other concrete structures". David Easton says that a political system allocates values by means of its policies that are binding on the society by virtue of being authoritative. According to him "a policy is clearly authoritative when the feeling prevails that it must or ought to be obeyed those policies, whether formal or effective, are accepted as binding".

The term "System" may be defined as phenomena which can satisfy the following criteria:

- One can specify a set of elements.
- Certain relations imply others.
- A certain complex of relations at a given time implies a certain complex at a later time.

According to Almond, a system "implies the interdependence of parts and a boundary of some kind between it and its environment".

Political system consists all the interactions like inputs and outputs which affect the use or the threat of the use of physical coercion.

According to Beer and Ulam political system is "a structure that performs a certain function for a society".

3.4 CHARACTERISTICS OF POLITICAL SYSTEM

Characteristic of political system may be discussed in five different numbers; are

- **Universality of political system**: the political system is universal in nature. In each and every country there must have political system whether primitive or modern, or

whether traditional and modern and they have legitimacy pattern through which internal and external order is maintained.

- **Universality of political structure**: all political systems contain similar organisations that carry out similar tasks, although to various degrees. The articulative, aggregative, and communicative functions may be carried out frequently through the kinship or lineage system within the society.
- **Universality of political functions**: each and every political system operates different functions which is universal in character. Political system is combination of inputs and outputs and their assimilation. **Almond** [2] offers a sevenfold classification in the inputs and outputs categories, while the inputs category includes: political socialisation and recruitment, interest articulation, interest aggregation and political communication; outputs category includes: rule making, rule application and rule adjudication functions.
- **Multifunctionality of political structures**: no matter how specialised they are in a particular moment in time or place, all political structures serve several purposes. The functional specialisation of political structures has been overemphasised in the western political system model, whereas the undifferentiated and diffuse nature of political and social structure has been overemphasised in the traditional system model. A political system always dealing with multifunctionality such as legislative functions, executive functions, judicial functions, election function etc.
- **Culturally mixed political system**: in all political system there are different cultures exists. Every political system is a combination of various cultures. All political systems have formal and informal structures.

Any society's political system is a particular subsystem. Political institutions refer to three aspects: a control system, a control structure, and a control strategy. These factors are all connected to the social system. Therefore, according to sociologists, the political institution is a subsystem of the larger social system and functions as a system of organisation, control, and the lawful use of force. Political institutions shape specific social relations that take place in a given region. Territorial area is therefore crucial to any society's political system.

LET US KNOW

Gabriel Abraham Almond, (born January 12, 1911, Rock Island, Illinois, U.S.—died December 25, 2002, Pacific Grove, California), American political scientist noted for his comparative studies of political systems and his analysis of political development.

3.5 MEANING OF POLITICAL ECONOMY

What impact does politics have on economic results? Probably for as long as people have been interested in economics, this question has been asked. From ***Adam Smith's*** [3] Wealth of Nations in 1776, or possibly even earlier by the Physiocrats, through at least ***John Stuart Mill's*** [4] Principles of Political Economy in 1848, the field that we now refer to as "economics" was actually commonly known as "political economy." The terminology used was mostly a reflection of the idea that politics and economics could not be truly separated. This went beyond just an administrative categorization of disciplines; it was the result of the pervasive belief that political variables play a major role in influencing economic results. Economists became detached from political and institutional elements when economics and political science were separated into separate fields. Two key drivers of this split were the need for methodological advancement and a more solid foundation for economic analysis.

But the "new political economy" is more than just a revival of a previous school of thought in economics. The new political economy is distinguished more by its method of addressing the topic of how politics influences economic outcomes, although being marked by a keen interest in it. To be more precise, it is primarily characterized by its examination of the significance of politics for economics using the formal and technical instruments of contemporary economic analysis.

Thus, the first observation in political economy is that, although "optimal" policies are defined as those that are subject to informational and technical limitations but not political ones, real policies are frequently very different from one another. Political economy is a particular approach to comprehending social and political processes in which economics and politics are not viewed as distinct fields, it is predicated on the idea that there is a connection between the two and that this connection develops in a variety of ways. These presumptions serve as crucial explanatory and analytical frameworks that allow the study of social and political processes. The precise meaning that the notion takes on relies on the theoretical ideological tradition—liberal or Marxist, for example- within which it is positioned, as well as how specifically economics and politics are interpreted in relation to that placing.

LET US KNOW

Adam Smith was an 18th-century Scottish economist, philosopher, and author who is considered the father of modern economics. Smith argued against mercantilism and was a major proponent of laissez-faire economic policies. In his first book, The Theory of Moral Sentiments, Smith proposed the idea of an invisible hand—the tendency of free markets to regulate themselves using competition, supply and demand, and self-interest.

LET US KNOW

John Stuart Mill (1806–73) was the most influential English language philosopher of the nineteenth century. He was a naturalist, a utilitarian, and a liberal, whose work explores the consequences of a thoroughgoing empiricist outlook. In doing so, he sought to combine the best of eighteenth-century Enlightenment thinking with newly emerging currents of nineteenth-century Romantic and historical philosophy. His most important works include System of Logic (1843), On Liberty (1859), Utilitarianism (1861) and An Examination of Sir William Hamilton's Philosophy (1865).

3.6 EVOLUTION OF POLITICAL ECONOMY

It's interesting to note that the separation of politics and economics into their own fields is a very recent development. It wasn't until the mediaeval centuries that the idea of economics as a distinct, self-regulating field emerged. The term "economy," which dates back to Aristotle, originally meant "the art of household management" in Greek. It comes from the Greek words oikos, which means house, and nomos, which means law. The study of household administration fell under the study of "politics" since the Greek political system developed in the following order: household, village, city state. As a result, Aristotle addressed economic issues in the first book of his Politics. Adam Smith, one of the early practitioners of political economy, regarded it as "a branch of the science of a statesman or legislator." The mercantilist school, which advocated for a strong role for the state in economic regulation, rose to prominence in the 16th through the 18th centuries, marking a significant step in the intellectual inquiry of political economy. In response to mercantilism, the Scottish philosophers Adam Smith (1723–90) and David Hume (1711–76), as well as the French economist François Quesnay (1694–1774), started to approach political economy as a systematic field of study in the middle of the 18th century. They adopted a secular stance, citing political, economic, technological, natural, and social variables as well as the intricate relationships between them to explain the distribution of wealth and power rather than God's will. In fact, the broad breadth of early political economic analysis is conveyed in the title of Adam Smith's seminal work, *An Inquiry into the Nature and Causes of the Wealth of Nations* (1776), which offered the first comprehensive theory of political economics. Some of the concepts and methods the discipline used were centuries old, despite the fact that the field itself was new. Influential figures in its development included the English political philosophers Thomas Hobbes (1588-1679) and John Locke (1632–1704), the Italian political theorist Niccolò Machiavelli (1469–1527) with his Realpolitik, and the English philosopher Francis Bacon (1561–1626), who developed the inductive method of scientific reasoning.

The comprehensive examination of political economy, which is evident in the writings of Smith, List, Marx, and other figures from their era, was progressively overshadowed in

the late 19th century by a collection of disciplines with narrower scopes and conventional methods. These disciplines aimed to shed light on specific aspects of society, inevitably compromising a more comprehensive perspective on social interactions.

Political economy emerged in the second half of the 20th century to offer a more comprehensive framework for comprehending intricate domestic and global issues and events. This was due to the social sciences—particularly economics, but also political science becoming more formal, abstract, and specialized in both focus and methodology.

CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Q.1: Who offers a seven-fold classification in the inputs and outputs category of political system?

Q.2: What is Political System?

3.7 COMPONENTS OF POLITICAL ECONOMY

The two subfields of political economics are known as modern political economy and classical political economy. Classical Political Economy examines the writings of thinkers including Karl Marx, Adam Smith, and Niccol Machiavelli. Conversely, modern political economy examines the writings of contemporary economists, political scientists, and philosophers such Friedrich Hayek, Milton Freidman, and John Maynard Keynes.

The study of political economy focuses on three major areas:

- **Interdisciplinary Study:** Political economy is an interdisciplinary field that combines sociology, economics, and political science to study how political institutions, the environment, and economic systems interact. Three areas of interdisciplinary study are resource allocation in various economic systems, international political economy and its impact on international relations, and economic models of political processes.
- **New Political Economy:** Instead of seeing economic policies as a framework that has to be examined, the new field of political economy views them as a viewpoint or course of action that needs more discussion. It combines the theories of modern political and economic advancements with those of classical economics. The strategy rejects conventional wisdom regarding agency, governmental interests, and market forces and seeks to stimulate political discourse about the needs and desires of society.
- **International Political Economy:** Studying international political economy, sometimes referred to as global political economy, examines how economics and

international relations interact. It makes use of concepts from political science, sociology, and economics. The field of international political economy studies how states and institutions influence political systems through interactions with the world economy.

3.8 INTRODUCTION TO BUREAUCRACY

Hans Rosenberg [5] has rightly observed that "for good or evil, an essential part of the present structure of governance consists of its far-flung system of professionalised administration and its hierarchy of appointed officials upon whom society is thoroughly dependent. Whether we live under the most totalitarian despotism or in the most liberal democracy, we are governed to a considerable extent by a bureaucracy of some kind." Nowadays, bureaucracy is a prevalent aspect of the modern world. Bureaucratic systems are a common feature of both developed and developing countries, appearing almost everywhere in public and large private organizations.

Nowadays, bureaucracy is a prevalent aspect of the modern world. Bureaucratic systems are a common feature of both developed and developing countries, appearing almost everywhere in public and large private organizations.

LET US KNOW

Hans Oswald Rosenberg (18 May 1879 – 26 July 1940) was a German astronomer. He worked in the University of Tübingen before losing his job in Nazi Germany for having Jewish descent. He then moved to the United States of America and then to Turkey.

3.9 ORIGIN OF THE TERM

The term bureaucracy is derived from the Latin term 'bureau'. Bureau means a writing table or desk. In French 'La Bure' means a cloth used on tables of public authorities. The term 'bureau' refers to the cloth-covered table. Later, the office space where the table is stored started to be referred to as the "bureau." As a result, by the 18th century, the phrase had come to denote an office for officials. Official rule is referred to as bureaucracy. The word saw frequent usage in the 18th and 19th centuries. It referred to the authority of public administration officers.

The term "bureaucracy" was originally used in the middle of the eighteenth century by the Frenchman *De'Gournay*. He complained about the bureaucracy using this word.

3.10 MEANING OF BUREAUCRACY

The term Bureaucracy basically refers to a system of government in which most of the important decisions are taken by the state officials rather than by elected representatives. To put it simply, bureaucracy is the term used to describe a group of non-elected government workers that work together to create administrative policies. A government administration that was established by non-elected officials and managed by departments under their employment was referred to as bureaucracy in the past.

Today, any significant entity in the public or commercial sector that is governed by an administration is referred to as bureaucracy. The administrative method of administratively uniting individuals who must collaborate under a single organization is bureaucracy. Bureaucracies are essential to the operation of practically all organizations in the modern world, including public and private sectors. Government bureaucrats are responsible for a wide range of duties, such as supervising and training the officials they hire to handle the organization's administration. Implementing policies, regulations, and decisions made by government officials are the primary responsibilities of bureaucrats.

In a nutshell, the definition of bureaucracy is "rule by desk of offices," which sums up how bureaucracies' function within an organization. Although bureaucracies are frequently thought to be ineffective or wasteful, by explicitly defining each person's position within a hierarchy, bureaucracies ensure that a huge number of people may come together and operate in compatible ways. When discussing the government bureaucracies, this could be advantageous for the improved operation of the organization and the better application of policies. Public administration is the phrase used to describe the work of managing the government and delivering services by putting various policies into practice.

With the general explanation provided above, it is easy to conclude that the term "bureaucracy" refers to both an administrative policy-making body and the group of non-elected government officials.

German sociologist ***Max Weber*** [6] is credited with creating the contemporary definition of bureaucracy. He never used the same precise definitions of "class" or "status group" to describe bureaucracy. He saw bureaucracy as a universal social phenomenon and as a tool for transforming "community action" into "societal action" that is logically structured.

LET US KNOW

Max Weber, (born April 21, 1864, Erfurt, Prussia [Germany]—died June 14, 1920, Munich, Germany), German sociologist and political economist best known for his thesis of the "Protestant ethic," relating Protestantism to capitalism, and for his ideas on bureaucracy.

Q.3: Who wrote the book "Wealth of Nations" in 1776.

Q.4: Write two famous names who developed the inductive method of scientific reasoning.

3.11 ROLE OF BUREAUCRACY

The execution of the government's established policy is the primary and most important function of the bureaucracy. The council of ministers' fundamental structure and policy frameworks are provided by the legislation. The bureaucracy then takes care of carrying out the policy. This load that the bureaucracy is now carrying is both novel and significant. Alongside this, the previous tasks of managing law and order and collecting income continue to exist. In comparison to the previous duties and functions, the rapidly increasing process is both contemporary and relatively substantial.

Since India is a developing nation, the bureaucracy faces a significant and difficult task in transforming a developing state into an operational one. In industrialized nations, bureaucracy is not required to fulfil this function. Since it is no jest to grow a country in a short amount of time and with limited resources, India's bureaucracy faces a difficult challenge and a heavy burden of development.

In addition to the significant function that bureaucracy plays in the growth of the country, the Indian bureaucracy also plays a number of other significant roles. They are listed below:

- Managing the executive branch as we have already covered, one of bureaucracy's key functions is to make sure that the government's established laws and regulations are followed and that the administration operates without interruptions.
- Advisers to politicians in office the bureaucracy aids in the smooth operation of the government by providing advice to political executives when they make decisions that will improve the government. These bureaucrats help political executives make choices since they are ignorant of how the government operates.
- Making laws since bureaucrats create the bills that are brought before lawmakers to become laws, they have an indirect say in how laws are made. The ministers get in touch with the civil servants to request all the information required to carry the bill through the legislative process.
- Creation of policies the policies must be incorporated under certain circumstances in order for them to be implemented. The political executives are responsible for this. But as we've seen above, bureaucrats and civil servants are crucial in directing these political executives in their positions, and bureaucracy is crucial to the entire policy-making process.

- The policies must be incorporated under certain circumstances in order for them to be implemented. The political executives are responsible for this. But as we have seen above, bureaucrats and civil servants are crucial in directing these political executives in their positions, and bureaucracy is crucial to the entire policy-making process.

3.12 MAX WEBER ON THE RISE OF BUREAUCRACY

In the past, bureaucracies existed in the administrations of ancient Egypt, Rome, China, and the Roman Catholic Church since the end of the thirteenth century. However, these bureaucracies were smaller in scope, restricted to the state and church, and less bureaucratic. Only with the advent of modernity and absolutism in Europe did bureaucracies purport to be more bureaucratic, multiply, and encroach upon ever-wider domains of social life. In addition to the state administrations, other institutions of higher learning, religions, political organizations, businesses, and colleges also got bureaucratized. Weber regarded it as the result of the following causes:

1. The Creation of Money Economy: When Europe came out of the Middle Ages, this process took place. Weber does not view it as a necessary prerequisite because bureaucracies developed in Egypt, Rome, and China even in situations where in-kind pay was given. However, such would not guarantee bureaucrats consistent income. In turn, this system of rewarding bureaucrats with land grants and or tax money collected from designated regions tended to cause bureaucracies to break apart into semi-feudal and feudal realms.

2. The Emergence of Capitalist Economy: The foundation of capitalism, the free enterprise system, encouraged bureaucracy. It produced needs that could only be met by bureaucratic organizations. In its own self-interest, capitalism demands and promotes strong, stable governments. This is another way of expressing that governments built on bureaucratic structures are required and encouraged by capitalism. The fundamental characteristics of capitalism, namely rationality and calculability, led governments and capitalist firms alike to adopt bureaucratic organizational principles.

3. More Encompassing Trend Towards Rationality in Western Society: In many areas of contemporary Western civilization, rationalism has grown. For example, it was clear in the formation of the Protestant ethic, which promoted diligence and self-control. This moral code served as the cornerstone of capitalism, encouraging the

efficient use of time and resources in order to maximize gains and profits. In turn, this spirit served as one of the prerequisites for the emergence of rational capitalism. There was a general trend toward reason in other areas as well, such as advances in science and government. Thus, the process of rationalization is the common denominator throughout several developments, including capitalism, science, bureaucracy, and Protestantism.

4. Democracy: The opposition to and assistance in overthrowing the old system of nobility and feudal components, as well as the promotion of education and appointment to public office based on merit, were the other aspects of the development of democratic institutions.

5. Growth of the European Population: As the population grows, more administrative work needs to be done, which calls for larger organizations. On the other hand, larger organizations typically adopt bureaucratic structures.

6. Emergence of Complex Administrative Problems: The complexity of the duties that governments must carry out leads to the development of extensive bureaucratic organizations. This was the case in ancient Egypt, the nation that established the world's first extensive bureaucracy. when it had to deal with the difficult task of creating and managing waterways. The newly formed centralised states in Europe had to deal with hitherto unheard-of administrative responsibilities. They not only had to rule over bigger areas and populations, but they also had to supply social services of a kind that no other state had to. Due to the intricacy of these activities, bureaucracy—a type of organization required proficiency and efficacy.

7. Modern Forms of Communication: Modern communication tools both demanded and enabled bureaucratic management, which is more sophisticated and successful. According to Weber, bureaucracy emerged as a result of its superior technical and rational qualities, which made it the most suitable instrument for handling the issues and tasks of a complex modern society. Because of this dominance, bureaucracy was forced to spread and will only get stronger in the future.

3.13 CHARACTERISTIC OF BUREAUCRACY

There are different kinds of features of Max Weber's ideal type of bureaucracy; which are mentioned bellow:

- Every office has a precisely defined area of expertise, and its responsibilities are distinguished from those of other offices.
- Offices are arranged hierarchically, with each subordinate office reporting to and overseen by a higher office.

- Authority is limited to official tasks; all other subordinates are completely separated from their private lives and are not accountable to their superiors.
- Rather than being elected, officials are appointed to their positions and are bound by a contract with the organization.
- Officials are chosen based on their objective qualifications, which can be proven by exams, degrees, training, or all.
- General, consistent, which abstract principles govern activities; because these norms are so general, it is necessary to classify particular occurrences according to objective standards.
- Official business is done in an impersonal manner that is neither hateful nor loving.
- Often, the head of a bureaucracy is not a bureaucrat. He makes the rules; bureaucrats just follow them. bureaucrats, however, are appointed. Typically, he either gets elected to the position, appropriates it, or inherits it.

3.14 INTRODUCTION TO CIVIL SOCIETY

The term “civil society” became central to Western political theory between 1750 and 1850. It was also expected of a member of civil society to be a citizen of the state, bound by law to behave lawfully and to protect other citizens. In Britain, France, and Germany, this view predominated until the middle of the eighteenth century. The nature of civil society and the boundaries of state activity are the current areas of concern. The idea of civil society was first introduced by liberalism in an effort to challenge absolutism.

The Latin translations of the Aristotelian Greek term politike koinonia, which for Aristotle is the ethical-political community of free and equal citizens in ruling and being ruled under a legally defined system of public procedures and shared values, introduced the ideaof civil society into modern European political philosophy.

From these associational platforms, the idea of civil society has expanded globally to include a diverse array of structured and organic groups with varying shapes, sizes, and purposes. The landscape of civil society has undergone tremendous transformation over time. The most well-known groups have fluctuated between time periods: nongovernmental organizations (NGOs), workers’ or labor unions, professional associations, and community-based organizations.

3.15 MEANING OF CIVIL SOCIETY

Civil Society is comprised of groups or organizations working in the interest of the citizens but operating outside of the governmental and for-profit sectors. Organisations and institutions that make up civil society include: labour organisations, not-profit organisations, churches, and other service agencies.

One way to visualize civil society is as a space that is growing more and more independent. Between the state and the market, civil society is referred to as a "third realm" by Cohen and Arto. They define civil society as comprising the following:

1. Plurality: many types of existence are made possible by families, unofficial groupings, and volunteer associations that value autonomy and multiplicity.
2. Publicity: institutions of culture and communication
3. Privacy: a domain of individual self-development and moral choice.
4. Legality: Structures of fundamental rights and general rules were required to distinguish publicity, privacy, and plurality from the state and, to some extent, the market.

Tocqueville views civil society as a safeguard that keeps people safe from the oppressive government. Civil society is unnecessary if the state is democratic.

According to Hegel, civic society is fundamentally a product of the modern era. It's a space where the self-centred person can rightfully follow his own interests. The state and the family are not the same as the area of civil society. According to Hegel, "Civil society is the stage or phase of difference which intervenes between the family and the state, even if its formation follows later in time that of the state..... The creation of civil society is the achievement of the modern world." Additionally, according to Hegel, civic society "is a set of social practices which are constituted by the logic of the capitalist economy and which reflects the ethos of market but which have an existence distinct from economy."

According to Neera Chandhoke, "Civil society is merely the arena in which political and ideological disputes are fought out between organized groups, classes, or other social grounds, such as gender, sexual orientation, race, ethnicity, or environment. It is the field of organized politics, which is organized not only in the sense that organizations like political parties and social movements carry out the practices but also in the sense that the public's perception of issues crystallizes over time."

Therefore, we can conclude that maintaining a balance between the government, the market, and civil society is necessary to promote good governance. As an alternative to the market, some fervent advocates of civil society actively support the actions of non-governmental organizations as service providers and defenders of democracy. The state

and the market are nevertheless heavily impacted by the dynamics that the civil society generates if it is vocal and eloquent. Civil society members are required to protect their boundaries from state violations.

Q.5: The French word "La Bure" means?

Q.6: Who originally used the term "Bureaucracy"?

Q.7: In which year "RTI Act" came into existence?

3.16 ROLE OF CIVIL SOCIETY

Civil society must be robust in order for a democratic state to function properly. Now let's get into more detail about the function of civic society:

1. **Policy Advocacy**: In order to reduce poverty and empower the underprivileged, civil society organizations and the government are having policy discussions. These groups support the government not only with the formulation of these policies but also with their implementation, oversight, and review. One non-governmental organization that strives to restore children's rights is called "Save the Children in India."
2. **Protection Role:** The Association for Protection of Democratic Rights assists in giving persons without access to the legal system legal aid. These CSOs typically facilitate legal services and shield the populace from oppressive viewpoints.
3. **Promotion of Transparency: The RTI Act, 2005**,[7] and the Lokpal and Lokkayukta Act, 2013 were made possible by civil society organizations.
4. **Mobilization of the Citizens and Resources:** These groups include communities in development projects by involving them in their planning and design. This even assists the administration in reversing some of its unpopular measures. They have built homes, bathrooms, and other amenities for the community using resources within the community, and they have also provided basic utilities like electricity and water.

The civil society is a large and heterogeneous group that includes a wide range of organizations. It is important in promoting policies, mobilizing resources, regulating and overseeing state activities, and advocating on behalf of the downtrodden and oppressed classes. It is now one of the most important tools for good governance in the globe.

LET US KNOW.

The Right to Information (RTI) is an act of the Parliament of India which sets out the rules and procedures regarding citizens' right to information. It replaced the former Freedom of Information Act, 2002. Under the provisions of RTI Act, any citizen of India may request

information from a "public authority" (a body of Government or "instrumentality of State") which is required to reply expeditiously or within thirty days. In case of matter involving a petitioner's life and liberty, the information has to be provided within 48 hours. The Act also requires every public authority to computerize their records for wide dissemination and to proactively publish certain categories of information so that the citizens need minimum recourse to request for information formally.

3.17 LET US SUM UP

- Political system is the collection of formal institutions of law that make up "**government"** or "state."
- The term "System" is may defined as phenomena which can satisfy the criteria, such as a set of elements, certain relations imply others and a certain complex of relations at a given time implies a certain complex at a later time.
- Political economy emerged in the second half of the 20th century to offer a more comprehensive framework for comprehending intricate domestic and global issues and events. This was due to the social sciences—particularly economics, but also political science becoming more formal, abstract, and specialized in both focus and methodology.
- The comprehensive examination of political economy, which is evident in the writings of Smith, List, Marx, and other figures from their era, was progressively overshadowed in the late 19th century by a collection of disciplines with narrower scopes and conventional methods. These disciplines aimed to shed light on specific aspects of society, inevitably compromising a more comprehensive perspective on social interactions.
- Nowadays, bureaucracy is a prevalent aspect of the modern world. Bureaucratic systems are a common feature of both developed and developing countries, appearing almost everywhere in public and large private organizations.
- The term bureaucracy is derived from the Latin term 'bureau'. Bureau means a writing table or desk. In French 'La Bure' means a cloth used on tables of public authorities. The term 'bureau' refers to the cloth-covered table. Later, the office space where the table is stored started to be referred to as the "bureau."
- Civil Society is comprised of groups or organizations working in the interest of the citizens but operating outside of the governmental and for-profit sectors. Organisations and institutions that make up civil society include: labour organisations, not-profit organisations, churches, and other service agencies

3.18 FURTHER READING

1. Johari, J.C. (2020). *Comparative Politics.* Delhi: Sterling Publisher Pvt. Ltd.
2. Sharma, B.L. Sadana, Kaur. (2015). *Public Administration in Theory and Practice.* Allahabad: Kitab Mahal.
3. Laxmikanth, M. (2022). *Public Administration.* New Delhi. McGraw Hill.
4. Fadia, B.L, Kuldeep. (2024). *Public Administration.* Delhi. Sahitya Bhawan.

3.19 ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Ans to Q No.1: Almond

Ans to Q No.2: Political system is the collection of formal institutions law that make up 'government' or state.

Ans to Q No.3: Adam Smith

Ans to Q No.4: John Locke and Francis Bacon

Ans to Q No.5: A cloth used on table of public authority

Ans to Q No.6: De' Gournay

Ans to Q No.7: **2005**

3.20 MODEL QUESTIONS

A) Very Short Questions

Q.1: Who wrote the book "Wealth of Nations"?

B) Short Questions

Q.1: Write the meaning of Bureaucracy.

Q.2: Mentions two characteristics of Civil Society.

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

Q.1: Write a descriptive note on Political Economy

Q.2: Explain the role of Bureaucracy

Q.3: Write an elaborative note on the concept of Political System.

*****

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 Functions of Political Socialisation
4.6 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

2.2 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 Political Socialisation becoming adolescents. According to Herbert H. Hyman, political scoialisation is a continuous process, which began even in the early childhood period. 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. Adolescent relates to the process of developing from a child to an adult. 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 Political Socialisation 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 veryInference is the act or process of deriving logical conclusions from premises known or assumed to be true 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.

- **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. Inculcate means teaching a person the values, beliefs, ideas thrugh instructions. Infusing means instilling (a quality) in someone or something, to put into or introduce. 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. 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?

.....

CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Q1: What are the two forms of political socialisation?

2: What are the agents of political socialisation?

4.5 FUNCTIONS OF POLITICAL SOCIALISATION

Political socialisation performs a number of important functions in every political system. It plays a vital role in shaping the political behaviour, attitudes, beliefs, and values of individuals. Through political socialisation, individuals learn about the political system, their rights and duties, and the role they are expected to perform as members of society. Thus, political socialisation helps in maintaining political order as well as political continuity.

One of the most important functions of political socialisation is the transmission of political culture from one generation to another. Every society has its own political values, beliefs, traditions, and orientations. Political socialisation ensures that these are passed

on to the younger generation. In this way, it helps in preserving the political heritage of a society.

Another major function of political socialisation is the development of political awareness among citizens. Through family, school, media, and other agencies, individuals become aware of political institutions, government policies, political leaders, and public issues. This awareness helps people to understand the functioning of the political system and encourages them to participate in political life.

Political socialisation also helps in creating responsible citizens. It teaches individuals about their rights, duties, and responsibilities as members of the political community. It develops qualities such as loyalty to the nation, respect for law, tolerance, cooperation, and a sense of civic duty. In this way, political socialisation contributes to the development of good citizenship.

Another important function of political socialisation is promoting political participation. It encourages individuals to take part in political activities such as voting, discussing public issues, joining political organisations, and taking interest in government affairs. A politically socialised person is more likely to become an active participant in the democratic process.

Political socialisation further performs the function of maintaining political stability and continuity. When citizens share common political values and norms, the political system becomes more stable and orderly. It reduces confusion, conflict, and alienation by integrating individuals into the political system. In this way, political socialisation strengthens the legitimacy and survival of the political order.

At the same time, political socialisation may also play a role in bringing political change. It does not always simply preserve the existing political culture; sometimes it introduces new ideas, beliefs, and attitudes that can transform society. Through education, media, and political movements, new political values such as equality, democracy, justice, and participation may be promoted among the people.

In conclusion, political socialisation performs several important functions in society. It transmits political culture, develops political awareness, creates responsible citizens, promotes political participation, maintains political stability, and sometimes even encourages political change. Therefore, political socialisation is an essential process in the functioning of every political system.

CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

3. Make a note on functions of Political Socialisation.

4.6 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 socialisation performs several important functions in society. It transmits political culture, develops political awareness, creates responsible citizens, promotes political participation, maintains political stability, and sometimes even encourages political change. Therefore, political socialisation is an essential process in the functioning of every political system.

4.7 FURTHER READING

1) Chakraborty, S (ed) (2005). Political Sociology. Macmillan India Ltd.

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.

4) Jena, Saroj Kumar (2002). Political Sociology: A Realistic Approach. Anmol Publications Pvt. Ltd.

4.8 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.

Ans to Q No 3: Political socialisation performs a number of important functions in every political system. It plays a vital role in shaping the political behaviour, attitudes, beliefs, and values of individuals. Through political socialisation, individuals learn about the political system, their rights and duties, and the role they are expected to perform as members of society. Thus, political socialisation helps in maintaining political order as well as political continuity. Political socialisation performs several important functions in society. It transmits political culture, develops political awareness, creates responsible citizens, promotes political participation, maintains political stability, and sometimes even encourages political change. Therefore, political socialisation is an essential process in the functioning of every political system.

4.9 MODEL QUESTIONS

1. What is meant by socialisation?
2. What is meant by direct and indirect forms of political socialisation?
3. Discuss with the help of examples the various agents of socialisation.
5. Explain the functions of political socialisation.

*****

UNIT - 5 POLITICAL CULTURE

UNIT STRUCTURE

5.1 Learning Objectives
5.2 Meaning of Political Culture
5.3 Nature of Political Culture
5.4 Dimensions of Political Culture
5.5 Role and Utility of Political Culture
5.6 Let Us Sum Up
5.7 Further Reading
5.8 Answers to Check Your Progress
5.9 Model Questions

5.1 LEARNING OBJECTIVES

After reading this unit you will be able to:

- explain the meaning of political culture in political sociology
- discuss the Nature of Political Culture to political sociology
- discuss the dimensions of political culture
- explain the role and unity of political culture

5.2 MEANING OF POLITICAL CULTURE

The sociological component of the topic of political growth is examined via the lens of political culture. Political culture is a word that was made popular by prominent American writers Ulam, Beer, and Almond. It is now considered a crucial variable in the morphological analysis of the political system. It has encouraged system-theorists to claim that a political system differs from another not merely in terms of the political culture in which it is embedded, but also in terms of the structure of the system. It has encouraged system-theorists to claim that a political system differs from another not merely in terms of the political culture in which it is embedded, but also in terms of the structure of the system.

5.3 NATURE OF POLITICAL CULTURE

A political culture "is composed of the attitudes, beliefs, emotions and values of society that relates to the political system and to apolitical issues."[1] It is define as "the pattern of individual attitudes and orientations towards politics among the members of a political system."[2] The term defines the general pattern of values, attitudes, and beliefs that society has regarding the political system. Political ideology and political culture can be meaningfully contrasted. A society's members are bound together by human nature, which includes moral convictions, cognitive abilities, and emotional impulses. A society's overall culture is made up of the values, beliefs, and emotional attitudes that are common to all people and are passed down from generation to generation, albeit with some degree of variation. A society's overall culture often includes elements that are particularly focused on the goals and methods of governance. This particular aspect of culture is known as political culture.

Historical, geographical, and sociological variables all have a role in shaping a political culture that is based on people's attitudes and ideas about the political system, whether that culture is homogenous or unique. Moreover, it is dynamic rather than static, responding to demands imposed or transmitted from without the political system.

The subjective domain that highlights and provides context for political actions is known as political culture. There are three parts to it:

a) Cognitive Orientations: Assuming knowledge of the political system, whether true or not.

b) Affective orientations: Inferring sentiments toward political objects such as attachment, engagement, rejection and

c) Evaluative orientation: Conveying opinions and judgments regarding the political subject and its happenings.

Therefore, "the short-hand expression to devote the emotional and attitudinal environment within which the political system operates" can be used to characterize political culture. The notion as a whole is focused on attitudes toward political objects. Orientations, or predispositions to political activity, are influenced by a variety of elements, including customs, memories from the past, motivations, social norms, feelings, and symbols.

5.4 DIMENSIONS OF POLITICAL CULTURE

Political orientations and attitudes towards the political system and its elements, and also attitudes towards one's place within it, are particularly referred to as political culture, according to Gabriel A. Almond and Sidney Verba in 1963.

Political culture, according to Sydney Verba, is "the system of beliefs about the pattern of political interaction and political institutions." These ideas are basic political postulates or assumptions that are typically implicit and unchallengeable. By setting political culture apart from other particular political psychological categories like partisan identification and attitudes or views about local and international policy concerns, he also provided a denotative criterion of political culture for later political culture studies.

Additionally, Almond and Verba (1963) have distinguished five crucial dimensions of political culture, which are as follows:

(a) A feeling of national identification

(b) Perceptions of oneself as a political participant

(c) Perceptions of one's fellow countrymen

(e) Attitudes toward knowledge of the political process of decision making; and

(d) Attitudes and expectations regarding governmental production and performance

According to Andrew Heywood, a person's psychological orientation is reflected in their political culture. It suggests a pattern of orientation expressed in beliefs, symbols, and values towards political objects such governments, parties, and constitutions.

However, according to Robert A. Dahl, political culture has a role in explaining the various patterns of political opposition, with the following key components:

- Approach to problem-solving
- A focus on group activities
- Orientation toward the political structure and
- Toward other individuals

Political behavior can be explained by the concept of political culture, according to Almond and Powell (1966). It is a specific style of political thinking, perspectives on the political system, and its different components and perspectives on one's place within the system. Those demonstrate it in three ways:

- Content that is substantive: this can be understood as the culture of the system, process, and policy.
- Different orientations (evaluative, affective, and cognitive)
- Systematic connections among these elements

Political culture is a common term for the emotional and behavioral context that the political system functions in, as can be gathered from the following: A system of political views, principles, and convictions is used in this process. Impacts people's political behavior, and that person's political behavior afterward turns into a pattern and their political

culture. To put it another way, it is the total distribution of the attitudes of citizens toward political goals. It conveys the sense of the fundamental political procedures of a certain political structure. Thus, these methods of political systems can be distinguished from one another using their respective political cultures. That is a crucial strategy for comprehending every aspect of politics in comparison.

5.5 ROLE AND UTILITY OF POLITICAL CULTURE

Socialization is culture Learning

The primary process of socialization is social learning, also known as cultural learning. The process through which a person builds up the fundamental customs of the society he will live in is known as cultural learning. Through social conditioning, a person picks up socially acceptable behaviors and attitudes as well as how to walk, talk, dress, greet, and handle social obligations. However, socialization is not entirely determined by cultural learning. An individual experiences things while learning to live in society, but these things don't teach him the culture he will share; instead, they shape his personality. It's possible that those experiences are exclusive to him. They are personal rather than cultural.

Culture defines situations

For us, social situations are defined by culture. What we eat, drink, wear, when to laugh, cry, sleep, who we love to be companions to, what work we do, what God we worship, what knowledge we rely upon, what poetry we recite, and so forth are all defined by it.

Culture defines Attitudes, Values and Goals

A tendency to feel and act a certain way is commonly referred to as attitude. The standard of goodness or desirability is a value. The accomplishments that align with our values are referred to as goals. Our views towards a variety of topics, such as prostitution, family planning, science, marriage, morality, and religion, are shaped by our culture. Our culture influences our beliefs about things like passionate devotion, representative government, private property, and fundamental liberties. Our culture sets forth our objectives, which include winning the race, comprehending others, finding salvation, obeying elders and teachers, remaining faithful to our husbands, being patriotic, etc. These models are used to socialize us.

Culture decide our career

Our culture determines whether we should pursue careers in politics, social work, medicine, engineering, the military, farming, academia, business, religion, and other fields. Our culture has a big influence on the kind of career we are likely to choose. Our freedom to choose different careers is restricted by culture. People always exist within the confines of their culture, regardless of whether they adopt, alter, or reject its trends. Few people are able to find a place in the culture.

Culture Provides Behavior Patterns

Culture restrictions and shapes an individual's behavior. Culture sets objectives and offers ways to accomplish them.bit honors his honorable labor and penalizes the dishonorable. It gives him roles and statuses that are implied. According to cultural norms, we perceive, dream, aspirate, work, strive, marry, and enjoy ourselves. Human energy and activities are both liberated and controlled by culture. It is true that man is a prisoner of his culture.

No person is fully determined. In any culture, every individual is unique. Individual differences in aptitude, learning, and ability may be the basis for the uniqueness. The way a culture influences an individual varies depending on the situation. Every person eventually comes into contact with influences that are not entirely shaped by their culture. He interacts with people from different cultures. Books, television shows, movies, theater, newspapers, and travel exposed a person to a wide range of influences from outside their culture. Differences between people arise from a variety of social and biological variables in any given culture.

5.6 LET US SUM UP

- The sociological component of the topic of political growth is examined via the lens of political culture. Political culture is a word that was made popular by prominent American writers Ulam, Beer, and Almond. It is now considered a crucial variable in the morphological analysis of the political system. It has encouraged system-theorists to claim that a political system differs from another not merely in terms of the political culture in which it is embedded, but also in terms of the structure of the system.
- The term defines the general pattern of values, attitudes, and beliefs that society has regarding the political system. Political ideology and political culture can be meaningfully contrasted. A society's members are bound together by human nature, which includes moral convictions, cognitive abilities, and emotional impulses. A society's overall culture is made up of the values, beliefs, and emotional attitudes that are common to all people and are passed down from generation to generation,

albeit with some degree of variation. A society's overall culture often includes elements that are particularly focused on the goals and methods of governance. This particular aspect of culture is known as political culture.

- Political orientations and attitudes towards the political system and its elements, and also attitudes towards one's place within it, are particularly referred to as political culture, according to Gabriel A. Almond and Sidney Verba in 1963.
- Political culture is a common term for the emotional and behavioral context that the political system functions in, as can be gathered from the following: A system of political views, principles, and convictions is used in this process. Impacts people's political behavior, and that person's political behavior afterward turns into a pattern and their political culture. To put it another way, it is the total distribution of the attitudes of citizens toward political goals. It conveys the sense of the fundamental political procedures of a certain political structure. Thus, these methods of political systems can be distinguished from one another using their respective political cultures. That is a crucial strategy for comprehending every aspect of politics in comparison.

5.7 FURTHER READING

1. Johari, J.C. (2011): Comparative Politics. New Delhi: Sterling Publishers (P) LTD.
2. Shankar Rao, C.N.(2005): Sociology Principles of sociology with an Introduction to Social Thought. New Delhi: S. Chand and Company Ltd.
3. A.R.Ball: Modern Politics and Government (London: Macmillan,1971)
4. G.A. Almond and G.B. Powell : Comparative Politics : A Developmental Approach (Boston: Little Brown,1996).

5.8 MODEL QUESTIONS

A) Very Short Questions

Q 1: Political culture is a word that was made popular by whom?

Q 2: What are the Variables of shaping a political culture?

Q 3: What is the subjective domain of Political Culture in Sociology?

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

Q 1: Write about the meaning of Political Culture.

Q 2: Briefly write about the Nature of Political Culture.

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

Q 1: Explain the dimensions of political culture in Political sociology.

Q 2: Discuss the Role and Unity of Political Culture in Political Sociology.

REFERENCES

[1] A.R.Ball: Modern Politics and Government(London: Macmillan,1971), p.56

[2] G.A. Almond and G.B. Powell : Comparative Politics : A Developmental Approach (Boston: Little Brown,1996),p.50

*****

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 the State

6.5 Differences between 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

6.7 Let Us Sum Up

6.8 Further Reading

6.9 Answer to Check Your Progress

6.10 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 DEFINATIONS 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 Mac Iver, “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

1. What are the basic components of the state?
2. Sate is made up of……..(Fill in the blank)

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.

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 ceases 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 DIFFERENCES BETWEEN STATE AND ASSOCIATION:

Though, state is regarded as the highest form of human association, 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.

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 of it

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.

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.

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 DIFFERENCE 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.

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. 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.

6.5 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.

6.7 FURTHER READING

1) Dillon, Leiden and Stewart. 1965. Introduction to Political Science. New Delhi: Affiliated East-West Press Pvt. Ltd.

2) Madhurima. 2016. Reading in Sociology. Jalandhar: New Academic Publishing Co.

3) Mehta, J.C. 2010. Fundamentals of Sociology. Jalandhar: Raj Publishers.

4) P, Sharan. 1976. Comparative Government and Politics. New Delhi: Meenakshi Prakashan.

5) Rodee, Anderson and christol.1957. Introduction to Political Science. London: McGRAW- HILL BOOK COMPANY, INC.

6.8 ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Answer to 1) Population,Territory, Government and Sovereignty

Answer to 2) People

Answer to 3) Political organisation

Answer to 4) State, government

6.9 MODEL QUESTIONS

1. State the meaning of State.
2. State the characteristics of State.
3. In what way State is different from Association.
4. Explain the difference between State and Government.
5. Write five points of difference between State and Society.

*****

UNIT - 7 POLITICAL PARTIES

UNIT STRUCTURE

10.1 Learning 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 Party System in Democratic

10.7 Party System in India

10.8 Let Us Sum up

10.9 Further Reading

10.10 Answers to check your progress

10.11 Model Questions

7.1 LEARNING 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

7.2 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.

7.3 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.

7.4 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 Political Parties 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 turnover. 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 socieconomic 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

1) Write the meaning of Political Party.

2) Mention two features of Political Parties.

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

7.6 POLITICAL PARTY SYSTEM IN DEMOCRACY

The party system plays a crucial role in determining how effectively a democracy functions. The party system refers to the way political parties function, compete, and participate in the political process. Political parties help in connecting the people with the government. They represent public opinion, express the needs and demands of the people, and provide them with a platform to participate in politics. Through political parties, citizens are able to choose their representatives and take part in the governance of the country.

Another important role of the party system is that it helps in the formation of government. In a democratic system, the party or coalition that wins the majority in elections forms the

government, while the other parties play the role of opposition. The opposition is equally important because it criticizes the policies of the government, points out its mistakes, and helps in maintaining accountability. In this way, the party system ensures that the government does not misuse its power.

The party system also contributes to political education and awareness. Political parties inform the people about political issues, government policies, rights, and duties. They also prepare leaders, formulate policies, and provide direction to the political system. At the same time, the party system helps in maintaining political stability and ensures the peaceful transfer of power through elections.

In conclusion, the party system is essential for the successful working of democracy. It organizes public opinion, forms governments, provides opposition, and strengthens democratic values. Therefore, without a proper party system, democracy cannot function effectively.

7.7 PARTY SYSTEM IN INDIA

India follows a multi-party system, which is deeply shaped by its vast social diversity, cultural plurality, linguistic variations, and federal political structure. The Indian party system has evolved over time-from a phase of single-party dominance to a competitive system with multiple national and regional actors. It plays a crucial role in representing diverse interests and sustaining democratic governance in the country. The main features of the Party System in India are discussed below:

- **Multi-Party System:** The most prominent feature of the Indian party system is the presence of a large number of political parties operating at different levels-national, state, and local. This multiplicity ensures wider representation of India's diverse population, allowing various social, cultural, and economic groups to participate in the political process.
- **Dominance of National Parties:** In the initial decades after independence, Indian politics was largely dominated by the Indian National Congress. This period is often referred to as the "one-party dominant system," where Congress played a central role in governance at both national and state levels. Its dominance was due to its historical role in the freedom struggle, strong leadership, and broad-based support across different sections of society.
- **Rise of Regional Parties:** Over time, especially from the late 1960s onwards, regional parties began to emerge and gain strength. These parties represent the specific interests, identities, and aspirations of particular states or regions. For

instance, Asom Gana Parishad in Assam reflects regional concerns such as identity, culture, and local development.

- **Era of Coalition Politics:** Since the 1990s, India has witnessed the growth of coalition governments at the national level. No single party often secures an absolute majority, leading to alliances between multiple parties to form the government. Coalition politics encourages cooperation and consensus-building among diverse political actors, although it may sometimes lead to instability or slower decision-making.
- **Ideological Diversity:** The Indian party system is characterised by a wide spectrum of ideologies. Political parties in India advocate different principles such as secularism, socialism, liberalism, regionalism, and nationalism. For example, parties may differ in their approach to economic policies, social justice, religion, and governance. This ideological diversity provides voters with multiple choices and strengthens democratic debate.
- **Role of Leadership and Personality:** Leadership plays a significant role in shaping party success in India. Charismatic leaders often influence voter behaviour and party popularity, sometimes even more than ideology or policy.

The party system in India reflects the country's diversity and democratic spirit. From single-party dominance to a vibrant multi-party competition, it has evolved into a complex yet inclusive system. By accommodating regional aspirations, promoting political participation, and ensuring representation, the Indian party system remains a cornerstone of the world's largest democracy.

CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

3) Write two features of Party System in India.

4) Write two name of Regional Parties.

7.8 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.

7.9 FURTHER READING

1) Chandhoke, Neera (ed.), 2000. State and Civil Society. New Delhi: Sage publishers.

2) Faulks, Keith.2011. Political Sociology: A Critical Introduction. New Delhi: Rawat Publications.

3) Kumar, Anand. 2014. Readings in Indian Sociology: Political Sociology of India (Volume 8), New Delhi: Sage Publishers.

4) Kaviraj, Sudipta& Sunil Khilnani. 2002. Civil Society: History and Possibilities, New Delhi: Cambridge University Press.

5) Ashraf, Ali and Sharma, L.N. 1983. Political Sociology- A New Grammar of Politics. Universities Press (India)

7.10 ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Answer the Question No 1: A political party is an organised group of people who share common political ideas and work together to gain and exercise political power through constitutional means. It seeks to promote public policies and represent the interests of the people.

Answer the Question No 2: Two features of political parties are:

1. The main aim of a political party is to acquire and exercise political power.
2. They are based on shared principles, ideology, or common political goals.

Answer the Question No 3:

Two features of the party system in India are:

1. Multi-party system
2. Presence of strong regional parties

Answer the Question No 4:

1. Asom Gana Parishad (AGP)
2. Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam (DMK)

7.11 MODEL QUESTIONS

1. Explain the major functions of political parties.
2. Classify political parties and discuss the different types of party systems.
3. Examine the role of political parties in democracy.
4. Discuss the main features and changing nature of the party system in India.

*****

UNIT - 8 : PRESSURE GROUPS

UNIT STRUCTURE

8.1. Learning Objectives
8.2. Introduction
8.3. Meaning and Characteristics of Pressure Groups
  8.3.1 Meaning of Pressure Groups
  8.3.2 Characteristics of Pressure Groups
  8.3.3 History of Pressure Groups
  8.3.4 Functions of Pressure Groups
8.4. Difference between Pressure Group and Interest Group
8.5. Difference between Pressure Group and Political Party
8.6. Pressure Groups in India
8.7. Let us Sum up
8.8. Further Reading
8.9. Answers to Check Your Progress
8.10. Model Questions

8.1 LEARNING OBJECTIVES

After reading this unit, you will be able to-

- Understand the meaning and essential characteristics of pressure groups.
- Distinguish between pressure groups and interest groups.
- Differentiate pressure groups from political parties.
- Analyse the nature, role, and functioning of pressure groups in India.
- Critically evaluate the significance of pressure groups in a democratic political system.

8.2 INTRODUCTION

The legislative, executive branch, and judiciary are no longer the sole formal institutions that influence governance in contemporary democratic political systems. Numerous

informal organizations also have an impact on political decisions as well as on the legislative choices. Pressure groups play an important role in this. By expressing demands, defending interests, and striving to influence policies of the government without actively pursuing political power, they serve as a bridge between society and the state.

Growing political consciousness, economic complexity, and social diversity have all led to the emergence of pressure organizations. Workers, farmers, business organizations, professionals, students, women, and environmental activists are just a few of the groups that organize themselves to protect and advance their interests as societies grow more diverse. The foundation of pressure groups is these coordinated attempts to shape public policy.

This unit introduces the concept of pressure groups, their characteristics, distinctions from related concepts such as interest groups and political parties, and their role in the Indian political system.

8.3 MEANING AND CHARACTERISTICS OF PRESSURE GROUPS

8.3.1 Meaning of Pressure Groups

A pressure group is a collection of individuals who are actively organized to advance and protect their shared interests. It gets its name from the fact that it uses pressure on the government to try and affect public policy. It serves as an intermediary between the government and its constituents. They vary from political parties in that they do not run for office or attempt to gain political dominance. Their activities are limited to protecting and advancing the interests of their members by influencing the government, and they are focused on particular programs and concerns. Through legal and legitimate means such as lobbying, correspondence, publicity, propagandizing, petitioning, public debating, and maintaining contact with their politicians, pressure organizations have an impact on the formulation and execution of government policies.

According to Alan Ball, pressure groups are “organisations which seek to influence government policy but do not seek to form the government.” This definition highlights two crucial elements: influence and non-participation in electoral competition.

Pressure groups can function on a local, regional, national, or even international level. The objectives they pursue could be broad (like environmental protection or human rights) or specialized (like improving salaries for a particular group of workers).

8.3.2 Characteristics of Pressure Groups

Pressure Groups have the following defining characteristics:

1. Organizations with a formal or informal structure are known as pressure groups. They often have leadership, membership guidelines, and certain operating procedures. While some groups, like social movements, may be loosely organized, others, like trade unions, have highly institutionalized systems.

2. A pressure group's members are brought together by a common goal or interest. This interest could be social (women's organizations), professional (doctors' associations), ideological (civil rights groups), or economic (business associations).

3. Influencing administrative and public policy decisions is the main goal of pressure groups. They don't want to establish governments or take on direct political power. They are easily distinguished from political parties by this characteristic.

4. Pressure groups use a variety of strategies to sway decision-makers, including lobbying lawmakers, planning protests or strikes, submitting memoranda, bringing public interest lawsuits, and influencing public opinion through the media.

5. Typically, pressure groups operate outside of the official governmental structures. Although certain groups may have close access to legislators, their interactions with the state are indirect and informal.

6. In most cases, joining pressure groups is voluntary. People join because they share the group's objectives and think that working together will lead to the desired results.

7. Numerous pressure groups have been around for a long time and carry on with their operations regardless of changes in the administration. Some groups, on the other hand, are transient and disband after their goals are met.

8.3.3 History of Pressure Groups

The origins of pressure groups can be found in medieval Europe, when traders and artisans established organizations to further their shared goals. Since these early organizations sought to influence political and economic decisions that impacted their livelihoods, they can be considered as forerunners of contemporary pressure groups.

In the 18th and 19th centuries, pressure groups started to become more formalized. Numerous groups that addressed social and political issues emerged during this time, reflecting the increasing complexity of society and the necessity for group action to resolve complaints and advance certain interests. Notable organizations like the Abolition Society, which was founded in Britain in 1787 to oppose the slave trade, serve as examples of early attempts to sway public opinion and affect political policy. Another notable example is the Anti-Corn Law League, which was established in 1839 with the goal of pressuring the government to remove tariffs that raised the price of grain. Alexis de Tocqueville also observed in the 1830s that these movements pointed to a change in politics toward more structured and deliberate advocacy. He emphasized the importance of collective organization in the political scene by acknowledging the growth of associations in the US as a potent tool of action.

The array of pressure groups had grown considerably by the end of the 19th century, with a growing trade union movement coexisting with influential business and agrarian organizations. The rise of organizations promoting a range of causes, such as labour rights, consumer protection, and social reforms, was made possible by the period's rising industrialization. For pressure organizations, the post-World War II era was crucial as they started to spread throughout many industries. Examples of how pressure groups developed to oppose accepted norms and policies include the civil rights movement, the women's rights movement, and the environmental movement. These campaigns frequently used grassroots organizing in conjunction with calculated national initiatives.

Pressure groups have become much more diverse in the late 20th and early 21st centuries, reflecting both new issues and broader cultural shifts. Environmental protection, animal rights, and digital privacy groups have become more popular, suggesting a change in the public's priorities and the kinds of causes that appeal to them. During this time, pressure groups also underwent a significant shift in their tactics, with many using social media and modern communication techniques to spread their views and mobilise followers.

8.3.4 Functions of Pressure Groups

Pressure groups play a critical role in the democratic process by serving as intermediaries between the public and policymakers. They are organized entities that seek to influence government policies and decisions without directly participating in the electoral process. The functions of pressure groups are varied and significant, contributing to the shaping of public policy in multiple ways.

1. **Advocacy and Representation:** Advocacy, or the representation of certain interests or causes, is one of the main purposes of pressure groups. Pressure groups efficiently channel public concerns into practical advocacy activities by organizing around specific causes, such as labour rights, environmental preservation, or commercial interests. Pressure groups make sure that different viewpoints are taken into account during the policymaking process by expressing the interests and desires of their members or constituency.

2. **Lobbying:** One common strategy used by pressure groups to directly influence lawmakers is lobbying. This entails interacting with politicians, officials, and regulatory agencies in order to convince them to endorse particular laws or policies. Meetings with lawmakers, expert testimony, and research to bolster their ideas are just a few examples of direct lobbying. The goal is to establish a direct channel of communication with decision-makers in order to increase the likelihood that their interests will be served.

3. **Public Campaigns:** Public campaigns are a common strategy used by pressure groups to increase awareness and rally support for their concerns. These campaigns can take many different forms, such as organized protests, media outreach, and grassroots advocacy initiatives. The mass media, which includes radio, television, and internet platforms, are frequently used to increase public awareness and support, which can then put pressure on decision-makers. Pressure groups can impact the political agenda and raise the possibility of government action on their behalf by promoting public conversation about particular topics.

4. **Education and Information Dissemination:** Education of both the public and the policymakers is another crucial role of pressure groups. Pressure groups frequently carry out studies and write reports that emphasize the importance of their problems, educating the public and decision-makers about the effects of particular policies. This role strengthens the validity of the pressure group's demands while also helping to create an informed base of supporters. Pressure groups can sway public opinion and affect legislative results by disseminating factual and persuasive information.

5. **Resource Mobilization:** In order to promote their goals, pressure groups also mobilise resources, such as donations and volunteer labour. They can raise the money needed to continue their advocacy work by planning events, fundraising campaigns, and volunteer opportunities. In order to sustain momentum and guarantee that their issues continue to be prominent in the political debate, this mobilization is essential.

6. **Grassroots Involvement:** Pressure groups now depend more and more on grassroots activism, which enables regular people to participate in politics. Pressure groups increase civic engagement and guarantee that representatives are answerable to their citizens by encouraging community members to express their concerns to elected officials. Since elected politicians may be more sensitive to the pressing issues facing their communities, grassroots involvement is especially successful in influencing local policy decisions.

7. **Influence on Policy Agenda**: By bringing particular issues to a level of public awareness that forces decision-makers to pay attention, pressure groups seek to shape the political agenda. Pressure groups can force lawmakers to address their issues by putting them on the legislative agenda through rallies, petitions, and media coverage. One of pressure groups' most potent tools is their capacity to modify the policy agenda, which can result in important modifications to laws and regulations.

8. **Building Coalitions**: To bolster their lobbying activities, a lot of pressure groups form coalitions with other organizations. They can combine resources, exchange knowledge, and spread their message by joining forces with like-minded organizations. By showcasing widespread support for a cause, these coalitions can become more powerful and make it more difficult for decision-makers to overlook. Increasing the effect and reach of their efforts can also be achieved by working with a variety of stakeholders.

9. **Monitoring and Accountability**: Last but not least, pressure groups are essential for keeping an eye on government activities and holding decision-makers responsible. They may make sure that elected politicians fulfill their promises and reflect the interests of their citizens by keeping tabs on legislation and governmental operations. Since pressure groups frequently act as balances on governmental power, this role is essential for fostering accountability and openness within the democratic system.

CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Q.1: Fill in the space:

According to Alan Ball, pressure groups are_____

_____

Q.2: State any two characteristics of pressure groups.

Ans:_____

_____

8.4 DIFFERENCE BETWEEN PRESSURE GROUP AND INTEREST GROUP

The terms *pressure group* and *interest group* are often used interchangeably, leading to conceptual confusion. However, political theorists make a subtle distinction between the two.

Any organized or unorganized group of people with similar interests is referred to as an interest group. These organizations might actively try to change public policy, or they might not. For instance, members of a community or profession may have similar interests without actively participating in politics. Interest groups that actively participate in politics and actively work to influence governmental decisions might be classified as pressure groups.

Interest Group	Pressure Group
It is a broad concept. An interest group may be latent or active.	It is a narrow concept. A pressure group is always active.
It may or may not engage in political action.	It actively seeks to influence public policy decisions.
It can be organised or unorganised.	It is generally organised.
Its basic objective is the protection or promotion of shared interests.	The main aim of pressure groups is to influence government decisions

All pressure groups are interest groups, but not all interest groups become pressure groups. When an interest group becomes politically mobilised and begins exerting pressure on the government, it transforms into a pressure group.

CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Q.3. Mention one difference between interest groups and pressure groups.
Ans:_____
_____
_____

8.5 DIFFERENCE BETWEEN PRESSURE GROUP AND POLITICAL PARTY

Pressure groups and political parties are both important actors in a democratic system. However, their roles, objectives, and methods differ significantly.

A **political party** is an organised group that seeks to acquire and exercise political power by contesting elections and forming the government. Political parties present comprehensive programmes covering a wide range of policy issues.

Pressure Group	Political Party
It aims at influencing public policy.	It aims at capturing political power.
It does not context elections.	It contexts elections.
It's scope of interest is limited and specific.	It's scope of interest is broad and comprehensive.
The membership of a pressure group is based on shared interest.	The membership of a political party is based on ideology or political loyalty.
It is not directly accountable to the voters.	It is accountable to the electorate.
The nature of its activity is indirect.	It directly works towards formal governance.

Despite differences, pressure groups and political parties often interact closely. Pressure groups may support particular parties or candidates, while parties may rely on pressure groups for electoral support, funding, or policy inputs. In this sense, pressure groups complement party politics by ensuring that specific interests are represented between elections.

8.6 PRESSURE GROUPS IN INDIA

Due to India's democratic system and varied socio-economic environment, pressure groups have become increasingly prominent. They are vital to the political process in the country because they frequently have an impact on laws, public opinion, and governmental initiatives.

Political Scientist, Rajni Kothari, has been one of the earliest scholars to work on pressure group politics in the country. According to Kothari, pressure groups have been, agents of modernisation and reservoir of leadership. In India's democracy, pressure groups have emerged as important actors that balance power, ensure accountability, and promote participatory governance.

Pressure groups in India operate at various levels local, state, and national, and cover a wide range of issues, from labour rights and environmental protection to business interests and social justice. While political parties aim for control of government, pressure groups aim to influence those who hold power.

In India, pressure groups have existed since the colonial era. The Indian National Congress (INC), for example, started out as a pressure group to advocate for Indian interests before the British administration. In order to support workers, other organizations like the All India Trade Union Congress (AITUC) were founded in the early 20th century. Following independence, the growth of civil society and democracy promoted the emergence of new kinds of pressure groups. Women's organizations, teachers' unions, farmers' associations, and environmental activists started making demands and influencing official policy. Their effect and reach have increased due to the growth of social media and mass media.

Pressure groups in India can be classified into several categories based on their composition, objectives, and methods of operation:

1. Business and Industrial Groups: The interests of traders and the corporate sector are represented by business and industry-based pressure groups. The Confederation of Indian Industry (CII), the Federation of Indian Chambers of Commerce and Industry (FICCI), and the Associated Chambers of Commerce and Industry of India (ASSOCHAM) are notable examples. These organizations interact with policymakers to promote favorable trade policies and tax reforms.

2. Agricultural and Farmers' Groups: Interests of farmers and rural agrarian communities are represented by agricultural pressure groups. Minimum support prices (MSPs), rural welfare programs, and agricultural policy are significantly influenced by groups like the Bharatiya Kisan Union (BKU) and Shetkari Sanghatan. Significant policy changes have frequently resulted from their protests and movements.

3. Labour and Trade Unions: Both public and private sector workers' rights are safeguarded by trade unions. Bharatiya Mazdoor Sangh (BMS), Indian National Trade Union Congress (INTUC), and All India Trade Union Congress (AITUC) are a few examples. They bargain for improved social security, pay, and working conditions with the government and companies.

4. Professional and Educational Groups: Teachers, doctors, and lawyers are among the professions that these groups represent. Examples include the Medical Council of India and the Bar Council of India. They support fair legislation, professional autonomy, and advancements in training and education.

5. Caste and Community-Based Groups: Community-based groups that represent certain caste or religious interests have emerged as a result of India's socioeconomic diversity. The All-India Muslim Personal Law Board and groups that support Scheduled Castes, Scheduled Tribes, and Other Backward Classes are two examples. They can have an impact on identity politics while also assisting marginalized groups in expressing their concerns.

6. Environmental and Social Activist Groups: Environmental and social justice groups have become more well-known in the last few decades. Governments have been effectively forced to emphasize sustainable development and embrace eco-friendly policies by groups like the Chipko Movement, Narmada Bachao Andolan, and the Centre for Science and Environment (CSE).

India's policymaking has been significantly impacted by pressure groups. They support policy diversity, guarantee accountability, and keep the government informed about the needs of the people. For instance, environmental organizations have resulted in more stringent pollution control legislation, while farmers' movements have impacted agricultural subsidies and procurement costs.

By drawing attention to corruption, violations of human rights, and ineffective administration, they also serve as watchdogs. The historic RTI Act of 2005, which empowered citizens to demand transparency from public agencies, was the outcome of the Right to Information (RTI) movement, which was spearheaded by grassroots organizations.

But there are drawbacks to pressure groups as well. They occasionally put narrow sectional interests ahead of the welfare of the country, which distorts policy. They may function as lobbying groups advancing elite interests rather than the general welfare when swayed by partisan politics or money power.

8.7 LET US SUM UP

- A pressure group is a collection of individuals who are actively organized to advance and protect their shared interests. It gets its name from the fact that it uses pressure on the government to try and affect public policy. It serves as an intermediary between the government and its constituents.
- According to Alan Ball, pressure groups are "organisations which seek to influence government policy but do not seek to form the government." This definition highlights two crucial elements: influence and non-participation in electoral competition.
- Defining characteristics of pressure groups include having a formal or informal structure, having leadership, membership guidelines, and certain operating procedures; having common goal or interest; aiming at influencing administrative and public policy decisions; and using a variety of strategies to sway decision-makers, including lobbying lawmakers, planning protests or strikes, submitting memoranda, bringing public interest lawsuits, and influencing public opinion through the media;
- Pressure groups have gone through a long historical trajectory starting from their inception in medieval Europe to the present times.
- The functions of pressure groups include advocacy and representation, lobbying, public campaigns, education and information dissemination, resource mobilisation, grassroots involvement, influence on policy agenda, builcing coalitions, and monitoring and accountability.
- All pressure groups are interest groups, but not all interest groups become pressure groups. When an interest group becomes politically mobilised and begins exerting pressure on the government, it transforms into a pressure group.
- Pressure groups may support particular parties or candidates, while parties may rely on pressure groups for electoral support, funding, or policy inputs. In this sense, pressure groups complement party politics by ensuring that specific interests are represented between elections.
- Pressure groups in India operate at various levels local, state, and national, and cover a wide range of issues, from labour rights and environmental protection to

business interests and social justice. While political parties aim for control of government, pressure groups aim to influence those who hold power.

- In India, pressure groups are classified into business and industrial groups, farmers' and agricultural groups, labour and trade unions, professional and educational groups, caste and community-based groups, and environmental and social activist groups.

8.8 FURTHER READING

- Almond, G. A., & Powell, G. B. (1966). *Comparative politics: A developmental approach*. Boston, MA: Little, Brown and Company.
- Ball, A. R. (1971). *Modern politics and government* (2nd ed.). London, UK: Macmillan.
- Heywood, A. (2019). *Politics* (5th ed.). London, UK: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Johari, J. C. (2011). *Principles of modern political science*. New Delhi, India: Sterling Publishers.
- Kothari, R. (2010). *Politics in India*. New Delhi, India: Orient Blackswan.
- Piven, F. F., & Cloward, R. A. (1977). *Poor people's movements: Why they succeed, how they fail*. New York, NY: Vintage Books.

8.9 ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

- **Answer to Q.1:** According to Alan Ball, pressure groups are "organisations which seek to influence government policy but do not seek to form the government." This definition highlights two crucial elements: influence and non-participation in electoral competition.
- **Answer to Q.**2: Two characteristics of pressure groups are: having a formal or informal structure, and having leadership, membership guidelines, and certain operating procedures.
- **Answer to Q.**3: One difference between interest groups and pressure groups is that a basic objective of interest groups is the protection or promotion of shared interests, while pressure groups aim at influencing governmental decisions.

1.10 MODEL QUESTIONS

A: Very Short Answer Questions

Q.1: Define a pressure group.

Q.2: What is meant by lobbying?

Q.3: Mention any two characteristics of pressure groups.

Q.4: What is an interest group?

Q.5: Name any two pressure groups operating in India.

B: Short Answer Questions

Q.1: Distinguish between interest groups and pressure groups.

Q.2: How do pressure groups influence public policy?

Q.3: Write a short note on agrarian pressure groups in India.

Q.4: Discuss the role of trade unions as pressure groups.

C: Long Answer Questions

Q.1: Define pressure groups and examine their role and significance in modern democratic politics.

Q.2: Critically analyse the differences between pressure groups, interest groups, and political parties.

Q.3: Discuss the evolution, types, and functioning of pressure groups in India.

Q.4: Examine farmers' movements, trade unions, and environmental movements as pressure groups in India.

Q.5: "Pressure groups act as a vital link between society and the state." Discuss this statement with reference to India.

*****

UNIT-9: THEORETICAL APPROACHES TO POWER

UNIT STRUCTURE

9.1 Learning Objectives

9.2 Introduction

9.3 Meaning and definitions of Power

9.4 Key Components of Power

9.5 Theoretical Approaches to Power

9.5.1 Marxian Theory of Power

9.5.2 Weberian Theory of Power

9.5.3 Similarities and Differences between Marxian and Weberian Theory of Power.

9.6 Let's Sum Up

9.7 Further Reading

9.8 Answer to Check Your Progress

9.9 Model Questions

9.1 LEARNING OBJECTIVES

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

- Understand the meaning of power
- Understand the components of power
- Know about and Understand two major theoretical approaches (Marxian and Weberian) of power
- Analyze the similarities and differences between Marxian and Weberian concepts of power.

9.2 INTRODUCTION

In this unit we will discuss briefly about the concept of power. The particular focus will be laid on Marxian and Weberian approaches to power.

9.3 MEANING AND DEFINITIONS OF POWER

Power is frequently defined by political scientists as the ability to influence the behavior of others with or without resistance. The term “authority” is frequently used to refer to power that the social structure considers being legitimate. Although the use of power might be viewed as evil or unjust, it is generally acknowledged that people are social beings and need to use power.

The guru of statecraft in ancient India, Kautilya, defined power as the possession of strength (an attribute) resulting from three elements: knowledge, military, and heroism, in his writings from the fourth century B.C.

According to Hans Morgenthau, the relationship between two political players in which one actor has the capacity to influence the thoughts and behaviors of the other is what constitutes power.

According to Schwarzenberger, it is the ability to impose one’s will on others by the use of strong penalties for disobedience.

Dahl defines “power” as the capacity to change the likelihood of events.

Power, according to Couloumbis and Wolfe, is an all-encompassing concept that refers to anything that develops and upholds one actor’s dominance over another.

9.4 KEY COMPONENTS OF POWER

The first component is force, which is the explicit threat of using military, economic, or other tools of coercion against another player in order to achieve political goals.

The second component is influence, which we define as the use of persuasive tools other than force by one actor to maintain or modify the conduct of the other actor in a way that suits their preferences

The third component of power is authority, which we shall define as an actor’s willing compliance with requests made by another actor.

CHECK YOUR PROGRESS - A

Q.1. Kautilya is the guru of statecraft.

True/False

Q.2. What is the third component of power?

.....
.....
.....

Q.3. What is Authority?

.....
.....
.....

9.5 Theoretical Approaches to Power

The main theoretical questions surrounding power centre on its potential to

(i) achieve goals (here, power is treated as equivalent to domination enclosing the strategy of exercising power over someone)

(ii) foster solidarity and collective autonomy (here, power is understood in the larger framework of pursuing collective action as enfolded in the strategy of exercising power to achieve common goals).

Here we will discuss two of the most important approaches to power; Marxian Approach to Power and Weberian Approach to Power

9.5.1 Marxian Approach to Power

To understand the Marxian approach to power, it is essential to understand the concept of "class" because it is central to the understanding of Marxian philosophy. The class of a person is determined is his ownership (or control) of means of production (land, capital, machines & technology). Those who own or control the means of production constitute the bourgeoisie (exploiters), and. those who own only labour power constitute the proletariat (exploited). Coercion, domination and exploitation are key aspects of Marx's notion of power.

Marx therefore believed that the foundation of domination or power is the ownership of the means of production, and that the ruling class, or those who control the means of production, use their position of authority to oppress and exploit the subject class in all societies

.

- **Theory of Class Struggle**

  Marx argues that from time to time dominant classes have resorted to force to maintain their power and supremacy. In the book, Communist Manifesto, he and his friend Friedrich Engels said that "The history of all hitherto existing society is the history of class struggles". They argued that class conflict is the real driving force of human history.

  Emphasizing all history as the history of class 'struggle, Marx's stages of social evolution had five different stages: (a) primitive communism, (b) slavery, (c) feudalism, (d) capitalism and (e) communism.

  In the beginning, this society is divided into masters and slaves. Masters are the haves and the slaves are the have nots. All labor for the production is done by slaves. The slaves' labor sustains the masters. When the slaves protest, the state steps in to protect the owners. The interests of the master class are thereby served by the state. The voice of the slaves is muted by the use of coercion.

  The slave system is succeeded by feudalism. Technological development leads to changes in the means of production and this brings about corresponding changes in the base (forces of production, relations of production or the materials and resources, that generate the goods society) and the superstructure (the culture, ideology, norms, and identities that people inhabit.) Feudalism is characterized by the separation of society into feudal lords and peasants. The means of production are owned by the feudal lords, while the productive work is done by the peasants. The state, which defends and advances the interests of the feudal lords, crushes any attempts by the peasants to resist the exploitation.

  Capitalism succeeds feudalism. Division of society into the bourgeois and the proletariat class is the characteristic of capitalism. The proletarian class produces, but the bourgeois class owns the tools of the trade. The industrial workers are known as proletariats. Instead of receiving low pay, they sell their labor. To ensure a constant supply of labor force, it is typically a subsistence salary, which is only enough to support them and their families. Production is done for financial gain rather than personal use. In an effort to increase profit, wages are reduced and working hours are increased. This worsens the situation for the working class, which eventually finds itself in a position where all it has to lose is its chains. As a result, it is the emergence of a true class consciousness within the proletariats, which is the

key that would unlock the revolution that would over throw the existing power structure of the society to replace it with a stateless and a classless society.

- **Theory of Surplus Value**

  Marx, who was influenced by the theories of classical economists, developed the theory of surplus value to explain exploitation in capitalist society. He subscribed to the labor theory of value, according to which the value of a good is determined by the amount of labor that was expended in its production. Out of the four factors of production, labor is the most important; without it, the other three would not be possible.

  There wouldn't be any exploitation if a worker's pay was proportionate to the value they produced, but capitalism does not work this way. Insofar as it generates more value than is required for its upkeep, labor is special. The surplus value and the profit of the capitalist are made up of the difference between the value created by the worker and the value paid to the worker as wages.

  The wages of the employees continue to decline and eventually reach subsistence levels as a result of the expansion of capitalism and the increase in competition. The bare minimum wage that can never be decreased is the subsistence wage. It is the absolute minimal salary that can be paid in order to maintain the labor force. As a result, capitalism's fierce competition worsens the condition of the proletariat. This escalates the class conflict, which ultimately sparks a revolution.

- **Revolution**

  In the words of Marx, 'revolution is the indispensable mid-wife of social change'.

  Revolution is paved by class struggle. The intensification of class struggle paves the way for revolution. Revolution is the process by which one historical stage gives way to another. The bourgeois revolution put an end to feudalism, the proletariat revolution will put an end to capitalism, and the feudal revolution put an end to the institution of slavery.

  Revolution occurs when there is incompatibility within the mode of production. The mode of production consists of two specific things; the means of production such as machines, raw materials, labor and the organization of the labor force and the relation of production that is the relationship between those who own the means of production (the capitalists or bourgeoisie) and those who do not (the workers or the proletariat). When there is conflict between the two, revolutions become inevitable.

  The proletarian revolution will be the last one to be recorded in history. There won't be any more revolutions after the proletariat revolution since there won't be any

more conflict, contradictions or competitions. The creation of communism will finally result from proletariat dictatorship. Revolution itself will come to an end with the proletariat revolution.

- **Dictatorship of the Proletariat**

  The dictatorship of the proletariat will be established as a result of the proletariat revolution. The proletariat will take control of the state apparatus that the bourgeois built to repress them. The proletariat will now deploy the state apparatus against the bourgeois. The coercive institutions of the state are required to constrain the bourgeois because they will attempt to stage a counter-revolution to reinstate the previous order.

  State has always been the means of oppression as it was established by the dominant minority class to oppress the dependent majority class. It is a tool of distinction. Whether it was the masters, the feudal lords, or the capitalists, the interests of these powerful classes has always been protected and served by the state.

  Thus, after the revolution, the proletariats would use state's coercive machinery against the bourgeoisie for the first time.

  According to Marx, all states have been dictatorships; therefore, the socialist state is no exception-it too is a form of dictatorship.

  One class has historically utilized the state to repress the other class. In a socialist state, the proletariat class will deploy the state's coercive apparatus against the bourgeoisie, including the army, police, prison, and court system. Marx contends that if democracy is defined as the majority's right to rule, then the proletariat state is the most democratic state because it grants the majority power for the first time in history. Power has always been held by the minority prior to the establishment of the communist state. The proletariat state is the only one that can be referred to as a democratic state if majority rule is the criterion.

- **Communism**

  The socialist state will blossom into communism under proletariat's dictatorship. Socialism is a transient stage. It will open the door for communism to eventually take root, which is enduring and stable. The stage of societal evolution will begin. After communism is established, there won't be any more social revolution.

In a communist society, there will be no private property in the form of private ownership of the means of production. The means of production will be under the ownership of the community.

The foundation of a communist society will be cooperation, not fierce competition. Production won't be done to make money; it will be done for consumption. Profit motive will be replaced by social needs. There won't be any exploitation because there won't be any private property. Since there won't be any exploitation, there won't be any distinction between the classes, haves and have-nots, or dominant and dependent classes. There is no need for the state because there is no class separation, class conflict, or both. Because of this, society will be classless and stateless in a communist society.

The state serves as the means of exploitation. There won't be a need for the state because communism only has one class of workers and no other class to repress or persecute. In a communist society, it will be unnecessary. It is going to be put in the museum. The state, however, won't be destroyed; instead, it will deteriorate over time.

The Louise Blanc concept of "from each according to his capacity to each according to his need" will rule a communist society.

9.5.2 Weberian Approach to Power

Max Weber primarily discusses power in terms of society and the state. Weber defines power as the probability that an actor will be able to realize his own objectives against opposition from others with whom he is in social relationship.

- **Authority by Max Weber**

  It refers only to those cases of exercises of power where an actor obeys a specific command issued by another. In making the distinction between power and domination (authority) Weber put forward two types of solution to the problem of order.

  Power: Power is the ability to take action that has the potential to succeed even in the face of resistance and opposition from the target audience. Warfare and class conflict are common places to find this solution, but it has the drawback of being an unstable long-term source of order.

Legitimate Domination: In contrast, legitimate domination acknowledges the issue of meaningful action because it requires voluntary compliance from those it applies to.

- **Types of Authority by Weber**

1. **Traditional Authority:** Traditional authority is derived from a society's long-standing, customary beliefs and customs. It exists and is attributed to specific individuals due to the traditions and customs of that society. Traditional authority is appealing to people for at least one of two reasons.

   The first is inheritance, as certain individuals are granted traditional authority because they are the children or other relatives of people who already exercise traditional authority.

   The second reason individuals enjoy traditional authority is more religious: their societies believe they are appointed by God or the gods, depending on the society's religious beliefs, to lead their society.

   Traditional authority is granted to individuals regardless of their qualifications. They do not have to possess any special skills to receive and wield their authority, as their claim to it is based solely on their bloodline or supposed divine designation. As not all individuals granted traditional authority are particularly well qualified to use it, societies governed by traditional authority sometimes find that individuals bestowed it are not always up to the job.

2. **Rational-Legal Authority:** Rational-legal authority derives from law and is based on a belief in the legitimacy of a society's laws and rules and in the right of leaders to act under these rules to make decisions and set policy. This form of authority is a hallmark of modern democracies, where power is given to people elected by voters, and the rules for wielding that power are usually set forth in a constitution, a charter, or another written document. For example: the authority of the president of the United States thus resides in the office of the presidency, not in the individual who happens to be president. When that individual leaves office, authority transfers to the next president. This transfer is usually smooth and stable, and one of the marvels of democracy is that officeholders are replaced in elections without revolutions having to be necessary.

3. **Charismatic Authority:** The source of charismatic authority is a person's exceptional character traits and their ability to influence others through them. These charismatic people have the power to rule over an entire society or just one particular group inside a bigger society. Examples of charismatic authority includes-Jesus Christ, Muhammad, Adolf Hitler, Mahatma Gandhi, Martin Luther King Jr., and Buddha.

Each of these people possessed exceptional personal traits that inspired admiration and obedience from those who followed their directives or calls to action.

According to Weber, charismatic authority is less stable than traditional or rational-legal authority when it exists only because of an individual's charisma, as opposed to when authority also stems from traditional or rational-legal means. This is because charismatic leaders lose their authority as soon as they pass away. Even after a charismatic leader passes away, their example may still inspire followers for a long time, but it is hard for another leader to capture the same level of devotion.

- **Class, Status, Party by Weber**

The core of Weber's view of power is his understanding of the state, bureaucracy, and class, status, and party systems. In his consideration of the three dimensions of social stratification—"class," "status," and "party"—Weber notes that while each is conceptually distinct from the others, each may also indirectly affect the others in real-world situations.

Class

To be more specific, Weber's *class* is a manifestation of economic order that is based on individual market conditions. In this context, a class refers to a collection of people who have the same market circumstances. Therefore, there may be as many class divisions as there are minute variations in market (economic) position based on the identification of class situation with market situation. But like Marx, Weber contends that the primary factor dividing classes in a competitive market is whether or not a person owns property.

Weber distinguishes two types of classes, positively privileged class who are the property owners and non-owners or commercial class.

In addition, he defines the middle class, which is a category that falls in between these two. According to him, having property or not is made up of the many class positions between which it is usually feasible to observe the exchange of people on a personal or generational basis.

According to Weber, property class and power are related in that the former enjoys greater prestige and privilege in society. The workers of the various principal types comprise the acquisition classes, who are situated in a situation of negative privilege. They hold less sway over society.

Status

Weber frequently uses the term "***status***" to refer to natural social groupings.

Unlike "class situation," which is solely determined by economic considerations, "status situation" refers to any "typical component" of an individual's life destiny that is influenced by a "particular, positive or negative, societal appraisal of honor." Class and status are frequently associated, but they are not necessarily so, and status can occasionally be antagonistic to class.

The term "status" refers to actual social groupings that are recognized by certain honor-related social evaluations, either good or negative, and a common sense of identity that is demonstrated by efforts to uphold privileges, customs, and the exclusion of marriage patterns.

Party

The term "Party" essentially refers to political parties. These may be based on "status" or "class," neither, depending on the circumstances – notably, but not solely, in contemporary society. According to Weber, a party is any voluntary association that seeks to gain directive control over an organization in order to impose specific policies within it. Parties are organizations as opposed to communities or groups, and they entail making deliberate efforts to achieve a purpose.

According to Weber, status groups belong in the social order, parties are in the domain of power, and classes are in the economic order. Since power affects classes and status groups, it can be said that power is not a distinct order. Parties are organizations, whereas classes and status groups are collections of individuals. The distinction between parties and status groups and classes lies in the degree of analysis.

Class status groups that are well-organized may organize into parties, or their parties may develop into the class or status group's organizational wing.

Examples include religious institutions, trade unions, professional associations, and ethnic groups.

At the macro level, parties stand for power. According to Weber, power comes from status, party, and class. As a result, his perspective on power is broad and transcends social, political, and economic boundaries.

- **Weber's concept of Bureaucracy**

Max Weber defines bureaucracy as a highly structured, formalized, and also an impersonal organization. It is an organizational structure that aims to increase efficiency

and consistency. It is characterized by a rigid set of rules and processes, a hierarchy of power, distinct divisions of labor, and impersonal interactions.

Max Weber bureaucracy ideally has the following characteristics:

- Specialization of labor
- A formal set of rules and regulations
- Well-defined hierarchy within the organization
- Impersonality in the application of rules

Max Weber listed six major principles of the bureaucratic form as follows:

1. **Hierarchical structure:** In bureaucracy, this well-defined hierarchy ensures that everyone knows their place and there's a clear chain of command.
2. **Division of Labor:** Bureaucratic organizations divide tasks among their members based on expertise. This makes sure things are done efficiently.
3. **Formal Selection:** Positions in bureaucratic organizations are filled based on technical qualifications and performance.
4. **Rule-based Conduct:** To maintain uniformity and fairness in bureaucratic processes, established rules and procedures serve as a guide for activities.
5. **Impersonal Relationships:** Work should not be compromised by personal relationships or sentiments. Facts and regulations, not feelings or preconceived notions, form the basis of decisions.
6. **Career Orientation:** On the basis of merit, people are urged to advance, receive promotions, and rise to higher positions.

- **Weber's Theory of State**

According to Weber, A modern state is a system of administration and law which is modified by state and law and which guides the collective actions of the executive staff; the executive is regulated by statute likewise, and claims authority over members of the association (those who necessarily belong to the association by birth) but within a broader scope over all actively taking place in the territory over which it exercises domination".

Weber in his book, *'Economy and Society'* and also in other works pointed out certain elements of state. There are, according to him, three elements of state:

1. **Territoriality**: Even though Weber did not use the phrase "nation-state" specifically, it was clearly in his mind when he discussed territoriality. According to history, the states engaged in internecine warfare in previous ages, which

caused significant disruption to the borders and territories of several states. However, the idea of a nation-state is extremely advanced nowadays, and border issues are not as pressing. Every state has the right to claim a particular border, which is largely acknowledged by neighboring states. Thus, territoriality is an essential component of state, according to Weber.

2. **Violence**: The second element is violence. The state can demand allegiance from citizens and in the situation where some people are reluctant to show allegiance the state does not hesitate to use violent measures. But in the opinion of Weber "force is certainly not the normal or only means of the state".

   But when the need arises, the state has a unique tool at its disposal: force. The state, according to him, is a relationship in which males rule over other men and is upheld by legal violence. It indicates that there is justification for the use of aggression or force. No other political organization, except from the state, is permitted to employ force. Thus, violence or force constitutes a crucial component of the state.

3. **Legitimacy:** The third component is legitimacy. It is asserted that whenever the state employs physical force or violence, there is justification for doing so; this kind of justification is more easily referred to as legitimacy. The word legitimacy comes from the Latin word legitimate, which means "lawful or according to law." It denotes abiding by the laws of the land and accepting the political system. It also refers to authority that is acknowledged as legitimate by their constituents and by other authorities; for example, an elected government is legitimate, but a military government is not.Legitimacy can be established by statute, constitution, or both. This happens when the state's authority takes control through democratic or constitutional processes. "The modern state's legitimacy is primarily based on its legal authority, which is its adherence to a set of legal regulations."

CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Q.4. Who said, 'revolution is the indispensable mid-wife of social change'?

……

Q.5. One of the major theoretical questions surrounding power centre on its potential to not achieve goals.

True/False

Q.6. What is legitimacy?

.....

.....

Q.7. In which book did Weber stated about three elements of state?

.....

.....

9.5.3 Similarities and Differences between Marx's and Weber's theory of power:

Karl Marx and Max Weber are two of the most influential social theorists of the 19th and 20th centuries. They were both interested in the essence of society and how social structures, norms, and values influence people's experiences and behaviors.

- **Similarities**

1. Marx and Weber agreed that power relations establish and develop social structures and institutions and that these relations of power influence how individuals interact with one another. Marx maintained that the capitalist class utilizes its power and control over these resources to exploit the working class and uphold its own rule. Marx saw power as originating from the ownership and control of the means of production. In Weber's view, power is more dispersed and originates from a range of factors, such as wealth, education, competence, and social standing. On the other hand, Weber shared Marx's belief that dominance and power are essential in forming social structures and relationships.
2. Marx and Weber share a significant concern for the influence of ideology on human experience and behavior. Ideology is a type of false consciousness that is used by both Marx and Weber to defend the status quo in terms of power dynamics and social structures. Whereas Weber thought that ideology shaped people's views and values more broadly, Marx thought that capitalist ideology was employed to persuade the working class that their exploitation was an inherent and necessary component of the economic system.

- **Differences**

1. One of the most significant differences was Marx's and Weber's view of the role of the economy in shaping social relations and institutions. According to Marx, social evolution was primarily driven by the economy, and the political, legal, and

cultural superstructures of a society are determined by its economic foundation. But Weber stressed the role of politics, religion, and culture in forming social structures and interpersonal connections, viewing the economy as only one of many variables that shape society.

2. The way that Marx and Weber perceived the nature of social transformation was another area of disagreement. Marx thought that the contradictions present in the capitalist system were what drove social development and that the working class would ultimately triumph over the capitalist class to establish a socialist society. Contrarily, Weber believed that social transformation was a more slow process that was influenced by a range of historical, economic, and cultural elements.
3. Lastly, Marx and Weber disagreed on how the state should influence society. Marx saw the state as an instrument of the ruling class, serving to uphold their hegemony over the working class. In contrast, Weber believed that the state was a more intricate and independent institution that was influenced by a wide range of historical, economic, and cultural elements. Though he acknowledged that the state was prone to its own power struggles and conflicts, he thought that the state might play a significant role in determining the course of social progress.

4. CHECK YOUR PROGRESS - B

Q.8. Marx saw power as originating from the ownership and control of the means of production.

True/False

Q.9. _____is a type of false consciousness that is used by both Marx and Weber to defend the status quo in terms of power dynamics and social structures.

……

Q.10. Who believed that the state was a more intricate and independent institution that was influenced by a wide range of historical, economic, and cultural elements.

……

9.6 LET US SUM UP

- Power is defined as the ability to influence the behavior of others with or without resistance.

- "Authority" refers to legitimate power within a social structure.
- Various scholars, including Kautilya, Hans Morgenthau, Schwarzenberger, Dahl, Couloumbis, and Wolfe, have provided different definitions of power.
- Power consists of three components: force, influence, and authority.
- Force involves the threat of using military, economic, or other means to achieve political goals.
- Influence is the use of persuasion and non-coercive methods to modify others' behavior.
- Authority is when one actor willingly complies with another's requests.
- The central theoretical questions about power revolve around its potential to achieve goals and foster solidarity and collective autonomy.
- Two important approaches to power are the Marxian Approach and the Weberian Approach.
- Marx's theory of power is based on the class struggle, where power originates from ownership of the means of production.
- He outlined five stages of social evolution, from primitive communism to capitalism and finally communism.
- Marx introduced the concept of surplus value, which explains exploitation in capitalist society.
- He believed that revolution is the path to the overthrow of the capitalist class, leading to a classless, stateless communist society.
- Max Weber defines power as the probability of achieving one's objectives despite opposition from others in a social relationship.
- Weber introduces the concept of authority, distinguishing between traditional, rational-legal, and charismatic authority.
- He outlines the three dimensions of social stratification: class, status, and party.
- Weber's bureaucracy theory emphasizes the characteristics of a highly structured, formalized, and impersonal organization.
- Weber's theory of the state identifies three elements: territoriality, violence, and legitimacy.
- Marx and Weber had similarities in recognizing the role of power in shaping social structures and the influence of ideology on behavior.
- They differed in their emphasis on economic determinism (Marx) vs. multidimensional influences (Weber), views on social transformation (revolution

vs. complex process), and the role of the state (instrument of ruling class vs. a complex, independent institution).

9.7 FURTHER READING

1. Admin. (2023, February 5). *Similarities And Differences Between The Ideas Of Marx And Weber - PureSociology*.
2. *Weberian Theory of State – Explained!* (2015, May 8). Political Science Notes.
3. *Class Status and Party Definition & Explanation | Sociology Plus*. (2022, September 6).
4. TriumphIAS. (2020, January 21). *Max Weber's Theory on Power*. TriumphIAS.
5. *Marxian Theory of Power (Karl Marx) - TriumphIAS*. (2020, January 20).

9.8 ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Answer to Q No 1: True

Answer to Q No 2: Authority

Answer to Q No 3: "Authority" refers to legitimate power within a social structure. It is when one actor willingly complies with another's requests.

Answer to Q No 4: Karl Marx

Answer to Q No 5: False.

Answer to Q No 6: Legitimacy denotes abiding by the laws of the land and accepting the political system. It also refers to authority that is acknowledged as legitimate by their constituents and by other authorities.

Answer to Q No 7: Economy and Society

Answer to Q No 8: True

Answer to Q No 9: Ideology

Answer to Q No 10: Max Weber

9.9 MODEL QUESTIONS

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

1. Define Power and its key components.
2. What are the main theoretical questions surrounding power?
3. What is meant by charismatic authority?
4. Analyse one major difference between Marx's and Weber's concept of power.

B. Long Questions (Answer each Questions within 300-400 words)

1. Write a note on Weber's understanding of class, status and party.
2. Marx identified five stages of social evolution beginning from primitive communism to communism. Briefly Discuss
3. Write a note on similarities between the Marxian and Weberian concept of power.

*****

UNIT - 10 : MARXIST AND WEBERIAN TRADITION IN POLITICAL SOCIOLOGY

UNIT STRUCTURE

10.1 Learning Objectives

10.2 Introduction

10.3 Marxist Tradition in Political Sociology

- 10.3.1 Marxian Understanding of State
- 10.3.2 Historical Context
- 10.3.3 Main Tenets of the Marxist Theory of State
- 10.3.4 Relevance of Marxist tradition in the Contemporary period

10.4 Weberian Tradition in Political Sociology

- 10.4.1 Weberian Understanding of Authority
- 10.4.2 Types of Authority
- 10.4.3 Understanding Bureaucracy
- 10.4.4 Features of Bureaucracy

10.5 Let Us Sum Up

10.6 Further Reading

10.7 Answers to Check Your Progress

10.8 Model Questions

10.1 LEARNING OBJECTIVES

After going through this unit you will be able to-

- Understand in detail the Marxist understanding of state.
- Get an overview of the history and main tenets of Marxist theory of state.
- Explicate the Weberian tradition in Political Sociology
- Understand the concepts of authority and bureaucracy

1.2 INTRODUCTION

Broadly conceived, the subject matter of Political Sociology is concerned with the social basis of power in all societal institutions. It deals with the patterns of social stratification and their consequences in organised politics. On the other hand, in narrower terms, it is more specifically concerned with the organisational study of political leaderships and political groupings. In this perspective, the study of both formal and informal party organisation, along with its connection to the legal system, governmental bureaucracy, interest groups etc forms the fundamental components of political sociology.

In this unit we will try to delve into two theoretical approaches or traditions in the domain of Political Sociology- Marxian and Weberian perspective. Both these perspectives assume persistently different conceptions about the political process which has contributed immensely to our understanding of power, class and society. In the succeeding sections we will go into detail regarding the two foundational pillars and their contribution in the field of political sociology.

10.3 MARXIST TRADITION IN POLITICAL SOCIOLOGY

The Marxist tradition rooted in the works of Karl Marx and Fredrich Engels, is a theoretical framework used to analyse society, economics and politics in terms of class relations and social conflicts arising from them. This framework helps us in unearthing the power-dynamics often hidden beneath surface level political discourses and institutions. The Marxist approach to delineate the sociology of politics has been massive and varied. In the following subsection we will look into the Marxian notion of understanding the State.

10.3.1 Marxian Understanding of State

The Marxist theory of state is the opposite of liberal-democratic theory which holds that the state is an organ of conciliation of interests of the different classes in a society. The state as Marx defines is “the organised power of one class for the oppression of another.” In other words he theorised the state as an instrument for class domination and exploitation by the dominant economic class. Lenin (Founder of the Russian Communist Party and the first head of the Soviet Union), Joseph Stalin (head of the Soviet Union), Mao Zedong (Chinese Communist leader), Antonio Gramsci (Italian Marxist thinker) are important supporters of this theory. The Marxist theory fundamentally challenges the conventional view of the state, its role in the society and its relationship to class struggle.

To understand the theory of state, it is also essential to consider the historical context in which it emerged. The following section gives an understanding of the conditions that led to the emergence of the state.

10.3.2 Historical Context

The opinions of American anthropologist Lewis H. Morgan had a significant impact on proponents of the Marxist theory concerning state formation. In his book, "Ancient Society", he asserted that in primitive society, people led a communal life or a shared way of life since there was no state. The concept of private property was non-existent during that period. Marxists had accepted this view and they thus concluded that state was not a natural institution. According to them the emergence or genesis of the state came with the emergence of private property and the concept of class.

Marx in his theory, traces this by explaining the modes of production which the humanity has undergone. After primitive commune, which was based on a simple society comes the slave society wherein two classes—the slave owners and the slaves—arose; the former was the dominant class and the latter was the class that was exploited. Similar to this, there were two classes that developed in feudal society: the landless serfs (peasants), and the feudal landlords. The former was the dominant class, while the latter was the class that was exploited. In a capitalist society, the working class is exploited and the capitalist class, which owns all means of production, is the dominant class.

Marxist theorists were particularly interested in studying this form of society. This period commenced when there was a rapid social, economic and political transformation in Europe. The Industrial Revolution was in full swing and capitalist ideals were rapidly restructuring society. This modern capitalist society which emerged from the ruins of feudal society has not abolished the class antagonisms. It instead substituted with new classes: i) The bourgeoisie (capitalists)- who were the owners of the means of production and the means of oppression and ii) the proletariat (working class) who were the oppressed sections of the society. The modern state according to Karl Marx is a state of the bourgeoisie. It is an instrument of exploitation of wage labour by the capital.

Similarly, in his book "The Origins of the Family, Private Property and the State", Fredrich Engels states how division of labour at a certain stage of development led to the creation of a state. He states that every state in which private ownership of the land and other means of production exists, in which capital dominates, however democratic it may be, is a capitalist state. A capitalist society according to him is a machine used by the ones in power to keep the working class and poor peasants in subjection.

Marx and Engels saw the state as an instrument of class rule and their analysis was influenced by the political and social realities of their time. They witnessed the suppression

of worker uprisings, the rise of industrial capitalism, and the consolidation of state power in the hands of the capitalist class. In short, the state historically arose as a special organisation of force, as a supreme defence mechanism of a social structure threatened by class conflicts. It is a weapon of class conflict, which remains only in the hands of the economically dominant class. Its use is to prevent the inherent antagonism in the class-divided society from exploding into revolutionary violence. As Lenin argues, the state is "organised and systemic violence" which is employed against the non-owning classes to protect the interests of the owning class.

Marx and Engels vouched for the state to disappear in the higher phases of communist society (a society where there would be no classes and thus no class exploitation). With the abolishment of the classes, the state, as Engels predicts will ultimately wither away.

CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Q1. Who is the author of Ancient Society?

.....

Q2. The concept of state will wither away with the abolishment of .....

Q3. What are the two major classes in a capitalist society?

.....

10.3.3 Main Tenets of the Marxist Theory of State

From the discussions in the previous section let us analyse the major views or tenets of the Marxist understanding of the state in the capitalist society.

Instrument of class domination: The central claim of the Marxist theory of state as discussed above is that it serves as a tool for class dominance. Its purpose is to uphold and defend the interests of the bourgeoisie or the ruling class in a capitalist society. Maintaining the current social and economic order is the state's major responsibility; it protects the property rights and the capitalist mode of production.

Repressive state apparatus (RSA): The state maintains its dominance through repressive apparatus which consists of the armed forces, the legal system and the police. These establishments serve to suppress oppression and maintain order in the society. Marxist theorists contend that these institutions are controlled by the ruling class who employs them to protect their interests, often at the expense of the working class to further its goals.

Ideological State Apparatus (ISA): Apart from the repressive state apparatus, the state also employs the ideological apparatus such as education, media and religious institutions to shape the consciousness of the masses. The establishment of capitalist norms and values inside society is facilitated by this ideological control, which upholds the ruling class's supremacy.

The dictatorship of the bourgeoisie: According to the Marxist theorists, the democratic republic in a capitalist society is nothing but a class dictatorship. In the words of Marx, the state is "a camouflaged bourgeoisie dictatorship."

10.3.4 Relevance of Marxist tradition in the Contemporary period

The Marxist theory of the state continues to hold relevance in the contemporary socio-political discourse. While the global landscape has evolved significantly since the 19th century, capitalism is still the most common economic system in many parts of the world. As such the class struggle and the role of the state in upholding the capitalist system remain pertinent issues.

Global Capitalism: The spread of capitalist economy across the globe has led to concerns about the state's role in facilitating the global economic inequalities. Critics argue that the governments prioritise the interests of the multinational corporations over the wellbeing of their own citizens.

Neoliberalism: In the neo-liberal economy, the state far from acting as a neutral presence play a central role in facilitating and protecting the interests of the wealthy. The state's support for privatisation, deregulation and austerity measures can be seen as reinforcing capitalist dominance.

Ideological Control: The media's role in shaping public opinion often reflects the interests of the owning class. The concentration of media ownership and its potential to perpetuate capitalist ideals aligns with the Marxist understanding of such apparatus.

CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Q4. The state maintains its control through a mixture of repressive state apparatus and ideological state apparatus.

True or False?

.....

Q5. Who stated that the state is a camouflaged bourgeoisie dictatorship?

.....

10.4 WEBERIAN TRADITION IN POLITICAL SOCIOLOGY

Weber's philosophy was greatly influenced by the writings of Kant, Nietzsche and Marx. He was particularly interested in understanding power relations, i.e how power is exercised in the society. He defined power as the probability that an individual in a social relationship will be in a position to carry out his/her own will even against the resistance of others. In order to make the definition more precise, in order to be applicable in the study of history and society, Weber suggests 'domination' as an alternative. Features associated with this concept are obedience, interest, belief and regularity. Example- parent-child relationship, employer-employee relationship, dominance within the internal structures of a family, political rule and so on.

When dominance continues for a significant period of time, it becomes a structured phenomenon and the forms of dominance becomes the social structures of society. However, it must be kept in mind that power which is transitory or temporary is typically not regarded as dominance. Weber's definition of dominance also excludes forms of power that are based on sheer force as force is unlikely to induce voluntary compliance with its orders. Even though his definition of domination is narrow, it can be used to understand relationships that become structured. For instance, although conflicts arise frequently in relationships characterised by dominance and subordination, such as between employer and employees, the use of force is not always or typically a feature of these relationships. Subordinates most often do obey and implicitly accept this subordination.

Weber's political and social theory examines such power relations in the modern society characterised by bureaucracy and rationalisation. In the succeeding sections we will try to understand his concepts of authority and bureaucracy in detail.

10.4.1 Weberian Understanding of Authority:

Weber defines authority as legitimate forms of domination, i.e the form of domination that is considered legitimate by the followers or subordinates. At this point one might wonder, for instance, what the distinction is between authority and power. As you've seen, power is the capacity or ability to exert control over someone else. Legitimised power, on

the other hand is referred to as authority. It implies that the master has the authority to give orders and should be respected for doing so. Authority is the extension and maintenance of power. Its historical context can reveal how people come to regard this dominance as a regular and structured phenomenon.

10.4.2 Types of Authority:

In his study, Weber talked about three types of authority. These are - traditional, charismatic and rational-legal authority. These three forms of dominance do not represent the totality of types of domination but they do illustrate the ways in which certain people exercise power over others.

a) **Traditional authority**- Under this kind of authority, subordinate people accept the customary rights of a strong, dominant person or group, or at least do not contest them. These could be (i) forms that are religious, sacred, or spiritual; (ii) cultures that are well-established and gradually evolving; or (iii) structures that are tribal, familial, or clan-like. This system of legitimation is based on customary law and the sanctity of ancient traditions. The ruler's orders are compliant with customs, and they have the authority to demand that the ruled follow them. In other words according to Weber, "here the obligation of obedience is not based on impersonal order, but is a matter of personal loyalty within the area of accustomed obligation."

Race, class, caste and gender are all factors that can influence traditional authority. For example, in most societies, men are more likely than women to be privileged and, consequently, to occupy positions of authority. In certain cultures, women are assumed to be the primary careers, but it is not unusual for men to be the natural head of the family. In any case, even within the household, the majority of contexts offer a conventional hierarchy. Members of affluent families or dominant racial groups also tend to gain respect more easily. The caste system can also be an example of traditional authority. The authority of the upper caste individuals had the backing of tradition through which they could legitimise their will and atrocities on the lower caste.

b) **Charismatic authority-** The personal attributes, charisma, and remarkable features of a leader serve as the foundation for charismatic authority. Characteristics of charismatic leaders are those that are perceived as exceptional and one-of-a-kind, inspiring followers to be devoted and loyal. Through their captivating personalities and engaging speeches, charismatic leaders can frequently be seen leading during times of crisis or transition and inspiring others to follow them.

In Charismatic authority, the issue of succession emerges when the leader passes away or vanishes because it is based on an individual's personal traits. The heir apparent to the position of leadership might lack charisma. Thus for the purpose of spreading the leader's initial message or ideals some kind of organisation may emerge at times. The initial charisma in this process then can change either into rational-legal authority or traditional authority. Weber terms this phenomena as the routinization of charisma.

It can thus be said that charismatic authority is unstable and transient. Traditional authority arises when a son or daughter or other close relative succeeds the charismatic figure. Else, if charismatic qualities are recognised and documented, then it transforms into rational legal authority, where anyone can become a leader. One can find examples of charismatic leadership throughout history. Religious prophets including Jesus Christ, Sai Baba, and eminent personalities such as Lenin, Mother Teresa, Mahatma Gandhi and so on fall under this realm.

c) **Rational-legal authority-** This third type of authority according to Weber describes a legal and rational system of authority that is vested in regular administrative staff members who follow written regulations and laws. Those in positions of authority are chosen based on their attained, prescribed, and codified qualifications. They view their position as a profession and receive compensation, making it a rational system.

Modern society is typified by rational-legal authority. It is a reflection of the rationalisation process. In modern governance and administrative systems, this type of authority is crucial because it guarantees that power is used legally and in accordance with institutional roles and positions.

Respect for the authority is predicated on a few related beliefs. These are as follows:

(1) an organization's members may be required to abide by a legal code that is established;

(2) the law is an abstract system of rules that are applied to specific situations, and the administration protects the organization's interests within the bounds of the law;

(3) the person in charge of exercising authority likewise obeys this impersonal order;

(4) obedience is rendered not to the person in charge but to the impersonal order that has bestowed upon him this position.

Weber regards the legal authority as the most effective type of authority among the three, as well as the most reasonable. He views bureaucracy as a kind of authority that is both legal and rational.

While discussing the various types of authority, Weber also states that imperatively co-ordinated groups which belong to one or the other of these pure types are very exceptional. For instance some bureaucratic positions might be held by a variety of charismatic leaders. He also stated that non-bureaucratic legal authority could be found in organizations that have rotating office holders, such as "Parliamentary and committee administration and all sorts of collegiate and administrative bodies" (Weber 1958, 3). Hence the kind of terminology or classification set forth above has in no sense the aim to be exhaustive or to confine the whole of historical reality in a rigid scheme.

ACTIVITY 1.1

Try to find out the names of two important books written by Max Weber

10.4.3 Understanding Bureaucracy

As discussed above, bureaucracy is the machinery which implements the principles of rational legal authority. The word bureaucracy is composed of two parts: bureau, which refers to a government department or an office that handles specific business. Cracy designates a specific type of government. Therefore, bureaucracy denotes a form of government where state officials, as opposed to elected representatives, make the majority of the decisions. Thus, in other words, bureaucracy is a type of government that is overseen by certain officials.

The structure of bureaucracy is defined by a large number of rules, standardised processes, procedures, and requirements, a desk-to-worker ratio, a clear hierarchical structure, and professional, nearly impersonal interactions between staff members. Max Weber claimed that a structure like this was designed for large organisations to structurally carry out every task carried out by a large number of workers. Furthermore, in a bureaucracy, technical qualifications are the only criteria used for promotion and selection.

10.4.4 Features of Bureaucracy

The model of legal-rational bureaucracy described by Weber has the following features:

- **Rules and regulations**- A bureaucratic structure follows certain rules. These rules are determined by the various laws and regulations which are official and valid in a specific scope of authority. These rules are:

1. In order for the organization to achieve its goals, regular functions are divided into official duties,
2. The authority to give orders has been shared in a balanced way in order to fulfil the specified duties,
3. It is the use of the authorities by taking systematic decisions in order to continue the duties regularly and continuously with the employment of personnel with certain qualifications.
4. There is a clearly defined sub-superior relations system, in this way, it is aimed that top managers can supervise the lower-level employees. The existence of hierarchical powers is seen in all bureaucratic organizations.

   The system of rules and regulations is managed by administrators and serves to foster coordination among activities within the hierarchy as well as uniformity and stability in employee behaviour.

- **Division of labour**- Bureaucratic organisations implement the policies of division of labour. The term "division of labour" refers to "the regular activities that are distributed in a fixed way as official duties for the purposes of the bureaucratically governed structure." Most organisations divide labour among positions and individuals because tasks are too complex for a single person to complete. Division of labour, for instance, is employed in schools to support instruction. Subspecialties, for instance, are classified according to subject (language, math, science, and other specialties) and level (elementary and secondary). Division of labour leads to specialisation, which in turn creates knowledgeable and skilled workers who carry out assigned tasks with greater efficiency.

- **Hierarchy of Authority**- Offices are arranged vertically in bureaucracies; that is, "each lower office is under the control and supervision of a higher one" (Weber, 1947, p. 330); consequently, a hierarchy of authority is produced based upon legitimate control. For example, the organizational chart shows the superintendent at the top and assistants, directors, principals, teachers, and students at successively lower levels in the hierarchy. Almost without exception, large organizations of any kind develop a well-established system of superordination and subordination, which attempts to assure disciplined compliance to directives from superiors. In brief, hierarchy of authority promotes disciplined compliance and coordinated effort.
- **Impersonal conduct**- One of the unique features, suggested by Weber, is the impersonal approach of an employee, in the organisation. The interrelationship amongst the employees should be based upon impersonal approach. Every employee should function with impersonal approach, while performing duties

- **Formal selection**- Individuals in a bureaucratic structure are hired on the basis of qualification, education and so on.

CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Q6: What are the characters of a charismatic leader?

Q7: How does division of labour help in the proper functioning of a bureaucratic organisation?

10.4.5 LET US SUM UP

- The Marxist tradition rooted in the works of Karl Marx and Fredrich Engels, is a theoretical framework used to analyse society, economics and politics in terms of class relations and social conflicts arising from them.
- The state according to Marx is "the organised power of one class for the oppression of another." In other words he theorised the state as an instrument for class domination and exploitation by the dominant economic class.
- According to Marxists, the emergence or genesis of the state came with the emergence of private property and the concept of class.
- Engels states that every state in which private ownership of the land and other means of production exists, in which capital dominates, however democratic it may be, is a capitalist state. A capitalist society according to him is a machine used by the ones in power to keep the working class and poor peasants in subjection.
- Weber's political and social theory examines power relations in the modern society characterised by bureaucracy and rationalisation.
- Weber defines authority as legitimate forms of domination, i.e the form of domination that is considered legitimate by the followers or subordinates. Weber talked about three types of authority. These are - traditional, charismatic and rational-legal authority. These three forms of dominance do not represent the totality of types of domination but they do illustrate the ways in which certain people exercise power over others.
- Bureaucracy is the machinery which implements the principles of rational legal authority. The structure of bureaucracy is defined by a large number of rules, standardised processes, procedures, and requirements, a desk-to-worker ratio, a

clear hierarchical structure, and professional, nearly impersonal interactions between staff members. Max Weber claimed that a structure like this was designed for large organisations to structurally carry out every task carried out by a large number of workers.

10.6 FURTHER READING

Agarwal, R.C. (2006). Political Theory (Principles of Political Science). New Delhi: S. Chand & Company Ltd.

Marx, K. (1996). The Communist manifesto. London ; Chicago, Ill. : Pluto Press.

Weber, M. (1947) The Theory of Social and Economic Organization. New York : London :Free Press ; Collier Macmillan.

Jayapalan, N. (2002). Comprehensive Political Theory. Delhi: Atlantic Publishers and Distributors.

10.7 ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Ans to Q1: Lewis H. Morgan

Ans to Q2: Classes

Ans to Q3: Bourgeoisie (Capitalists) and Proletariat (Working Class)

Ans to Q4: True

Ans to Q5: Karl Marx

Ans to Q6: Characteristics of charismatic leaders are perceived as exceptional and one-of-a-kind, inspiring followers to be devoted and loyal.

Ans to Q7: The term “division of labour” refers to the regular activities that are distributed in a fixed way as official duties for the purposes of the bureaucratically governed structure. Most organisations divide labour among positions and individuals because tasks are too complex for a single person to complete. Division of labour leads to specialisation, which in turn creates knowledgeable and skilled workers who carry out assigned tasks with greater efficiency.

10.8 MODEL QUESTIONS

A) Very Short Questions

Q1: Who is the author of the book "The Origin of the Family, Private Property and the State"?

Q2: Give two examples of charismatic leaders

Q3: Define state

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

Q1: Write briefly on the major tenets of the Marxist theory of state

Q2: Define rational legal authority.

C) Long Questions

Q1: Discuss Weber's understanding of authority

Q2: Elaborate on Marxist theory of state.

*****

UNIT 11: MAJOR POLITICAL IDEOLOGIES – NATIONALISM; LIBERALISM; FASCISM

UNIT STRUCTURE

11.1 Learning Objectives

11.2 Introduction

11.3 Understanding Ideologies

11.4 Nationalism

11.5 Liberalism

11.6 Fascism

11.7 Let Us Sum Up

11.8 Answers to Check Your Progress

11.9 Further Reading

11.10 Model Questions

11.1 LEARNING OBJECTIVES

The basic objective of this unit is to discuss the major ideological stances in polity. Beginning with what an ideology, the unit moves onto the three most important political ideologies that history has gifted us. These ideas, that developed primarily in the western society has been significant in shaping global politics that has seen regimes come to power and lose them. Through this unit you shall understand:

- The emergence and the origin of the ideas of Nationalism, Liberalism and Fascism
- The theoretical and intellectual history associated with these political ideologies
- The major ideologues and world events that shaped the nature of these ideologies and in turn human history

11.2 INTRODUCTION

The previous unit gave us an introduction to how the intellectual tradition of Karl Marx and Max Weber had one of the foundational roles in political sociology. It answered the questions

– How would Karl Marx define the State in a stratified society? How did Weber understand the role of authority and theposition bureaucracy in the society? In this unit, we shall introduce the major ideologies of political sphere that social scientists see with twitched eyebrows – Nationalism, Liberalism and Fascism.

Modern politics was inaugurated by mobilising people around a specific set of beliefs, ideas, and ideologues. These ideas, with the passage of time paved different roads towards what we know as ideologies. Nationalism, Liberalism and Fascism have inmany ways become major social currents in public discourse; something that we see and hear around us in our everyday life - from television to social media, in public transports or local shops. But before conceptualising each term, let us, in brief, first understand what ideology is.

11.3 UNDERSTANDING IDEOLOGIES

"Ideas matter in politics—they inspire and shape action, take on a concrete force."

-Roger Eatwell (2003)

Ideology is usually defined as a system of ideas and beliefs which is quite elaborated, and socially represented by a set of individuals specific to that system. It is a pattern of thoughts that are expressed in beliefs,practices, norms, and symbols.In general, whenever one encounters the term Ideology, the common sense may point towards Karl Marx. However, its origin could be traced further back to philosopher Antoine Louis Claude Destutt de Tracy in 1797 France.

Ideologies as a collective system of beliefs and ideas turn the individual into a subject which then becomes the function of its existence (Manheim 1936).These collective representations manifest themselves into different beliefs, actions, things, symbols, and institutions. From speech to symbolic representations, political actions to political parties, the coherent systems of ideas have shaped the course of our history. Whether it is the French Revolution or the Indian Freedom movement, the Soviet Revolution,or the neo-liberalisation of the market in the 1990s, the major events in our historyhave beenorganised by these various systems of thoughts and beliefs, i.e., ideologies.

Ideology as a basket of ideas acts as the foundation to social interaction and exchanges. It is both a product and the producer of social actions. As a collective, such actions are reflected on the various social institutions – state, market, family, military, law, and religion. As the subject matter in hand, let us now see the major political ideologies that have defined the various events and eras of human history. We begin with Nationalism – a concept based around the idea of a nation and national identity.

CHECK YOUR PROGRESS-1

Q1. Whom can we denote to have originally contributed to the term 'Ideology'?

Q2. Who said that ideology as a system of belief becomes the function of existence of an individual?

11.4 NATIONALISM

According to GeorgeOrwell (1945), nationalism is the practise of categorising people according to their affiliation with a particular nation. He classifies it as-

"the habit of identifying oneself with a single nation or other unit, placing it beyond good and evil and recognizing no other duty than that of advancing its interests"

In its simplest form, one can define nationalism as a system of beliefs, ideas and ideals that are dedicated to one's nation. This system forms a unit of identity around a common culture of a recognised geo-political space.This nationalist spirit brews out of certain factors –

(a) An entity such as a nation with its sacred natureof history and culture, and

(b) a competition with respect to other groups.

However, Orwell does differentiate between Nationalism and Patriotism. Patriotism ismade up of beliefs around a sacred entity (the nation) as well, but denies the individuals the motivation to enforce it on others.

It is the nationalist consciousness rooted in the idea of a historical nation that creates solidarity among people, who were previously strangers to each other. Nations as primary site of identity display socio-political significance as well. As social anthropologist ErnestGellnerwould suggest:"Nationalism is primarily a political principle, which holds that the political and the national unit should be congruent" (1983:1). This feeling of unity based on national identity has inspired many nation-states to form such as in Germany, Italy, France, America, India. Post-Soviet Russiasaw a serious rise of nationalist aspirations where around thirty nations sought independence based on their distinct identity. While some of these aspirations were achieved in relative peace (Czech Republic and Slovakia), others saw the darker side of nationalism in former Yugoslavia in the form of ethnic-cleansing.

Additionally, a common language (generational or adopted) adds to the foundation of nationalism. Benedict Anderson (1983) denotes in his famous work *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism* how the rise of print

culture became an entry point of nationalistic feeling. Language, accessed and expressed in newspapers and novels tied the members to an imagined community; one which nourished the collective consciousness.Thus nation, nationality and nationalism are imagined into existence. They are imagined, reified, and manifested into material forms to then become social facts of our reality.

11.4.1 ORIGIN AND EMERGENCE OF NATIONALISM

It is notoriously difficult to trace the origins of nationalism or even nations. However, various academicians have positioned the birth of the idea in Europe.Historian Peter Alter asserts that the term "nationalism" first appeared in 1774, while G. de Bertier Sauvigny believes the term was first used in 1798. John Kane (2014) suggests that the theoretical roots could be traced to 18th century France in Montesquieu's book *The Spirit of the Laws* and denotes the French Revolution as the era where nationalist sentiments were first cradled. The French National Assembly's Declaration of the Rights of Man and of the Citizens in 1789 promptly suggested that it is in the idea of a nation where the foundation of all sovereignty lies.

For countries in Africa and the Indian subcontinent, nationalism rose out of the desire for independence from colonial powers whereas Arab-nationalism transcended geographical barriers into the specific dimension of Arab culture. Theorists such as Partha Chatterjee and Ashis Nandy posit that Indian nationalism a product of the western education. This opened up the Indian literates to the ideas of Freedom, Equality, Liberty, and Fraternity. According to historian Sekhar Bandyopadhyay, national consciousness in India was a formed due to a combination of factors-

a) the animosity towards the colonial rule

b) patriotism

c) pride towards ancient cultural heritage of the country

d) need to unite people across caste, class, language,sex, and religion.

Are there various versions of nationalism? If so, how do we categorise them? Let us see.

11.4.2 FORMS OF NATIONALISM

Nationalism as a concept has divided opinions among various scholars.In a similar sense, it is quite a task to categorise them into absolute forms.At the onset, it is to be noted that

the different *forms* are not mutually exclusive of each other. Any nation displaying nationalistic feeling may conceive such an ideology out of a combination of the various forms. They may even mature into forms that originally began with as one type but later gained the traits of others.The type of nationalism is closely influenced by the nature of its emergence. Broadly, the different forms of nationalism are –

i. **Civic nationalism**: Originating from the ideas of Jean-Jacques Rousseau, in this type of nationalism, the state or the legal institution of a nation derives its legitimacy in the political realm due to the active nature of participation by its citizens.It does not prioritise on the specifics of the diversity of the members (i.eethnicity, races, or religion). It is based on the citizens participating in the nation-making by upholding their responsibilities. However, it is to be noted that every individual, irrespective of his/her ascribed identity does possess the right to practice their culture.

   The limitation of such form of nationalism lies in its inclusive nature that fails to acknowledge the diverse aspirations of a multicultural society. Construction of a national identity and ignoring the specificities of smaller communities create an exclusionary process. A sense of 'othering' and a feeling of being 'left out' in the process of developmentbegins to rise. This also happens when institutions fail to fulfil their duties of protecting the interests of all, thus creating fault lines along ethnicity, race, or religion.As can be seen in the case of the Tamil Nationalism in the 1960s, or the ethnic nationalism among the inhabitants of North-East India.

ii. **Ethnic nationalism**: While nationalism in the West was based on popular sovereignty, nationalism in Eastern Europe and colonised Asia and Africa developed on the foundation of *volk* (people).A sense of solidarity and belongingness to a historical territory with its unique culture is the primary trait of ethnic nationalism. In Eastern Europe, the rise of ethnic nationalism was the organic tendency to relate to the ancestral culture (through language, race, or ethnicity).In India, the cause of its rise can be two-fold-the first could be the exclusion of the peripheralethnic identities from the mainstream. The second reason is the lack of equitable distribution of resources on the wake of development.Such instances of ethnic nationalism could be found in the ethnic assertion in North-East India as well as the Dravidian Movement of the 1960s. These forms of nationalism could also be defined as sub-nationalism or regionalism which brews in the dysfunctional presence of a larger nationalist spirit.

iii. **Cultural nationalism**: While culture and polity are not completely separate from each other, the nationalism that rises in the cultural spaces are not mainstream political. The expression of one's identity and solidarity can also be found in cultural expressions. In India, during the national movement, when Indian nationalism was

intensely spreading through mainstream political acts and movements, sentiments of nationalism moved onto other spheres of life as well. Culture was expressedwith nationalist ideologies in the form of art, literature, and music during the Bengali renaissance. Even sports such as football, cricket, athletics have witnessed the fervour of national identities. Global events vividlyportray the feelings of nationalism with flags, national anthems, bodily gestures of the representatives and the fans. Food has also been found to showcase nationalist sentiment, one that represents a cultural identity.

LET US KNOW MORE

The World War I was started due to the actions of nationalism, when a Serbian nationalist assassinated Austro-Hungarian Archduke Franz Ferdinand in 1914. This 'total war' mobilised entire domestic and military populations to support the conflict in 'common interest'.

CHECK YOUR PROGRESS -2

Q1. Which book of Benedict Anderson claimed the rise of nationalist sentiments to be due to print culture?

Q2. To whom can we trace the theoretical roots of nationalism?

11.5 LIBERALISM

Liberalism is a multi-faceted ideology which promotes the outcomes that are results of free choice of individuals. However, there is a mutual acceptance in limiting one's freedom of choice, so that the freedom is not misused to abuse others. Liberalism, in a broader sense, structures the social interactions on the basis of certain rights that allow each individual to respect another's liberty.

Utilitarian liberal philosophers from the British tradition, like Jeremy Bentham and John Stuart Mill in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, have had a significant impact on this ideology. The belief in natural rights, as developed by Hugo Grotius in the Netherlands, Samuel Pufendorf in Germanyhas been a major theoretical source of support for the

liberal organisation of society.However, it is the intellectual contributions of Adam Smith, John Locke and Thomas Hobbes that set the undertone for the growth of this ideology.

11.5.1 FORMS OF LIBERALISM

The ideology of liberalism argues that a social order centred on the individual is of the highest value that places the individual at the centre of society. Second, society's goal is to enable people to realise their full potential if they so choose, and the greatest way to do this is to grant each person as much freedom as feasible.Liberalism can be seen and expressed in different spheres of our social lives.

i. **Economic Liberalism**- In terms of the economy, economic liberalism supports people's freedom to choose how to spend their money and resources, as long as they respect other people's property, rights to privacy, and contractual obligations. Economic liberalism, often referred to as classical liberalism, is an ideology rooted in the principles of free-market capitalism and limited government intervention in the economy. It advocates for individual economic freedom, private property rights, and minimal regulations. Such an advocation is also known as *laissez-faire*. This philosophy has played a significant role in shaping modern economies, promoting concepts such as free trade and minimal tariffs. However, it is also a subject of debate, as critics argue that unregulated markets can lead to inequality and social issues, highlighting the ongoing tension between individual freedom and the role of government in economic affairs.

ii. **Social Liberalism-**The concept of social liberalism, in general, encompasses all spheres of life aside from politics and demands freedom of speech, religion, association, mobility, sexual orientation, and lifestyle choices. All of these freedoms are subject to the requirement that the exercise of any given freedom be respected only to the extent that it does not infringe upon the equal freedom of others.

iii. **Political Liberalism-** The principles of political liberalism include the freedom to vote in elections on an equal basis, the ability to run for office, and the freedom to associate with any political party to advance the policies and parties of one's choosing. Individuals pick their governors or head of the state in periodic elections. In addition, political liberalism entails the creation of institutions that will restrict the government's ability to violate or undermine individual liberties and offer some assurance of public accountability. The institutions of representative government and the division of the powers between the legislative, executive, and judicial branches have been the typical tools for this aim.

11.5.2 ELEMENTS OF LIBERALISM

English political philosopher John Gray (1995) posits that liberalism has four essential elements which are the common strands in the wide discourse of liberal thought.

i. **Individualism**: This element focuses upon the individuality of citizens and the right to choose their state of action and consequences. John Locke promoted the idea that people have rights just by virtue of being human, that these rights are unaffected by political will, and that they exist before politics.

ii. **Egalitarianism**: A political and moral ideology known as egalitarianism promotes more equality in society, especially when it comes to how opportunities, resources, and money are distributed. By minimising individual differences, it aims to create a society that is more just and egalitarian. Egalitarians hold that regardless of one's upbringing, socioeconomic standing, or other traits, everyone should be able to enjoy the same fundamental rights and opportunities.

iii. **Universalism:** Universalism shows that moral requirements like social justice, freedom, equality of people, and fairness are global and relevant to everyone, regardless of location or cultural context. Moreover, liberals maintain that upholding universal human values like respect for one another, tolerance, non-aggression, cooperation, and voluntary exchange between free individuals is the cornerstone of creating a just social structure

iv. **Meliorism:** It is a philosophical stance that focuses on gradual and continuous improvement of human conditions using rational as well as ethical means. It believes that humans have the capacity to progress along with the social and political institutions they form.The core of liberal and melioristic thought is the notion of a fair and developing society where moral and ethical advancements are possible.

11.6 FASCISM

Fascism is an extreme form of nationalism from below, mobilised from above, by an authoritarian and charismatic leader. This leader, creates and spreads the belief of a union of national consciousness, which is above individual self-interests. If there is a scale of political ideologies, fascism would end up on the far right of it. It prioritizes the nation over any individual who exist only to serve the nation.According to the Russian political theorist Leon Trotsky, the name originated in Italy where counter-revolutionary dictatorship led to its birth and growth. Fascism, then spread to other pockets of Europe, most noticeably Germany, where it showedthe ugliest face of humanity with the systematic mass-killings.

11.6.1 THE BIRTH AND FEATURES OF FASCISM

The intellectual birth of fascism could be located in the anti-Enlightenment ideas. Fascism rejected the modern ideas of individualism and liberal thoughts such as the*laissez-faire* economy (free market without intervention by the state), or the relentless pursuit of individual wealth that increased class distinction. It also pushed the government away from the people. Historian Roger Eatwell notes that the roots of fascism lie in the Romantic movement of the 18th century and the rise of nationalism. Romanticism criticised hyper rationalisation (where traditions and cultural beliefs were displaced by science and rational thoughts). Nationalism on the other hand started questioning – If Enlightenment demands "free will" of the people, it is important to know who the 'people' are. The idea of liberal universalism with free will and rights to all became objectionable for the fascists. Fascism demanded identity based on heritage,The late 19th century saw nationalism gain more right-wing colour. This new nationalism was critical of the factors that defined the old one (French nationalism. It was concerned with building and securing social unity that would prevent regimes from collapsing. These regimes depicted the historical and mystical notions of national or racial identity; nonetheless, a larger collective consciousness.

Unlike the traditional conservative right, fascism is built around the idea of organic nationalism.It emphasizes on a national collectivity and is the most extreme form of nationalism.During and after the first world war, more and more people came together in the name of the nation.New ideas revolved around the value of blood rather than citizenship.They promoted mythologies and legends of a region-specific identity. This is also known as Generic Fascism. New mass societies emerged after the breakdown of various societies based on religion, kinship, or guild. The fascist ideology emphasises intensely on the masculine principle or the male-dominance to politically mobilises the youth.

Furthermore, fascismrejects the liberal democratic values and believe in social Darwinism. According to this ideology, society is a competitive ground for survival, and only the superior individuals, groups and races succeed. This idea had a direct impact on the anti-Semitic and anti-Jewish policies that were enforcedin Germany. In *Mein Kampf* (1924), Adolph Hitler presented an explicit case for the application of Social-Darwinist racial theories. In his autobiographical statement, Hitler painted the Jewish community as inferior and uncreative.All human culture was seen as the sole creation of the inventive Aryan race. He also described parliamentary democracy as a transgression against "the basic aristocratic principle of nature" as only the superior race should have the power to decision-making.

The ideological machine of fascism is also totalitarian in nature. Such a character is shared across all the fascist regimes in Italy, Germany, and Spain.Every effort was made to overthrow civil society's democratic institutions.It aims to install institutionalised dictatorships under the direct control of the leader(s). In such a 'totalitarian state', a rational bureaucratic system is used to exterminate 'the other'. It allows for a restriction of the public democratic space. Any individual or group that is perceived as the "national enemy" or "traitors" may be eliminated for not being a loyal to the nation.Furthermore, a national economic structure is formed, integrated around the values of the state (the nation). Central to its ideology has been the belief in state corporatism and the total subordination of corporations to the demands and requirements of the fascist state. They may collaborate with large corporations, but the terms of the relationship are primarily under state control. Nationalisation of monopoly industries,national expansion by forming colonies, absolute control over the social institutions, surveillance of the everyday life,demanding proof of national loyaltybroadly signifiesa fascist regime.

A fascist regime in general has an authoritarian state led by a charismatic leader (the *Duce* in Italy or the *Fuhrer* in Germany). This authoritarian figure mobilises the people using military terminologies and insignia. Erich Fromm in his seminal work*Escape to Freedom* (1941) presents the psychology of fascism from a new framework. He states that one's ego seeks to be independent and free by letting a strong, faithful personality take decisions on his/her behalf. That personality which is strong and powerful, is eulogised as someone who would fulfil the missing power that individuals feel; a saviour. The individual's belief that life is something that is beyond one's control and only a leadership can save them from super-personal forces is a significant notion on the birth of fascism. It tells us the origin of the attitude of submission towards an ideal and charismatic authority of an individual from the ingroup.

Finally, but most importantly, one of the characteristic features of fascism is a weapon by which itmaintains dominance over the common mass – propaganda. Propaganda is a type of communication that spreads information-often inaccurate or biased,with the goal of advancing a specific agenda, ideology, or point of view in order to influence and manipulate public opinion. The primary goals of fascist propaganda were to establish a cult of personality around the leader, promote a sense of national unity, and vilify perceived enemies. Propaganda in fascist states was characterized by mass rallies, censorship, and the systematic dissemination of carefully crafted messages that emphasized loyalty to the state and its ideology.

11.6.2 FASCIST MOVEMENT IN ITALY

The rise of fascism in Italy can be contextualised from the period of the first world war. Italy's involvement in the war alongside the Allies, did not necessarily help build and secure its economic fronts. The radical Syndicalist Confederation of Trade Unions split in 1914 over the issue of Italianparticipation in war (World War-I). While some joined the socialist forces against participation in war, the nationalist preferred gaining national pride in the battlefield.Their perception of a 'strong' nation changed as they believed in a plutocratic nation, one that has colonies to showcase power and strength.However, the aspirations of these ultranationalists were dampened when the Treaty of Versailles were signed. The Treaty of Versailles played a significant role in the rise of sentiments that were mobilised along national interests. Italy, even though being victorious in the war, failed to receive the profits of the war as much as they had hoped. The Allied did not share the spoils of the war proportionately. This humiliation was blamed upon the liberal democratic regime by the ultra-national fascists. The national sentiment being 'hurt' became a turning point among the masses to rally against the liberal democrats.Fascism in Italy grew out of a hatred towards the failing liberal-democratic state, the rising socialism as well as the aim to restore Italy's national pride by building its economic and military strength.It is however interesting to note that fascists were initially on the same side as the Proletariats and the socialists. A peculiar series of events and issues put them against each other to even violent extent.

The first hammer stroke

The post-war period saw a malfunctioning of Italy's economy too, as the resource-poor country fought the battles at a deficit. Inflations made living conditions worse as the government failed to keep up with the survival needs of its citizens. At the same time, northern-Italy saw a rise in proletariat movement for redistribution of agrarian resources and nationalisation of wealth. These proletariats along with the ultranationalist were fighting on the same side against a liberal bourgeoisie to establish a socialist society in Italy.The initial programme of fascism in Italy pushed for a radical change that fought for the landless peasants and against the confiscation of war-profits by capitalists. However, the 1920s saw an aversion of the fascists to these leftist ideas.Fundamentally, their initial approval of Italy's involvement in the great war, alongwith the creation of *Fascio nazionale* (a national union) put them at odds with the left. This was the first strike that weakened the relationship between the fascists and the left.

The second hammer stroke

According to Trotsky, there was a case of betrayal by the reformists in the Proletariat uprising as well.Up until the first world war, the Italian political system was represented by a liberal party that displayed a managerial order of the Industrial northern Italy, the agrarian southern Italy, and the cities in between. The nature of electoral democracy was as such that any opposition of the liberal government was transformed into a coalition with the government itself. This lack of change led to rise of Christian nationalist parties as well as social democracies in the 1890s. The socialist revolution saw the dictatorship of the proletariat turn into a socialist democracy, where the dissident voice became a part of the ministry. As history repeats itself, the reformists became a part of the government. This was the second strike of the hammer.

The final blow

The ascendency of socialism in Italy threatened the petty-bourgeoisie in Italy, that pushed them to form coalition with these fascist revolutionaries. These ultranationalists, then joined hands with the petty-bourgeoisie against the proletariats and the social democrats. The middle-class war veterans joined ranks as proponents of violence. With war-expertise, action squads were formed, known as *Squadismo*. Leading the *Squadismo*, was the vibrant, charismatic leader, Benito Mussolini. Mussolini was a fascist who believed in overcoming social hierarchies, but also wanted Italy's participation in the great war. This put him at odds with the Socialist party. These combat leagues promoted the interests of the petty-bourgeois under the blanket of nationalistic fervour. The love for the nation was an important factor that solidarized and mobilised the masses. Mussolini, as a dictatorial figure, tried to gather resistance of the middle class against a common enemy now.
The 1921 elections saw Benito Mussolini, also referred to as "Il Duce" rise to prominence with the formation of a broad coalition in electoral politics that was aimed against socialism.However, the inefficiency of the liberal government saw him pull out of the coalition. The government collapsed, thus giving rise to more political instability. From 1921 to 1924, Mussolini became a major political player against the socialists, with the help of the Italian middle-class.In 1924, with the fascist call for a March to Rome, Mussolini became the prime minister of Italy.

The media was strictly regulated by the Mussolini government, ensuring that radio, newspapers, and films were all used as propaganda tools. Pro-fascist narratives were able to spread because major media outlets were either owned by the government or greatly influenced by it. Through groups like the *Balilla* and *AvanguardiaGiovanile Fascista*, the regime specifically targeted youth, instilling fascist ideals and a devotion to Mussolini. Fascist ideology was promoted in textbooks, which served as another means of

indoctrination in education. Fascist symbols, such as the Roman salute and the fasces, were omnipresent in public spaces. The regime created a sense of unity and belonging through mass rituals and ceremonies that celebrated fascist ideals. The creation of a common symbolic platform was a significant part of its propaganda machinery.

Mussolini also made an effort to win over the Church. Massive grants were given to churches that had been damaged in battle. Religious instruction became required in all secondary schools in 1923. The Lateran Pacts were signed with the Church, recognising the Pope's authority over the Vatican, and giving the Church virtual control over religious education. As long as Catholic Action, the main lay organisation of the Church, stayed out of politics, it was guaranteed freedom. Additionally, the recognition of the authority of Mussolini by the Pope helped him defuse the rural catholic opposition to fascism as well. The agricultural Christian nationalists of Southern Italy now joined hands with fascist ideology.

Under the ministry of Mussolini, personal dictatorship became institutionalised and gave rise to the fascist state in Italy. In October 1926, all opposition groups and parties were outlawed in Italy. The Public Safety Law (1926) established a hierarchy where state security supersedes individual liberty. Within the Fascist Party, syndicalist ideas were suppressed and the party itself became bureaucratized.One beneficiary of the fascist control over labour was private capital. Despite having 22 merged corporations of employers and employees when it was first established in 1934, the "Corporate State" lacked the actual authority to make economic decisions. Early on in the fascist regime, the state played a relatively small role in the Italian nation's economic affairs.In particular, the Great Depression and the need to realise imperialist goals due to its aggressive nationalist-militarist project, the state began to intervene more in economic matters in the Mediterranean Sea and Africa. Now, this state corporatism, or the nationalist syndicalist fascism gave the less-sovereign Italians a chance to tackle the impact of economic depression. A similar story was to be found in a country to the far north of it – Germany, where social conditions similar to Italy gave rise to one of the most horrifying displays of fascism in history of mankind.

11.6.3 FASCISM LOOMS IN GERMANY

The rise of fascist ideology in Germany also has a firm connection with the aftermath of the first world war. The rise of strong nationalist sentiments that were shamed after the first world war led to mobilisation of Germans along the lines of restoring Germany's national pride. Sociologist Karl Mannheim's concept of a "crisis of legitimacy" helps explain how Germany's defeat in World War I and the harsh terms of the Treaty of Versailles led

to a crisis of national identity. The resulting fragmentation of German society created a vacuum that fascist ideology, with its emphasis on national unity and a return to perceived past glories, was able to exploit.

The Treaty of Versailles, signed in 1919, imposed punitive measures on Germany, including territorial losses, disarmament, and reparations. The economic hardships, hyperinflation, and a sense of national humiliation fuelled widespread discontent, creating a fertile ground for extremist ideologies to gain traction. The Great Depression was a blessing in disguise for the ultranationalists who would attract the exalted youth into military, proposing the service to the nation as the most sacred form of service. Along the lines of racial superiority that emerged from Social Darwinism and bordered around xenophobia, flocks of Germans were roped into the nationalist bubble that offered a chance to contribute to nation-building; the dream of Deutschland.The global economic downturn in the early 1930s provided an opportunity for the Nazis to exploit public discontent. In the 1930 Reichstag elections, the Nazi Party became a formidable political force, securing 18.3% of the vote and becoming the second-largest party in the Reichstag. The charismatic appeal of Hitler and the promise of economic revival resonated with a population grappling with unemployment and economic despair.

In January 1933, President Paul von Hindenburg appointed Adolf Hitler as Chancellor of Germany, succumbing to political pressure and backroom manoeuvring. Hitler's appointment marked the beginning of a systematic dismantling of democratic institutions. The Reichstag Fire in February 1933 provided a pretext for the Reichstag Fire Decree, granting Hitler emergency powers and suspending civil liberties. The passage of the Enabling Act in March 1933 granted Hitler dictatorial powers, allowing the government to enact laws without Reichstag approval. Subsequent purges of political opponents and the suppression of civil liberties facilitated the consolidation of power in the hands of the Nazi regime.

Adolf Hitler's Nazi regime, which began in the early 1930s, similarly relied on political repression and the establishment of a totalitarian state. The Nazis utilized the SS (Schutzstaffel) and the Gestapo (Secret State Police) to eliminate political opponents, dissent, and resistance. One of the key features of Hitler's Nazism is the extreme form of racial profiling that led to mass killings of jews. Hitler's aggressive expansionism to conquer lands with resources, was a primary factor leading to World War II. The invasion of Poland in 1939 marked the beginning of a series of military campaigns that resulted in widespread devastation and loss of life.

Hitler's fascist regime also used propaganda as a tool to advance its motives.The idea that the Führer, or leader, is a messianic figure who will bring Germany to glory was emphasised in Hitler's propaganda. Hitler's "Mein Kampf," which contained the ideology

of the Nazi Party, was disseminated via a number of channels. In order to guarantee that textbooks and curricula reflected Nazi ideology, the regime also maintained control over education.As Nazi Germany's Minister of Propaganda, Joseph Goebbels was an expert propagandist who attempted to create a fascist Nazi narrative against other race, especially the Jews.Goebbels spread anti-Semitic ideas through the film industry such as the movie "The Eternal Jew," which portrayed Jews in a dehumanising and degrading manner, feeding prejudice, and perpetuating stereotypes. Anti-Semitic laws, like the Nuremberg Laws, were passed by Goebbels and the Nazi government, depriving Jews of their legal rights and citizenship. It played a major role in creating an environment of intolerance and hatred, which prepared the way for the establishment of discriminatory laws, ghettos, and concentration camps.Propaganda's dehumanisation of Jews was a major factor in the public's acceptance of their persecution in ghettos and concentration camps. Infamously known as the Holocaust, the fascist Nazi regime in Germany killed six million Jews along with millions of others, including Romani people, disabled individuals, and political dissidents.

CHECK YOUR PROGRESS - 3

Q1. In which ideas can we locate the intellectual birth of Fascism?

Q2. Which act provided the dictatorial power to Adolf Hitler?

Q3. What is the national dream of the Italian fascists called?

11.7 LET US SUM UP

Political ideologies are comprehensive belief, value, and a system of principles that provide frameworks for comprehending and structuring political life.We began this unit with the idea of Nationalism. An ideology rooted in politics and culture,it emphasises a strong sense of shared identity and allegiance to a specific country. It highlights how important it is to share a history, culture, language, and frequently even a geographical area. Nationalism continues to be a complicated and powerful force in international politics because of its dual ability to promote feelings of pride and identity as well as to incite aggressive and exclusive behaviour.

Liberalism is a political and philosophical movement that places a strong emphasis on the rule of law, representative democracy, and individual rights as cornerstones for forming and structuring societies. It aims to uphold individual liberties, advance equality, and restrict the authority of the state. Modern democratic societies have been greatly influenced by

liberalism, which has promoted human rights, civil liberties, and the creation of inclusive, transparent political structures.

Finally, we discussed the ideology of Fascism which first appeared in the early 20th century and is most commonly linked to leaders like Benito Mussolini in Italy and Adolf Hitler in Germany. It aims to create a centralised, frequently autocratic government that puts the interests of the country before those of the individual. It frequently entails militarization, breakdown on democracy, the repression of dissent, and the elevation of a powerful figurehead.

Political ideologies shape people's and political movements' viewpoints on social structures, government, and resource distribution by acting as guiding frameworks. These ideologies frequently have an impact on how political institutions, laws, and societies as a whole are designed. The dynamic interaction of these ideas adds to the diversity and complexity of political thought and action, even though each ideology offers a lens through which people interpret political reality.

11.8 ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

CHECK YOUR PROGRESS - 1

Ans.1: Antoine Louis Claude Destutt de Tracy in 1797, France

Ans.2: Karl Manheim

CHECK YOUR PROGRESS - 2

Ans.1: Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and spread of Nationalism.

Ans.2: The theoretical roots of nationalism could be traced to 18th century France in Montesquieu's book The Spirit of the Laws where the French Revolution is considered as the era where a collectivised idea of a nation first emerged.

CHECK YOUR PROGRESS - 3

Ans.1: The intellectual birth of fascism could be located in the anti-Enlightenment ideas

Ans.2: The passage of the Enabling Act in March 1933 granted Hitler dictatorial powers, allowing the government to enact laws without Reichstag approval

Ans.3: Fascio nazionale (the national union)

11.9 FURTHER READING

- Anderson, B. (1983). Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and spread of Nationalism. Verso. London
- Orwell, G. (1945). Notes on Nationalism. The Orwell Foundation. Retrieved from https://www.orwellfoundation.com/the-orwell-foundation/orwell/essays-and-other-works/notes-on-nationalism/
- Butler, E. (2015). *Classical Liberalism* – A Primer. London: Institute of Economic Affairs
- Gray, J. (1995). *Liberalism*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press
- Eatwell, R. (2003). *Fascism: A History*. Random House
- Trotsky, L. (1996). *Fascism: What it is and how to fight it*. Pathfinder, New York.

11.10 MODEL QUESTIONS

1. How is nationalism different from Patriotism? Explain the various forms of Nationalism.
2. Elaborate on the types of Liberalism. What are the key features of liberalist ideology?
3. What are the key features of Fascism? Elaborate on them by giving examples from Italy and Germany.

*****

UNIT12: MAJOR POLITICAL IDEOLOGIES- II RADICALISM; SOCIALISM; MULTICULTURALISM

UNIT STRUCTURE

12.1 Learning Objectives

12.2 Introduction

12.3 Radicalism

- 12.3.1 What is a Radical?
- 12.3.2 Group context of Radicalism
- 12.3.3 Radicalism and Extremism

12.4 Socialism

- 12.4.1 Marxism and Socialism
- 12.4.2 Evolutionary and Revolutionary Socialism
- 12.4.3 Communism and Socialism

12.5 Multiculturalism

- 12.5.1 Meaning and Concept of Multiculturalism
- 12.5.2 Models of Multiculturalism
- 12.5.3 Multicultural Politics
- 12.5.4 Drawbacks of Multiculturalism

12.6 Model Questions

12.1 LEARNING OBJECTIVES

After going through this unit you will be able to understand

- the notion of radicalism and how it is different with extremism.
- the fundamental idea of Socialism and its relation with Marxism and Communism.
- finally you will be able to grasp the concept of multiculturalism and its models.

12.2 INTRODUCTION

In this unit we will discuss the concept and the philosophy behind three major ideas namely radicalism, socialism and multiculturalism. So let us try to understand the concepts one by one. The first concept we are trying to understand here is radicalism, it is a political

ideology or strategy which is characterised by a desire for significant, fundamental, and frequently revolutionary change in the current social, economic, or political systems. In order to rectify perceived injustices or inequality, radicals frequently demand for radical change.

The next concept is Socialism. Socialism is defined as a theory of collective or state ownership of the means of production, distribution, or exchange that is based on a system of social organisation.

And finally we will understand the idea of multiculturalism. Multiculturalism expresses the idea that society is improved by preserving, appreciating, and even promoting cultural diversity. It is based on the underlying premise that people from frequently quite different cultures may coexist peacefully.

12.3 RADICALISM

The term radical comes from the Latin word *radix* or *radicalis* which means roots hence radicalism originally means grasping the persisting system or knowledge by its roots. The term radicalism also mean “fundamental” or “essential” so in this context to be radical means going to the origin, to the essential and to the fundamental. In Political Science the term radicalism coveys the belief or action of individuals, groups, or organization who advocate for a complete normative reform of the exisiting social order and to replace it with a new social system. For actions. This explains why the radicals are attached with extreme corners of the political spectrum associated with structural transformation or extreme change.

While relatively unclear and vague, the term “radicalism,” which is so frequently employed in the political science literature, has some distinguishable qualities and traits. The most important aspect is that it indicates a complete break from the institutions, ideas, or activities that are already accepted and supported in a given culture. The departure may be related to the promotion of or the implementation of goals, changes, or methods, or any combination of these three elements.

12.3.1 What is a Radical?

As far back as Thelma McCormack’s too inclusive definition: “Radicals are persons who advocate institutional change,” sociological understandings of radicalism and radicals have sometimes been ill-defined and fuzzy. The early analyses of radicalism, including Bittner’s 1963 essay on the psychology of radicalism, stated that radicals had “personality

traits of dependence, rigidity, [and] sadomasochism," which together fed what Bittner regarded as the quixotic nature of radical groups.

Radicalism and radicals are frequently defined by their setting, which contributes to this conceptual uncertainty. Strident public protests in Beijing in 1989 may have been radical in one setting, but they are now considered more regular and routine in other places, such as much of Europe.According to Koopmans (1993), the state frequently decides what constitutes radicalism based on how it reacts to a circumstance.10 Radical definitions can dramatically change over very short periods of time depending on how various regimes tolerate particular behaviours.

12.3.2 The Group Context of Radicalism

A social movement activist who supports direct action and high-risk strategies, frequently including violence against others, in order to realise a declared objective is what we refer to as a radical. In this context, risk is defined according to current local standards, although it is presumed to include some element of illegality. We start by looking at the environment in which social movement activism encourages radicalization, and we then look at how this environment might give rise to various radical subtypes.

Radicals are virtually everywhere. However, they are probably found in settings with little regulation and plenty of operating flexibility. They frequently disagree with well-established movement organisations because of their propensity for taking risks. The intimate relationships among activists and the formation of a shared identity that positions them in contrast to the "normal" means of bringing about social change can lead to radicalism in movements.

Social movements often define collective identity as a "shared sense of 'we-ness' or 'one-ness,' anchored in real or imagined shared attributes and experiences among those who comprise the collectivity and in relation to or contrast with one or more actual or imagined sets of 'others,'

12.3.3 Radicalism and Extremism

The term "extremism" is used to denote the promotion or support of radical or extreme ideologies, attitudes, and behaviours. In a particular environment, such as politics, religion, or social issues, it often implies a divergence from the mainstream or conventional viewpoints. In Extremism an ideological stand is taken by anti-establishment movements that view politics as a war for domination rather than as a peaceful rivalry between parties

with divergent interests and seeking popular support for furthering the common good. In order to seize control of society's structural elements, extremism spreads fear of both internal and external foes. It resides on the perimeter of societies. They categorise locals and visitors as allies or enemies, leaving no tolerance for a range of viewpoints or other lifestyles. Due to its dogmatism, extremism is intolerant towards the beliefs of others and leaves no room for an amicable resolution of conflict.

Though we see some commonality between the the concepts radicalism and extremism but there are some differences which are mentioned bellow:

1. While extremist movements believe violence against their enemies to be a valid form of political action and tend to embrace extreme forms of mass violence as part of their political ideology, radical movements tend to employ political violence pragmatically and selectively.
2. Extremism is by its very nature anti-democratic; it aims to overthrow the rule of law and constitutional democracy. Radicalism is liberating, not inherently anti-democratic. Since extremist movements are intolerant of beliefs other than their own, they cannot be incorporated into liberal-democratic society. Democracies can coexist with radicals, but not with militant extremists who are unyielding and violent.
3. Extremists openly confront the notion of universal human rights and those institutions that serve to uphold them for all. Radicalism is not opposed to equal human rights; historically, progressive radicals have sought to extend human rights to the underprivileged.
4. Extremists want to shut down the free exchange of ideas. Although they strongly oppose maintaining the status quo, radicals do not want to stifle open societies or eradicate diversity in society the way extremists do. Extremism, in contrast to radicalism, is extreme in both its objectives and the choice of means to reach them.
5. Radicalism opposes the status quo in a rebellious manner; in contrast, extremism targets not just the status quo but also anybody who does not agree with its ideological plan for transforming society.
6. A particularistic morality that is solely true for its own adherents defines extremism. Radicalism leans more towards a morality that applies to everyone.

The meaning of these two concepts occasionally overlap, but that does not mean they should be equated. Democracies have proven to be capable of absorbing radical demands when confronted with them by reaching logical compromises but when faced with extremism, plural societies and democratic institutions cannot make concessions to rigid demands based on religiously motivated ideologies that are unsupported by the socioeconomic realities of the world.

CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Q1. What is extremism?

.....

Q2. What do you understand by radicalization?

.....

12.4 SOCIALISM

Socialism is defined as a theory of collective or state ownership of the means of production, distribution, or exchange that is based on a system of social organisation. The Latin word *sociare*, which meaning to merge or share, is where the terms "socialism" originate. Despite the fact that it is currently employed in a broad sense, the current meaning is sufficiently relevant to the Latin meaning. Most academics think that the term socialism was first used in 1827 when referring to its first usage. The word Socialism was originally used in The Cooperative Magazine in 1827, and was afterwards employed in publications by Robert Owen (an utopian socialist who lived from 1771 to 1858) and Saint-Simon (1760–1825). Saint-Simon shared Owen's socialist utopian views. Along with the Cooperative Magazine, the journal La Globe also utilised and made the term "socialism" widespread. French thinker Saint-Simon was so troubled by the escalating plight and destitution of the working class that he considered emancipating them on a serious basis. He also thought that the only thing that would relieve them would be the advent of socialism. Robert Owen shared the same viewpoint.

The fact is that the effects of the Industrial Revolution on every aspect of life were seen in plain daylight when Owen and Saint-Simon were writing in the early nineteenth century. For thinkers like Owen and Saint-Simon, determining that the Industrial Revolution had fallen short of the aspirations of the average citizen was not difficult. Instead, it brought with it ugliness, sorrow, and numerous other horrors. The collapse of the previous order—an economy centred on agriculture—led to the emergence of socialism.

K. Marx (1818- 1883) and F. Engels (1820-1895) are the two most well-known figures associated with the ideology of socialism after the Utopian socialists. The main ideas of socialism as a political and economic doctrine were developed before the end of the nineteenth century, but what we now refer to as socialism was primarily a product of Marx and Engels' political and economic philosophy, which was based on a materialist conception of history, or what is commonly known as historical materialism.

12.4.1 MARXISM AND SOCIALISM

Marxism existed before Marx, as was previously said. They are said to be as the founding fathers of socialism. They are what Karl Marx calls Utopian Socialists. According to Marx they were utopian because, while they correctly identified the social flaws, their proposed solution was flawed. They were labelled as utopian since it was impractical. The word "utopia" is derived from Thomas Moore's book of the same name. It alludes to the fictional island of Utopia, which had a perfect socioeconomic and governmental structure. The population was content and there was no exploitation. Robert Owen, Charles Fourier, Louis Blanc, Saint Simon, Sismondi, and Proudhon are some notable utopian socialist theorists.

Marx refers to his form of socialism as "Scientific Socialism." Because it gives a dialectical materialism-based economic analysis of history and it can be considered scientific. It proposes a scientific treatment for the social problems of exploitation in the form of revolution and proletariat dictatorship in addition to explaining the real origins of exploitation. In addition to providing rationale for class conflict and struggle in society, it also offers a roadmap for the scientific establishment of a classless and exploitation-free society.

12.4.3 Evolutionary and Revolutionary Socialism

The two types of socialism are evolutionary and revolutionary. Evolutionary socialism seeks to achieve socialism through peaceful methods rather than through revolution. Evolutionary socialists support parliamentary democracy and favour using the democratic process to enact social change. They abhor violence and reject a bloody uprising as a result. Additionally, they reject the proletariat's dictatorship and support a democratic transition away from a society that is divided along class lines towards one that is classless. Evolutionary socialism comes in a variety of forms, including Fabian, Guild, and Democratic Socialism. On the other side, revolutionary socialism supports the proletariat's dictatorship, revolution, and class struggle. They contend that societal change cannot occur peacefully and there must be violence. The idea of a peaceful revolution is absurd. Social change is delivered by revolution, and this revolution must be bloody. Karl Marx's scientific socialism is typically associated with revolutionary Marxism. Another variation of revolutionary socialism is syndicatalism.

The principles of Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels are also the source of evolutionary socialism. They have discussed the state's deterioration. The idea of the state dissolving has been adopted by proponents of evolutionary socialism, who contend that a society free from exploitation and class distinctions may be built gradually by peaceful means.

The opponents of evolutionary socialism disagree with this concept, claiming that the capitalist state is not subject to the idea that the state will wither away, but only the socialist state or the proletariat's dictatorship. It won't ever deteriorate. Through a bloody revolution, it must be destroyed. Consequently, the evolutionary socialist argument is illogical.

12.4.4 Communism and Socialism

The socialist state will blossom into communism under the watchful eye of the proletariat's dictatorship. Socialism is a stage that will pass. It will open the door for communism to eventually take root. The stage of societal evolution will be at this point. After communism is established, there won't be any more social transformation. There will be an end to the dialectical process. There will be a perfect, logical social structure formed, devoid of conflicts and contradictions.There won't be any class conflicts, and hence, no class warfare. In actuality, a communist society will be classless, stateless, without private property, and without exploitation.

There won't be private property in the form of private ownership of the means of production in a communist society. The community will be the owner of the production infrastructure. The foundation of a communist society will be cooperation, not fierce competition. Production won't be done to make profit; it will be done for consumption.Social needs will take the place of the profit motive. There won't be any exploitation because there won't be any private property. Since there won't be any exploitation, there won't be any distinction between the classes, haves and have-nots, or dominant and subordinate classes. There will be no need for the state because there will be no class separation, class conflict, or both. This is the reason why a communist society will be a classless and stateless society. The Louise Blanc notion that "from each according to his capacity to each according to his need" will rule a communist society. Parasites won't have a place to live. Whoever refuses to go to work will not also eat. There will only be one type of worker. The working class will eventually comprise the entirety of society. Exploitation will not be permitted. It will be a society that values equality and harmony.

CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Q3. Name two thinkers whose name is associated with Socialism?

……

Q4. Differentiate between Evolutionary and Revolutionary Socialism.

……

12.5 MULTICULARALISM

12.5.1 Meaning and Concept of Multiculturalism

Multiculturalism in sociology refers to the way a society addresses cultural diversity. The concept of multiculturalism emphasises the notion that cultural diversity should be preserved, valued, and even encouraged in order to benefit society. It is predicated on the idea that individuals from very disparate cultural backgrounds can live in harmony with one another. In political theory, the term "multiculturalism" refers to the process by which societies choose to formulate and implement formal rules pertaining to the respectful treatment of various cultures.

The diversity of cultures has long been a characteristic of different societies. Ancient Greece had a variety of dialects and customs. Apart from the Muslims who made up the majority, there were minorities including Christians and Jews under the Ottoman Empire. There are several nations with a diverse cultural heritage in the modern world, including India, Canada, the US, UK, New Zealand, and France. Worldwide cultural diversity has expanded, making relatively homogeneous nations like Japan are becoming rare examples. There are many types of cultural diversities, some basic diversities are discussed bellow:

A) Religious Diversity : India is an excellent illustration of a nation with a variety of cultures. Religious groups frequently distinguish themselves from one another through elements like dress code, federal holidays, festivals, and customs associated with their celebration.

B) Geographical Diversity: There may be certain groups that believe their unique geographic location sets them apart from others. For instance, Scots in the UK stand out from other ethnic groups despite having a somewhat similar culture to others due to their northern location.

C) Linguistic Diversity : Another factor that contributes to a nation's diversity is its language. Examples include Catalans in Spain, Uyghurs in China, and Quebec in Canada.

D) Racial Diversity : Diversity based on race is a result of the existence of diverse physical characteristics. However, these variations need to result in a shared identity that may set that group apart from others. Hutus and Tutsis in Rwanda are one instance. The minimal significance of race in multicultural discourse should be noted.

In the 1970s and 1980s, the term "multiculturalism" first emerged in political theory to describe a change in public policy in nations like Canada and Australia away from

assimilation of ethnic minorities and immigrants and towards acceptance and integration of many cultures. The multiculturalism controversy in the US first arose in the 1980s as a result of a discussion over how to adapt the educational system to accommodate cultural diversity.

12.5.2 Models of Multiculturalism

Ayelet Shachar distinguishes between strong and weak multiculturalism. Strong multiculturalism places a strong emphasis on group identity and group rights, giving the group rights over those of its individual members. For staunch multiculturalists, injustice between various communities is the main issue. Weak multiculturalism, in contrast, focuses on accommodations for and complications among groups.How to balance individual rights with group rights is the key area of concern.

Multiculturalism can be categorised into three primary categories, according to Andrew Heywood: liberal, pluralist, and cosmopolitan.

A) *Liberal Multiculturalism*: The two defining characteristics of liberalism are devotion to freedom and tolerance. Tolerance is the readiness to accept the existence and expression of opposing viewpoints. Liberalism grants each person the freedom to follow their own beliefs, cultural customs, and way of life. Tolerance, however, also encompasses principles, ideologies, and social customs that support individual liberty and independence. One of the most significant theories on liberal multiculturalism comes from Will Kymlicka, who blends the liberal ideas of equality and autonomy with the importance of cultural membership. His works Liberalism, Community, and Culture (1989) and Multicultural Citizenship (1995) contain the views he holds. According to Kymlicka, there are two reasons why people value culture. First, being a part of a culture is crucial for achieving personal liberty because cultures act as “contexts of choice” and offer meaningful possibilities through which a person can frame his or her life and objectives. Second, a person’s cultural affiliation has a big impact on how they define themselves. The level of respect others show for a person’s culture has an impact on that person’s sense of self-worth. Furthermore, he contends that minorities should be granted particular rights because they are less able to access their own culture than members of the mainstream culture. According to him, the state cannot be fully impartial and must be involved in shaping the state’s cultural identity. For instance, the public holidays that a government chooses to observe would favour a particular culture, and people who do not share that culture would suffer.

B) *Pluralist Multiculturalism*: This view of cultural variety is based on the concept of value pluralism, which holds that despite possible conflicts between different values, all values are equally valid and fundamental.One of the leading advocates of the concept of value pluralism is Isaiah Berlin. According to this perspective, liberal ideals like individual liberty and democracy are morally equal to those of their opponents. This leads to a multiculturalism of the live and let live variety. Berlin, however, believed that value plurality could only coexist in a society that valued individual liberty. Therefore, he was unable to demonstrate how liberal and illiberal cultures might exist side by side in the same country. Bhikhu Parekh also shared his opinions on multiculturalism that is pluralistic. Multiculturalism, according to him, is neither a political doctrine nor a philosophical school. Instead, it is a perspective on the way of viewing human life. There are three main tenets in it. First of all, culture is ingrained in humans, and they develop and exist in a world that is constructed according to culture. Their cultural influences have a profound impact on their thinking, which they can partially, but not entirely, transcend. Second, the concept of a good life varies between cultures. Each civilization can only fully develop a small subset of human skills, and it can comprehend only a small portion of human existence as a whole, therefore it depends on other cultures to push its creative and intellectual limits. Additionally, it protects against any cultural propensity towards absolutism. A person's life is likely to be richer if they have access to others, and in today's interdependent globe, living in isolation due to culture is unthinkable. Third, because every culture is intrinsically plural and its various schools of thought are always interacting, every culture has a fluid, open identity that is internally plural characterestic. Different cultures develop through conscious and unconscious interaction with one another, and each one carries traces of the other. According to Parekh, multiculturalism is the result of a creative interaction between these three elements. He goes on to say that from a multicultural standpoint, a society does not ally itself with a specific political philosophy or ideal of the good life. As it prevents its future development, it also does not address the question of how much diversity can be tolerated within the confines defined by it. Beginning with an acceptance of the existence and merits of cultural variety, multiculturalism then shapes its political life appropriately. It is a dialogically structured society that seeks to maintain ongoing discourse and foster an environment in which the confines of current schools of thought can be expanded to produce policies and ideas that are universally accepted. Such a society does not prioritise any particular cultural position, whether it is liberal or not. Equal rights, freedom of expression, participative public spaces, a responsible government, and empowered individuals are a few institutional prerequisites for discussion. Political virtues like tolerance, care, respect for others, self-control, admiration for diversity, an open mind to new ideas, and the capacity to live with unresolved differences are also required. Such a culture encourages a diversity of

viewpoints and the spirit of discussion. By doing this, it sets a boundary between those who participate in its conversational culture and accept its results and others who are too dogmatic or self-righteous to do so.

C) *Cosmpolitan Multiculturalism*: It embraces diversity because all cultures can benefit from one another and because a larger range of cultural activities and lifestyle options present opportunities for personal growth. It supports looking into many cultural options from a person's standpoint. Multiculturalism in a global context values hybridity and diverse identities. People are said to share the same planet and suffer comparable struggles regardless of their varied cultural origins. Therefore, a common theme in this kind of multiculturalism is the concept of cosmopolitanism and global consciousness.

12.5.3 Multicultural Politics

Identity politics, or political and social movements that use group identity as the foundation for their development and as the centre of their political action, are closely related to multiculturalism. These movements make an effort to advance the interests of their group members and bring topics that are significant to them into the public eye. But unlike multiculturalism, identity politics is built on individuals' common identities rather than a particular shared culture. However, the demand for acknowledgment and reparation for historical injustices is something that both identity politics and multiculturalism frequently have in common.

For people, public officials, and political leaders, multiculturalism offers crucial problems regarding how to strike a balance between group recognition and the needs of the entire society. Multiculturalism offers one potential approach to the dilemma of how to promote the participation of historically oppressed groups by calling for acknowledgement of and respect for cultural differences.

12.5.4 Drabacks of Multiculturalism

There are certain drawbacks of multiculturalism that we encounter in a society. Multiculturalism, according to certain progressive theorists, does not adequately address the problems of the underprivileged groups in society. They contend that minorities' lack of social position and economic power (class concerns) rather than cultural acknowledgment as a problem. Multiculturalism divides the people who want social improvement and a drop in poverty by emphasising cultural difference. As a result, fewer people support welfare policies since the society is fragmented and fails to recognise problems like poverty that may bring people together.

Multiculturalism, in Amartya Sen's opinion, is founded on the solitarist hypothesis. He contends that diversity causes mankind to become smaller because identity is tied to a specific social group. As more people identify with their own group and occasionally fail to recognise the rights of other groups, violence becomes more likely. Conservative and nationalist intellectuals contend that multicultural societies are internally split and that violence and enmity are normalised. In general, people gravitate towards those with whom they have an identity and are suspicious of those who live differently. Therefore, nationalists propose limiting immigration and assimilating minority cultures in order to promote national identity rather than specific identities.

CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Q5. Write a short note on Multiculturalism.

.....

Q6. Explain the views of Amartya Sen on Multiculturalism.

.....

LET US SUM UP

- Radicalism is a complicated and comprehensive idea that has had a big impact on politics, social movements, and intellectual convictions, among other facets of society. This scholarly explanation aims to clarify the essence of radicalism by looking at its historical origins, typologies, causes, and effects on various fields. With the aid of a multidimensional study, we hope to offer a thorough explanation of this occurrence.

- Socialism is a social and economic philosophy that favours government control or communal ownership of property and natural resources. The socialist perspective holds that people don't live or work alone; rather, they cooperate with one another. Everyone who contributes to the development of a product is entitled to a share in it since everything that people create is, in some way, a social product. Therefore, society as a whole ought to possess or at the very least govern property for the good of all of its members.

- The coexistence, acknowledgment, and equal involvement of various cultural, linguistic, ethnic, and racial groups within a single community or nation-state are encouraged by the sociopolitical and cultural ideology known as multiculturalism. It

is based on the understanding that human populations are naturally diverse and emphasises the significance of respecting and valuing this diversity as a key tenet of social organisation and governmental decision-making.

FURTHER READING

Bötticher, A. (2017). *Towards Academic Consensus Definitions of Radicalism and Extremism.* Perspectives on Terrorism, 11(4), 73-77. Published by Terrorism Research Initiative.

Snow, D. A., & Cross, R. (2011). *Radicalism within the Context of Social Movements: Processes and Types*. Published by University of South Florida Board of Trustees.

Avineri, S. (1971). *The Social and Political Thought of Karl Marx*. Cambridge University Press.

Berlin, I. (1996). *Karl Marx: His Life and Environment*. Oxford University Press.

Fukuyama, F. (1992). *The End of History and the Last Man*. Free Press.

Tucker, R. (1961). *Philosophy and Myth of Karl Marx.* Cambridge University Press.

McClelland, J. S. (1996*). A History of Western Political Thought.* Routledge.

Parekh, Bhikhu. (2000). *Rethinking Multiculturalism: Cultural Diversity and Political Theory*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Pogge, T. (2008). *World Poverty and Human Rights*. Cambridge: Polity Press.

Rawls, John. (1971). *A Theory of Justice*. Harvard: Harvard University Press.

Scruton, Roger. (2007). *The Palgrave Macmillan Dictionary of Political Thought*. Hampshire: Palgrave Macmillan. 206

Sen, Amartya. (1992). *Inequality Reexamined*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Sen, Amartya (1999). *Development as Freedom*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Stewart, Robert M. (1986). *Readings in Social and Political Philosophy*. Oxford, OUP.

Swift, Adam. (2006). *Political Philosophy: A Beginners Guide for Students and Politicians*. Cambridge: Polity Press.

Vinod, M J and M Deshpande. (2013). *Contemporary Political Theory*. New Delhi: PHI Learning Private Ltd.

12.8 ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Answer to Q1: In Political Science the term radicalism coveys the belief or action of individuals, groups, or organization who advocate for a complete normative reform of the exisiting social order and to replace it with a new social system.

Answer to Q2: Radicalization is the process through which individuals or groups adopt and endorse extreme beliefs, ideologies, or actions that deviate from established societal norms, often involving a willingness to challenge or disrupt existing structures.

Answer to Q3: Saint Simon and Karl Marx.

Answer to Q4: Evolutionary socialism seeks to achieve socialism through peaceful methods rather than through revolution. Evolutionary socialists support parliamentary democracy and favour using the democratic process to enact social change. They abhor violence and reject a bloody uprising as a result. Additionally, they reject the proletariat's dictatorship and support a democratic transition away from a society that is divided along class lines towards one that is classless. Evolutionary socialism comes in a variety of forms, including Fabian, Guild, and Democratic Socialism. On the other side, revolutionary socialism supports the proletariat's dictatorship, revolution, and class struggle.

Answer to Q5: Multiculturalism in sociology refers to the way a society addresses cultural diversity.

Answer to Q6: Multiculturalism, in Amartya Sen's opinion, is founded on the solitarist hypothesis. He contends that diversity causes mankind to become smaller because identity is tied to a specific social group.

12.6 MODEL QUESTIONS

A) Very Short Questions

Q1: What do you mean by multicultural politics?

Q2: What is Socialism?

Q3: Write the definition of Radicalism.

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

Q1: Write an overview on Marxism and Socialism.

Q2: Write a short note on Multiculturalism

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

Q1: Discuss the different models of Multiculturalsim.

Q2: Explain the group context of radicalism.

*****

UNIT 13: REGIONALISM, COMMUNALISM, NATIONALISM AND NATIONAL INTEGRATION

UNIT STRUCTURE

13.1 Learning Objectives

13.2 Introduction

13.3 Meaning, Nature, Causes, Types and Impact of Regionalism

13.4 Meaning, Characteristics, Causes and Consequences of Communalism

13.5 Meaning, Characteristics and Types of Nationalism

13.6 Meaning, Challenges and Initiatives to Achieve National Integration

13.7 Let Us Sum Up

13.8 Further Reading

13.9 Answers to Check Your Progress

13.10 Model Questions

13.1 LEARNING OBJECTIVES

After reading this unit, you will be able to-

- Understand the meaning, nature, causes, types and impact of regionalism,
- Understand the meaning, characteristics, causes and consequences of communalism
- Understand the meaning, characteristics and types of nationalism
- Understand the meaning, challenges and initiatives to achieve national integration.

13.2 LEARNING OBJECTIVES

India is one of the most diverse countries in the world. It is characterized by differences in language, religion, ethnicity, culture, region, and socio-economic conditions. These diversities enrich Indian society but also pose challenges to unity and political stability of the country. Concepts like **regionalism, communalism, nationalism, and national integration** are central to understanding Indian politics and state formation.

This unit aims to provide conceptual clarity, theoretical grounding, and empirical illustrations from the Indian context to help learners critically engage with these themes.

13.3 MEANING, NATURE, CAUSES, TYPES AND IMPACT OF REGIONALISM

Regionalism is the expression of a common sense of identity and purpose by people within a specific geographical region, united by its unique language, culture, language, etc. In a positive sense, it encourages people to develop a sense of brotherhood and oneness which seeks to protect the interests of a particular region and promotes the welfare and development of the state and its people. In the negative sense, it implies excessive attachment to one's region which is a great threat to the unity and integrity of the country.

Regionalism refers to the strong attachment to one's region or sub-national unit, often prioritizing regional interests over national ones. It arises from geographical, linguistic, cultural, economic, or historical differences within a nation. Unlike nationalism, which unifies, regionalism can fragment, though it isn't always separatist.

Marshall E. Dimcock considers regionalism as a clustering of environmental, economic, social and governmental factors to such an extent that a distinct consciousness of separate identity within the whole, a need for autonomous planning, a manifestation of cultural peculiarities and a desire for administrative freedom are recognized and actually put into effect. According to W. P. Scott, regionalism is an approach to the study of behaviour that emphasizes the geographical region as the unit of analysis, stressing the relationship between human beings and their immediate physical environment. Economic, social, cultural and political organizations are analyzed in terms of their relationships and functions within the geographic region.

Regionalism predates modern states but intensified with nation-building. In Europe, it led to federalism. In post-colonial states like India, it emerged from arbitrary colonial boundaries and uneven development.

Regionalism is characterised by certain features, as mentioned by Obulapathi & Ramanjaneyulu:

1. Regionalism is conditioned by economic, social, political and cultural disparities.
2. Regionalism at times is a psychic phenomenon.
3. Regionalism is built around as an expression of group identity as well as loyalty to the region.
4. Regionalism presupposes the concept of development of one's own region without taking into consideration the interest of other regions.

5. Regionalism prohibits people from other regions to be benefited by a particular region.

In India, regionalism gained momentum after independence due to linguistic reorganization. The States Reorganization Act (1956) created states on linguistic lines, following agitations like the Telugu movement for Andhra Pradesh.
Regionalism can be cultural (based on language and cultural identity like the Tamil identity in Tamil Nadu), economic (based on uneven development like the demand for separate Telangana), political (demand for greater autonomy or decentralization) and secessionist (demand for separation from the Union like the Khalistan movement).
There are several causes of growing regionalism in India. Some of these are enumerated below:

1. Historical and geographical factors: Geographical boundaries linked to linguistic distribution, topography and climate, lend a hand to the territorial orientation among the inhabitants of a particular region. This creates a sense of regionalism among the people, based on their symbolic attachment to the region. Isolation, both historical and geographical, also creates an insider-outsider complex, nurturing ideologies like nativism and son-of-the-soil.
2. Cultural factors: Cultural factors play a significant role in shaping regionalism. Cultural heritage, folklore, myths, symbolism, and historical traditions contribute to regionalism by inspiring a sense of pride and identity among people of a particular cultural group.
3. Uneven development: This manifests in continuous neglect of a region and ideas of 'internal colonialism', where the 'core' exploits the 'periphery' and renders it economically underdeveloped, which otherwise was rich in natural resources. This disparity leads to a feeling of relative deprivation among the inhabitants of economically neglected regions, resulting in demands for separate states.
4. Ill-conceived top-down approach: If devolution of funds and resources is not efficiently and judiciously planned, it may lead to development or survival of one region at the cost of another region.
5. Imposition of a particular ideology: If an ideology which is mostly adhered to by a dominant few, is imposed on the majority of the population, this may result in conflict.
6. Linguistic and ethnic aspirations: These form as formidable basis of regionalism.

Types of Regionalism

1. **Supra-state regionalism** is a way for multiple states to express their collective identity. In this kind of regionalism, a group of states band together to adopt a unified

stance on matters of mutual interest with respect to another group of states, or occasionally against the union. The resulting group identity is based on a particular issue or issues and has a negative aspect. This is not an example of state identities permanently merging into a single communal identity. Tensions and disputes may continue to exist even during periods of intergroup rivalry, concurrently with their collaboration. One could argue that supra-state regionalism was present in the northeastern Indian states.

2. **Inter-state regionalism** includes contrasting the identity of one or more states with one another and is synonymous with provincial territories. Additionally, it is issue-specific. Karnataka and Tamil Nadu's disagreements over Kaveri water allocation could be interpreted as interstate regionalism.
3. **Intra-state regionalism** indicates that wherein a part of the state strives for self-identity and self-development and therefore, it is taken in a positive sense. In negative terms, it militates against the collective interest of the state as well as the nation. As for instance there is often a feeling of coastal region and western region in Odisha, coastal region and Telangana region in Andhra Pradesh, and so on.

Impact of Regionalism on Indian Polity

Regional movements have compelled the Centre to respect state autonomy in the country, which in turn has deepened the federal character of the Indian Constitution. A major outcome of regional aspirations was the linguistic reorganisation of states in 1965 following the recommendations of the States Reorganisation Commission. Flexibility of Indian federalism is also seen in the creation of the state of Telangana in 2014. Therefore, it can be said that regionalism has made Indian federalism more responsive and accommodative. Regional political parties like the Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam in Tamil Nadu, Shiv Sena in Maharashtra, Telugu Desam Party in Andhra Pradesh, Trinamool Congress in West Bengal, etc, articulate regional grievances, demand greater financial allocations and influence national coalition governments. Moreover, regional parties have transformed India from a one-party dominant system to a multi-party coalition system. This is evident since the late 1980s, when regional parties started playing crucial roles in forming central governments. Two of the largest national political parties, namely the Bharatiya Janata Party and the Indian National Congress have both relied on regional allies to secure majorities in the Parliament. Such coalition politics at the Centre has increased bargaining power of the states and contributed to greater decentralization of political power. Regionalism has also managed to accommodate diversity in the country. Instead of suppressing regional demands, the Indian state has accommodated them by reorganizing states, granting special provisions like the Sixth Schedule in the Northeast and by providing autonomous councils. It can thus be rightfully said that regionalism has functioned like a safety valve for democratic expression. Moreover, regional movements in Vidarbha and Bundelkhand have highlighted underdevelopment in the concerned states. This in turn

has increased focus on regional planning, special packages and allocations by the Finance Commission.

There are, however, also some negative impacts of regionalism. Regionalism can threaten national integration by leading to separatism in its most extreme form. Secessionist movements in the Northeast and the Khalistan movement in Punjab during the 1980s had challenged the authority of the Union by creating internal security crises, straining centre-state relations and requiring extraordinary constitutional measures on the part of the Union government. By promoting the ideology of the 'sons-of-the soil', regionalism may at times, tend to create hostility towards the minorities and migrants. This may manifest in the demand for reservation of jobs for only the locals and also create conditions for anti-migrant agitations. Conflicts that occur as a result of regional interests between states often test the effectiveness of cooperative federalism. Although coalition governments stand as testament to the effectiveness of democratic politics in India, such governments influenced by regional parties may sometimes face policy paralysis due to frequent government instability. Coalition governments may also be induced to take populist measures to secure regional vote banks. This may however, affect long-term national planning.

CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Q1: Explain some of the negative impacts of regionalism on Indian polity.

13.4 Meaning, Characteristics, Causes and Consequences of Communalism

Communalism, when viewed broadly, signifies a deep connection to one's community. In common discussions within India, it is perceived as an excessive loyalty to one's religion. This ideology seeks to consolidate the community by downplaying internal differences and highlighting the fundamental unity of the group in opposition to others. In doing so, it fosters adherence to strict beliefs and principles, as well as intolerance and animosity toward different religions, ultimately causing societal division. The positive aspect of communalism reflects an individual's bond with their community, which can include endeavours aimed at the social and economic advancement of that group. Conversely, the negative aspect refers to an ideology that prioritizes the distinct identity of one religious group in contrast to others.

Communalism conceptualizes society as segmented into distinct religious communities, each possessing unique political, economic, and social interests. This segmentation fosters an "us" versus "them" mentality, which can result in competition and conflict as

communities pursue their respective interests. In its most extreme manifestation, communalism becomes particularly hazardous, with communities perceiving one another as mutually antagonistic and prioritizing religious identity above all other affiliations. This dynamic intensifies intolerance, orthodoxy, and the likelihood of violence, as the advancement of one community is often interpreted as a loss for another. Historically, communalism has significantly influenced India, contributing to violence and political instability during both colonial and post-colonial eras.

According to Seth, communalism signifies inter-communal rivalries and social tension. Dixit argues that communalism is a political doctrine which makes use of religio-cultural differences to achieve political ends.

Communalism carries the following characteristic features:

1. Communalism invokes certain cultural and ideological symbols with partisan attitude and intention.
2. Communalism is based on orthodoxy and is exclusive in outlook. A communalist considers his/her religion superior to other religions.
3. Communalism is based on intolerance and propagates intense dislike and hatred of other religions and communities.
4. It stands for and propagates elimination of other religions, values and identities.
5. Communal forces adopt extremist tactics or methods including violence against the other religions.
6. It causes rivalry, violence and tension among the masses. Emotions of the common people are roused for mobilizing against the people of other religious communities.
7. Communalism is frequently engineered by opportunistic political and economic interests.
8. Communalism destroys secularism and ideas of national integration, causing communal hatred and antagonism.

Communalism in India has its roots in the colonial ‘divide and rule’ policies. The British encouraged separate electorates through the Morley-Minto Reforms of 1909, fostering Hindu- Muslim divisions. Later, the partition of the country was a tragic outcome, with riots killing millions.

Several reasons can be attributed to the growth of communalism in the country:

1. Colonial Legacy: The partition of Bengal in 1905, separate electorate under the Government of India Act, 1909, Communal Award in 1932 were steps taken by the

British to appease members of particular religious communities for their own political needs. Such communal steps were strongly resisted by Gandhiji and others. However, the feeling of communalism deepened over time, significantly denting the Indian social fabric.

2. Communalization of Politics: Selig Harrison infamously called the 1960s as a 'dangerous decade' due to internal conflicts and insurgency, wars and political confusion. It was also a decade of resurgence of communalism in India. The 1969 Gujarat riots was the first major conflict in the post-partition period. Since then, appeasement politics, communal speeches and use of ideological rhetoric have become intrinsic to the workings of Indian politics.
3. Relative economic deprivation: Poverty, unemployment and relative deprivation regarding resource allocation fuel feelings of communalism. This is also highlighted by the Sachar Committee Report, which mentions that poor economic conditions of the minorities create a feeling of relative deprivation.
4. Media: Communal tensions in the country have also been aggravated by the media, as it continuously reinforces communal ideologies and spreads hate speeches.
5. Global Influences: Rise of Islamist extremism or the Hindutva ideology have echoed international trends, which find their manifestations in Indian society and polity.

Communal Violence in India

Communal violence happens when communalism turns into violence. Communalism is the belief that people of the same religion have shared political, social, and economic interests that are different from those of other religious groups. Historian Bipan Chandra explains that communalism is more than just religious difference. It is a political idea that turns religious identity into political conflict.
The Anti-Sikh Riots of 1984, the Babri Masjid Demolition of 1992, the Gujarat Riots of 2002 and the Muzaffarnagar Riots of 2013 are major incidents of communal violence in the country, which illustrate how communal violence often emerges from political mobilization, rumour, and identity-based polarization.

Communal violence in India is mainly caused due to political mobilization, whereby political actors like political parties and leaders exploit religious sentiments for electoral gains; socio-economic factors like poverty and unemployment, competition over resources, and illiteracy and lack of awareness; historical prejudices, which encompass deep-rooted stereotypes and mistrust against people of another religion; role of media; and weak law enforcement.

Communal violence in India often shows targeted attacks on specific communities, destruction of religious places, use of provocative symbols and slogans, and organised mobilization in some cases.

CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Q2. Explain any two reasons attributed to the growth of communalism in India.

There are severe consequences of communal violence, as witnessed from several incidents in India. Communal violence takes toll on human beings, incurs physical injuries, creates psychological trauma and leads to displacement of families. Economic impact of communal violence includes destruction of property, loss of livelihoods and reduced investment in affected areas, thereby contributing to their relative underdevelopment. Polarization of voters, rise of identity politics, weakening of democratic institutions and threat to secular ideas are some of the political consequences of communal violence in the country.

13.5 MEANING, CHARACTERISTICS AND TYPES OF NATIONALISM

The first effort to define a nation was undertaken in 1882 by Ernest Renan, a French academic. He described a nation as a group of people united by shared will, consciousness, and collective memory (along with common forgetfulness, or a collective amnesia). In 1912, Joseph Stalin offered a major correction to Renan's interpretation. He provided a more nuanced and thorough comprehension of nations. Stalin defined a nation as a human collective that shares a common territory, language, economic life and psychological characteristics. In his own terms, a nation is a historically constituted, stable community of people, formed on the basis of a common language, territory, economic life and psychological make-up manifested in a common culture. Theorists such as Benedict Anderson characterized nations as "imagined communities," where individuals feel a bond despite not having personal relationships, frequently through print media and education.

Nationalism is a multifaceted and developing idea that signifies the attachment and allegiance people experience toward their nation or ethnic community. It is an ideology that prioritizes loyalty, commitment, or allegiance to a nation or nation-state and asserts that these obligations take precedence over other individual or collective interests. Ernest Gellner defined nationalism as a political principle that holds that national and political units should be congruent. He connected nationalism with industrialization, contending it fosters uniform societies for effective labour markets. Anthony D. Smith highlighted "ethno-symbolism," in which traditional ethnic connections transform into national identities.

Nationalism is a contemporary phenomenon. Historically, individuals have been closely connected to their homeland, the customs of their predecessors, and other established

governing bodies. However, it was only after the late 18th century that nationalism emerged as a widely acknowledged sentiment shaping both public and private spheres, becoming one of the most significant influences on modern history. The American and French revolutions may be regarded as the most powerful manifestations of nationalism. It made its way to the new countries of Latin America, central Europe, eastern and southeastern Europe in the early and mid-19th century. It flourished in Asia and Africa at the beginning of the 20th century.

In India, nationalism emerged as a reaction to British colonial rule. Founded in 1885, the Indian National Congress (INC) initially aimed for reforms but transformed into a mass movement under prominent leaders such as Mahatma Gandhi, Jawaharlal Nehru, and Subhas Chandra Bose. There were three key phases of Indian nationalism: the moderate phase (1885-1905), the extremist phase (1909-1919) and the Gandhian mass movement phase (1919-1947). Indian nationalism contributed to ideals like unity in diversity, constitutionalism, democracy, secularism and federalism.

Characteristics of Nationalism

1. Nationalism is based on the idea that people who share common features like language, culture, history, territory or ethnicity, form a distinct community called a nation. It fosters emotional attachment and loyalty to the nation. It emphasizes unity and solidarity among members. So, one of the most important characteristics of nationalism is a sense of collective identity.
2. A defined, common geographical territory is central to nationalism. Territorial integrity is seen as sacred and must be protected.
3. Nationalism promotes a shared cultural identity. Common languages, traditions, symbols, festivals and historical memories strengthen national unity. National heroes, monuments and myths play an important role in shaping collective consciousness.
4. Another core characteristic of nationalism is political independence. It demands that the nation should govern itself without foreign interference.
5. Nationalism is not merely political, but also deeply emotional. It inspires patriotism, sacrifice and devotion to the nation. National symbols like flags and anthems evoke strong sentiments.
6. Nationalism seeks to unify people under a single political authority. It encourages central authority to promote social cohesion.
7. Nationalism often promotes integration among diverse groups within a country. It attempts to reduce internal divisions based on caste, class, religion or region. However, excessive nationalism may also suppress diversity.

8. Nationalism acts as a powerful tool for political mobilization. It unites people during crises and has been instrumental in independence movements and state-building processes.

Types of Nationalism

In “Nations and Nationalism,” Ernest Gellner outlines a classification of nationalism that relates to industrialization and modernization. He differentiates among agrarian, industrial, and post-industrial societies.

Agrarian Nationalism: In rural societies, nationalism is frequently linked to traditional, localized, and agricultural communities. The feeling of belonging is grounded in the land, family ties, and common traditions. This type of nationalism is frequently employed by the ruling elite to uphold their authority and dominance.

Industrial Nationalism: Gellner contends that as industrialization advances, nationalism becomes increasingly uniform and standardized. The necessity for a uniform language, education, and culture becomes vital for the operation of industrial societies. This results in the formation of a national identity rooted in mutual values and a collective culture.
Post-Industrial Nationalism: In the post-industrial age, marked by technological progress and globalization, Gellner argues that nationalism assumes a new shape. It takes on greater symbolic meaning and is frequently utilized as a method of cultural preservation and identity affirmation in response to globalization.

In his book “The Ethnic Origins of Nations,” Anthony Smith presents a classification of nationalism that focuses on the significance of ethnicity and cultural heritage in nation formation. He classes nationalism in the following ways:

Ethnic Nationalism: Smith contends that numerous nations are established on the foundation of a common ethnic background, language, and historical consciousness. This type of nationalism highlights the significance of shared lineage and cultural customs in defining national identity

Civic nationalism: It differs from ethnic nationalism as it relies on a common political identity and commitment to a certain set of political values and institutions. It tends to be more welcoming and accessible to various ethnic and cultural groups, emphasizing citizenship and involvement in the political community.

Cultural Nationalism: Smith further examines cultural nationalism, highlighting the importance of common cultural symbols, traditions, and narratives in shaping national identity. This type of nationalism typically aims to restore or maintain cultural traditions and legacies.

In summary, Gellner and Smith provide important perspectives on the varied expressions of nationalism, taking into account elements like industrialization, ethnicity, and cultural heritage. Their classifications offer a structure for comprehending the intricate character of nationalism in various historical and social settings.

13.6 MEANING, CHALLENGES AND INITIATIVES TO ACHIEVE NATIONAL INTEGRATION

National Integration refers to the effort of promoting unity, solidarity, and harmony among various groups in a nation, going beyond regional, communal, linguistic, or caste distinctions. Its goal is "unity in diversity," fostering emotional and psychological connections while maintaining territorial integrity.

National integration involves uniting various communities and individuals in a nation to promote a feeling of togetherness and affiliation. It fosters unity, comprehension, and collaboration among individuals from various areas, languages, faiths, and traditions. National integration seeks to create a unified, harmonious country where all individuals possess equal rights and opportunities. It demands honouring one another's beliefs, traditions, and customs while upholding the values of unity and diversity. National unity is essential for a stable and thriving nation. In this place, individuals collaborate towards shared objectives and possess a collective national identity.

National integration aims to eliminate bias and hostility based on ethnicity, language, or religion. The ultimate goal is to create a cohesive and unified nation. Here, each citizen is granted a feeling of connection. He/she is actively involved in the nation's progress. National cohesion aids in social stability, harmony, and inclusive development for the whole population of a country.

Etzioni believes that a community is integrated when it has:

i. An effective control over the means of violence;
ii. A centre of decision-making that significantly affected the allocation of resources and rewards; and
iii. A dominant focus of political identification for a large majority of national citizens who are politically aware.

Similarly, Mazrui identified five interrelated aspects of national integration as :

i. The fusion of norms and cultures (including the sharing of values, mode of expression, lifestyles and a common language);
ii. The promotion of economic interdependence;
iii. The narrowing of the gap between the elites and the masses, the urban and rural areas, rich and poor, etc (social integration);
iv. The resolution of emergent conflicts; and
v. The sharing of mutual experiences so that people can discover that they have undergone some important experiences together

Challenges to National Integration in India

1. Linguism or Linguistic Fanaticism: India is a country with multiple languages. The Indian constitution acknowledges 22 languages. English serves as the connecting language. Approximately 2000 languages are spoken by different parts of Indian society. Upon India's independence, the choice was made to designate Hindi as the national language. This was resisted by individuals speaking different languages. In Tamil Nadu, there was a movement against Hindi. The Dravida Munnetra Kazagham (DMK) assisted in coordinating the Madras State Anti-Hindi Conference on January 17, 1965—just over a week prior to the January 26 date set for Hindi's rise to the status of the only official language of India. Similar events also unfolded in the North-East, particularly Assam.

2. Economic Imbalances: One of the primary reasons for the growth of regionalism and separatism is uneven development in different parts of the country. Certain regions in the country have witnessed the concentration of industries and factories, educational and health facilities, communication networks and agricultural development, while others have lagged behind. This has also created a challenge to national integration in the country.

3. Regionalism and Sub-National Identities: Regionalism reflects a deep allegiance to specific linguistic, cultural, or ethnic areas, frequently seeking autonomy, statehood, or a share of resources, which can occasionally result in separatist movements. Regionalism in India finds manifestation through the linguistic tensions like in the case of the anti-Hindi agitations in South India or demands for recognition of non-scheduled languages. There are also instances of insurgencies and autonomy movements in the Northeast, demands for separate states or special status.

4. Communalism and Religious Polarization: Communalism remains one of the most serious threats to national integration in India. It manifests in mutual distrust, riots, and conflict among groups, especially Hindus and Muslims, while also including Sikhs, Christians, and others.

Initiatives to Achieve National Integration

1. There are various constitutional and legal measures that have helped in achieve national integration. The Constitution provides for single citizenship to promote unity and equal status across states. Articles guaranteeing equality (Articles 14–18) prohibit discrimination on grounds of religion, race, caste, sex, or place of birth, fostering inclusive citizenship. They aim at social and economic justice, reducing inequalities that may cause regional or social tensions. The Constitution recognizes Hindi as the official language while allowing the continued use of English and protecting regional languages through the Eighth Schedule, promoting linguistic harmony.
2. Institutional mechanisms include the establishment of the National Integration Council in 1961, which addresses communalism, casteism, regionalism, and extremism; the Inter-State Council under Article 263 to resolve disputes and promote cooperative federalism among states; the Zonal Councils formed under the States Reorganisation Act, 1956 to foster regional cooperation.
3. Political and administrative initiatives include The States Reorganisation Act of 1956, which reorganized states largely on linguistic lines to reduce regional tensions. Articles such as 371 grant special status to some states to accommodate regional aspirations within the Union framework.
4. The most prominent ongoing initiative is Ek Bharat Shreshtha Bharat (EBSB), launched in 2015 by the Ministry of Education (formerly HRD) to foster mutual engagement between States/Union Territories. The objective of this initiative is to bridge cultural gaps through people-to-people exchanges in language, literature, culture, sports, tourism, and more.
5. Economic equity reduces alienation and fosters integration. In this regard, the government has initiated policies like the Pradhan Mantri Garib Kalyan Yojana with the objective of ensuring food security to vulnerable populations nationwide. One Nation One Ration Card enables migrant workers to access PDS benefits anywhere, reducing regional barriers. Digital India and infrastructure projects like BharatNet contribute to rural connectivity; and Pradhan Mantri Janjatiya Unnat Gram Abhiyan targets 63,000 tribal villages.

13.7 LET US SUM UP

- Regionalism is the expression of a common sense of identity and purpose by people within a specific geographical region, united by its unique language, culture, language, etc. In a positive sense, it encourages people to develop a sense of brotherhood and oneness which seeks to protect the interests of a particular region and promotes

the welfare and development of the state and its people. In the negative sense, it implies excessive attachment to one's region which is a great threat to the unity and integrity of the country.

- There are several causes of growing regionalism in India. These include historical and geographical factors, cultural factors, ill conceived top-down approaches, uneven development, imposition of a particular ideology and linguistic and ethnic aspirations.
- There are three types of regionalism: supra-state regionalism, inter-state regionalism, intra-state regionalism.
- Communalism, when viewed broadly, signifies a deep connection to one's community. In common discussions within India, it is perceived as an excessive loyalty to one's religion. This ideology seeks to consolidate the community by downplaying internal differences and highlighting the fundamental unity of the group in opposition to others. In doing so, it fosters adherence to strict beliefs and principles, as well as intolerance and animosity toward different religions, ultimately causing societal division. The positive aspect of communalism reflects an individual's bond with their community, which can include endeavours aimed at the social and economic advancement of that group. Conversely, the negative aspect refers to an ideology that prioritizes the distinct identity of one religious group in contrast to others.
- Colonial legacy, communalization of politics, relative deprivation, media and global influences are some of the causes of growing communalism in India.
- Nationalism is an ideology that prioritizes loyalty, commitment, or allegiance to a nation or nation-state and asserts that these obligations take precedence over other individual or collective interests.
- Gellner and Smith have given their typologies of nationalism.
- National Integration refers to the effort of promoting unity, solidarity, and harmony among various groups in a nation, going beyond regional, communal, linguistic, or caste distinctions. Its goal is "unity in diversity," fostering emotional and psychological connections while maintaining territorial integrity.
- The Indian government has taken various initiatives to strengthen national integration.

13.8 FURTHER READING

- Brass, P. R. (1991). Ethnicity and nationalism: Theory and comparison. Sage Publications.

- Chandra, B. (2008). Communalism in modern India (2nd ed.). Har-Anand Publications.
- Chandra, B., Mukherjee, M., & Mukherjee, A. (2008). India's struggle for independence. Penguin Books.
- Smith, A. D. (1986). The ethnic origins of nations. Blackwell.
- Weiner, M. (1978). Sons of the soil: Migration and ethnic conflict in India. Princeton University Press.

13.9 ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Answer to Q.1:

Regionalism can threaten national integration by leading to separatism in its most extreme form. Secessionist movements in the Northeast and the Khalistan movement in Punjab during the 1980s had challenged the authority of the Union by creating internal security crises, straining centre-state relations and requiring extraordinary constitutional measures on the part of the Union government. By promoting the ideology of the 'sons-of-the soil', regionalism may at times, tend to create hostility towards the minorities and migrants. This may manifest in the demand for reservation of jobs for only the locals and also create conditions for anti-migrant agitations. Conflicts that occur as a result of regional interests between states often test the effectiveness of cooperative federalism. Although coalition governments stand as testament to the effectiveness of democratic politics in India, such governments influenced by regional parties may sometimes face policy paralysis due to frequent government instability. Coalition governments may also be induced to take populist measures to secure regional vote banks. This may however, affect long-term national planning.

Answer to Q.2:

1. Colonial Legacy: The partition of Bengal in 1905, separate electorate under the Government of India Act, 1909, Communal Award in 1932 were steps taken by the British to appease members of particular religious communities for their own political needs. Such communal steps were strongly resisted by Gandhiji and others. However, the feeling of communalism deepened over time, significantly denting the Indian social fabric.
2. Communalization of Politics: Selig Harrison infamously called the 1960s as a 'dangerous decade' due to internal conflicts and insurgency, wars and political confusion. It was also a decade of resurgence of communalism in India. The 1969 Gujarat riots was the first major conflict in the post-partition period. Since then,

appeasement politics, communal speeches and use of ideological rhetoric have become intrinsic to the workings of Indian politics.

13.10 MODEL QUESTIONS

Q.1: Enlist the characteristic features of regionalism as mentioned by Obulapathi & Ramanjaneyulu:

Q.2: Explain the different types of regionalism.

Q.3: How does communal violence disturb the social fabric of India? Explain.

Q.4. Explain the typology of nationalism, as given by Anthony D Smith.

Q.5.: What are the five interrelated aspects of national integration, as identified by Mazrui?

Q.6.: Describe the different initiatives taken by the Indian government to strengthen national integration.

*****

UNIT 14: STATE AND SOCIETY IN NORTH EAST INDIA

UNIT STRUCTURE

14.1 Learning Objectives
14.2 Introduction
14.3 Society and Polity In North East India
14.4 Colonialism and Emergence of Political Elites
14.5 Issue of Governance
14.5.1 Decentralized Governance
14.5.2 Sixth Schedule
14.6 Let Us sum UP
14.7 Further Readings
14.8 Answer to Check Your Progress
14.9 Possible Questions

14.1 LEARNING OBJECTIVES

After going through this Unit you will be able to

- Explain the nature of state and polity in North East India
- Discuss about the issue of colonialism in and state formation in North East India
- Explain the nature of governance in North East India

14.2 INTRODUCTION

The north-eastern part of India consists of eight states – Assam, Arunachal Pradesh, Nagaland, Manipur, Mizoram, Tripura, Meghalaya, and Sikkim is a frontier region in the Indian Union's north-eastern quadrant, sharing 4,500 kilometers of international border with China in the north, Myanmar in the east, Bangladesh in the southwest, and Bhutan in the northwest. The land-locked region is connected to the rest of the country by a small passage known as the "chicken neck" that runs through Siliguri, West Bengal.

The northeast India is home to multifarious social and ethnic groups with diverse culture, language, customs and traditions which makes it the most ethnically and linguistically diverse region in Asia. Nature has been at its most beautiful in the region, with gorgeous landscapes, colorful sunrises and sunsets, and beautiful trees and plants. It is also a diverse population pool. The Northeast is noted for its stunning beauty and pristine ecology. People live in peace with nature. This balance between man and nature is evident in their

creative works and paintings. When it comes to aesthetics and fine arts such as painting, the North Easterners are exceptionally adept. The mountain ranges and river valleys separate South East Asia from South Asia, forming a civilization border as well as a meeting point for numerous racial and cultural aspects. Its distinct physical and socio-ethnic makeup makes it an important area within the Indian Union. Northeast India's historical contours changed throughout the colonial era, as Assam underwent state restructuring and several new states were established. Since gaining independence, this region has developed an odd image for being politically unstable, economically underdeveloped, and strategically delicate at the national level. Given this region's longstanding history of political instability, it is imperative that any meaningful conversation on India's security take it completely.

14.3 SOCIETY AND POLITY IN NORTH EAST INDIA

The society in North East India is a complete mosaic of multilingual, multiethnic, multi-religious and multicultural group of people. It is a home to not less than 200 tribal communities having distinct culture and unique cultural identity. The largest state in India's northeast is Arunachal Pradesh. The state stands out for its linguistic and ethnic diversity. With rivers like the Brahmaputra and Barak, Assam is a place of breathtaking scenery and the second most populous and developed state in the Northeast. Manipur is a charming state on the eastern edge of the North East, bordering Myanmar, with a mixed history of culturally advanced kings. Known as the "Scotland of the East," Meghalaya is a plateau with varying altitudes and its capital is Shillong. In many aspects, the state's matrilineal structure is unique. Mizoram is a highland state in the North East that is distinguished for its homogeneous tribal population. The state is credited with emerging as a peaceful and stable polity, as well as demonstrating a high level of social and economic progress in recent years. Nagaland, a primarily tribal state on India's eastern border, is mostly hilly and is known for being home to the Nagas, a fearless group of people in the region. Tripura, which borders Bangladesh, has strong cultural ties with Bengal as well as the tribal regions of Assam and Mizoram. The Tripuris are the state's largest tribal community and the foundation of its society. Sikkim is a small state shaped like a bowl that is accessible from the plains of Bengal and has a hilly environment. Its capital is Gangtok. Its Buddhist monasteries and Himalayan scenery and fauna set it apart.

The states in the northeast have always been a part of India, both politically and culturally. The Indian states in the northeast were home to the longest-lasting reigning dynasties. The Ahom ruled over the state of Assam for about six centuries. The royal dynasty in Manipur ruled for more than nineteen centuries. The protracted dynastic rule in North East India was a major factor in the British exclusion from the area for a considerable amount of time. The plains and hills of the Brahmaputra and Surma valleys were invaded

and subjugated by the Nagas, Mizos, and other tribes in the early years of British control. Prolonged dynasties contributed to the existence of strong empires that exercised effective authority. The northeastern states remained unconquered by both the Delhi Sultans and the Mughals. As a result, the Northeast became rather cut off from the rest of the nation. At this point, Burma invaded Assam and Manipur, and the British were afraid of losing land. In order to strengthen their position within Indian territory, the British consequently turned their attention to North East India and slowly and gradually annexed the region. The Britishers has ruled the Northeastern part of India following their own set of administration. After independence the parliamentary form of government were established in the states of the region. Democratic periodical election has been in application to elect government.

CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Q. 1. How many states are there in north east India?

Q. 2. What are the countries with which North East India shares border?

Q. 3. Give a very brief account of the states of North East India.

14.4 COLONIALISM AND EMERGENCE OF POLITICAL ELITES

The North East region of India was formally colonized in the year 1826. Assam was ruled by the Ahom dynasty before the British arrived. The Ahom dominated over the Brahmaputra valley for six centuries. Their influence declined in the latter part of the eighteenth century. The Burmese army overthrew their capital and attacked their country in the early 19th century. The Burmese unleashed a reign of terror on the locals, causing them great hardship and enormous misery via pillage and destruction. The Ahom ruler asked the British East India Company for assistance in 1818 after being alarmed by recurrent Burmese incursions. In response to the request, company engaged in combat with the Burmese adversaries and emerged victorious. Thid end up with the signing the “Treaty of Yandaboo” in 1826 and the burmese agreed to leave Assam. The Ahom king gave the British East India Company a portion of his kingdom in exchange for the Burmese agreeing to leave Assam. This marked the end of the conflict. By defeating Ahom’s enemies, the East India Company won the confidence of the elites and royalists. With this, British rule over northeast India began. The British established themselves as the dominant power in this area with the signing of the Treaty.

Following the Great Indian Rebellion of 1857, British dominance over the Northeast intensified, resulting in the colonial strategy that destroyed the whole region. The colonists’

policies regarding this region included expanding the area under control and reorganizing the governmental structure. The "treaty of Yandaboo," which marked the beginning of the invasion, was followed by the handover of Manipur, Cachar, and Jaiantia to the indigenous leaders, in exchange, the indigenous leaders began to acknowledge British settlers as their eventual overlords. The British seized control of Naga Hills in 1866. At first, they had no intention of annexing it, but as internal strife among the local population increased, it was decided to seize control of the area. For a long while, the British government was thought to be pursuing a non-interference policy with the hill people. However, this strategy was shown to be ineffectual because the interior Garos frequently conducted continuous attacks and the tributary Garos frequently neglected to pay the promised tribute. As a result, in 1872–1873, the British seized control of the Garo Hills. This was followed in 1882 by the annexation of the Lushai Hills. The Lushai's continual and consecutive raids generated a state of terror and upheaval, attracting the attention of the British. Following the assassination of Captain Browne, a British official, the British seized control of the region in 1882. Initially, the southern and northern portions of the hills were under the administration of the Bengal government and the Assam chief commissioner respectively. Both portions were then united and placed under the supervision of the British administration of Assam in 1889. Thus, the British slowly and gradually brought the entire territory of the North East under their rule.

The post colonial development of North east India that encompasses state formation and reformation gave rise to political elites. The reorganization of the region into several states involved a history of unrest and turmoil. This stared from Naga Hills. NNC, a Naga organization demanding separation of Nagaland from India started agitation both in non violent and violent way. To settle the issue Indian Government started dialogue with the moderate section of Naga and declared Nagaland a separate state in 1963. The signatories of the peace treaty gained political power and started ruling the state. Similarly the MNF of Lushai Hills, the other Hills agitated demanding autonomy. Accordingly government started the process of negotiation and solved those issues by creating separate state. In the process those leaders of the agitators and other signatory of peace treaties gained peoples support and political power as well.

CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Q. 4. In which year the treaty of yandaboo was conluded?
Q. 5. For how many centuries the Ahom dominated the Brahmaputra valley?
Q. 6. Write one cause as to why British annexed Garo Hills.

14.5 ISSUE OF GOVERNANCE

To know about the issue of governance in North East India we must have a look how the region of North east India undergo changes in regards of state formation and reformation. It was the Britishers who brought the whole North East region under a common administrative unit. The Independence of India in 1947 brought about to the tribes North east India an opportunity to get back their native political institutions and retain their territorial autonomy. Demand had risen from Nagaland from the eve of Independence. This resulted with the formation of Nagaland as a full-fledged state in the year 1963. Following Nagaland in 1972 Mizoram became an union territory and got full-fledged state in 1987 after months of agitation and demand by Mizo National Font under the leadership of Lal Denga. In 1970 the autonomous state of Meghalaya was formed consisting khasi, Jayamtia and Garo Hill districts. This was given full statehood in the year 1972. Arunachal Pradesh formerly known as North East Frontier Agency was a union territory in 1972, attained statehood later. After Independence a number of groups from each states have taken arms in their hands to get their demands fulfilled. These insurgent groups have caused much destruction in the region. So the issue of insurgency posed as a significant challenge before the governments in carrying out the affairs of the government.

The governments of these states since the formation of their states are facing many hindrances. To run the administration in these states were not an easy task. After independence the north eastern region had installed Democratic government by means of popular election. But these democratically elected governments had to face multiple challenges starting from underdevelopment to insurgency. Since the region is poorly connected to the mainland India infrastructural development was lacking till recent. In comparison to other regions of India the northeastern region have not succeed to accelerate in economic development. Though it has high potentiality in the fields of mineral, forest and tourism sector but it has not marked significant development in those areas too. Hence the successive governments have been facing difficulties to accelerate all round development in the region.

14.5.1 Decentralized Governance

The North Eastern Region has one of the most diverse decentralized governance systems in the nation because of the region's unique ethnic, linguistic, and religious makeup. The system of local government is partially applicable in the region. Two of the eight states in the region, Sikkim and Arunachal Pradesh, are fully covered by the Panchayati Raj system (Part IX of the Constitution), while the other three states Mizoram, Meghalaya, and Nagaland, are completely exempt and have their own local systems. There are both Panchayati Raj and non-Panchayati Raj regions coexisting side by side in the remaining three states

Assam, Tripura, and Manipur. Moreover, while Part IX of the Constitution applies to Sikkim, Arunachal Pradesh, and portions of Assam, Tripura, and Manipur, the degree of authority granted to Panchayats in these states varies. Since it reflects the great ethnic, linguistic, and religious diversity observed in the region, such diversity is beneficial and should be promoted even though it greatly complicates local governance.

14.5.2 Sixth Schedule

The constitution of India to safeguards the ethnic values and tradition of the indigenous tribes of North east India provides for 6th schedule. To protect the rights of the indigenous population of Assam, Meghalaya, Tripura, and Mizoram, the Sixth Schedule of the Constitution calls for the administration of these areas. The Constitution's Articles 244(2) and 275(1) offer this particular provision. In the North East, the concept of local self-governance is widely accepted. The Sixth Schedule was mainly developed to safeguard the customary tribal traditions and cultures of the colonial "excluded" areas. A significant rearrangement of the original Sixth Schedule territories, which were established in 1952, took place in 1971. Certain parts were placed under recently formed states, such Mizoram and Meghalaya, which were split off from the composite Assam. Only four states are currently covered by the schedule: Meghalaya is nearly entirely covered, and portions of Assam, Tripura, and Mizoram are also included. States and regions not covered by the Sixth Schedule provisions, including as Arunachal Pradesh, Nagaland, and Manipur, also have laws protecting traditional forms of self-governance against outside interference. To a considerable extent, these laws allowed communities to keep their lands and their customs under the protection of constitutional safeguards.

CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Q. 7. In which year Nagaland became full-fledged state?

Q. 8. Write very briefly about decentralized governance in North East India.

Q. 9. Prepare a short note on Six Schedule of Indian Constitution.

14.6 LET US SUM UP

- The north-eastern part of India consists of eight states – Assam, Arunachal Pradesh, Nagaland, Manipur, Mizoram, Tripura, Meghalaya, and Sikkim is a frontier region of the Indian Union's north-eastern quadrant. It shares 4,500 kilometers of international border with China, Myanmar, Bangladesh and Bhutan.

- The northeast India is home to multifarious social and ethnic groups with diverse culture, language, customs and traditions which makes it the most ethnically and linguistically diverse region in Asia. The Northeast is noted for its stunning beauty and pristine ecology.
- The society in North East India is a complete mosaic of multilingual, multiethnic, multi-religious and multicultural group of people. It is a home to not less than 200 tribal communities having distinct culture and unique cultural identity.
- The states in the northeast have always been a part of India, both politically and culturally. The Ahom ruled over the state of Assam for about six centuries. The royal dynasty in Manipur ruled for more than nineteen centuries.
- The Britishers has ruled the Northeastern part of India following their own set of administration. After independence the parliamentary form of government were established in the states of the region. Democratic periodical election has been in application to elect government.
- The North East region of India was formally colonized in the year 1826 with the signing of Treaty of Yandaboo. The British seized control of Naga Hills in 1866. In 1872–1873, the annexed the Garo Hills. This was followed in 1882 by the annexation of the Lushai Hills.
- The governments of these states since the formation of their states are facing many hindrances. To run the administration in these states were not an easy task. After independence the north eastern region had installed Democratic government by means of popular election. But these democratically elected governments had to face multiple challenges starting from underdevelopment to insurgency.
- The North Eastern Region has one of the most diverse decentralized governance systems. Two of the eight states in the region, Sikkim and Arunachal Pradesh, are fully covered by the Panchayati Raj system, while the other three states Mizoram, Meghalaya, and Nagaland, are completely exempt and have their own local systems. Both Panchayati Raj and non-Panchayati Raj regions coexisting side by side in the remaining three states Assam, Tripura, and Manipur.
- To protect the rights of the indigenous population of Assam, Meghalaya, Tripura, and Mizoram, the Sixth Schedule of the Constitution calls for the administration of these areas. The Constitution's Articles 244(2) and 275(1) offer this particular provision.
- Only four states are currently covered by the schedule: Meghalaya is nearly entirely covered, and portions of Assam, Tripura, and Mizoram are also included. States and regions not covered by the Sixth Schedule provisions, including as Arunachal Pradesh, Nagaland, and Manipur, also have laws protecting traditional forms of self-governance against outside interference.

14.7 FURTHER READING

i) Das. NK.(1989). Ethnic Identity, Ethnicity and social stratification in North East India. Inter India Publications. New Delhi

ii) Kumar. BB. (1996). Re-Organisation of North East India(Facts and Documents). Osmos Publications, New Delhi

iii) Baruah, Apurba K. (2003), Tribal Traditions and Crises of Governance in North East India with special reference to Meghalaya, Crisis States Programme, Development Research Centre. London

iv) Baruah. S.(1999). India Against Itself: Assam and the Politics of Nationality. University of Pennsylvania press. Philadelphia

v) Barpujari. HK. (1998) North east india: problems, policies and prospects. Spectrum publications, delhi

vi) Chaudhuri .S K. (2012) Perspectives On North East India Tradition And Modernity In Arunachal Pradesh. Anshah Publishing

vii) Hazarika. S.(2000). Strangers Of The Mist. Penguin Books Australia

viii) Choudhury. S. (2023)Northeast India : A Political History. Harper Collins India

ix) Chaube.SK. (1999). Hill Politics in North East India. Orient Longman Publication. New Delhi

x) Gait. E. (2003). History of Asam, Surajeet Publication

14.8 ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Ans to the Q. no 1 – There are eight states are there in north east India.

Ans to the Q. no 2 - China, Myanmar, Bangladesh and Bhutan are the countries with which North East India shares border.

Ans to the Q. no 3 – The north east India consists of eight states. The largest state of northeast is Arunachal Pradesh. The state stands out for its linguistic and ethnic diversity. With rivers like the Brahmaputra and Barak, Assam is a place of breathtaking scenery and the second most populous and developed state in the Northeast. Manipur is a charming state on the eastern edge of the North East. Meghalaya known as 'Scotland Of the East' is a plateau with varying altitudes. Mizoram is a highland state in the North East that is distinguished for its homogeneous tribal population. Nagaland, a primarily tribal state on India's eastern border, is mostly hilly and is known for being home to the Nagas. Tripura is another state which has strong cultural ties with Bengal as well as the tribal regions of

Assam and Mizoram. Sikkim is a small state shaped like a bowl that is accessible from the plains of Bengal and has a hilly environment.

Ans to the Q. no 4 - The treaty of yandaboo was conluded in the year 1826.

Ans to the Q. no 5 - The Ahom dominated over the Brahmaputra valley for six centuries.

Ans to the Q. no 6 – Because the interior Garos frequently conducted continuous attacks and the tributary Garos frequently neglected to pay the promised tribute.

Ans to the Q. no 7 - Nagaland became full-fledged state in the year 1963.

Ans to the Q. no 8 - The North Eastern Region has one of the most diverse decentralized governance systems. The system of local government is partially applicable in the region. Two of the eight states in the region, Sikkim and Arunachal Pradesh, are fully covered by the Panchayati Raj system (Part IX of the Constitution), while the other three states Mizoram, Meghalaya, and Nagaland, are completely exempt and have their own local systems. There are both Panchayati Raj and non-Panchayati Raj regions coexisting side by side in the remaining three states Assam, Tripura, and Manipur.

Ans to the Q. no 8 - To protect the rights of the indigenous population of Assam, Meghalaya, Tripura, and Mizoram, the Sixth Schedule of the Constitution calls for the administration of these areas. The Constitution's Articles 244(2) and 275(1) offer this particular provision. The Sixth Schedule was mainly developed to safeguard the customary tribal traditions and cultures of the colonial "excluded" areas. Only four states are currently covered by the schedule: Meghalaya is nearly entirely covered, and portions of Assam, Tripura, and Mizoram are also included. States and regions not covered by the Sixth Schedule provisions

14.9 MODEL QUESTIONS

Q. 1. Make a short note about the diversity of North East india.

Q. 2 Explain how British had annex the whole of North East India.

Q. 3 Describe briefly about the state formation in North east India.

Q. 4 Prepare a Brief note on the Treaty of Yandaboo.

Q. 5 Write briefly why Six schedule is important for the north east India.

Q. 6 What are the primary challenges before the government in North East India?

*****