PG PS S3-04 (DSE)

TWO YEARS MASTER'S DEGREE COURSE

CBCS in Accordance with NEP 2020)

SEMESTER - III

POLITICAL SOCIOLOGY

POLITICAL SCIENCE

Surya Kumar Bhuyan School of Social Sciences

KRISHNA KANTA HANDIQUI STATE OPEN UNIVERSITY

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MASTER OF ARTS
POLITICAL SCIENCE
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COURSE INTRODUCTION

The fourth course of the Third Semester of MA Programme in Political Science of KKHSOU is titled as "Political Sociology." It is designed to help the learners to have a deep understanding of the various aspects of Political Sociology. It is supposed that the learners of the Master Degree Programme in Political Science should have thorough knowledge about different aspects of political sociology. Keeping in view of the above, the course begins with the concepts of political sociology, political socialization, civil society, social change etc.

The first unit of the course deals with the meaning, nature and scope of political sociology. In this unit, we have also discussed relationship between political sociology and political science, approaches to the study of political sociology. The second unit of the course discusses the origin and development of political sociology as a discipline and contributions of Karl Marx and Max Weber. In the third unit, the meaning and nature of political socialization, agents of political socialization and various forms of political socialization are elaborately discussed. The importance of political socialization are also explained here. The fourth and fifth unit is related with the political culture and civil society. Meaning, nature and theories of political culture and the role and utility of political culture are discussed in the fourth unit. Similarly, meaning and nature of civil society, state-civil society dichotomy and dynamics of civil society are analysed in the fifth unit. The sixth unit deals with the concept of political participation. It is related with the forms and determinants of political participation and its importance. The seventh unit discusses the concept of social change. Different theories and agents of social change as well as resistance to social change are elaborately explained in this unit. The unit eight deals with meaning and nature of violence, different theories and forms of violence, culture of violence and impact of violence in the society.

Accordingly, the nature of agrarian class structure and urban-industrial class structure are discussed in the unit nine and tenth respectively. Nature of agrarian class structure in India, state intervention in rural transformation in post- Independent India, changing dynamics and emerging pattern of rural leadership in India are analysed in the unit nine. The emergence and role of the urban middle class their impact on the Indian society and future of urban middle class in India are discussed in the tenth unit. The eleventh unit deals with the concept of demographic change in India. Various factors responsible for demographic change in India and impact of demographic change in socio-economic and political spheres are discussed in this unit. In the unit twelve, the concept of migration is explained. In this

unit, discussions are made on different aspects of migration and its impact along with the measures to check migration in India. The thirteenth unit highlights one of the burning issues of Indian society i.e. domestic violence. Here, the causes and factors responsible for domestic violence are analysed elaborately. Besides, various legal provisions to check domestic violence are also explained here. The fourteenth unit focusses the issue of child labour in India. It is related with the nature and forms of child labour in India and the constitutional provisions to combat child labour.

UNIT 1: POLITICAL SOCIOLOGY

UNIT STRUCTURE

1.1 Learning Objectives

1.2 Introduction

1.3 Meaning of Political Sociology

1.4 Nature of Political Sociology

1.5 Scope of Political Sociology

1.6 Relationship between Political Sociology and Political Science

1.7 Political Sociology: Marxian and Weberian Approach

1.8 Let Us Sum Up

1.9 Further Reading

1.10 Answers to Check Your Progress

1.11 Possible Questions

1.1 LEARNING OBJECTIVES

After going through this unit you will be able to-

- explain the meaning of Political Sociology
- discuss the nature and scope of Political Sociology
- describe the relationship between Political Sociology and Political Science
- explain Marxian and Weberian Approach on Political Sociology

1.2 INTRODUCTION

This unit is an introduction to the study of Political Sociology and its nature. It will help the learners to understand the meaning, nature and scope of Political Sociology and relationship between Political Sociology and Political Science. This unit will also highlights two different approaches of Political Sociology.

Political Sociology seeks to understand the process of interaction between government and society, decision making authorities and conflicting

social forces and interests. It is the study of interactions and linkages between politics and society; between a political system and its socio-economic and cultural environment. It is concerned with problems regarding the management of conflict, the articulation of interests and issues, and political integration and organisation.

1.3 MEANING OF POLITICAL SOCIOLOGY

The nature, emergence and dimensions of political sociology have been illustrated differently by different political sociologists. As a discipline, political sociology aims to examine the interaction between politics and society. Basically, political sociology tries to understand the process of interconnection between government and society, decision making authorities and differing social forces and interests. It is also considered as the study of relationships and interactions between politics and civilisation and also of the relationship between a political system with its social, economic and cultural environment. As a subject of study, it discusses about the problems regarding the management of conflict, articulation of interests and issues, and political integration and organisation of the demands. Political sociology tries to connect the subject of sociology to that of political science. It develops a two-way relationship between sociology and political science by giving equal importance on both social and political variables. For example, we may discuss about the party system, which according to political sociology is a product of the immediate socio-economic environment. While saying that, it also explains how party system has an effect on the society. So, it provides a wholesome picture about the society and its politics of intricacies. But there is a methodological difference between Sociology of Politics and Political Sociology. Sociology of Politics talks about, how society influence the politics; whereas, Political Sociology mainly emphasises on the role of politics over society. Let's take an example to clear the situation. We may refer to the Caste system in India. Sociology of Politics while referring to Indian Caste system mainly highlights on how caste has an effect in

Indian Politics, whereas, Political Sociology would refer to how politics has an effect on the caste system, resulting in politicisation of caste. This distinction between the sociology of politics and political sociology would help us in understanding the meaning of political sociology more clearly.

We have learned that, the subject called political sociology is a by-product of the relationship between sociology and political science. Like political science, it addresses issues related to politics. However, this is not to say that there is no distinction between the two. Both the subjects differ in numerous ways. Political Science focuses mostly on political institutions in their own right, whereas, political sociologists tend to emphasize on the relationships between political institutions and society in general and with other social institutions in particular. Political sociology tends to emphasise on interdisciplinary approach in its study. Since it is interdisciplinary in nature, it includes the broad and historical space in its study. Even then, the main focus of the discipline is to study political processes which take place within human societies. Political sociology deals with the relationship between state and society, based on mutual interaction.

Mainly, Political sociology concentrates on the following study areas: social and political approaches (including political culture), social source of political competition (including social cleavages and identities), of the social basis for the formation, change, and maintenance of political institutions (including democracy and welfare states), of the processes of political engagement and competition (including elections and protest politics).

Let us now discuss some of the important definitions of Political Sociology.

a) According to Robert, E. Dowse and John A. Hughes: "Political Sociology is the study of political behaviour within a sociological perspective of framework."

b) According to Smelser N. J., "Political Sociology is study of the interrelationship between society and polity, between social structures and political institutions."

c) According to A.K. Mukhopadhyaya, "Political Sociology is the child from the marriage between sociology and political science and as in human issues, cannot be solely characterized by its parental qualities alone".

d) According to Keith, Faulks, "At its broadest level, political sociology is concerned with the relationship between politics and society. Its distinctiveness within the social sciences lies in its acknowledgement that political actors, including parties, pressure groups and social movements, operate within a wider social context."

From the definitions, we can draw certain conclusions such as - main concern of political sociology is to study the interconnection between Society and Politics. It is to discuss the interrelationship between the social institutions with political institutions. It considers how the political institutions (both formal as well as informal) can be discussed as a product of social context. In the next section (1.4) of the unit, we will discuss about the nature of Political Sociology.



CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Q.1: What do you mean by Political Sociology?

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.....

Q.2: Political sociology is a by-product of the relationship between sociology and political science - True/False?

.....

.....

Q.3: "Political Sociology is the study of political behaviour within a sociological perspective of framework." - Who said this?

.....

.....

Q.4: Why political sociology is called as by product of Political Science and Sociology? (within 50 words)

.....

.....

1.4 NATURE OF POLITICAL SOCIOLOGY

In the previous part, we have learnt the meaning of political sociology. Let us now discuss about some of the important features of political sociology.

1. Renowned political sociologist Lipset and Bendix discussed two features of political sociology, first, political sociology studies the relationship between the social and the political, and secondly, political sociology cannot be understood unless it is related to the social. We may understand from this discussion that political sociology as a discipline, tries to define political phenomena by necessarily relating them to their social determinants.

2. Political sociology is not political science since, unlike the later, it is not a state discipline or a study of the state craft. As we have discussed above, the matters studied by political science is merely political in character whereas political sociology gives equal importance to politics as well as to the social elements.

3. Another important nature of political sociology is, it believes on the conviction that there exists a distinction between the social process and the political process. So, within its study frame, it tries to resolve this traditional dichotomy between state and society.

4. Political sociology is connected not only with social but with the political as well. Political sociology may be distinguished as the product of blend between sociology and political science that studies the impact of society on politics and also the reverse, through examining the substance of politics in a social form.

5. Political sociology is primarily apprehensive about the evolution of the political community, about which political science is also equally concerned with. Political sociology, however considers the

development and functioning of all the organs of the political community including the state as a product of social control. It is also interested in the study of modifications created by organs of the social control over the political communities to assemble them within the structure of the society. It is also concerned with the conflict between the contending social interests and the adjustment which they seek and secure through the political institutions of the society.

6. One of the important feature of political sociology is that it tries to assure the stability of the democratic political system. Focussing on that political sociologists tend to consider the political sphere as a valid process, since it also works in terms of the natural social process devoted to the goal of developing consent during conflicts.

7. Political sociology proposed a new vista in comparative political analysis. The point of view of political sociology is different from that of institutionalism and behaviouralism. The institutionalists have been apprehensive primarily with institutional types of political organisation and their study has been legally and formally characterized. The behaviouralists, however, have focused on the individual actor on political ground. Their primary concerns are motives, perceptions, attitudes and the role of individuals. Political sociology emphasises on both and the interdependence between the two elements.

8. The term "Political Sociology" has been recognized both within sociology and political science as such there is overlapping between these two sciences. The political scientists are mainly concerned with the different facets of power and the factors that affects its distribution. The sociologists, on other hand, are more concerned with the issues of social control which regulate the relations between values and norms of a society. Their emphasis is on social ties, rather than on formal structures and legal definitions.

9. The analysis of political processes and institutions has been one of its major concerns in political sociology since its evolution. Hence, many sociologists & many political researchers have debated and agreed that it is difficult to study political processes in connection with psychological and sociological relationships. Hence, political sociology initiated a framework of study to analyse this interdisciplinary concern.



CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Q.5: What are the two features of political sociology according to Lipset and Bendix?

.....

.....

Q.6: Political sociology is not purely political science - (True/False).

.....

.....

Q.7: Discuss four nature of political sociology. (Within 50 Words)

.....

.....

Q.8: How political sociology is different from institutionalism and behaviouralism. (Within 50 Words)

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1.5 SCOPE OF POLITICAL SOCIOLOGY

In the previous section of the unit, we have explained the important nature of political sociology. Let us now discuss the scope of political sociology. It is seen that political sociology has a wider scope which can be explained as follows:

1. The study of political sociology is related with the decision-making process through public means. While discussing about the decision making process, it takes into account the social forces along with

the economic factors which are controlled by forces such as money, market and other resources. Political sociology also analyses the legitimate power of the decision makers in mobilizing control over those whom they are claiming their authority.

2. Political sociology discusses about the political arrangements which depend on social organisations and cultural values. As a subject of study, it is less concerned with the formal aspects of government and law, rather on the underlying support of these institutions in Society. Political sociologists are also interested in studying the participation of individuals in politics. For example, the discipline is interested in how and why to consider individual's participation as a political option.

3. Another important scope of the discipline is that it studies about the different types of organised groups in politics and the interactions among them. It also tends to highlight the impact of parties and movements in changing or bringing about stability in the political system.

4. Political sociology studies about the concept of political system. The purpose of the study of political system is to introduce enthusiasm in political analysis. It does not stress only on the study of the major structures of the government such as - legislature, judiciary and administration, but also other informal structures such as caste groups, relationship groups and formal organisations such as parties and interest groups etc. Political sociology while analysing the functions of various political structures of the political system adopted a structural functionalist approach.

5. Another important domain of political sociology is the study of the political process. Political process refers to the extension of political activity. Here, political process means all the agencies that are relevant in the decision making process. Hence, studies on political process includes both state and non-state agencies.

6. Political sociology focuses on the phenomenon of power and its related aspects. Power is the prevalent and significant aspect of social communication that determines the relationship between individuals and members of a group. The study of power also includes studies on elites and their leadership styles. Political sociology therefore emphasises on how politics and power elites are playing their role in mobilising social resources as well as discriminating leadership to the people.

7. Another major scope of political sociology is to study the impact of the political culture on the political system. The studies on the concepts of political culture constitute an examination of sociological aspect of the subject of political development. Political culture is composed of attitudes, beliefs, values and emotions of the society that relates to the political system and to apolitical issues.

8. Political socialisation in its study also includes political participation and political mobilization. Political participation means the participation of people in the political system which implies the possibility of people's participation in the decision making process or in government formation etc. Political sociology also studies political mobilization which means how public resources are mobilised and how people are politically educated.

9. Studies on the process of change is also another principal scope of political sociology. Political development is an important area of debate in political sociology. It refers to a process through which a political system acquires new roles and values in a civilization.

10. Another important aspect that is encompassed by political sociology is social stratification. It studies different social stratification systems, such as class, caste, gender and status, and analyses their impact on organized politics. Social stratification means how individual's social status are decided and its impact on politics.



CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Q.9: "Political sociology discussed about the political arrangements which depend on social organisations and cultural values." (True/False).

.....

Q.10: How political sociology studies about phenomenon of power? (Within 50 Words)

.....

.....

Q.11: Discuss four scope of political sociology.

.....

.....

1.6 RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN POLITICAL SOCIOLOGY AND POLITICAL SCIENCE

The interchange between political science and sociology became so prominent that it gave rise to a new term called political sociology. Political sociology and political science are interdependent and are closely related to each other. Political sociology is an approach which seeks to study the problems of political science against the background of social enquiry within the areas of political science e.g., the study of classes, groups, elections, leadership, etc. According to Bendix and Lipset, 'Political science starts with the state and examines how it affects society, while political sociology starts with society and examines how it affects the state'. While A.K. Mukhopadhaya remarks that, 'Political sociology is a child from the marriage between sociology and political science and as in human issues, cannot be solely characterised by its parental qualities alone'. Political science is the study of the state, while sociology is the study of society.

The science of political sociology and political science are obviously interdependent. Political sociology strengthens political science through

specialised enquiries whereas political science supports specialised enquiries of political sociology. Both of them co-operatively work with each other.

The emergence of political sociology has broken the barriers between the state and the society and has helped political scientists in establishing an essential identity between society and political sociology which has led to the growth of behavioural approach in political science. Today, the field of political science has expanded to include social disorganizations and social controls etc. Thus, there is close relationship between the two.

1.7 POLITICAL SOCIOLOGY: MARXIAN AND WEBERIAN APPROACH

The names of two sociologists namely Karl Marx and Max Weber can be of worth-mentioning who have immensely contributed towards the growth and development of the discipline. In fact, their contributions have developed a separate discipline of studying political as well as social institutions and their relations. A brief discussion has been made regarding their contribution towards the growth of the discipline is as such -

a) ***Karl Marx:*** Karl Marx was a famous social philosopher, sociologist, economist, historian and political theorist. He made notable contributions to the development of various social sciences including sociology. He has made great contribution to sociological ideas. He brings in various key concepts in sociology, like social class, social class conflict, class struggle, social oppression, alienation, etc. Like Comte, Marx argued that people should make active efforts to bring about societal reforms. According to Marx, economic forces are responsible for bringing control in society and social changes. He believed that the history of human society is the history of class struggle. He was always dreaming of a classless society, where there will be no exploitation and oppression of one class by another. In the classless society, all the individuals work according to their

abilities and receive according to their needs. Hence, his contribution is of immense importance in the development of Political Sociology. His ideas contributed in the discourse of political sociology as he made economic and historical interpretation of politics. Marx and his followers, whom we call together as Marxists political thinkers, interpret political institutions and human political history through the prism of social reality and social class.

b) ***Max Weber:*** Max Weber is probably the best-known and most prominent figure as far as theorizing sociology is concerned. Weber has diverse work to his credit. He developed a broad subject of interpretations on wide varities of sociological theories. His interpretation in the field of sociology has been mainly drawn from the field of law. It is his contribution to the subject which made him among the great Sociologists of the 20th century. Weber's work covers general philosophy, economics, comparative history, religion, law, bureaucracy, stratification and so on. Weber also wrote about the cultures and religion of India, China and South East Asia. He was particularly interested in comparing western culture and society with the values of the Eastern cultures of India, China and Southern Asia.

The main Works of Max Weber are:- "General Economic History", "The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism", "Max Weber on Law in Economy and society", "From Max Weber: essays in sociology", "The Theory of Social and Economic organisations" etc. The idea of Max Weber can be defined as ideal types, social action, his view on religion and Economy, Rationality, Views on power and authority and Bureaucracy.

The political sociology of Max Weber is commonly associated with bureaucratization. Bureaucratic administration is the only rational way of managing economically and politically differentiated societies. The political autonomy at the level of the state is central to Weber's political sociology. In fact, Weber's work arise at the beginning of a tradition of thought that is clearly anti-Marxist on this issue of the autonomy of the state and the

importance of liberal democratic politics. As a liberal committed to the defence of individual freedom, which he saw endangered in modernity, Weber opposed his work to Marx's economic determinism. He considers that means of administration is more important to determine the character of the state rather than Marxists mode of production.



CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Q.12: Who wrote the book - The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism?

.....

Q.13: Who has brought social class conflict in sociology?

.....

Q.14: What is Marx's idea of political sociology? (Within 50 Words)

.....

.....

Q.15: What is Weber's idea of political sociology? (Within 50 Words)

.....

.....



1.8 LET US SUM UP

- Political sociology seeks to understand the process of interaction between government and society, decision making authorities and conflicting social forces and interests. It is the study of interactions and linkages between politics and society; between a political system and its social, economic and cultural environment.
- As a discipline, political sociology aims to examine the interaction between politics and society. Basically, the study of political sociology tends to understand the process of interconnection between government and society, decision making authorities and differing social forces and interests.

- As a subject of study it discusses about the problems regarding the management of conflict, articulation of interests and issues, and political integration and organisation of the demands. Political sociology connects the subject of sociology and political science. It develops a two-way relationship between sociology and political science by giving equal importance on both social and political variables.
- There is a methodological difference between sociology of politics and political sociology. Sociology of politics talks about, how society influences the politics; whereas, political sociology mainly emphasises on the role of politics over society.
- Political sociology mainly concentrates on the following study areas of social and political approaches (including political culture), social source of political competition (including social cleavages and identities), of the social basis for the formation, change, and maintenance of political institutions (including democracy and welfare states), of the processes of political engagement and competition (including elections and protest politics).
- Political sociology's main concern is to study the interconnection between Society and Politics. It is to discuss the interrelationship between the social institutions with political institutions. It considers how the political institutions (both formal as well as informal) can be discussed as a product of social context.
- Renowned political sociologist Lipset and Bendix discussed two features of political sociology, first, that political sociology studies the relation between the social and the political, and second that the political sociology cannot be understood unless it is related to the social.
- Political sociology is not political science since, unlike the later, it is not a state discipline or a study of the state craft. As we have learnt above, the matters studied by political science is merely political in character where as political sociology gives equal importance to politics and social elements.

- Political sociology may be distinguished as the product of blend between sociology and political science that studies the impact of society on politics and also the reverse, through examining the substance of politics in a social form.
- Political Sociology is primarily apprehensive with the evolution of the political community, to which political science also concerned with. Political sociology tries to assure the stability of the democratic political system.
- There are two sociologists who contributed a lot in the development of Political Sociology as a subject and also as an approach. They are - Karl Marx and Max Weber. Their contributions have developed a separate discipline of studying political as well as social institutions and their relations.



1.9 FURTHER READING

1. Ashraf, Ali and Sharma, L.N. (1995). *Political Sociology: A New Grammar of Politics*, University Press (India) Pvt Limited, New Delhi.
2. Srivastava, Usha (2011). *Political Sociology*, Kunal Books, New Delhi.
3. Janoski, Thomas. Alford, Robert R. Hicks, Alexander, M. & Schwartz, Mildred, A. (2005). *Handbook of Political Sociology*, Cambridge University Press, UK.



1.10 ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Ans. to Q. No. 1: As a discipline political sociology aims to examine the interaction between politics and society.

Ans. to Q. No. 2: True.

Ans. to Q. No. 3: Robert, E. Dowse and John A. Hughes.

Ans. to Q. No. 4: Political sociology is a product of political science and sociology because, the main concern of it is to study the

interconnection between society and politics. It discusses the interrelationship between the social institutions with political institutions. It considers how the political institutions can be discussed as a product of social context.

Ans. to Q. No. 5: The two features of political sociology are, first, that political sociology studies the relation between the social and the political, and second that the political sociology cannot be understood unless it is related to the social.

Ans. to Q. No. 6: True.

Ans. to Q. No. 7: The four nature of political sociology are:

1. Political sociology is not political science.
2. Political Sociology is primarily apprehensive with the evolution of the political community.
3. Political sociology is, it believes on the conviction that there exists a distinction between the social process and the political process.
4. Political sociology may be distinguished as the product of blend between sociology and political science that studies the impact of society on politics and also the reverse.

Ans. to Q. No. 8: Political sociology differed from institutionalism and behaviouralism. Institutionalists apprehended primarily with institutional types of political organisation and their study has been legally and formally characterized. The behaviouralists, however, have focused on the individual actor on political ground. Their primary concerns are motives, perceptions, attitudes and the role of individuals. Political sociology emphasises on both and the interdependence between the two elements.

Ans. to Q. No. 9: True.

Ans. to Q. No. 10: Political sociology focuses on the phenomenon of power and its related aspects. Power is that prevalent and significant aspect of social communication that determines the relationship between individuals and members of a group. The studies of power also include studies on elites and their leadership styles.

Ans. to Q. No. 11: Four scope of political sociology are:

1) Study of decision-making process through public means.

2) Study the political arrangements which depend on social organisations and cultural values.

3) Political sociology focuses on the phenomenon of power and its related aspects.

4) It studies political culture.

Ans. to Q. No. 12: Max Weber.

Ans. to Q. No. 13: Karl Marx.

Ans. to Q. No. 14: Marx contributed a lot in political sociology. His ideas contributed in the development of political sociology as he made economic and historical interpretation of politics. Marx and his followers, whom we call together as Marxists political thinkers, interpret political institutions and human political history through the prism of social reality and social class.

Ans. to Q. No. 15: The political sociology of Max Weber is commonly associated with bureaucratization. Bureaucratic administration is the only rational way of managing economically and politically differentiated societies. The political autonomy at the level of the state is central to Weber's political sociology. In fact, Weber's work arise at the beginning of a tradition of thought that is clearly anti-Marxist on this issue of the autonomy of the state and the importance of liberal democratic politics.



1.11 POSSIBLE QUESTIONS

A) Very Short Questions

Q. 1: Who wrote the book 'Communist Manifesto'?

Q. 2: Who wrote the book - "The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism"?

Q. 3: Mention any one feature of political sociology.

Q. 4: Mention one scope of political sociology.

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

Q. 1: Write a brief note on the meaning of political sociology.

Q. 2: Write short notes on (a) Marx's contribution to political sociology (b) Weber's contribution to political sociology.

Q. 3: Examine the salient nature of Political Sociology.

Q. 4: Explain major scope of Political Sociology.

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

Q. 1: Define Political Socialism. Discuss its major nature.

Q. 2: Discuss the scope of Political Sociology.

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UNIT 2: EVOLUTION OF POLITICAL SOCIOLOGY AS A DISCIPLINE

UNIT STRUCTURE

2.1 Learning Objectives

2.2 Introduction

2.3 Origin and Development of Political Sociology as a Discipline

2.3.1 Factors Responsible for the Growth of the Discipline

2.4 Contribution of Karl Marx

2.5 Contribution of Max Weber

2.6 Let Us Sum Up

2.7 Further Reading

2.8 Answers to Check Your Progress

2.9 Possible Questions

2.1 LEARNING OBJECTIVES

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

- discuss the emergence of Political Sociology as a discipline
- explain the factors responsible for the emergence of the discipline of Political Sociology
- discuss the contribution of Karl Marx towards the growth of Political Sociology as a discipline
- discuss the contribution of Max Weber towards the growth of Political Sociology as a discipline

2.2 INTRODUCTION

This unit introduces you to the emergence of Political Sociology as a discipline with reference to the contribution made by authors like Karl Marx and Max Weber.

Political Sociology deals with the relationship between political phenomena and the rest of the social structure and culture. Political Sociology studies the relation between politics and society. Political

Sociologists argue that anything that is political cannot be understood until and unless it is related to the social angle. Max Weber is known as the father of Political Sociology. The term Political Sociology first came into view in 1905 in a book appraisal of Alleyne Ireland's The Far Eastern Tropics and one can find its use in the work of Moisey Ostrogorsky and Max Weber.

It is very difficult to give a precise definition of the term Political Sociology.

S. M. Lipset defined Political Sociology as "the study of the inter-relationship between society and polity, between social structures and political institutions."

According to **G. Sartoi**, " it is an inter-disciplinary hybrid attempting to combine social and political explanatory variables i.e., the input suggested by Sociologists with the inputs suggested by the Political Scientists."

Scott Greear and Peter Orleans have said that, "Political Sociology would seem to be simply the Sociological study of Politics."

According to **Lewis A. Coser** , " Political Sociology is that branch of Sociology which is concerned with the social causes and consequences of given power distributions within or between societies ;and with the social and political conflicts that lead to changes in the allocation of power."

All these definitions clearly show that Political Sociology represents in itself the elements of both Political Science and Sociology, yet it is considered as a separate discipline in itself. It studies the impact of society and politics on each other.

2.3 ORIGIN AND DEVELOPMENT OF POLITICAL SOCIOLOGY AS A DISCIPLINE

The discipline of Political Sociology is born not by mere accident. The subject has a long history behind it. Though it is said that the discipline emerged lately after the behavioural revolution in politics, yet its birth according to Runciman can be traced back to the time when the difference

between social and political was established. The first empirical delineation of the development took place in the year 1840 which has been fixed by Runciman, when Marx wrote his criticism to Hegel's 'Philosophy of Law '

And Von Stein wrote his 'History of Nineteenth Century Social Movement'. There were certain factors/causes which have accelerated the growth of the discipline. The contribution of certain scholars have also led to the emergence of this discipline.

2.3.1 Factors Responsible for the Growth of the Discipline

The following factors have contributed towards the growth of the discipline-

a) **Industrial Revolution:** The industrial revolution brought tremendous changes in the society which led to the study of concrete social phenomena paving the way for the development of Sociology as a separate empirical discipline. Auguste Comte is regarded as the father of Sociology. Von Stein was the first to discuss society as an independent concept.

b) **Traditional nature of Political Science:** Political Science was considered highly normative and prescriptive. Most of the Western political thinkers concentrated more on the question of 'ought' and tried to analyse political realities. There was a growing dissatisfaction especially in the USA with the traditional nature of Political Science .They decided to look into political realities in the light of hard scientific empiricism. This process attracted them towards Sociology.

c) **Shortcomings of the democratic framework:** The American social scientists were motivated to undertake studies in Political Sociology because after the World War I, they became conscious of the shortcomings of the democratic framework of their country. They were inspired by the themes such as the nature and degree of political participation, pressure groups and

lobbies, the power and control over the mass media, the relation between social structure and process, personality formation and political behaviour etc.

d) **Inter relationship between state and society:** With the realization of the limitations of legalistic and institutional approaches that at the advent of the 20th century, a silent revolution was brought in the field of Political Science giving its way to sociological and psychological approaches. This attitude was reinforced in the US that accepted the interrelationship between state and society i.e., Political Science has to be studied under a wide social background.

e) **Unification of Social Sciences:** The behavioural revolution brought about the unity of social sciences which resulted in the development of a two way relationship between Sociology and Political Science because both the state and societies were so closely related to each other that any effort to study one without the other is meaningless.

Besides the above mentioned factors, the important contribution of different political scientists and sociologists like Karl Marx, Max Weber, Walter Bagehot, Walter Lippman, Emile Durkheim, Charles E. Merriam, Robert K. Merton, David Easton, Vilfredo Pareto, Gaetano De Mosca, C.W. Mills, Fred W. Riggs and so on towards the growth of the discipline cannot be denied. They were successful in liberating politics out of the political arena and giving it a sociological perspective. The contribution of Karl Marx and Max Weber became the 'Bible' for Political Sociologists.



CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Q.1: Who is known as the father of Political Sociology?

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Q.2: Define Political Sociology.

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Q.3: Discuss the causes responsible for the evolution of Political Sociology.

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Q.4: Name some scholars who contributed towards the growth of the discipline of Political Sociology.

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2.4 CONTRIBUTION OF KARL MARX

Karl Marx was the founder of the Sociology of Politics. Karl Marx focussed on issues concerning the nature of political power and its relationship with social and economic organization. His theory of Economic Determinism of political power laid the foundation of Sociology of Politics.

The contribution of Karl Marx falls into three categories -

a) General Theory- Dialectical Materialism, Historical Materialism/ Economic Determinism

b) Special Theory- Class Struggle, Class alienation and consciousness, Surplus Value

c) Methodology - Scientific Socialism

- **Dialectical Materialism**

The word 'dialectic' is derived from the Greek word 'dialego' which means 'to debate' or 'discuss' aiming to arrive at the truth by pointing out the contradictions in the arguments. While formulating this theory, Karl Marx was inspired by G.W Friedrich Hegel. Hegel believed that there are three stages in dialectic-thesis, anti thesis and synthesis. According to Hegel, history is never static. Society always keeps on changing. There is always the dialectical progress of society i.e., progress through contradiction and clashes and that contradiction takes place because of ideas or non-material factors.

Karl Marx also made similar interpretation with little difference. Marx also believed in dialectical progress of society and that progress takes place because of material factors not because of ideas as said by Hegel. According to Marx, ideas are also the result of material factors. Material world is the real world.

- **Historical Materialism/ Economic Determinism**

In interpreting history, Marx applied the principle of dialectical materialism. According to Marx, society has two structures namely; infrastructure consisting of material or economic factor only and superstructure consisting of all other non- material factors such as legal, cultural, religious, political etc.

The theory believes that it is always the infrastructure that determines the superstructure. Marx identified a number of stages in the evolution of human civilization-primitive communism or Asiatic stage, the slave owing stage, the feudal stage and the capitalist stage. In all these stages, the class which controls the means of production controls the rest. It is the economic factor/the forces of production that ultimately determine the course of history.

- **Class Struggle**

The various stages of evolution of human civilization as identified by Karl Marx is characterised by the existence of two classes- oppressors and oppressed, haves and have nots, landlords and landless, bourgeoisie and proletariat. Throughout the history of human civilization, one class is in constant opposition to the other class. The class having economic power suppresses the other class. The labourer class sell their labour for livelihood and in return what they get is not sufficient. As a result, the capitalist become richer and richer and the labourer become poorer and poorer. The labourers who are exploited by the capitalist become aware of this exploitation and at the highest stage of exploitation, the labourers or the proletariat will wage a revolution against the capitalist which has been termed by Karl Marx as 'Class War' and in that class struggle the capitalist/ bourgeoisie class will be crushed and the proletariat will establish their rule.

The dictatorship of proletariat is a transitional phase .In this phase, the proletariat will try to establish Communism and there will be classless and stateless society .The guiding principle of this society would be ' from each according to his capacity to each according to his needs'.

- **Class Alienation and consciousness**

  Karl Marx was in favour of a stateless or classless society because according to Marx State always exist to carry forward the interest of the bourgeoisie/capitalist/rich class. The proletariat/labourer/poor class is always oppressed. The proletariat class has to work hard to avoid starvation and this makes them more alienated from the rest of the society. They are so exploited by the capitalist class that at the highest stage of exploitation the proletariat class become conscious about this fact. They urge for recognition in society which ultimately pave the way for class struggle.

- **Surplus Value**

  Karl Marx developed the theory of surplus value from David Hume's theory of labour value. The sociological base of the theory of class struggle has been derived from the theory of surplus value. Surplus value is the amount of labour for which no payment is made. As the actual producer of goods is the labourer so he/she must get their due. But the capitalists deny their due and keep their share. The labourers get only a very small part of what they produce as wage. The majority portion goes to the capitalist class as profit.

- **Methodology**

  Karl Marx tried to base his theories in a systematic and rigorous way. He believed in evidence. His theory of scientific socialism provided certain methods to future social scientists.

2.5 CONTRIBUTION OF MAX WEBER

Max Weber, a German Sociologist, was another significant contributor to Political Sociology. In his 'Protestant Ethics and the Spirit of

Capitalism', Weber was of the opinion that it is the sociological factors that shape the political analysis. According to him, human history has been shaped by non-material and non-political factors. He made a modification in the Marxist philosophy of historical materialism.

Max Weber laid the foundation of Political Sociology by offering his views on social order and social class, authority and bureaucracy.

- **Social Order and Social Class**

  While discussing about social order, he also discussed about social class which is born because of social order. He emphasised the importance of economic factor in social order along with other social factors. People of one class belong to same economic and social status. People belonging to one class are entitled to similar opportunities.

  Weber made power the central point of his social analysis. According to him, power is the ability to achieve the desired goal. The power can be classified as 'Economic Power ' and 'General Power '.The concept of power and status are inter related. The social status is both a means and an end of power.

- **Authority**

  Power, authority and legitimacy are inter related concept. Legitimate power is called authority .According to Weber, there are three kinds of authority-

  a) Traditional Authority

  b) Rational Legal Authority

  c) Charismatic Authority

- **Traditional Authority**

  Traditional authority is based on customs and traditions. Traditions vary from community to community and accordingly the nature of its authority also varies. In determining the traditional authority, there is no place for logic and reason. For example -the authority of teachers over students, the authority of father over his family etc.

- **Rational Legal Authority**

Rational Legal authority is that power which is legitimised through the social status or position of an individual or individuals. A person enjoys legal rational authority because he holds a particular position. For example; the President of India. By virtue of his position as the head of the State in India the President exercises that authority.

- **Charismatic Authority**

There are some people who exercise charismatic authority because neither of tradition nor of position but of extra ordinary quality that they possess. They are so graceful and charismatic that they can make impact upon others. For example; the religious prophets, social reformers etc. are the persons who can exercise charismatic authority.

- **Bureaucracy**

Another contribution of Max Weber to Political Sociology was bureaucracy. Bureaucracy is an administrative organisation where there is the distribution and classification of power according to some hierarchical order.

Max Weber identified the following features of bureaucracy-

a) Administrative Class: Bureaucracy is characterised by the existence of administrative class. The administrative class coordinates the activities of the members.

b) Hierarchy: Hierarchy refers to superior -subordinate relationship. In bureaucratic organisation, the principle of hierarchy is followed according to which each lower office is subject to control and supervision by higher office.

c) Division of Work: The work in a bureaucratic organisation is divided in accordance with specialisation. This is done in order to ensure efficiency.

d) Official Rules: A bureaucratic organisation is strictly governed by impersonal and impartial rules and regulations.

e) Impersonal Relationship: In bureaucracy, rationality is taken into account in decision making. There is the absence of personal involvement, emotions and sentiments.

f) Official Record: In a bureaucratic set up, there is the maintenance of proper official records. The rules, regulations and decisions are formally recorded to avoid ambiguity and misuse.

g) Lack of monopoly: Bureaucracy is characterised by absence of monopoly. There is the provision of transfer, suspension and dismissal.



CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Q.5: What do you mean by Dialectic?

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Q.6: Who inspired Karl Marx to formulate the theory of Dialectical Materialism?

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Q.7: Write in brief about the views of Karl Marx on Historical Materialism and Class Struggle.

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Q.8: Name the work where Max Weber opined that political analysis is shaped by sociological factors.

.....

Q.9: What is authority? What are the different types of authority as given by Max Weber?

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Q.10: What do you mean by bureaucracy?

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2.6 LET US SUM UP

- Though the discipline of Political Sociology emerged lately after the behavioural revolution in politics, yet its birth according to Runciman can be traced back to the time when the difference between social and political was established. The first empirical delineation of the development took place in the year 1840 which has been fixed by Runciman, when Marx wrote his criticism to Hegel's ' Philosophy of Law ' and Von Stein wrote his ' History of Nineteenth Century Social Movement'.
- Political Sociology deals with the relationship between politics and society. Political Sociologists argue that anything that is political cannot be understood until and unless it is related to the social angle.
- A number of causes/factors contributed towards the emergence of the discipline. Industrial revolution, traditional nature of Political Science, shortcomings of the democratic order, inter relationship between state and society, unification of social sciences etc are some of them that accelerated the evolution of Political Sociology as a discipline.
- The different political scientist and sociologists like Karl Marx, Max Weber, Walter Bagehot, Walter Lippman, Emile Durkheim, Charles E. Merriam, Robert K. Merton, David Easton, Vilfredo Pareto, Gaetano De Mosca, C. W. Mills, Fred W. Riggs and so on were successful in liberating politics out of the political arena and giving it a sociological perspective.
- Karl Marx was the founder of the Sociology of Politics. Karl Marx focussed on issues concerning the nature of political power and its relationship with social and economic organization. His theory of Economic Determinism of political power laid the foundation of Sociology of Politics.
- The contribution of Karl Marx falls into three headings -

a) General Theory- Dialectical Materialism, Historical Materialism/ Economic Determinism

b) Special Theory- Class Struggle, Class alienation and consciousness, Surplus Value

c) Methodology - Scientific Socialism

- Max Weber, a German Sociologist, was another significant contributor to Political Sociology. In his 'Protestant Ethics and the Spirit of Capitalism', Weber was of the opinion that it is the sociological factors that shape the political analysis. According to him, human history has been shaped by non-material and non-political factors. He made a modification in the Marxist philosophy of historical materialism.
- Max Weber laid the foundation of Political Sociology by offering his views on social order and social class, authority and bureaucracy.



2.7 FURTHER READING

1. Rathod , P. B. (2005). *Fundamentals of Political Sociology*. ABD Publishers, Jaipur
2. Jena, Saroj Kumar (2002). *Political Sociology A Realistic Approach*. Anmol Publications Pvt. Ltd, New Delhi
3. Ashraf, Ali and Sharma, L.N. (2004). *Political Sociology : A new grammar of politics*. University Press(India) Private Limited, Hyderabad
4. Dasgupta , Samir (2011). *Political Sociology* .Pearson, Delhi Chennai Hyderabad



2.8 ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Ans. to Q. No. 1: Max Weber

Ans. to Q. No. 2: S. M. Lipset defined Political Sociology as "the study of the inter- relationship between society and polity, between social structures and political institutions."

According to G. Sartoi, " it is an inter-disciplinary hybrid attempting

to combine social and political explanatory variables i.e., the input suggested by Sociologists with the inputs suggested by the Political Scientists."

Ans. to Q. No. 3: The following factors have contributed towards the growth of political sociology:

a) Industrial Revolution : The industrial revolution brought tremendous changes in the society which led to the study of concrete social phenomena paving the way for the development of Sociology as a separate empirical discipline. Auguste Comte is regarded as the father of Sociology. Von Stein was the first to discuss society as an independent concept.

b) Traditional nature of Political Science : Political Science was considered highly normative and prescriptive. Most of the Western political thinkers concentrated more on the question of 'ought' and tried to analyse political realities. There was a growing dissatisfaction especially in the USA with the traditional nature of Political Science .They decided to look into political realities in the light of hard scientific empiricism. This process attracted them towards Sociology.

c) Shortcomings of the democratic framework : The American social scientists were motivated to undertake studies in Political Sociology because after the World War I, they became conscious of the shortcomings of the democratic framework of their country. They were inspired by the themes such as the nature and degree of political participation, pressure groups and lobbies, the power and control over the mass media, the relation between social structure and process, personality formation and political behaviour etc.

d) Inter relationship between state and society : With the realization of the limitations of legalistic and institutional approaches that at the advent of the 20th century, a silent revolution was brought in the field of Political Science giving its way to sociological and

psychological approaches. This attitude was reinforced in the US that accepted the interrelationship between state and society i.e., Political Science has to be studied under a wide social background.

e) Unification of Social Sciences : The behavioural revolution brought about the unity of social sciences which resulted in the development of a two way relationship between Sociology and Political Science because both the state and societies were so closely related to each other that any effort to study one without the other is meaningless.

Ans. to Q. No. 4: Karl Marx, Max Weber, Walter Bagehot, Walter Lippmann, Emile Durkheim, Charles E. Merriam, Robert K. Merton, David Easton, Vilfredo Pareto, Gaetano De Mosca, C.W. Mills, Fred W. Riggs etc.

Ans. to Q. No. 5: The word 'dialectic' is derived from the Greek word 'dialego' which means 'to debate' or 'discuss' aiming to arrive at the truth by pointing out the contradictions in the arguments.

Ans. to Q. No. 6: G.W. Friedrich Hegel.

Ans. to Q. No. 7: Historical Materialism/ Economic Determinism

In interpreting history, Marx applied the principle of dialectical materialism. According to Marx, society has two structures namely; infrastructure consisting of material or economic factor only and superstructure consisting of all other non- material factors such as legal, cultural, religious, political etc.

The theory believes that it is always the infrastructure that determines the superstructure. Marx identified a number of stages in the evolution of human civilization-primitive communism or Asiatic stage, the slave owing stage, the feudal stage and the capitalist stage. In all these stages, the class which controls the means of production controls the rest. It is the economic factor/the forces of production that ultimately determine the course of history.

Class Struggle

The various stages of evolution of human civilization as identified by Karl Marx is characterised by the existence of two classes- oppressors and oppressed, haves and have nots, landlords and landless, bourgeoisie and proletariat. Throughout the history of human civilization, one class is in constant opposition to the other class. The class having economic power suppresses the other class. The labourer class sell their labour for livelihood and in return what they get is not sufficient. As a result, the capitalist become richer and richer and the labourer become poorer and poorer. The labourers who are exploited by the capitalist become aware of this exploitation and at the highest stage of exploitation ,the labourers or the proletariat will wage a revolution against the capitalist which has been termed by Karl Marx as ' Class War' and in that class struggle the capitalist/bourgeoisie class will be crushed and the proletariat will establish their rule.

The dictatorship of proletariat is a transitional phase .In this phase, the proletariat will try to establish Communism and there will be a classless and stateless society .The guiding principle of this society would be 'from each according to his capacity to each according to his needs'.

Ans. to Q. No. 8: Protestant Ethics and the Spirit of Capitalism.

Ans. to Q. No. 9: Power, authority and legitimacy are inter related concept. Legitimate power is called authority .According to Weber, there are three kinds of authority-

a) Traditional Authority
b) Rational Legal Authority
c) Charismatic Authority

Ans. to Q. No. 10: Bureaucracy is an administrative organisation where there is the distribution and classification of power according to some hierarchical order.



2.9 POSSIBLE QUESTIONS

A) Very Short Questions

Q. 1: State the meaning of political sociology.

Q. 2: Write two features of bureaucracy as given by Max Weber.

Q. 3: Mention the definition of political sociology given by S. M. Lipset.

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

Q. 1: Write a short note on the classification of authority as made by Max Weber.

Q. 2: Briefly explain the characteristics of bureaucracy.

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

Q. 1: Discuss the various factors responsible for the emergence of Political Sociology as a discipline.

Q. 2: Discuss the general and special theories of Karl Marx.

Q. 3: Evaluate the contribution of Karl Marx towards the development of the discipline of Political Sociology.

Q. 4: Discuss the contribution of Max Weber towards the development of Political Sociology.

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UNIT 3: POLITICAL SOCIALIZATION

UNIT STRUCTURE

3.1 Learning Objectives

3.2 Introduction

3.3 Meaning and Nature of Political Socialisation

3.4 Agents of Political Socialisation

3.5 Forms of Political Socialisation

3.6 Importance of Political Socialisation

3.7 Let Us Sum Up

3.8 Further Reading

3.9 Answers to Check Your Progress

3.10 Possible questions

3.1 LEARNING OBJECTIVES

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

- analyse the meaning of political socialisation
- explain the process of political socialisation
- describe about the important agents of political socialisation
- analyse the importance of the process of political socialisation.

3.2 INTRODUCTION

A study into the conceptual aspects of socialisation established that socialization has been conceived as a continuous lifelong process of learning and mutual process that is routed primarily in social interactions. Our chief concern in the present chapter is to make a probe into the concept of 'political socialization' as it forms an integral part of the socialization doctrine.

It is seen that individuals are socialized in the general value-system and behavioural pattern of the society. But, at the same time, they also inculcate values and norms of specific other processes which take place within the society chiefly because of the existence and functioning of other systems

in it. One of such important processes is political socialization which happens to be a significant input function of the political system that regulates the society through "authoritative allocation of values".

System maintenance and system persistence are two important qualities of the political system. Persistence of the system on the other hand greatly depends on the maintenance of political culture. In turn, political culture is sustained through the process of political socialization. This is the process whereby political attitudes and values are inculcated as children become adults and as adults are recruited into new roles. Political culture is shaped both at individual and community levels and is transmitted from one period to another because of the process of political socialization.

3.3 MEANING AND NATURE OF POLITICAL SOCIALISATION

Political socialization generally refers to the process through which a person develops political beliefs and opinions that influence their behaviour in social spheres. Political socialization is a particular type of political learning whereby people develop the attitudes, values, beliefs, opinions, and behaviours that are conducive for becoming good citizens in their country. Socialization is largely a one-way process through which young people gain an understanding of the political world through their interaction with adults and the media. It also refers to a learning process by which norms and behaviours acceptable to a well running political system are transmitted from one generation to another. It is through the performance of this function that individuals are inducted into the political culture and their orientations towards political objects are formed.

To understand the nature of Political Socialisation here, reference can be made to theoretical explanation of the concept. The concept can be analysed from two perspectives, firstly from macro -level and secondly from micro-level perspectives. The macro-level theories help in suggesting some common guidelines for research. They provide a broad area and wide dimension to deal with the concept of political socialization. This theory

demonstrate the relevance of the socialising phenomena for the operations of the political system. On the other hand, the micro-level theory concentrates on the individual members of the political system and the ways through which they are socialized. These theories also cover the processes by which individuals are socialized.

The process of political socialization may take the form of either direct or indirect learning. Direct learning involves the definite communication of information, values or feelings towards political ideas and objects. Indirect political socialization is the outcome of the long process of personality development of an individual, beginning from the early childhood.

3.4 AGENTS OF POLITICAL SOCIALISATION

There are various agents of political socialisation. The agents of political socialisation play crucial role in co-ordinating the process of political socialisation. Some of the important agents of political socialization are family, educational institution, peer groups and the mass media. It is discussed below.

- **Family:**

  It is important to mention here that family is the primary agent of socialization in the life of the individuals. It sets the entire socialising process in motion and retains an impact on the child in an extensive manner. Family also influences in shaping child's attitudes towards authority. It makes collective decisions which are mostly authoritative for the child. Further, the child's pattern of obedience to decisions at the family level motivates him towards the norms of the political system as a political subject. The family also helps the individual in establishing his ethnic, linguistic, religious ties and social class.

- **Educational Institutions:**

  The educational institutions are also another important agents of political socialisation. School provides with knowledge about the political world. It provides children with more concrete perceptions of political institutions and relationships. It also transmits the values

and attitudes of the society. In almost all the states, schools form the very basis of the socio-political system which not only educate but also train the future responsible members of the nation. Thus, countries of the world either liberal democratic or socialist consider schools as important agencies for socializing the children in the art and craft of politics of their respective systems. It is also a fact that general process of political socialization along with its specificity comes into existence at the school level. It may be stated here that Almond and Verba in their 'five nation study' found that educated persons were more aware of the impact of government on their lives.

At the higher levels, colleges and universities also play a vital role in bringing about political socialization among the children. In college and University level studies, students develop a kind of adjustment to the particular environment, the concerned student develops greater civic awareness and competence. He also gradually develops independent thinking and exercises his own political opinion without being influenced by any party loyalties.

- **Peer Groups:**

Apart from the family and educational institutions, peer group is another very important agent of political socialisation. Peer groups refer to childhood playgroups, friendship circles and small work-groups etc. in which members share relatively equal status and close ties. The early childhood friends in the neighbourhood are first persons with whom children interact outside the family and it influences the mind-set of the child in an extensive manner. Here, while referring to the importance of the peer groups in regard to political socialisation, a kind of distinction can be made between two types of peers or friends, namely, peers outside the family as well as peers outside the academic institution. These peers definitely play a significant role in shaping the early socio-political images and attitudes of the children. The first category of friends interact in a conspicuous informal way and influence the behaviour of the children and in building

their socio political personality in the context of vast political system of which the children will be responsible members.

The second category of peer groups have a specific impact in regard to the manners of the children, their behaviour pattern, their sense of discipline, obedience to authority and their familiarity to a routine-life. A peer group, by its activities, wants to influence the individual or puts pressure on him to accept its ideas and attitudes. An individual may become involved in political activities because of the influence of his close friends. In such cases, the individual changes his attitudes and ideas and presents the behaviour pattern as desired by his close friend circle.

On the other hand, experience in jobs, occupations in formal and informal organizations also play a remarkable role in the process of political socialization. Participation in strikes, collective demonstrations, and other union activities like picketing help the individual in gaining specific skills and it enables the individual in shaping his political ideology. The formal and informal organizations also help in this process.

- **Political Parties:**

Besides these, the role played by the government mechanism and the political parties in the process of political socialization cannot be ignored. Individuals' direct link with, the functioning of government structures effectively shapes his attitude towards the political system. It may be mentioned here that political parties at the same time either orient a man towards the political object or promote cultural changes in him mostly on the basis of political desire. Hence, they serve as the fruitful agencies of political socialization.

- **Role of Mass Media**

Mass media is also another major agency of political socialisation which cannot be ignored. It is true that media are the agents of political socialization. Exposure to mass media is very important for the development of political orientation among the individuals.

People get a great deal of information about politics from the mass media. Mass communication has gained importance today so far as it-has-been trying to maintain feedback mechanism and research techniques for the assessment and interpretation of public opinion. While performing its functions, the mass media help in promoting political values along with social values. They serve in strong manner in transferring political information and they are the distributor of political messages as well as powerful makers of public opinion. They create a cultural environment in order to promote individual, group and community thought. In the process, mass media play a considerable role in inculcating political socialization in the people's mind. The print media or the press is an integral part of the mass media. Print media also categorically plays a positive role in the field of political socialization. In spite of the functioning of the electronic media, the press publications have come to serve as communicator of wide information to the general mass. The role of press, in the process of political socialization therefore can be considered as very crucial and it has gained attention.

- **Role of Religion:**

  Religious institutions play an important role in the process of political socialisation. This agent is most active in India as religious feelings of people play a crucial role in their lives. The Church plays a prominent role in shaping the political attitudes of the people.

- **Political Parties:**

  At the same time, it may be stated that the political parties disseminate political knowledge and values, mobilize political action and train political leaders. Individuals come directly into contact with the governmental functionaries. They come to know for what purpose the government stands for and what the government is doing. If the government does something good, then the idea of obedience is reinforced amongst the individuals. If the government develops vested

interests and it ignores the interests of the labour class, then the individuals is bound to resent such action.

- **Role of Symbols:**

Last, but not the least, it can be mentioned that Symbols also sometimes play an effective role in the political socialisation process. These include birthdays or martyrdom days of our national heroes such as Mahatma Gandhi, Jawaharlal Nehru, Subhash Chandra Bose, Lala Lajpat Rai and Bhagat Singh. The observance of these days inculcates a new spirit of nationalism among the youth and the people.



CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Q.1: What is meant by political Socialisation?

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Q.2: What are the agents of political socialisation?

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Q.3: Analyse the role played by family in the process political socialisation.

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3.5 FORMS OF POLITICAL SOCIALIZATION

Political socialization has been classified into the following two types: (i) Direct or Manifest political socialization ii) Latent or Indirect political socialization.

Direct or Manifest political socialization : It is the process in which the content of the transmitted information, values or feelings is political. An individual, under the influence of family, teachers or other some agencies learns explicitly about the patterns and functions of the government and ideology of political parties. The experiences with

government institutions, civics course in schools giving information about democracy, rights to citizens, fundamental duties and directive principles of state policy also result in direct political socialization.

Latent or Indirect political socialization : The latent political socialization begins with non-political objects and orientations. Latent political socialization involves many of the most fundamental characteristics of the general culture which have great effect on the political sphere. It occurs through certain channels. They are the general social conditions and attitudes leading to political action or inaction, interpersonal communication of information, values and attitudes, and acquisition of skills and techniques in non-political activities that may end in to political skills when an individual become an adult. Participation in college and university politics strengthens the ground for future role in politics. Thus, both forms of socialization act through a variety of channels. Imitation, political experience, political education refer to channels of manifest socialization. The act of imitation occurs at a tender age wherein children imitate their parents, relatives, teachers, neighbours, etc. It does not have a strong political conviction but has the capacity to build a strong political faith. Political experiences leave an enduring impression on the minds of the people and can bring about a change in the attitude of the people towards politics.



CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Q.4: What are the two major forms of political socialisation?

.....

.....

Q.5: Write a short note on the importance of political socialisation.

.....

.....

3.6 IMPORTANCE OF POLITICAL SOCIALISATION

Political Socialization is one of the most important areas of study for a political scientist. Every society, every system has the need to maintain itself. This is done through one of its most important functions i.e . Socialization. Socialization is a learning process through which values, attitudes and beliefs are imbibed by the young. In general, socialization is the process through which culture is transmitted from one generation to the next. Political Socialization may be called socialization to politics. Political Socialization is a process whereby an individual acquires political knowledge, values, beliefs, attitudes and he becomes acquainted with the political system and it determines his reaction to political phenomena and his perception of politics. He develops an awareness of the political system.

It may be stated that the importance of political socialisation has been recognized from the earliest times although no systematic study of political socialization appeared until 1959 when Herbert Hyman's "Political Socialisation" first appeared. Socialization was studied by sociologists, psychologists and political scientist but the pioneering work in the field of Political Socialization was done by Herbert Hyman, who was a sociologist himself. Thus it can be said that Political Socialization is a comparatively new field. It can be regarded as a border area between Psychology, Sociology and Political Science.



3.7 LET US SUM UP

- Political Socialization is one of the most important areas of study for a political scientist. It is the process whereby political attitudes and values are inculcated as children become adults and as adults are recruited into new roles.
- Through political socialization, individuals are socialized in the general value-system and behavioural pattern of the society. But, at the same time, they also inculcate values and norms of specific other processes

which take place within the society chiefly because of the existence and functioning of other systems in it.

- Political socialization is a particular type of political learning whereby people develop the attitudes, values, beliefs, opinions, and behaviours that are conducive for becoming good citizens in their country.
- The process of political socialization may take the form of either direct or indirect learning. Direct learning involves the definite communication of information, values or feelings towards political ideas and objects. Indirect political socialization is the outcome of the long process of personality development of an individual, beginning from the early childhood.
- The agents of political socialisation play crucial role in co-ordinating the process of political socialisation. Some of the important agents of political socialization are family, educational institution, peer groups and the mass media.
- Political socialization has been classified into the following two types: (i) Direct or Manifest political socialization ii) Latent or Indirect political socialization.
- Direct or Manifest political socialization is the process in which the content of the transmitted information, values or feelings is political.
- Latent or Indirect political socialization begins with non-political objects and orientations.
- Political Socialization is a comparatively new field. It can be regarded as a border area between Psychology, Sociology and Political Science.



3.8 FURTHER READING

1. Akinchan, Sita Ram (1982). *Urban Growth and Political Socialization in India. Patna*: Janki Prakashan.
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3. Almond, G.A. and Powell, B. (1966). *Comparative Politics: A Developmental Approach*, Boston: Little Brown and Co.
4. Apter, David (ed.) (1964). *Ideology and Discontent*. New York: The Free Press of Glencoe.
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6. Buckley, C.J. (1948). *The Use of Schools as Direct Instrument of Democracy*. London: University of London Press.



3.9 ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Ans. to Q. No. 1: Political socialization generally refers to the process through which a person develops political beliefs and opinions that influence their behaviour in social spheres.

Ans. to Q. No. 2: The important agents of political socialization are family, educational institution, peer groups and the mass media.

Ans. to Q. No. 3: Role of Family:

It is important to mention here that family is the primary agent of socialization in the life of the individuals. It sets the entire socialising process in motion and retains an impact on the child in an extensive manner. Family also influences in shaping child's attitudes towards authority. It makes collective decisions which are mostly authoritative for the child. Further, the child's pattern of obedience to decisions at the family level motivates him towards the norms of the political system as a political subject. The family also helps the individual in establishing his ethnic, linguistic, religious ties and social class.

Ans. to Q. No. 4: Two major forms of political socialization are: (i) Direct or Manifest political socialization ii) Latent or Indirect political socialization.

Ans. to Q. No. 5: Political Socialization is one of the most important areas of study for a political scientist. Every society, every system has the need to maintain itself. This is done through one of its most important functions i.e . Socialization. Socialization is a learning process

through which values, attitudes and beliefs are imbibed by the young. In general, socialization is the process through which culture is transmitted from one generation to the next. Political Socialization may be called socialization to politics. Political Socialization is a process whereby an individual acquires political knowledge, values, beliefs, attitudes and he becomes acquainted with the political system and it determines his reaction to political phenomena and his perception of politics. He develops an awareness of the political system.



3.10 POSSIBLE QUESTIONS

A) Very Short Questions

Q. 1: Who wrote the book 'Communist Manifesto'?

Q. 2: Who wrote the book - The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism?

Q. 3: Mention any one feature of Political Socialisation.

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

Q. 1: Write a brief note on the Meaning of Political Socialisation.

Q. 2: Write short notes on (a) Marx's Contribution to Political Socialisation (b) Weber's contribution to Political Socialisation.

Q. 3: Examine the salient features of Political Socialisation.

Q. 4: Explain the scope of Political Socialisation.

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

Q. 1: Define Political Socialisation. Discuss its major agents.

Q. 2: Discuss the importance of Political Socialisation.

*** ***** ***

UNIT 4: POLITICAL CULTURE

UNIT STRUCTURE

4.1 Learning Objectives

4.2 Introduction

4.3 Meaning and Nature of Political Culture

4.4 Theories of Political Culture

4.5 Types of Political Culture

4.6 Development of Political Culture

4.7 Role and Utility of Political Culture

4.8 Let Us Sum Up

4.9 Further Reading

4.10 Answers to Check Your Progress

4.11 Possible Questions

4.1 LEARNING OBJECTIVES

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

- know about the meaning and nature of Political Culture
- explain the theories of Political Culture
- discuss the types of Political Culture
- analyse the development of Political Culture
- critically describe the role and utility of Political Culture

4.2 INTRODUCTION

Politics is one of the unavoidable facts of human existence. Everyone at some point of time or the other finds himself involved in the political system. The participation of each one of us in the political system is always influenced by values, beliefs, attitudes and orientations about politics and political objects, in other words, by the sociological-psychological environments that surround the systems. While analysing politics, particularly human behavior in politics, one has been formulated for this purpose.

Each political system is embedded in a sociological and psychological environment-the set of value, beliefs, orientation and attitudes of the people towards politics, i.e. the political culture, or as Davies and Lewis write: "political system operate within the framework of a set of meanings and purposes-the political culture of the society."

The study of politics can never be complete and real without studying it in relation with its political culture. This necessity has given rise to efforts aimed at conceptualization of Political Culture. A pioneering contribution in this direction has been made by Gabriel Almond, to whom goes the credit of introducing this concept. Coleman, Powell, Verba, Lucian Pye, Dennis Kavanahg and several others have been responsible for popularizing it.

4.3 MEANING AND NATURE OF POLITICAL CULTURE

Meaning:

The emergence of the contemporary study of political culture occurred in the late 1950s and the early 1960s. The history of the term "political culture" can be associated to the two American political scientists Gabriel Almond and Sidney Verba.

In the words of **Almond and Powell**, "Political Culture is the pattern of individual attitudes and orientations towards politics among the members of a political system."

Roy Macides observes, "Political Culture as commonly shared goals and commonly accepted rules."

Pye and Sidney Verba expressed, "Political Culture consists of the system of empirical belief, expressive symbols and values which define the situation in which political action takes place."

Eric Rowe writes, "A Political Culture is a pattern of individual values, beliefs, expressive symbols and values which define the situation in which political action takes place."

According to **Patrick O'Neil**, "Political Culture refers specifically to

the basic norms for political activity in a society. It is a determining factor in what ideologies will dominate a country's political regime, it is unique to a given country or group of people."

Political culture is defined by the **International Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences** as "the set of attitudes, beliefs and sentiments that give order and meaning to a political process and which provide the underlying assumptions and rules that govern behavior in the political system".

Therefore, political culture can be understood as specifically political orientations and patterned form of political philosophy that consists of a set of widely complex phenomenon which includes belief, values, and attitude concerning the ways on how government and political system ought to be carried out.

Political culture is composed of the attitudes, beliefs, emotions and values of society that relate to the political system and to political issues. It is defined as the pattern of individual attitudes and orientations towards politics among the members of a political system.

The people of a society share a common human nature like emotional drives, intellectual capacities and moral perspectives. The common human nature expresses itself in the form of certain values, beliefs and emotional attitudes which are transmitted from one generation to another, through greater or lesser modifications, and thus constitute the general culture of that society.

Certain aspects of general culture of a society are especially concerned with how government ought to be conducted and what it shall try to do. This sector of culture, we call political culture. It is the set of attitudes, beliefs and sentiments that give order and meaning to a political process and that provides the underlying assumptions and rules that govern behaviour in the political system.

Nature:

- Just as culture is an accumulation of thoughts, values and objects-

the social heritage acquired by us from preceding generations through informal as well as formal learning, likewise, political culture is the sum total of values, beliefs, orientation and attitudes of the people which they learn or acquire from the system and which influences their behaviour as actors of the political system. In short, it encompasses both the political ideals and operating norms of a polity.

- Political culture includes not only the attitudes towards politics, political values, ideologies, national character and cultural ethos, but also the style, manner and substantive form of politics.
- The political culture of people gives them an orientation towards their polity and its processes. One way to learn about political beliefs is to observe the ways in which political structure operates. These beliefs affect and are affected by the way in which the structures operate and there is a close circle of relationship between culture and structure.
- Political culture is the manifestation in aggregate form of the psychological and subjective dimensions of politics. A political culture is the product of both the collective history of a political system and the life histories of the members of that system. In brief, political culture is to the political system what culture is to the social system.
- Political culture lastly includes the patterns of political behaviors that result from the political beliefs, values, and attitudes of individuals. In this process, a set of political beliefs, values, and attitudes influences people's political behaviours, and their political behaviours then become a pattern and their political culture.

LET US KNOW



Political culture is a recent term which seeks to make more explicit and systematic much of the understanding associated with such long-standing concepts as political ideology, national ethos and spirit, national political psychology,

and the fundamental values of a people. Political culture, by embracing the political orientations of both leaders and citizens, is more inclusive than such terms as political style or operational code, which focus on elite behavior. On the other hand, the term is more explicitly political and hence more restrictive than such concepts as public opinion and national character.



CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Q.1: The emergence of the contemporary study of political culture occurred in the late 1950s and the early 1960s. (True/False)

.....

Q.2: _____ and _____ can be credited for the origin of the study of Political Culture. (Fill in the blanks)

Q.3: How does the International Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences define Political Culture?

.....

.....

Q.4: Explain how does political culture encompass both the political ideals and operating norms of a polity?

.....

.....

4.4 THEORIES OF POLITICAL CULTURE

For analyzing the political culture of a political system, we can study the theories of political culture as put forward by Gabriel Almond and Sidney Verba. They observed that political culture can be analysed and measured in terms of its two components- orientations and political objects because political culture is basically a sum total of the orientations of the people towards political objects.

Almond and Verba asserted that there are three kinds of political orientation:

- Cognitive orientation- This includes knowledge and information about the political system, its roles and the incumbents of these roles, and its inputs and outputs.
- Affective orientation- This refers to reflecting the sentiments, feelings, emotion about the political system, whether positive or negative. Affective orientation also includes its functions, participants and their activities.
- Evaluative orientations- This refers to the judgments and opinions about political objectives that typically involve the combination of values standards and criteria with information and feelings. It expresses the personal relationship of man to the political system and its components. It is a careful study of positive and negative feature.

Robert A. Dahl gave an opinion that political culture as a factor explaining different patterns of political opposition whose salient elements are:

- Orientations of problem solving.
- Orientations to collective action.
- Orientations to the political system and
- Orientations to other people.

Theories of Political culture therefore is a product of many inter-related factors, traditional as well as modern elements. Changes in political culture come under the influence of these factors. By having established and developed political culture, a nation will benefit in various ways, shapes, and forms.

Rosenbaum, proposed three core elements towards the orientation of political culture:

- Orientations toward governmental structures: This includes regime orientation (how an individual evaluates and responds to the basic governmental institutions of his society, its symbols, officials and norms) and orientations toward governmental inputs and outputs (how individuals feel and respond). Regime orientation can be referred to: (a) the economic regime (socialist, current, future); (b)

the political regime (communist, current, future) and the value regime orientation (preferences for the communist rule, the rule by the army, the choice between a strong leader or the parliament).

- Orientations toward others in the political system: This includes political identifications (the political units, geographic areas and groups to which one feels he or she belongs); political trust (the extent to which one feels an open co-operative, or tolerant attitude in working with others in civic life); rules of the game (an individual's conception of what rules should be followed in civic life).
- Orientations toward one's own political activity : This includes political competence (how often and in what manner a person participates in civic life) and political efficacy (the feeling that individual political action can have an impact on political process and evaluating the political system and the government as open and responsive to the citizen's demands).



ACTIVITY 4.1

Try to list out and figure the similarities of orientations between Indian Political culture and Britain.



CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Q.5: For analyzing the political culture of a political system, we can adopt the conceptualization of Gabriel Almond and Sidney Verba. (True/False)

.....

Q.6: Political culture is basically a sum total of the _____ of the people towards political objects. (Fill in the blanks)

.....

Q.7: What are the different kinds of orientations put forwarded by Robert A. Dahl?

.....

4.5 TYPES OF POLITICAL CULTURE

Almond presents one of the prominent classifications of political cultures on subject-participants basis. This led to a tripartite division of political culture, which is described below;

- **Parochial Political Culture:** It refers to those people who have no political orientations towards political objects. In this type of political culture, citizens are only remotely aware of the presence of central government, and lives their lives near enough regardless of the decisions taken by the state. Citizens have no cognition towards political system and are unaware of political phenomena. They have neither knowledge nor interest in politics. They have no orientations towards all components of political input, output, political system, or self role. This type of political culture is congruent with a traditional political structure. This exists in a traditional society. Parochial approach is a limited approach. In parochial approach there is limited frame of reference. People are unaware of politics, they do not have a secular understanding of the world, and there is no well differentiated political structure. In this model, people have no cognitive orientations toward the political system. Societies characterized by this type of political culture do not expect anything positive from the government, nor do they expect to participate in politics because it is seen as the elite domain. Furthermore, the government is seen as the enforcer of its own rules and consequently, the realm of politics is seen as one to be avoided.
- **Subject Political Culture:** It refers to the people who have passive orientation towards the political system and conceive themselves as having minimum influence on the political process. In this type of political culture, citizens are aware of central government, and are heavily subjected to its decisions with little scope for dissent. The individual is aware of politics, its actors and institutions. It is affectively oriented towards politics, yet he is on the "downward flow" side of the politics. Citizens have orientations toward the output aspects of

the system. They have some orientations towards output and political system. People know about decision-making mechanism. There is a political awareness but no confidence to air political views, thus there is an absence of participatory norms. This type of political culture is congruent with a centralized authoritarian structure. In this model, the people have cognition orientations towards only the output aspects of the system. This tends to be manifested in a citizenry that expects positive action from government, but that does not tend to be politically active themselves. They see politics as an elite domain only to be engaged in by those with power and influence.

- **Participant Political Culture:** It refers to people who respond positively to all political objects. Regarding this type of political culture, citizens are able to influence the government in various ways and they are affected by it. The individual is oriented toward the system towards all four components of politics (input, output, political system, and self-role). Here, emphasis is on the role of the self. This encourages more and more participation as the highest value. There is an ability to criticize the authority and hold positive orientation towards action. In this mode, people have cognitive orientations towards both the input and output aspects of the system. Societies which possess this type of political culture tend to have citizens with high expectations of government and personally participating in politics, if at no other time than voting in an election.

Professor S.E. Finer have a also suggested three variables of political culture. These are;

- **Mature Political Culture:** As observed in Britain, America, Australia and the Netherlands, it shows that the political consensus and its degree of organization are very high, the need of the government for counting on the support of the armed forces is at a minimum and long habituation to this situation has brought not only the public but even armed services to an almost unquestioning belief in the principle of civil supremacy.

- **Developed Political Culture:** It refers to a society where the public is highly organized, though from time to time, it becomes sharply polarized on either the legitimacy of its institution and procedures or on the incumbents who held office as a consequence of these. We may find that the civilian governments are often threatened, even subverted, by military pressures and the force of arms, or they feel solace in getting politically alienated. Countries like Egypt, Algeria and Cuba can be placed in this category.
- **Low Political Culture:** It is found in countries with narrow and weakly organized publics, often self-divided on the legitimacy of the regime or the incumbents in office. In such countries, public opinion is too feeble or self-divided or both to offer any sustained resistance to authoritarian rules. Countries like Vietnam, Iraq, Syria, Bhutan and Indonesia may be placed in this category.

Political culture has also been classified by several other political scientists into several kinds or types. These include;

- **Civic Culture:** It characterizes developed societies like the American society, in which the people, though governed through their elected representatives, keep on taking active part in various political processes.



Civic Culture: - is a political culture characterized by "acceptance of the authority of the state" and "a belief in participation in civic duties". The term was first used in Gabriel Almond and Sidney Verba's book, The Civic Culture.

- **Secular Political Culture:** It characterizes a society in which people are secular in their outlook and all participate in decision making process, which is worked as a rationale process. The traditional and oriental attitudes are voluntarily changed through dynamic decisions.
- **Homogeneous Political Culture:** Such a political culture exists where people are living under a political system which has been continuously characterized by the same set of values, beliefs, orientations and attitudes towards political action. There are different political parties and groups but they share common long-cherished values, ideas and ideologies.

- **Fragmented Political Culture:** It characterizes a political system in which different people and their groups share different types of values or ideologies. In this type different sections of society have different patterns of cultural developments.
- **Ideological Political Culture:** In this type of political culture people are guided and controlled in favour of political orientations which are determined, encouraged and based on a particular ideology. Through controlled political socialization, propaganda and educational system the desired orientations are sought to be developed among the people of the political system.



LET US KNOW

It is important to note that the political culture of one country fundamentally differs from other countries. There is no country in the world today which can boast of single uniform political culture.



CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Q.8: Finer presents one of the prominent classifications of political cultures on subject-participants basis (True/False)

.....

Q.9: Developed Political Culture refers to a society where the public is highly _____. (Fill in the blanks)

.....

Q.10: Discuss the different types of political culture as mentioned by Professor S.E. Finer.

.....

4.6 DEVELOPMENT OF POLITICAL CULTURE

A political system operates within the framework of a set of meanings and purposes- the political culture of the society. All political activity is

governed by the values, beliefs and orientations of the people towards political objects and actions. Patterns of orientations to political action within any given society are called the political culture of the society. It is a valuable part of the general culture. The political culture is determined by several socio-economic ethnic factors which are referred to as the determinants or the elements. A study of these factors/determinants is essential for an understanding of the development of political culture.

- **Political Continuity or Discontinuity-** The continuity or discontinuity of a political system determines the nature of its political culture. Continuity of political process helps the evolution of a participant political culture and secures the linkage between the past and the present. In Britain, British Monarch had been merged with Democracy, conservatism stands supplemented by liberalism. In USA too, the continuity of political tradition has helped the evolution of a developed and participant political culture. Pakistan's stints with democracy between two long periods of military dictatorships have hindered the process of development of a uniform and stable political culture.
- **Historical Factors-** History plays an important role in the making and evolution of Political Culture. Historical events always influence the shaping of political culture in a big way. French political culture bears a deep impact of the French Revolution and the Declaration of Rights of Man and Citizens. Likewise, the American Declaration of Independence, the War of Independence and the Civil War of mid 19th Century exercised a big influence upon the American Political Culture. In case of British Political Culture, the signing of Magna Carta 1215, Petition of Rights 1628, the 17th century struggles between the King and the Parliament over the issue of sovereignty, the Glorious Revolution of 1688 etc. have all played a deterministic role. Soviet Political Culture stands determined by the Socialist Revolution of 1917. Indian Political Culture bears the influence of events of the freedom struggle and the contact with western civilization and culture.

- **Geography-** Geography plays a big role in determining the political culture of the society. Favorable location has helped Britain to meet successfully foreign invasion. Small size has helped Britain to maintain the continuity of the political traditions. The vast size and diversities have helped the Americans to accept the values of equality and freedom for all. Geography played a role in the spread of socialism to Eastern European Countries.
- **Ethnic Factor-** The existence of ethnic differences and ethnic conflicts among several ethnic groups or minorities which live in the society always determine the nature of political culture. Ethnic pluralism as manifested in linguistic, cultural religions and social diversities play a deterministic role in the evolution of the political culture. These are always behind the differences between the national political culture and the regional sub-political cultures within the national political culture.
- **Socio-Economic Factors-** They always play a deterministic role in laying down the foundation of the political culture and in securing a change in the orientations of the people towards political objects and actions. Levels of poverty, employment, urbanization, literacy etc. play a leading role in shaping the political culture of the society. In this age of science and technology, the development of agriculture and industry has altogether always influences the political culture.
- **Ideological Factor-** The concept of political culture refers to orientations-cognitive, affective and evaluative, towards political objects and actions. These orientations are greatly influenced by the ideology or ideologies that are popular with the people. The ideology of **Marxism** determined the nature of political cultures of several states which later on adopted socialism as the value. Influence of the Ideology of Liberalism has now been instrumental in changing the orientations of the people of socialist states, towards their socialist political systems. Indian political culture bears the impact of the ideology of **Democratic Socialism**.



Democratic Socialism: Democratic socialism is a political philosophy that advocates political democracy alongside social ownership of the means of production, with an emphasis on self-management and democratic management of economic institutions within a market or some form of decentralized planned socialist economy.



CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Q.11: All political activity is governed by the values, beliefs and orientations of the people towards political objects and actions (True/False)

.....

Q.12: The political culture is determined by several _____ factors which are referred to as the determinants or the elements. (Fill in the blanks)

.....

Q.13: Discuss how geography plays an important role in development of political culture?

.....

4.7 ROLE AND UTILITY OF POLITICAL CULTURE

According to the protagonist of political culture approach, it has made a highly significant contribution to the development of modern political theory. It is said that it may provide us with a valuable conceptual tool by means of which we can bridge the micro gap in political theory. Professor S.P. Verma points out five main contributions of this approach. They are,

- It has made Political Science a more complete social science through its insistence on a combined micro-macro approach.
- It has focused our attention on the study of the political community or society, as a dynamic collective entity as distinct from the individual and thus on the total political system.
- It has encouraged political scientists to take up the study of social and cultural factors which are responsible for giving the political culture of a country its broad shape.
- It has helped us in combining the study of the rational factors which shape the actions of the individuals to a large extent with the more latent, the irrational, determinants of behavior that may be subjected to empirical research to a quite considerable extent.

- It is the political culture approach which helped us to understand why different political societies, inevitably moved in different directions of political development, or may be, find themselves from suffering from severe constraints, socio-economic as well as political, which force them to move towards political decay.

However, the political culture approach has some weaknesses that may be pointed out as under.

- The political culture approach cannot be described as a very precise variable for presenting a morphological study of modern political systems. The terms coined by the protagonists of this approach are neither very clear nor very precise as a result of which a student of comparative politics is often confronted with a confusing situation. Thus, it has been pointed out that the concept of political culture is an attempt to find one rubric to include what, in the past, have been variously described as attitudes to politics, political values, ideologies, national character, and cultural ethos, etc. None of these terms are sufficiently broad to provide a basis for classifying political systems, though each one of them separately is relevant to the study of comparative politics, but each one is vague and ambiguous and, as such, serves only as a source of confusion for those attempting to compare political system methodically.
- Being a derivative of the political development approach, it suffers from the stigma of conservatism and reactionary in character. Even Almond and Powell have realized that this approach cannot be taken as a correct barometer of individual behaviour. They affirm that a careful analysis of political culture still provides no sure guide, perhaps at best a probabilistic one, for the prediction of individual behaviour in a given case.
- If political culture is nothing else than a set of beliefs and sentiments about politics as embodied in the verbal and non-verbal behaviour of the people and depending upon the specific content of the notion of political development, it is bound to be conducive or antagonistic to

it. The problem arises when there is a measure of difference between the political culture of the rulers and that of the ruled. In such a situation, the question would arise as to which of these different cultures may be considered more relevant to political development. Lucian Pye has taken note of this fact that in no society there is a fundamental distinction between the culture of the rulers or power holders and that of the masses.

- Not only thus, diversity of political culture may be seen even in the community of the ruling class. One party may come into power after replacing another with its own set of political notions, beliefs and commitments. If so, it would have its own effect on the pace of political development and political modernization of the country. The problem, in fact, compounded as a political culture itself is a sub-system of the culture in general. Or, if it be objected that there is no such thing as culture in general but rather cultures as differentiated with respect to particular domains, the problem may be reformulated and articulated in terms of the homogeneity or heterogeneity of the culture obtained in the political domain with those obtained in other domains.



CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Q.14: Political culture has made Political Science a more complete social science through its insistence on a combined micro-macro approach. (True/False)

.....

Q.15: The political culture approach cannot be described as a very precise variable for presenting a morphological study of _____ political systems. (Fill in the blanks)

.....

Q.16: Mention two weakness to the study of political culture?

.....



4.8 LET US SUM UP

- Each political system is embedded in a sociological and psychological environment-the set of value, beliefs, orientation and attitudes of the people towards politics, i.e. the political culture.
- The emergence of the contemporary study of political culture occurred in the late 1950s and the early 1960s, the history begins the term "political culture" in the most famous study of political culture which has been made by the two American political scientists Gabriel Almond and Sidney Verba.
- A political culture is composed of the attitudes, beliefs, emotions and values of society that relates to the political system and to apolitical issues. It is defined as the pattern of individual attitudes and orientations towards politics among the members of a political system.
- Almond and Verba asserted that there are three kinds of political orientation. They are Cognitive orientation, Affective orientation and Evaluative orientations.
- Robert A. Dahl gave an opinion that political culture as a factor explaining different patterns of political opposition whose salient elements are, Orientations of problem solving, Orientations to collective action, Orientations to the political system and Orientations to other people.
- Almond presents one of the prominent classifications of political cultures on subject-participants basis. This led to a tripartite division of political culture which includes the Parochial Political Culture, Subject Political Culture and Participant Political Culture.



4.9 FURTHER READING

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4.10 ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Ans. to Q. No. 1: True

Ans. to Q. No. 2: Gabriel Almond and Sidney Verba.

Ans. to Q. No. 3: Political culture is defined by the International Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences as "the set of attitudes, beliefs and sentiments that give order and meaning to a political process and which provide the underlying assumptions and rules that govern behavior in the political system".

Ans. to Q. No. 4: Just as culture is an accumulation of thoughts, values and objects-the social heritage acquired by us from preceding generations through informal as well as formal learning, likewise, political culture is the sum total of values, beliefs, orientation and attitudes of the people which they learn or acquire from the system and which influences their behavior as actors of the political system. In short, it encompasses both the political ideals and operating norms of a polity.

Ans. to Q. No. 5: True

Ans. to Q. No. 6: Orientations

Ans. to Q. No. 7: Orientations of problem solving, Orientations to collective action, Orientations to the political system and Orientations to other people.

Ans. to Q. No. 8: False

Ans. to Q. No. 9: Organized

Ans. to Q. No. 10: Professor S.E. Finer have a also suggested three variables of political culture. These are;

Mature Political Culture- As observed in Britain, America, Australia and the Netherlands, it shows that the political consensus and its degree of organization are very high, the need of the government for counting on the support of the armed forces is at a minimum and long habituation to this situation has brought not only the public but even armed services to an almost unquestioning belief in the principle of civil supremacy.

Developed Political Culture- It refers to a society where the public is highly organized, though from time to time, it becomes sharply polarized on either the legitimacy of its institution and procedures or on the incumbents who held office as a consequence of these. We may find that the civilian governments are often threatened, even subverted, by military pressures and the force of arms, or they feel solace in getting politically alienated. Countries like Egypt, Algeria and Cuba can be placed in this category.

Low Political Culture- It is found in countries with narrow and weakly organized publics, often self-divided on the legitimacy of the regime or the incumbents in office. In such countries, public opinion is too feeble or self-divided or both to offer any sustained resistance to authoritarian rules. Countries like Vietnam, Iraq, Syria, Bhutan and Indonesia may be placed in this category.

Ans. to Q. No. 11: True

Ans. to Q. No. 12: Socio-economic ethnic

Ans. to Q. No. 13: It plays a big role in determining the political culture of the society. Favorable location has helped Britain to meet successfully foreign invasion. Small size has helped Britain to maintain the continuity of the political traditions. The vast size and diversities have helped the Americans to accept the values of equality and freedom for all. Geography played a role in the spread of socialism to Eastern European Countries.

Ans. to Q. No. 14: True

Ans. to Q. No. 15: Modern

Ans. to Q. No. 16: a) Being a derivative of the political development approach, it suffers from the stigma of conservatism and reactionary in character and b) If political culture is nothing else than a set of beliefs and sentiments about politics as embodied in the verbal and non-verbal behavior of the people and depending upon the specific content of the notion of political development, it is bound to be conducive or antagonistic to it.



4.11 POSSIBLE QUESTIONS

A) Very Short Questions

Q. 1: Political culture is the manifestation in aggregate form of the _____ and _____dimensions of politics. (Fill in the blank)

Q. 2: Political culture can be understood as specifically political orientations and patterned form of political philosophy. (True/False)

Q. 3: What is the difference between general culture and political culture?

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

Q. 1: Describe in brief about the nature of Political Culture.

Q. 2: Define Political Culture.

Q. 3: What do you understand by civic culture?

Q. 4: Explain Almond Classification of Political Culture.

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

Q. 1: Explain the distinctive features of bureaucracy.

Q. 2: Critically explain the role and utility of political culture.

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UNIT 5: CIVIL SOCIETY

UNIT STRUCTURE

5.1 Learning Objectives

5.2 Introduction

5.3 Meaning and Nature of Civil Society

5.4 State-Civil Society Dichotomy

5.5 Dynamics of Civil Society

5.6 Let Us Sum Up

5.7 Further Reading

5.8 Answers to Check Your Progress

5.9 Possible Questions

5.1 LEARNING OBJECTIVES

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

- know about the meaning and nature of Civil Society
- explain the state-civil society dichotomy
- analyse the dynamics of Civil Society

5.2 INTRODUCTION

The concept of civil society in its pre-modern classical republican understanding is usually connected to the early-modern Age of Enlightenment in the 18th century. However, it has much older history in the realm of political thought. Generally, civil society has been referred to as a political association governing social conflict through the imposition of rules that restrain citizens from harming one another. In the classical period, the concept was used as a synonym for the good society, and seen as indistinguishable from the state. For instance, Socrates taught public argument using 'dialectic', a form of rational dialogue to uncover truth. According to Socrates, public argument through 'dialectic' was imperative to ensure 'civility' in the polls and 'good life' of the people.

For, Plato, the ideal state was a just society in which people dedicate themselves to the common good, practice civic virtues of wisdom, courage, moderation and justice, and perform the occupational role to which they were best suited. It was the duty of the 'Philosopher King' to look after people in civility. Aristotle thought the ‘Polis’ was an 'association of associations' that enables citizens to share in the virtuous task of ruling and being ruled. In other words, the classical thinkers endorsed the genesis of civil society in its original sense.

5.3 MEANING AND NATURE OF CIVIL SOCIETY

Meaning:

For nearly a century after 1850, the language of civil society virtually disappeared from intellectual and political life and as recently as two decades ago, the term itself remained strange sounding and unfashionably, or was greeted in some circles by cynicism and hostility. Since then, around the world, the term civil society has become both a master category in the human sciences as a key phrase often used by politicians, corporate executives, journalists, charitable foundations, human rights organizations, and citizens.

The renaissance of interest in civil society draws strength from its European roots, which are traceable to the late eighteenth century and early nineteenth century development of the distinction between civil society and the state. During the revolutionary period 1750-1850, the traditional language of civil society, which has until then referred to a peaceful political order governed by law, underwent a profound transformation.

Contrasted with government, civil society meant a realm of social life exchanges, charitable groups, clubs and voluntary associations, independent churches and publishing houses institutionally separated from territorial state institutions. This is the sense in which civil society is still understood today; it is a term that both describes and anticipates a complex and dynamics ensemble of legally protected non-governmental institutions

that tend to be non-violent, self-organizing, self-reflexive, and permanently in tensions, both with each other and with the governmental institutions that 'frame', constrict and enable their activities.

In the contemporary period, the term civil society has proved useful in many fields of research, including the analysis of past phenomena, such as the uneven geographic distribution of absolutist states, or the emergence of modern forms of exclusion of women from public life or the 'civilizing' of European manners. The originally eighteenth century term has also been used to make new and different sense of contemporary social and political developments.



Prague Spring: The Prague Spring was a period of political liberalization and mass protest in Czechoslovakia as a Communist state after World War II.

In Poland, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, and elsewhere, the language of civil society was a vital ingredient in the resistance to totalitarian regimes after the crushing of the ***Prague Spring***, and it has featured in most political efforts to push back or overthrow dictatorship, whether in Taiwan, Brazil, South Africa, or Iran. In most regions of the world, the language of civil society has also been applied to such disparate political phenomenon as the decline and restructuring of welfare states, the rise of 'free market' economic strategies, and the growth of social movements.

Civil society therefore can be understood as the "third sector" of society, distinct from government and business, and including the family and the private sphere. It is the collective of non-governmental organizations and institutions that manifest interests and will of citizens and individuals and organizations in a society which are independent of the government.

However, civil society should not be confused with that of political society. The former which is not under the jurisdiction of state control in regard to their functioning and organizational rules whereas the latter plays an important role as an actor in the political life of the society and state. On the other hand, the contested terrain of political society is where formal and informal institutions and citizens as well as the poor with little engagement with citizenship negotiate with the local state for security, entitlements and services and the welfare related rights are viewed as collective rights.

Now, let us look at some of the definitions of civil society which would

in turn help us to understand the meaning of the term more clearly.

According to **Andrew Heywood**, "Civil society refers to "a realm of associations, business, interest groups, classes' families and so on".

Eminent political scientist **Harun-ur-Rashid** recognized civil society "as the moral power of society".

David Held stated that it is "a distinctive character to the extent that it is made up of areas of social life the domestic world, the economic sphere, cultural activities and political interaction which are organized by private or voluntary arrangements between individuals, and groups outside the direct control of the state".

Jurgen Habermas regards civil society simply as "the public sphere".

John Dunn refers civil society to as "the modem representative democratic republic".

Chandhoke sums up the meaning of civil society "as the public sphere where individuals come together for various purposes both for their self-interest and for the reproduction of an entity called society".

To sum up, Civil society can be regarded as a dense network of groups, communities, networks, and ties that stand between the individual and the modern state. Due to its enormous significance in the society and state, the meaning and implications will always be a subject matter of debate and discussion.

Nature:

Timothy J. Peterson and Jon Van Til, two prominent scholars of civil society have attempted to portray the nature of civil society. These include the following;

- **The Commons-** Civil society is advanced when citizens share a social right of access to the commonwealth of resources produced, used, and exchanged through natural and social economies in a community and through a society. Access, in this context, includes the abilities both to contribute to the resources and to benefit from

them. Broad, community-based civic engagement in economic activities occurs in the arena of what is historically called "the Commons," as in the Greek agora and the English market. As citizens participate in the open exchange of commonwealth resources, they can form and strengthen social connections and networks with others.

- **Office-** Civil society is advanced when citizens can exercise their civic duty of self-governance by participating in political structures that exhibit decentralized power and authority. Community-based civic engagement in political governance exists when community members have the opportunity to hold positions or "offices" of public decision-making and leadership.
- **Associations-** Civil society is advanced when citizens can openly and voluntarily participate in diverse social affiliations, groups, networks, and structures for self-governance and social transformation. "Association" refers to those social places where people gather and interact with others to exchange ideas, offer support, and receive a sense of belonging. Community-based civic engagement in systems of social exchange exists when diverse social groups and gatherings are present and permeable.
- **Trusteeship-** Civil society is advanced when citizens hold decision-making power, work to strengthen and improve local and regional economies, and exercise sustainable and socially transparent stewardship of societal resources (e.g., human, social, material, and ecological) on behalf of the "common good." Community-based activities of civic responsibility in systems of economic development exist when citizens enjoy the legitimate authority of resource trusteeship.
- **Sovereignty-** Civil society is advanced when citizens have the right to be involved in all aspects of political governance and the authority to make decisions and perform actions affecting all levels of public life, without the institutions of public life being "captured" by the interests of specific groups or individuals. The presence and

legitimacy of community-based civic authority through systems of political governance increase the ability of citizens to exercise sovereignty over policies and programs that can positively affect their lives and the quality of life in their community.

- **Accountability-** Civil society is advanced when citizens, acting through community-based groups and associations, are able to use basic civic freedoms and rights (e.g., fair elections, free speech, a free press providing access to information, freedom to organize in groups) to hold economic and political actors responsible for the outcomes of policies, programs and patterns of resource distribution, and the exercise of political power.
- **Equity-** Civil society is advanced when each citizen is given equitable access to and use of resources required for constructing a satisfying life. A moral condition of equity forms the foundation of activities that expand and strengthen economic conditions for all community members. Economic equity of resources is necessary for producing and sustaining an improved quality of life for all people, especially the poor.
- **Justice-** Civil society is advanced when citizens pursue social justice by consistently and compassionately using the "rule of law" in fulfillment of their civic obligations, and advocating for those excluded from the political process and harmed by unjust laws.
- **Reciprocity-** Civil society is advanced when citizens pursue social transformation through reciprocal, mutually dependent collaboration with others, and negotiate, mediate, and resolve conflict through peaceful, nonviolent means.



LET US KNOW

The civil society performs a very **important role in democracy**. A prominent scholar, **Larry Diamond**, have identified the following functions of civil society in democracy.

To limit state power - by checking its political abuses and violations of the law and subjecting them to public scrutiny. Diamond maintains, "a vibrant civil society is probably more essential for consolidating and maintaining democracy than initiating it."

To empower citizens- by "increasing the political efficacy and skill of the democratic citizen and promoting an appreciation of the obligations as well as rights of democratic citizenship."

To inculcate and promote an arena for the development of democratic attributes amongst the citizens- such as tolerance, moderation, a willingness to compromise and respect for opposing viewpoints." According to Diamond, this is an important function as it allows "traditionally excluded groups- such as women and racial or ethnic minorities-access to power that has been denied them in the 'upper echelons' of formal politics."

To provide avenues for political parties and other organizations- allowing them to articulate, aggregate, and represent their interests- This enhances the quality of democracy as "it generates opportunities for participation and influence at all levels of governance, not the least the local government."

To function as a recruiting, informational and leadership generating agency especially in economically developed societies- where, Economic reform is sometimes necessary, but often difficult to bring about if it threatens vested economic interests. The massive economic collapse in Indonesia unleashed mass discontent and made President Suharto suddenly vulnerable. This transformed the environment to allow civil society groups and opposition parties to mobilize citizens in an unprecedented fashion.

A well founded civil society could act as a shock absorbing institution- where wide range of interests that may cross-cut and mitigate the principal polarities of political conflict.

To generate public and political support for successful economic and political reforms- which require the support of coalitions in society and the legislature.

A well-rooted civil society also helps in identifying and train new political leaders- as such, it can "play a crucial role in revitalizing the narrow and stagnant" party dominated leadership recruitment patterns.
Election monitoring- many non-partisan organizations engage in election monitoring at home and abroad. Such efforts, says Diamond, "have been critical in detecting fraud, enhancing voter confidence, affirming the legitimacy of the result, or demonstrating an opposition victory despite government fraud.



CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Q.1: The concept of civil society in its pre-modern classical republican understanding is usually connected to the early-modern thought of Age of Enlightenment in the 18th century. (True/False)

.....

Q.2: Contrasted with _____, civil society meant a realm of social life exchanges. (Fill in the blanks)

.....

Q.3: What is Civil Society?

.....

.....

Q.4: Cite some popular definition regarding Civil Society?

.....

5.4 STATE-CIVIL SOCIETY DICHOTOMY

John Locke had presented one of the prior and accurate understandings of the dichotomous relationship between the state and civil society.

- For Locke, 'civil society' means a legitimate political order centered on 'state liked'. Locke is a convenient starting point of a distinctive argument about the nature of political power in which the conceptual contrast is between the state and civil society.

- Locke's argument presciently suggests that this great collective achievement can turn into a particular intractable danger to liberty if the potential power of the modern sovereign state is not brought under reliable restriction. It is true that the sovereign state, which has a monopoly of legitimate violence in a society, is a precondition for all other activities in modern civilization. Yet that state itself an become a strangely uncontrolled phenomenon if it starts behaving irresponsibly and in its own narrow self-interest, defined against the interest of others, particularly of property and a new kind of commerce.
- It is precisely surrender of other resources of violence or coercive power to the state which makes it essential that the state must be made to function in a way that does not systematically injure individuals or groups. By the purely technical expedient of the double contract, a social contract prior to and distinct from the government one, Locke opens up the conceptual spaces and functions of society and the state.
- This qualifies the priority of political order over other social activities, logically, at least, the death of a government does not instantly imply a dissolution of society. Locke's treatment is so central to liberalism precisely because it shows that the state is both essential and needs to be limited.
- But, the important question that emerges is that how the state to be limited and what does the limitation of the state mean. It means in Locke at least two related things. First, it, means that the state should not have the material resources to overwhelm all other sections of society if it so wishes. Secondly, this can be done by clearly laying down moral principles which distinguish the function of the state from that of other social bodies.
- Social life has an illimitable number of potential ends, for each one of which human beings require social organization of interrelated action. The state is not the proper association for these sustentative ends of human life, it is the indispensable instrument for securing

an order in which ordinary individuals can pursue these activities unmolested- producing a civilization. Interestingly, this argument makes the state both indispensable and limited.

- In Locke, writing before the ides of national monarchies or of popular sovereignty, the sovereign or government is quite distinct from the body of the people, and thus there is no difficulty in distinguishing between the society constituted by the entire population and the sovereign or government composed of those who rule over them.
- Although he does not use the concept of civil society in the more modern dichotomous form, against the state, the fundamental distinction of principle is well articulated. The government performs a specific function of producing and maintains order which is a pre-condition for all other types of activities that make human life, but this function is distinct from them. If the government is not put under restraints by legal rules- constitutionalism- its unrestrained power might become a threat to other civilizing activities of which commerce, based on property, is of primary importance.
- By the technical ingenuity of his detailed argument, as we know, Locke makes property antecedent to the creation of government, and makes it the primary task of civil government to protect it. The state, or government, is conceived here as one sphere which exists against another sphere composed of all other associations. It is this space of other associations which is collectively called 'civil society' in later stages of the liberal tradition, and it is this mass of associations in civil society which keeps the state in check by keeping it within its limits, and not allowing it, by their alertness, to encroach on activities not legitimately within its sphere.



ACTIVITY 5.1

Try to list out and figure the state and civil society dichotomous relationship in context of contemporary Indian state.



CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Q.5: John Locke had presented one of the prior and accurate understandings of the dichotomous relationship between the state and civil society. (True/False)

.....

Q.6: For Locke, 'civil society' means a legitimate political order centered on _____. (Fill in the blanks)

.....

Q.7: What do you mean by state-civil society dichotomy?

.....

5.5 DYNAMICS OF CIVIL SOCIETY

The language of 'civil society' burst on the contemporary political scene with the rise of the **Solidarity movement in Poland**. Fist, articulated by liberals during the transformation of 18th century Europe, the phrase had fallen into disuse during the nine-teenth-century's fascination with the state. In the 1970s, as the communist states began to disintegrate, intellectuals and political activists throughout Eastern Europe invoked the image of civil society to mobilize citizens against repressive states and reclaim a sphere of privacy in social life. In historic liberal terms, dissident leaders assert their rights to free speech and free association to carve out a social space for their activities. In their enthusiasm for getting the state out of their lives, some called for the virtual uncoupling of society from the state.



Solidarity movement in Poland: Nonviolent struggle against the authoritarian communist government in Poland began soon after the communists stole parliamentary elections in 1946

- The language of civil society was picked up by western intellectuals of various political persuasions to articulate their discomforts with modern society and governments. In Western Europe, civil society was conceptualized in opposition to neo-corporatist arrangements that had brought organized labour and its parties into institutionalized patterns of governance but afforded little access to other constituencies. The greens led efforts to open public spaces for

new social and cultural organizations. Many were critical of representative democracy itself and suggested civil society as an alternative way of accomplishing collective goals.

- **Proponents of free market economies** saw in civil society a way of arguing for the downsizing of government. They emphasized the capacity of social groups to regulate themselves and care for their own, enabling the return of crucial functions to the private sector. At the margins, neo-liberals portrayed government and society as a zero-sum game, and blamed government interference for disorganizing society.



Communitarians: Communitarianism is a philosophy that emphasizes the connection between the individual and the community.

- **For communitarians** of both the left and the right, civil society enabled articulation of their concerns about community life. Communitarians in western societies are critical of the sole emphasis on individual rights in classical liberalism and took for a political philosophy emphasizing personal responsibility and commitment to the collective good. Citing declining rates of voting and participation in public-spirited work, as well as social disorganization, they worried about the lack of civic engagement, declining faith in public institutions, estrangement among citizens, and over-emphasis on the market in social life.



Tienanmen Square: The 1989 Tiananmen Square protests, commonly known in mainland China as the June Fourth Incident, were student-led demonstrations in Beijing for the establishment of basic human and press rights and against the Communist-led Chinese government in mid-1989.

- The language of civil society was picked up by **people's movements** in large parts of the world. Beginning perhaps among the Chinese students in **Tienanmen Square**, civil society became a kind of 'aspirational shorthand' for ideas of equity, participation and public fairness. In Southeast Asia it has been used by advocates of democracy and civil rights, in Latin America by social movements seeking transformation into a new egalitarian and participatory socio-political order, and in the Middle East by intellectuals opposing repressive regimes. In Africa, analysts have noted the capacity of peasants to subvert or defy the predatory state through diverse ways of 'invisible government' embedded in kinship, ritual, and magic.
- The image of civil society had strong resonance among reformers

in India. Critics of the developmental state argue for decentralization to local communities and urges voluntary development groups to serve people needs better. Others, however, are more critical of civil society in India and call for transformation. Alarmed at the risk of fundamentalist groups and caste-based groups, they seek construction of a new civil society based on equality and individual rights. Fundamental to each of these persuasions is belief in the significance of civil society to democratic governance.



LET US KNOW

While enthusiasm for civil society is not universal in either the west or the third world, the dominant discourses are enamored with civil society. It has assumed mythic proportions as a tool of the social imagination, an ideological construct for a good society. Its proposition see all kinds of benefits, from preserving privacy, empowering citizens for problem-solving and counterbalancing the state to training citizens, deepening participation, and increasing the effectiveness of government. Civil society is an answer to civic estrangement and an emblem of modernization, the new magic bullet for development and democracy.



CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Q.8: The language of 'civil society' burst on the contemporary political scene with the rise of the Solidarity movement in Poland. (True/False)

.....

Q.9: For communitarians of both the left and the right, civil society enabled articulation of their concerns about _____(Fill in the blanks)

.....

Q.10: Discuss the image of civil society in India.

.....



5.6 LET US SUM UP

- The concept of civil society in its pre-modern classical republican understanding is usually connected to the early-modern thought of Age of Enlightenment in the 18th century. However, it has much older history in the realm of political thought.
- Contrasted with government, civil society meant a realm of social life exchanges, charitable groups, clubs and voluntary associations, independent churches and publishing houses institutionally separated from territorial state institutions.
- Civil society therefore can be understood as the "third sector" of society, distinct from government and business, and including the family and the private sphere. However, civil society should not be confused with that of political society.
- Timothy J. Peterson and Jon Van Til, two prominent scholars of civil society have attempted to portray the nature of civil society. These includes The Commons, Office, Associations, Trusteeship, Sovereignty, Accountability, Equity, Justice, Reciprocity.
- John Locke had presented one of the prior and accurate understandings of the dichotomous relationship between the state and civil society. For Locke, 'civil society' means a legitimate political order centered on 'state liked'. Locke is a convenient starting point of a distinctive argument about the nature of political power in which the conceptual contrast is between the state and civil society.
- The language of 'civil society' burst on the contemporary political scene with the rise of the Solidarity movement in Poland. Fist, articulated by liberals during the transformation of 18th century Europe, the phrase had fallen into disuse during the nine-teenth-century's fascination with the state.



5.7 FURTHER READING

1. Kaviraj, S. and Khilnani, S. (2014). *Civil Society- History and Possibilities*. Noida: Cambridge University Press.
2. Elliot, C.M. (2014). *Civil Society and Democracy- A Reader*. New Delhi: Oxford University Press.
3. Pandey, A.K. (2011). *Civil Society and Political Change in India*. New Delhi: Signature Books International.



5.8 ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Ans. to Q. No. 1: True

Ans. to Q. No. 2: Government

Ans. to Q. No. 3: Contrasted with government, civil society meant a realm of social life exchanges, charitable groups, clubs and voluntary associations, independent churches and publishing houses institutionally separated from territorial state institutions.

Ans. to Q. No. 4: According to Andrew Heywood, "Civil society refers to "a realm of associations, business, interest groups, classes' families and so on".

Eminent political scientist Harun-ur-Rashid recognized civil society "as the moral power of society".

Ans. to Q. No. 5: John Lock

Ans. to Q. No. 6: 'state liked'

Ans. to Q. No. 7: The state, or government, is conceived here as one sphere which exists against another sphere composed of all other associations. It is this space of other associations which is collectively called 'civil society' in later stages of the liberal tradition, and it is this mass of associations in civil society which keeps the state in check by keeping it within its limits, and not allowing it, by their alertness, to encroach on activities not legitimately within its sphere.

Ans. to Q. No. 8: True

Ans. to Q. No. 9: Community Life

Ans. to Q. No. 10: The image of civil society had strong resonance among reformers in India. Critics of the developmental state argue for decentralization to local communities and urges voluntary development groups to serve people needs better. Others, however, are more critical of civil society in India and call for transformation. Alarmed at the risk of fundamentalist groups and caste-based groups, they seek construction of a new civil society based on equality and individual rights. Fundamental to each of these persuasions is belief in the significance of civil society to democratic governance.



5.9 POSSIBLE QUESTIONS

A) Very Short Questions

Q. 1: Jurgen Habermas regards civil society simply as _____. (Fill in the blank)

Q. 2: Civil society can be regarded as a dense network of groups, communities, networks, and ties that stand between the individual and the modern state. (True/False)

Q. 3: What is the difference between civil society and political society?

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

Q. 1: Describe in brief any four basic nature of Civil Society.

Q. 2: Explain the role of civil society in a democracy..

Q. 3: Describe in your own words the contemporary problems of civil society in India.

Q. 4: Define Civil Society.

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

Q. 1: Explain the dynamics of Civil Society since its first emergence,

Q. 2: Critically discuss the state-civil society dichotomous relationship.

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UNIT 6: POLITICAL PARTICIPATION

UNIT STRUCTURE

6.1 Learning Objectives

6.2 Introduction

6.3 Political Participation - Its Meaning and Definitions

6.4 Nature of Political Participation

6.5 Stages of Political Participation

6.6 Forms of Political Participation

6.7 Determinants of Political Participation

6.8 Importance of Political Participation

6.9 Let Us Sum Up

6.10 Further Reading

6.11 Answers to Check Your Progress

6.12 Possible Questions

6.1 LEARNING OBJECTIVES

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

- understand the meaning and characteristics of political participation
- explain about different levels of political participation of the citizens
- know about what are the factors that influence political participation of the masses
- understand the role of and significance of political participation in a political system.

6.2 INTRODUCTION

In contemporary period, the concept of Political participation has gained more importance in the study of political science in general and political sociology in particular. It is regarded as one of the most important elements of a political system. It means participation of the people in the political process in a political system. Whether democratic or totalitarian,

traditional or modern, developed or developing, big or small political participation is considered as an important feature of every political system.. However, there are some basic differences between democratic and totalitarian system regarding political participation. In democratic system people can participate in the political process without any discrimination. Whereas in a totalitarian political system people are not allowed to participate in the political process and has no say in the governance. Nevertheless even then in a non-democratic political system some amount of political participation is always allowed.

6.3 POLITICAL PARTICIPATION - ITS MEANING AND DEFINITIONS

In the ordinary sense, political participation refers to the involvement of the people in the political process. It refers to the involvement of the people in the policy formulation process.

Different thinkers have defined the term political participation in different ways.

In the words of Almond and Powell, "Political Participation is the involvement of the members of Society in the decision making process,"

According to McCloskey, "Political participation includes those voluntary activities by which members of a society share in the selection of rulers and' directly or indirectly, in the formation of public policy."

In the words of Rush and Althoff P., "Political Participation is the involvement of the individual at various levels in the political system."

S.P. Huntington and Nelson have defined "Political participation is simply as activity by private citizens designed to influence governmental decision making."

By the forgoing definitions, it is clear that political participation means involvement of the people in the selection of the rulers, formation of public policies and decision making. To make it more clear, political participation includes the activities like-

- Voting at the Polls.
- Supporting possible pressure groups by being a member of them,
- Personally communicating directly with legislators.
- Participation in political party activity and thus acquiring a claim on legislators and
- Engaging in habitual dissemination of political opinions through word-of -month (face -to-face) communications to other citizens.

(as cited mukhopadhyay, 2013 P-116)

From the above discussion, it is clear that political participation is nothing but a political process which relates with all those functions that are directly or indirectly related with decision making in a political system.

6.4 NATURE OF POLITICAL PARTICIPATION

The Nature of Political participation can be studied as under:

1. Link with Political culture

The nature of Political Participation is viewed from the point of political culture. Political participation influences the political culture. More the political participation in the democratic political system, it helps to strengthen the faith and beliefs of the people in the political system.

2) Popular Sovereignty

Political Participation is related with popular sovereignty. Where there is political participation, contrary to particular individual, Sovereignty rests with the people. Thus, popular sovereignty and democratic set-up are the basis of political participation.

3) Political participation and Patriotism

The nature of political participation is also studied from the point that it is linked with patriotism. Where there is political participation on the basis of equality and liberty, the people feel attached with the political system and then the spirit of patriotism and loyalty to the country goes on developing automatically.

4) Political Participation is multifunctional

Political participation is not limited to one activity of the individual like casting of vote, contesting election or involvement in election campaign etc. It involves multifunctional activities of individuals - like - voting, campaigning, active worker of the party, providing contribution to the fund of the party, organizing rallies and demonstrations so on and so forth.

5) Providing inputs to the political system

Political participation relates with the input activities of the political system. Through political participation people got the opportunities of making representations and demands before the political institutions, in decision making as well as criticizing the government, putting proposals and suggestions.

6) Equality

One of the most important features of political participation is equality. On the basis of equality i.e; without any discrimination on the basis of caste, creed, colour, sex, place of birth etc, all the members of the society should have right and opportunities to participate in the political process.

7) Liberty

In political participation, there should not be any restrictions, restrictions in the path of political participation make it meaningless. People should be free from any threat or fear while participating in politics.

8) Political Participation and political Rights

Another important feature of political participation is-it is linked with political rights. When we talk about political participation then it is seen that it links with different political rights like right to vote, right to be elected, right to hold public offices, right to form political parties etc. Such political rights in turn provide for opportunities and freedom to the people to participate in the political process.



CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Q.1: How does McCloskey define political participation?

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.....

Q.2: How does political participation relate with popular sovereignty?

.....

.....

Q.3: Why political participation is called multifunctional?

.....

.....

6.5 STAGES OF POLITICAL PARTICIPATION

Politics is one of the unavoidable facts of human existence. Human beings are social animal. At the same time man is also a political creature and he cannot live without a political organization. Everyone is entangled with a political system, whatever be his values and concerns. However, their nature of participation in politics differ from person to person and place to place. All are not equally able to participate in the political process. One can notice different stages of peoples' participation in politics, thereby the levels of political participation may differ from one person to another.

In the context of political men and people's participation in politics, Robert Dahl, a prominent political theorist of USA, in his famous book 'Modern Political Analysis' has mentioned four stages of political participation and political men. These stages are:-

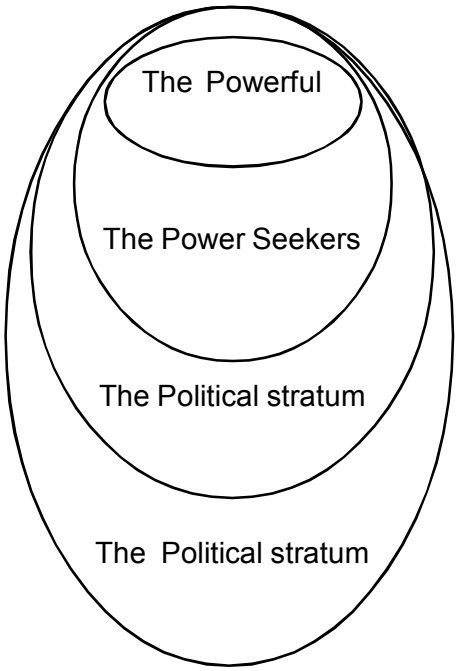
i) The apolitical stratum

ii) The political stratum

iii) The power seekers stage

iv) The powerful stage

These stages can be shown as under-



(as cited in Dahl, Robert A 1995,P.96)

1. **The apolitical stratum:** In this stage of political participation people are apathetic about politics and relatively inactive. The apolitical stratum is constituted by those citizens who are neither concerned nor informed about politics. In every political system this apolitical system is found. Even in those countries where the scope of popular participation is available we find the existence of political men in the apolitical stratum. This stage of political participation is marked by the existence of elements like - apathy, alienation, anomic, violence etc. People are so indifferent about politics that even they do not want to cast their valuable vote. In the day of election, if simultaneously a cricket match is going on, then contrary to casting their votes they will be busy in watching and enjoying the match in T.V.

Scholars have added the following reasons why people do not want to be involved in politics or have an apathetic attitude towards politics-

i) Feeling of low Rewards: People do not want to be involved in politics or less involvement in politics if he thinks that the value or rewards he would get from his participation is much less than the involvement in other activities.

ii) Non difference of alternatives: One is less likely to get involved in politics if he thinks that there is no significant difference in the alternative before him.

iii) Good faith on decisions: People are less likely to get involved in politics if they believe that the results will be relatively satisfactory for them without their involvement.

iv) Feeling of insignificance: A person is less likely to get involved in politics if he thinks that he cannot significantly change the outcome anyway.

v) Lack of self-confidence: A person become apathetic towards politics due to the want of his self-confidence. He may think that his knowledge is too limited to be effective if he may become involved in politics.

vi) Existence of hurdles: As observed by Robert Dahl, The greater the obstacles in one's life, there is less chances of him becoming involved in politics.

These are some important reasons that persons do not want to get involves in politics in the stage of apolitical stratum.

2) **The Political stratum:** In the stage of political stratum it is seen that people are concerned and informed about politics and they are active in public affairs. This layer of political participation consists of the people who actively and freely participate in the political process.

In this stage of political participation, people want to actively participate in the political process because of the factors just opposite to the political participation in the apolitical stratum. Such reasons are like:-

- If he thinks that by participating in politics he will gain valuable rewards.
- If one think alternatives are more important.
- Persons are more likely to involve in politics it they think that they can change the outcome.
- If a person believe that if he does not participate it will bring unsatisfactory outcome.

- If one is able to overcome fewer obstacles.

Because of these and other factors people do participate in politics. Contrary to apolitical strata in the political stratum people involved in politics at least in the form of voter. Apart from voting they participate in the political process by participating in the party activities and by organizing and getting involved in interest group activities. In this stage it is found that people organize and participate in political campaigns, conferences, demonstrations and movements.

3) **The power seeker stage:** Within the political stratum, some persons seek power much more vigorously than others. As a result of which a sub-stratum has appeared, known as - the power seekers.

This power seeker stage of political participation consists of those persons who are greedy to acquire more and more influence over the policies, rules and decisions of the government. In order to secure political power they want to use political resources. For promoting collective good or for achieving the goal of self interest or both, this power seeker try to get power. In order to acquire different values like recognition, fame, security, respect, affection, wealth etc. they try to seek power . They believe that with power they can become more significant in society, will be loved, respected and admired by others. In democratic form of government they have seen it in the form of contestant in the election.

4) **The Powerful:** The powerful stage of political participation is the final stage . In this stage it is noticed that among power seekers only a few come out as powerful. Persons may run after political power. These people are known as power seeker, they become more active to get political power. But in the tussle of gaining political power only a few comes out as powerful. Powerful means they themselves become the government and thereby able to exercise formal political power. In other words, we can say this powerful becomes the repository of political power, holding high positions in the legislative

and administrative spheres. Their participation in politics active, high and continuous. By a judicious use of their resources they are in a position to gain and exercise power over others. In this context, two factors helped them in becoming powerful one -

- First how much resources have been used by them than others, and
- Secondly, differences in the skill or efficiency with which resources are used.

Thus, the stages of political participation on the basis of Robert Dahl's classification of political men, can be used for a systematic study of political participation of the people in various political systems. These classifications of political men of the basis of level of political participation become helpful in analyzing the political behaviour of the people and their role in the policy for formulation in a given political system.

The Ladder of Citizen Participation: views of Sherry Arnstein:

Regarding the study of stages of political participation the analysis of sherry Arnstein, an American Scholar has assumed a prominent place. In the context of stages of citizen participation he put forwarded eight steps, each representing a different level of political participation. This ladder of citizen participation can be presented as under-

8		Citizen Control	Citizen Power
7		Delegated Power	
6		Partnership	Tokenism
5		Placation	
4		Consultation	
3		Informing	
2		Therapy	Non Participation
1		Manipulation	

(as cited in http://www. Participatory methods. Org/method/levels-participation)

As shown in the above diagram the lowest strata of the ladder of citizen participation represent Non participation people at this stage they do not want to be involved in politics and they are used by the people belonging to the top strata i.e. powerful actors and they always try to impose their will and agenda over them.

The second stage known as tokenism. It is consists of those participants who hear about the interventions put forwarded by the powerful actors and want to reply on such interventions. Power holder termed them as input as they put different demands in front of the powerful. But their voices will not have any impact on the interventions, because the powerful may refuse their demands and say.

The top strata of the Ladder is known as citizen power. This stage is consists of persons having more power in a political system. Their voices are heard and responded by the people belonging to the strata of tokenism and Non participation.

6.6 FORMS OF POLITICAL PARTICIPATION

Scholars have identified different forms of political participation depending upon the nature of participation. Some of the important forms of political participation are-

1) Direct political Participation
2) Indirect Political participation
3) Active Political participation
4) Inactive or passive Political participation
5) Parochial Political participation
6) Instrumental Political participation
7) Expressive Political participation
8) Legitimate Political participation
9) Illegitimate Political participation
10) Coercive Political participation

(http://www.Shareyouressays.com/knowledge/9-important-forms-of-Political participation/112467)

Let us discuss these forms in details-

1) **Direct Political participation:-** Direct political participation stand for when and where all the adult citizens can take a part in the process of appointing officers, law making budget passing etc. It is also known as direct democracy. Such system had been operating in ancient Greek city state and at present in Swiss political system.

Devices of direct political participation:

A) Landsgemeinde: Landsgemeinde is the oldest form of direct political participation and it is still operating in two cantons of Switzerland. It is a German term consisting of two words land stands for land or canton and gemeinde - means community or commune. It is also known as Cantonal Assembly. Under this system all the citizens of the canton can meet together once in a year and hold open - air meeting under the presidency of Landammann - elected for a year. It the meeting every adult citizen (male) can participate in its discussions and decisions are taken accordingly.

B) **Referendum:** Referendum stand for 'refer to the people'. Government while making law and passing, it must be sent to the masses for their consent before enforcing it. If the masses accept it as ok then only it can enforce the law and if the masses voted against the law then it stand cancelled.

C) **Initiative:** Initiative is a device of direct political participation under which citizens can initiate the process of lawmaking or law rejecting themselves. They can put their demand to the government to enact favorable law for them or can put demand to reject a bill which is against their wishes.

D) **Recall:** Recall is one of the most powerful device and most important weapons of direct participation in politics. Through this method people can call back their elected representatives,

if they feel that their representatives have failed to serve their interest. Then in place of him they can elect another person as their representative.

E) **Plebiscite:** Plebiscite is also like referendum. Under this system if government becomes unable to take decision in any important issues or disputes then such issues are sent to the citizens for their approval. Whatever say by the people is considered as final.

These are the 'Ultra-modern democratic' devices through which people can participate in politics directly.

2) **Indirect political participation:**

Indirect political participation is that when citizens cannot participate directly at all the levels of political process and participate through their elected representatives in legislation, policy making etc. At present almost in all the countries of the globe people participate in the political process in an indirect way. The representative reflects the wishes of the masses through decision making and policy formulation.

3) **Active political participation:**

The form of active participation suggest very dynamic participation of the people in the political processes in a political system. It includes the industrious participation of citizens in election, electoral politics, Political communication, leadership recruitment, party politics, pressure group activities etc. In liberal democratic system this type of political participation is found.

4) **Inactive / Passive political participation:**

When people apathetic or indifferent to politics, keeping themselves away from the political process -such type of political participation is called passive political participation. In such type of political participation people even rarely casting their valuable vote.

5) **Parochial participation:**

In this form of political participation people completely abstain from voting, do not involve in election campaigns, but always willing to make a contact with officials so that they can solve their personal problems.

6) **Instrumental political participation:**

According to Davies and Milbrath when people participate in politics with a view to fulfill definite goals such type of political participation can be referred as instrumental political participation. For example, when people involved in politics with the aim of securing a majority for their political party, such incidents can be referred as instrumental political participation.

7) **Expressive political participation:**

Contrary to securing specific goals, when people get involved in politics in order to express their feelings, emotions or sentiments such type of political participation can be termed as expressive political participation.

However, it is very difficult to make a difference between instrumental and expressive political participation.

8) **Legitimate political participation:**

Through legitimate and constitutional means when people involve in the political process, such participation is called legitimate political participation. Involvement in party campaigns, political meetings and demonstrations by constitutional means etc. can be put forwarded as legitimate political participation.

9) **Illegitimate political participation:**

When people are going to participate in the political process by using some unconstitutional means like - riots, violent outbursts, destruction of public property etc., and such type of political participation is called illegitimate political participation.

10) **Coercive political participation:**

This forms of political participation is seen, generally in Totalitarian and authoritarian political system. The dictator in order to gain the popularity and credibility towards their regime always try to secure the participation of masses in politics.

Thus, it is clear that political participation is an important tool to study the human behaviour in politics, as people's behaviour are found variant at different forms of political participation.



CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Q.4: What is a Political Stratum?

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Q.5: Who is power seeker?

.....

Q.6: What is landsgemeinde?

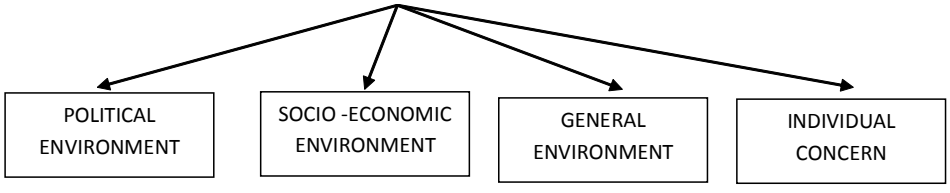
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6.7 DETERMINANTS OF POLITICAL PARTICIPATION

Now a question arise what are the factors that influence one to participate in politics? Though political participation is not identical in all political system of the world, yet the scholars have identified a number of factors that have influenced in the degree and rate of political participation of masses in a political system.

For the convenient of our discussion we can grouped these factors into four broad categories-

Factors of political participation



A) POLITICAL ENVIRONMENT: The Political conditions prevailing in our society influenced a lot in determining people's participation in politics. Such political conditions can be discussed as under:

i) Form of Political System: People's participation in Politics largely depends on what type of political system persist in a country. Contrary to authoritarian political system peoples participation is more and more in democratic political system. Even political participation is more in parliamentary form than presidential form of political system, because in a parliamentary form of government ministers are taken from amongst the legislators.

ii) Decentralization: political participation increased where there is decentralization of political power than centralized political system. In centralized political system political powers are concentrated in the hands of a single authority and thereby people have less chances of participation. Likewise contrary to unitary system, the avenues of political participation are more in federal political system.

iii) System of election: political participation mostly depends on nature of election. If the elections are held on regular basis with free and fair means, people become more and more interested to get involved in politics. On the other hand, if it is not held in a free and fair manner, money and muscle power dominates the electoral process, people loose their interest in politics and accordingly political participation will decrease.

iv) Disciplined party system: Well-disciplined party system attracts people to get involved in the political process, and people tend to show interest in their policies and programmes. On the other hand, if the political parties are not well organized, lacks discipline, formed on the basis of caste and communal lines, promote terror and violence, people loose their enthusiasm to take part in politics and the percentage of political participation comes down accordingly.

v) **Skill leadership:** Skill and dynamic leadership always play an important role in attracting and motivating people to get involves in politics. On the contrary if the leaders are not active, unskilled, selfish, not concern about the aspirations of the masses, people lose faith on them, become uninterested to be involved in politics.

vi) **Political events (regional, national & international):** Sometimes, the occurrence of political events at regional, national and international level also influence people to participate in politics. For example, incident like Assam movement in 1979-1985, arose the spirit of patriotism and sacrifice among the masses of Assam and people became more and more interested to get involved in the political process. As a result of which in 1985 congress led government had to face failure in the state Assembly election and AGP government under the chief ministership of Prafulla Kumar Mahanta came in to power in Assam.

Likewise, the Ten year tenure i.e. from 2004-2014, the UPA led Government at the centre under the Prime Ministership of Manmohan Singh unbridled corruption during his regime, people became intolerable and restless. As a result of which in order to replace this government peoples' involvement increased in political process and a new and first non-congress single party majority government, BJP led NDA, under the prime Minister ship of Narendra Modi came into power in 2014.

In such a way some international events like terrorist attack on world Trade Centre, New York had not only influenced the people of USA to get involved in politics but also influenced the people of other parts of the world in participating political process.

7) **Criminalization of politics:** Criminalization of politics i.e, when people relates with crime and corruption and the same gets political power, then the common people loose faith in politics, and it hinders political participation.

B) **Socio -Economic Environment:** The Socio -Economic environment has played a determining role in peoples' participation in the political process. These factors can be studied as under:

1) **Education:** Education acts as an eye opener of people about politics Education makes people politically matured and politically cultured, as a result of which people are keen to get themselves involved in the political process. Quantity and quality in political participation increased due to the expansion of education.

2) **Caste and religion:** Where rigid caste system prevails, people belonging to upper caste enjoy more political participation than others. During the time of election every caste group leaders try to influence the voters to cast their vote in favour of their respective caste leaders. In the Post-independent India most of the people involved themselves in politics on caste line. When Government of India declared the system of reservation of seats on the basis of caste ST, SC & OBC etc. most of the people mere involved in the political process on caste lines. The demand of 6 ethnic groups for ST status in Assam is an example of people's participation in politics on caste lines.

   Likewise, religion also play an important part in people's involvement in politics. In a theocratic state people participate in politics on religious line. But in a secular state such participation is absent. However, in a secular state like India also political leader and parties approach religious leaders for getting their support for their political parties. Most of the people in our countries cast their vote on religious line.

3) **Age and gender of the people:** People's participation in politics depends mostly on age and gender. It is seen that those who are of matured age they are between the age group of 25 to 60 years and they are more prone to be involved in politics than the youth and the aged. Again between male and female, female are less interested than men in politics. Even women are less likely to cast their vote.

4) **Economic conditions:** political participation largely depends

on economic condition of the masses. A person having empty stomach cannot realize the value of vote. So, if the people are economically well off, no gap between the rich and the poor in society, we can expect the increasing political participation both in quality and quantity.

5) **Transport and Communication:** Improve means of transport and communication leads political mobility among masses and such mobility helps in increasing participation of masses in politics. People belonging to hilly areas or are in remote places it become difficult to communicate with them, thereby political participation decreases to a great extent.

C) GENERAL ENVIRONMENT:

Under general environment we can include environmental factor, Demographic factors situational factors and some contemporary factors like -

- Political participation and its level largely influenced by environmental factors. People belonging to hot climates do not come forward to participate in politics, they are generally lazy and lethargic and thus they are less interested to get involved in politics. Likewise, people reside on isolated areas, hilly areas are less active in politics.
- Democratic factor like excessive population also have an impact on political participation. Where there is excessive population, generally it suffers form unemployment, hunger, poverty, illiteracy and ill health. such problem again leads to some of their problems like political violence, caste and communal politics etc. Under such circumstances, those who are ordinary citizens, they become less interested in politics.
- Sometime the prevailing situations also has its effect on political participation. For example, the emergency rule (1975-77) produced an increased political participation as a reaction

against repressive policies of that era.

Likewise, in Assam massive political protest occurred in the last part of 2018 against the citizenship (Amendment) Bill, 2016 where thousands of people participated under KMSS and its 70 allied organizations.

- In the same way some contemporary problems like terrorism that have been operating in North East and Jammu & Kashmir, and the Naxalite movement operating in states like Jharkhand, Bihar, Odisha, Andhra Pradesh, Madhya Pradesh, Maharashtra, West Bengal, Chhattisgarh, etc. have largely affected the political participation of the masses Even out of fear and terror people do not come out to cast their vote during election.

D) INDIVIDUAL CONCERN: political participation depends mostly on one's personal likings and disliking, taste and distaste on politics. Some people are naturally indifferent to politics, Robert Dahl put them in apolitical stratum. Whereas some people are by nature interested in politics. Moreover, those who are brought up in good family, proper political socialization occurred in family, in school, they have shown positive response towards politics and they have tried to maintain moral standards in politics. Whereas those who are brought up in poor and dull family having lots of tensions, became indifferent to politics and their response to politics is negative.

From the above discussion, it is clear that at different times and in different places several determinants have influenced in the political participation of masses. In fact, the question of political participation is becoming complex day by day and some new issues are going to emerge which will influence a lot in the process of political participation.

6.8 IMPORTANCE OF POLITICAL PARTICIPATION

Right to participation in politics is an essential element of every political system. Most particularly democratic system of politics largely depends on people's participation in politics. In the absence of political participation a democratic system may turn into a despotic one. The importance of political participation can be discussed under the following points.-

- **Stability and Legitimacy to the political system**

  The significance of political participation lies in the fact that it brings stability and legitimacy to the political system. People's faith and loyalty towards the political system increases when they take part in political process. Participation strengthens the bonds between the people and the political system. In fact political participation is the main device by which consent / legitimacy is granted or withdrawn in a democracy and government can be made accountable to the people.

- **Lesser chance of revolution**

  Political participation has reduced the scope of revolution to bringing change in political system. People resort to violence or become revolutionary if they are deprived from taking part in the political process. Contrary to that if they are allowed to do so, the people do not have to resort to violent and unconstitutional method to bring about a change in the government.

- **Idea of common good**

  Political participation relates with the idea of common good. Since people participate at all levels of political system in a democracy, contrary to bringing welfare of particular class or person in a society every structure of the system or political institution works for the promotion of common good.

- **Spirit of equality and liberty**

  Political participation enhance the spirit of equality and liberty among the masses. In democratic political system every citizen can take

part in political process without any discrimination and free and fair manner. Political participation on the basis of liberty and equality lessens the divisive feelings among masses and creates an atmosphere of brotherhood which in turn strengthen the nation building process in a political system.

- **Imparting Political education**

Political participation helps in imparting political education to the masses. Peoples' participation at various levels of the political process help them to understand different problems and they can express their views how to solve them. By participation in voting, in election campaign, in party politics etc they come to know what is government, how public policies are formulated and implemented on behalf of the citizenry, how people are linked with the government, what is the role of opposition in democracy so on and so forth.

- **Promotion of Moral Value**

Political participation enhances the spirit of co-operation, toleration, individual and collective responsibility and self-reliance among the people. All these things promote moral values, the sense of devotion and sacrifice among the people, as result of which people come out to take active part in politics.

- **Obedience to laws**

Political participation increased peoples' obedience to laws. When people participate at all levels of political system, they began to feel that the laws have been made by themselves or by their representatives and are not imposed upon them by some outside agency. As a result of which people obey laws willingly and no question arises to use force to execute them.

- **Peace and security**

To ensure peace and security to the masses is the chief aim of every political system. Where, there is available scope of peoples'

participation, the cases of violation of laws are rare. As a result of which the situation of law and order improves, which in turn protect the peace and security in society.

- **Spirit of patriotism**

  Political participation connects people emotionally with the political system. People give top priority to the national interests and progress of the country and even they are ready to sacrifice their life for the security and integrity of the nation, i.e. motherland.

- **Execution of public policy**

  Without active participation and Co-operation of people it is quite impossible to implement government policies, decisions and schemes. In India including economic planning most of the policies have failed to some extent because of the want of public Co-operation in developmental efforts. In most of the government schemes like NRHM, NREGA peoples participation is urgently felt.



CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Q.7: How political participation brings stability in a political system?

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Q.8: Do you think that implementation of public policy depends on peoples' participation?

.....

.....



6.9 LET US SUM UP

- In every political system, whether it is democratic or authoritarian, political participation has taken an important place.

- Political participation is a part of political process in which people involve in the decision making process of the government.
- Political participation covers lots of activities of the citizen ranging from voting to government formation and other functions. That's why it is multifunctional.
- All people are not equally participates in politics. Some are apathetic, apolitical, and inactive in politics and some others are very keen to take active part in politics. Accordingly at different stages people's participation are different.
- Forms of Political participation is also different. In democratic form of political participation people can participate in the political process in free and fair manner. On the contrary in authoritarian regime, the despotic ruler imposed coercive measures to ensure peoples' participation in their political system so that to gain legitimacy in favour to their regime.
- Last, but not least, it can be said that in order to ensure political stability, peace and security and for the successful making and implementing of governmental plans and projects peoples participation in political process is must.



6.10 FURTHER READING

1. Dahl, Robert A (1995). *Modern Political Analysis*, New Delhi: Prentice Hall of India Pvt. Ltd.
2. Ashraf, Ali & Sharma, L.N. (2001). *Political sociology*. Hyderabad: University press (India) Ltd.
3. Mukhopadhyay, Amal Kumar (2013). *Political Sociology*. Kolkata K.P Bagchi & Company.
4. Chakraborty, Satyabrata (edt) (2013). *Political sociology*. Delhi: Macmillan publishers India Ltd.

Web Links:

http://www.participatorymethods.org/method/levels-participation.

http://www.shareyouressays.com/knowledge/9-improtant-forms-of-political-participation/112467



6.11 ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Ans. to Q. No. 1: McCloskey define political participation as "political participation includes those voluntary activities by which members of a society share in the selection of rulers and directly or indirectly in the formation of public policy."

Ans. to Q. No. 2: Political participation relates with popular sovereignty. It is said so because political participation does not talk about a person or a particular class, group of persons, rather it talk about the participation of all masses in a political system. It is universal in character as all the people involved in politics. Thereby it is said that political participation increase the position of popular sovereignty.

Ans. to Q. No. 3: Political participation is called multifunctional in the sense that it includes different political activities performed by the citizens. Such activities are like- voting, campaigning, organizing rallies and demonstrations etc.

Ans. to Q. No. 4: In almost all the Political system of the globe apolitical stratum is found. In this stratum of political participation people are apathetic about politics and relatively inactive. Contrary to involve in politics they wish to involve in other activities.

Ans. to Q. No. 5: The power seekers are those who are greedy to acquire more and more powers than others. Whether they will became powerful or not, it is not a matter of concern for them. At least they try to seek power by contest in election in a democracy. They use all political resources to gain political power.

Ans. to Q. No. 6: Landsgemeinde is the oldest form of direct political

participation of the masses and it is still operating in two cantons of Swiss political system. Under this system all the adult citizens of cantons can assemble together once in a year and held open air meeting to discuss and take decisions about the problems and issues faced by them.

Ans. to Q. No. 7: Political participation brings stability to the political system. It is because peoples' faith and loyalty towards the political system is increased when they take part in politics. The bond between the people and the political system become tight when peoples' participation in politics increases. Through political participation peoples' consent / legitimacy towards the government is acquired and then there is less chances of frequent changes of government, thereby we can reach the goal of political stability.

Ans. to Q. No. 8: Yes, implementation of public policy depends mostly on peoples' involvement in political process. Without peoples' participation and co-operation it is impossible to implement government plans, policies and schemes. In India most of the government plans have failed due to the lack of public participation.



6.12 POSSIBLE QUESTIONS

A) Very Short Questions

Q. 1: Mention any one important name of the book written by Robert Dahl.

Q. 2: Mention three important devices of direct political participation.

Q. 3: Why the authoritarian ruler use force upon its subject?

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

Q. 1: Point out four important forms that relate with political participation.

Q. 2: Mention three important causes as to why people want to take active part in Policies?

Q. 3: Mention the name of four important states of India where Naxal movement is still persist.

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

Q. 1: What do you mean by political participation? Explain about different characteristics of political participation.

Q. 2: Explain about different stages of political participation as enumerated by Robert A Dahl.

Q. 3: What is apolitical stratum according to Robert A Dahl? Why are some people apolitical or indifferent to politics?

Q. 4: Define political participation. Discuss its different forms.

Q. 5: What is direct political participation? Discuss the different devices of direct political participation.

Q. 6: Discuss about different elements or determinants of political participation in a political system.

Q. 7: Discuss the importance or significance of political participation in a modern political system.

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UNIT 7: SOCIAL CHANGE

UNIT STRUCTURE

7.1 Learning Objectives

7.2 Introduction

7.3 Meaning and Definition of Social Change

7.4 Nature of Social Change

7.5 Theories of Social Change.

- 7.5.1 Evolutionary Theory
- 7.5.2. Cyclical Theory
- 7.5.3 Functionalist /Equilibrium Theory.
- 7.5.4 Marxian Theory or Conflict Theory

7.6 Agents of Social Change

- 7.6.1- Elites
- 7.6.2. Masses
- 7.6.3 Social Movements
- 7.6.4 Pol parties
- 7.6.5 Pressure Groups.
- 7.6.6 Bureaucracy
- 7.6.7 Civil Society

7.7 Resistance to Social Change

7.8 Let Us Sum Up

7.9 Further Reading

7.10 Answers to Check Your Progress

7.11 Possible Questions

7.1 LEARNING OBJECTIVES

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

- know the meaning of social change
- explain the nature of social change

- discuss about different theories of social change
- know about various agents of social change
- explain the different factors that hinders/ resist social change.

7.2 INTRODUCTION

Social change is a universal phenomenon and no society whether primitive or modern is left untouched by it. The phenomenon of change has somewhat an omnipresent character. The pattern and factors of social change may vary from place to place. Change is usually considered in terms of the elements of time and history in relation to a given society or social phenomena. Most of the changes are welcomed by people as it offers a variety to the existing pattern and variety is considered as the spice of life. However, in times of sudden and rapid alterations people become nostalgic and desire to come back to previous situation of unchanging normality. In fact change is the law of nature. Like nature, society is also dynamic, and subject to constant change - it is an ongoing process.

7.3 MEANING AND DEFINITION OF SOCIAI CHANGE

Before proceeding ahead towards the meaning of social change we have to know about the meaning of the word change. The term 'change' stand for any modification, difference, alteration, deletion, addition that occurs in a situation or in any object over some period of time. It can be called as transformation of something or exchange one thing for another. Likewise, social change denotes the differences that one have noticed in society when men interact with others. Some of the important definitions of social change are stated as follows-

- According to H.T Mazumdar "Social Change may be defined as a new fashion or mode, either modifying or replacing the old, in the life of a people - or in the operation of society."
- Morris Ginsberg has defined Social change as "By social change I understand a change in social structure, e.g.; the size of a society, the composition or balance of its parts or the type of its organization."

- Kingsley Davis says, "By social change is meant only such alterations as occur in social organizations, that is, structure and functions of society."
- M.E. Jones has defined the term social change as - "Social Change is a term used to describe variations in, or modifications of, any aspect of social process, social patterns, social interaction or social organizations."
- According to Lundberg, "Social change refers to any modifications in the established patterns of inter - human relationship and standard of conduct."

It is clear from the above definitions that social change is nothing but a process which involves lots of variations in social structure and social norms and values which bind the people together and help to maintain social order.

7.4 NATURE OF SOCIAL CHANGE

In order to get a clear picture of social change one must study about the nature of social change.

- **A Universal Phenomenon**

Social change is universal in nature. It occurs in all societies. Whether a society is rural or urban, primitive or modern, agrarian or industrial it is changing in the course of history. In fact, a society cannot remain static, it changes from time to time.

- **A Continuous Process**

Social change is a never ending process. It cannot be stopped. Without any break the societies are changing with the changing circumstances. Growth and decades occur in society under continuous social fluctuation.

- **Social change is not individual**

Social change is social, not individual. In this sense social change does not mean the change in the life of an individual or individuals. In

fact, social change denotes the changes which occurs in the life of the entire community.

- **Law of the nature**

  Change is the law of nature, in this change, social change is also natural. Social change may occur naturally or by the active efforts of men. Naturally we want change. Man's wants are unlimited. In order to satisfy different needs, people are going to change society, so that different desires can be fulfilled.

- **No uniformity in speed of social change**

  Though social change occurs in every society, one has noticed the lack of uniformity in speed of social change. In some societies the speed of change is so fast whereas in some societies it occurs very slowly. For example, in comparison to rural areas social change in urban areas are much faster.

- **Social change depends on time factor**

  Social change vary from societies to societies due to time factor. Indian social system of pre-independence period has got change in post-independence period. For example the nature and role of Indian bureaucracy, one of the major agents of social change, has got change in post-independence period.

- **Interaction of multiple factors**

  Interaction of different factors caused social change. Though it is assumed that behind social change a particulars factor is associated but in practical different factors relate with that particular factor which results in social change. The factors may be demographic, cultural, economic, technology, education and so on, For example, though it is said that the factor of foreigners' issue has brought Assam movement in 1989s but along with foreigners issue, factors like demography, culture and economy also provided the fuel to it.

- **Man-made and natural change**

  Social change may occur form two angles - one is man-made and the other is natural. Man in order to fulfil different desire may prepare

different plans, projects and schemes which result in social change. Natural change is unplanned, it depends upon nature. Sometimes society got change due to natural calamities like - floods, earthquakes, volcano etc.

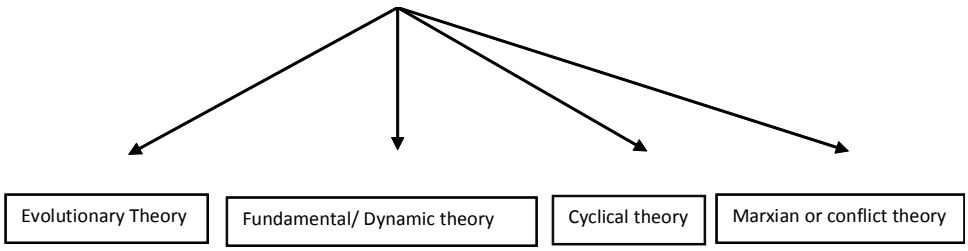
- **Chain system effect**

Social change caused chain system effect. That means change of one aspect brings corresponding effect on other aspects. For example, the changes of economic globalization have led to corresponding changes in cultural, educational, political and other aspects of our life.

These are the some common features of social change.

7.5 THEORIES OF SOCIAL CHANGE

There are different theories of social change as to explain why and how social change occurred in society broadly speaking the theories of social change can be classified into the following categories namely-



7.5.1 Evolutionary Theory

The first answer to the question as to what is social change and how to understand the nature of social change was provided by evolutionary theorist. The names of scholars like Auguste Comte, L.H. Morgan, Emile Durkheim, Herbert Spencer etc are associated with this theory. They are of the view that social change meant progress toward something better. Social change occurs gradually as a process of growth and evolution.

This evolutionary view of social change was highly influenced by Charles Darwin's theory of 'Organic Evolution'. More specifically, Herbert Spencer (1820-1903), a British Sociologist was highly impressed by Charles Darwin's evolutionary theory. Herbert Spencer had applied Darwin's Principle 'the survival of the fittest' in order to give an understanding about social change. He reasonably argued that society gradually upgraded from lower to upper stage. Spencer argued that earlier the western societies were military society and now it is converted into industrial one. As the western societies are prone to adapt themselves with the changing conditions they are well survived having faced lots of turbulence. Such views of Spencer about society becomes known as social Darwinism.

Email Durkheim, the French sociologist, is of the view that social change occurred because of societal evolution and such evolution resulting from society's increasing moral density. Durkheim pointed out that earlier society was having undifferentiated social structure, minimum division of labour and social cohesion was very mechanical known as mechanical solidarity. Now it has evolved to more differentiated social structure, maximum division of labour and social unity and cohesion also changed from mechanical to organic solidarity.

Thinkers like morgan has pointed out that society has evolved from primitive to new levels of civilization and in this context he offered three basic stages of change in society, namely-Savagery, barbarism and civilization. Likewise, Auguste Comte also mentioned three stages in the evolution of society and human thought - these stages are namely- the theological, the metaphysical and the positive. Accordingly to Auguste Comte, 'human societies evolve in a unilineal way- that is in one line of development.

7.5.2 Cyclical Theories

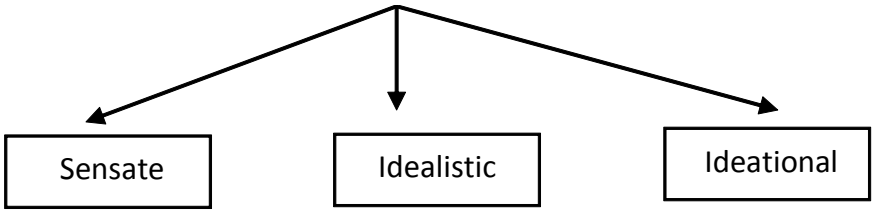
The main exponents of cyclical theory of social change were Oswald Spengler, Arnold Toynbee and P. A. Sorokin In addition to them the name of Vilfredo Pareto is also associated with this theory. How social change occur? They answered in the following ways.

Oswald Spengler in his famous book 'The Decline of the west'- 1918, make an analogy of change between a living organism like human being and society. Each living organism has its life cycles. For example each individual is born, mature, grow old and die. Likewise societies and civilization also change according to cycles of rise, decline and fall. It believes on the phrase - 'History repeats itself'. Likewise, society after passing all these stages, returns to the original stage and thus the cycle begins again. In order to prove his thesis Spengler had made an extensive study of eight major civilizations of the world. And came to a conclusion that the western societies have appeared in the last stage and are entering a period of decay. The incidents of wars, conflicts and social breakdown are the clear proof of this fact.

- Arnold Toynbee, a historian by profession also accepted the cyclical view of social change in his famous book - 'A study of History' - 1934. After studying the history of various civilizations he has found that every civilization like the civilization of Egypt, has its rise, development and fall. In this context Toynbee offered a theory named as 'challenge and response'. A society has to face different challenges from the environment - internal or external. Then it has to respond properly - where lies its fate. It means the societies which can cope with the changing environment can survive and those which cannot face will die.
- P.A. Sorokin, an American sociologist in his famous book 'Social and cultural Dynamics' - 1937 has also upheld the cyclical view of social change but slightly different than Spengler and Toynbee.

In order to pacify his views Sorokin has offered a theory known as 'pendulum theory of social change.'

In his pendulum theory Sorokin has mentioned two kinds of basic culture - named as the 'sensate' and the 'Ideational' and in between the two a mixed form of culture is found known as the 'idealistic' as shown below-



The Sensate culture is directly linked to the senses and sensual desires. It is hedonistic, practical and thus empirical in nature.

On the contrary, the ideational culture has nothing to do with senses but to the mind or to the spirit. In this type of culture expressions of art, literature, religion and ethics do not appeal to the senses but appeal to the mind of the people. It is abstract and symbolic in nature.

The third type as known as the 'Idealistic' culture representing the qualities of both the two culture. It is the mixture of faith, reason and senses.

According to him, culture oscillates from sensate pole and leads towards the ideational pole through the middle pole called 'idealistic' culture like the pendulum of a clock. Like the swings of pendulum clock society also change from sensate culture to ideational culture and comes to its original position.

- Vilfredo Pareto, an Italian sociologist, is also associated with the cyclical theory of social change. How and why change occur in society - in order to pacify this phenomena he offered the theory of 'circulation of elite' He pointed out, as an agent of social change elite is not permanent. There is a continuous cycle of

the rise and decline of elite in society. This constant circulation of elites help to maintain the equilibrium of the social system because it ensures the upward mobility of the best minds. At the same time it contributes to social change, as the circulation of elites leads the circulation of ideas.

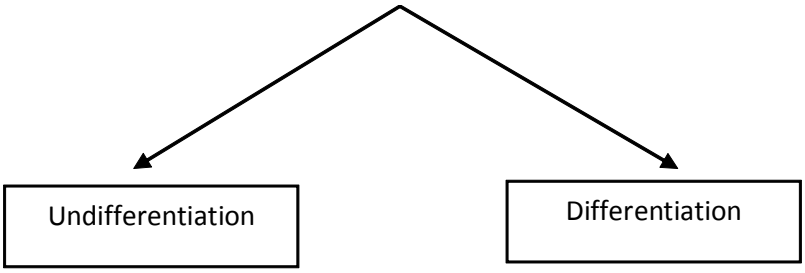
7.5.3 Functionalist/Equilibrium Theory

In the early part of 20th century functionalist theory has emerged as a new theory, reacting to the evolutionary theory of social change. The functionalist has criticized the evolutionary notion of social change and called it the 'fruitless quest for origin' (as cited in - http://www.yourarticlelibrary.com/sociology/top-5-theories -of-social-change-explained/35124)

Scholars like Herbert Spencer, Emile Durkheim, Robert Merton, Talcott Persons and so on are associated with the functionalist perspective of social change. According to them, Society is comprised of interconnected parts which work together in order to maintain balance or equilibrium as a whole.

The basic theme of the functionalist theory is how to ensure balance or equilibrium in a society. They added, balance in society can be ensured by social stability. In fact stability does not mean stagnation. It means progressive changes by absorbing disruptive forces, which in turn maintain balance in society. With the passage of time to suit the needs of changing circumstances change may occur in the direction of altering the state of equilibrium so that new equilibrium in society can be established. In this context, social change may occur from two fronts - one is by linking with other societies. Second one is solving different problems and making adjustment within the system.

Functionalist thinker Talcott person is of the view that there are two processes through which social change occur.



The traditional society was based on undifferentiation of social institutions, because society was very simple. A single institution has to perform many functions. But modern society is more complex and social institutions are based on differentiation and specialization. Different institutions have to perform special tasks of society and these institutions have to link together by means of 'integration'.

Thus functionalist model of social change relates with both stability and change in society.

7.5.4 Conflict Theory or Marxian Theory of Social Change

Conflict theory has emerged as a dominant theory of social change in the 19th and early 20th century, reacting to the functional theory of social change which put more emphasis on stability in society. Contrary to ensuring stability and maintenance of the social system put forwarded by the functionalist, conflict theorist are going to knock the door of the ground realities (material conditions) which caused instability, clash, conflict and social disorder in the society. According to conflict theory social change is universal and it occurs through social conflict.

German philosopher Karl Marx is the main champion of conflict theory of social change. Marx asserts that social structure is based on economic conditions and economically oriented actions, which has influenced all other aspects of human activity. The economic structure of society is constitute by the relations of production and it

is the main foundation for the legal and political superstructures. To Marx, 'the mode of production in material means determines in general the whole process of social, political, intellectual and spiritual life.'

In the communist manifesto (1848) Marx and his friend F. Engels asserted, "The history of all hitherto existing society is the history of class struggles. Freeman and slave, patrician and plebeian, lord and serf, guild master and journeyman, in a word, oppressor and oppressed, stood in constant opposition to one another……. either in a revolutionary re-constitution of society at large, or in the common ruin of the contending classes." (as cited in progress publishers, Moscow, selected works- Karl Marx and F. Engels, 1977, pg-108)

As such Marx states that in every form of society there are two contending classes- the haves and the have nots. The hostility and conflict between these contending classes is the main forces behind the change in society. When the subordinate class becomes increasingly conscious of its suffering there will be a revolutionary struggle between the classes and this helps the process of the emergence of a new social order.

Accordingly Marx has divided the whole history of social change into five progressive stages-

- The primitive communism ,
- The Slave owning epoch,
- The feudal age,
- The era of capitalism , and
- The Socialist society - the final stage of social change and human history.

Thus history is the record of conflict between the exploiter (the haves/the rich) and the exploited (the have nots/ the poor) classes. This conflict is going on until the last man of capitalism is vanquished and the establishment of socialist society. As such, in conflict theory,

Marx added, in society there are never ending conflicts between classes as they are searching and competing for limited resources. Contrary to consensus and conformity social order is maintained by power and domination.

- **Drawbacks of conflict theory**

  Though conflict theory is more impressive and influential, yet it is not beyond criticism. Some of the major drawbacks of this theory are:-

  - This theory is not perfect. Because it emphasizes only on one factor i.e. economic factor so far as social change is concerned. It does not include other factors e.g. religion, language, culture, emotion and feelings etc. which has stupendous impact on bringing social change.
  - Sometimes society may be changed by the personalities of a man. For example, the personalities of Mahatma Gandhi, Buddha, Tolstoy, Hitler etc. could mould the society to the great extent But Marx does not include the personality of a man in bringing social change. Even socialist revolution is impossible without the charisma of leader.
  - On the basis of economy Marx has classified the people in society into two classes - the haves (the rich) and the have nots (the poor). But he does not talk about the middle class in between the two which has taken vital role in bringing social change.

    Moreover, on the basis of language, religion, caste etc. there may be many more categories of people in society.
  - Marx in his conflict theory insists only the revolutionary aspect and totally negates the evolutionary aspects so far as social change is concerned. But history admits that we have made progress at an immense rate through co-operation and compromise among groups. In fact evolution and not revolution is the internal force of progress.

- Marx favoured a classless and stateless society but it is quite impossible to establish socialism without state.

In spite of having so many drawbacks, we cannot minimize the importance of conflict theory as propounded by Karl Marx. It has focused fruitfully how society has changed in the course of history on the basis of economy. Almost all the thinkers of the globe now admitted that the economic factors exert a very important influence on politics and social philosophy of a given society.



CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Q.1: What do you mean by chain system effect?

.....

.....

Q.2: What are the three stages of evolution according to Auguste Comte?

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.....

Q.3: What are the differences between the sensate and the ideational culture?

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7.6 AGENTS OF SOCIAL CHANGE

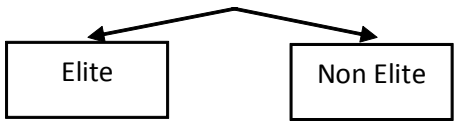
There are some agents of social change namely elites, masses, social movements, political parties, pressure groups, bureaucracy, civil society etc. These can be studied as follows:

7.6.1 Elites

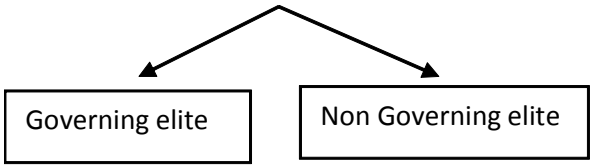
Elite is an important agent of social change. The dictionary meaning of elite is the chosen element in the population. The elite is composed of the 'superior' members of society on those to whom

exceptional qualities bring power and prestige . According to V. pareto. "The elite is composed of all those who manifest exceptional qualities or who demonstrate outstanding aptitude in their held or in some activity."

To Pareto, in society there are two classes of people.



Elite represent the higher class or the class that yields power and control political set up. On the other hand, members of Non- Elite class do not posses such qualities. Further Elite class is divided into two sub-classes namely --



Governing elites are those who directly or indirectly carry out the functions of the govt. and influence the administration. They are the real policy makers in a country, through different government politics they tries to bring social change. On the other hand, the non elite do not directly take part in the government and decision making process but influence decision from outside.

As an agent of social change elite is not a static element. There is a continuous rise and fall of elite in history. Sometime elite become non elite and non-elite can gain elite status. In this context Pareto offered the theory of circulation of elites and G. Mosca had propounded the theory of 'Rise and fall' of elite. Such ups and down of elite ensures the upward mobility of the best minds. With the rise and fall of elites the ideas also circulate, accordingly different changes occur in society.

7.6.2 Masses

If elite can bring Social change, a question generally arises in our mind whether non elite i.e.; masses can contribute in bringing social change or not. Whether elite only bring changes upon the masses (non-elite) in a society or the masses (non-elite) can also bring changes upon the elite. In general masses meant the common people. Cambridge English dictionary defines it as the ordinary people who form the largest group in a society.

Collins English dictionary defines it as the body of common people. Longman Dictionary of contemporary English defines the term masses as - all the ordinary people in society who do not have power or influence.

Masses are the force behind bringing different Socio-Political changes in a political system. In a democratic system people are supreme; they are the owner of popular sovereignty. They can make and unmake government, change governing elite through their voting rights in election.

In direct democracy like Switzerland, people can take major decisions themselves and put pressure upon the governing elite to change and stop anti social policies of the government. Before and after making policies rulers have to take the consent of the masses. Even masses can return back such representatives who can not fulfil their wishes and take anti-social policies by the device of 'Recall'.

In fact, all political system are based upon the will and consent of the governed/masses. Masses provide Legitimacy to the political system. In this context the Latin Proverb 'Vox Populi, Vox Dei' - meant voice of the people that is the voice of the God is quite relevant. No government can undermine the voice of the people. Even if the government tries to dominate the will of the people, going to do something against them, people can come out with mass protest. The mass movement against the British government under the

leadership of Mahatma Gandhi during colonial period resulting in Indian's independence, the mass movement against the foreigners issue known as Assam movement resulting in the Assam Accord in 1985, the mass protest against the citizenship (Amendment) Bill 2016 in 2018-2019 under the banner of different local organizations resulted in the failure of passing the bill by NDA government etc. are some glaring examples of how the spirit of the masses can bring change in society.

Even the successful operation of government plans and projects depends on the participation of the masses. Masses are the supplier of proper man power to the government. Moreover, society and social change mostly depends upon the quality and quantity of the masses.

7.6.3 Social Movements

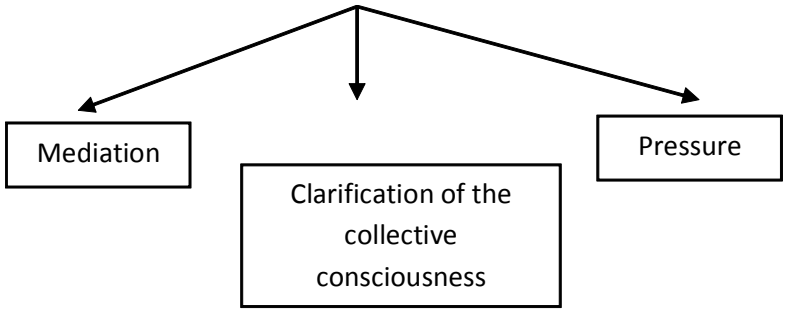
Social movement as an agent of social change means a form of collective behaviour and a type of group action of people to bring about a change or to combat any change in society. In Social movement rather remaining silent Spectators or meek Participants in social occurring, people come out actively to intervene in the process of social change.

Parker and Anderson have defined social movement as "it is a form of dynamic pluralistic behaviour which progressively develops structure through time and aims at partial or complete modification of the social order". (as cited in http:// www.sociologydiscussion.com/ social movements/social……)

According to Lundberg and others, Social movement can be defined as "a voluntary association of people engaged in concerted efforts to change attitudes, behaviour and Social relationships in a larger society". (ibid) According to Horton and Hunt, "A Social Movement is a collective effort to promote or resist change".

Thus, a social movement can be defined as a persistent and organized effort of a large group of people or by an organization of people in bringing changes in the society. Such changes may be reformative or radical. Reformative in the sense, when the aim of the movement is to modify certain aspects of the existing social order. On the other hand, when the aim of the social movement is to bring a complete and thorough change of the existing social order, is called radical or revolutionary social change. Sometimes, counter movements also occun against a social movement. The purpose behind such counter movements is to oppose the original movement. The counter movement tries to maintain the status quo in Society.

Social Movement as an agent of Social change has performed three functions namely -



(as cited in Rocher Guy, 1972, Pg 445)

Mediation: As a mediator Social movement plays an important role between individuals on the one hand and structures and social realities on the other. In order to defend, criticize or to suggest social change, Social movement explains social realities. From this point of view it is seen that social movement has taken a role of socializing agents, convey social reality among the people.

In addition to this as a mediator it acts as a powerful medium of participation. In a complex society social movement integrate people for common cause which results in organic solidarity.

Thus, in a mass society, social movement has acted as a mediator groups through which different actors tries to protect their interests, assert their ideas and thus participate in historical action in varying degrees.

Clarification of the collective consciousness:

A social movement, by its nature, develops and maintains a clear and aggressive collective consciousness in a society or a particular sector of society. (As cited in Rocher Guy 1972, pg-446) Since the time of Karl Marx who propounded the theory of class consciousness, it has been recognized as one of the main functions of social movement. For example, in Indian context, during colonial period due to exploitative land revenue policy the peasantry class became conscious that gave birth to peasant movements in different parts of India.

Pressure:

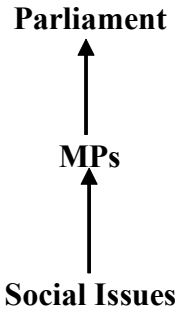
Thirdly, as an agent of social change, social movement exerts pressure on individuals in authority and on elite in power. As a result of which social movements are able to change the course of history. In the age of modern science and technology, it becomes very easy to put pressure upon the authority by social movement against anti-social policy through different print and electronic media. For example it is due to pressure put forwarded by different organizations of North East and other parts of India that led protest movement against the citizenship (amendment) Bill 2016 in 2018-2019, and the central government did not dare to enact the Bill.

As such, it is seen that social movement has taken an active role in bringing social change. It is also seen that sometimes social change gives birth to social movement. It is on this ground that scholar like Smelser has commented that social movement is nothing but an organized group effort to generate socio - cultural change.

7.6.4 Political Parties

In a democratic socio-political system political parties have taken an important role simply speaking a political party can be defined as an association of some people who have common views on different issues and who desire to secure power by constitutional means for fulfilling their objectives. In a democracy the presence of political parties are felt because - Firstly, political parties educate the citizens on political affairs, Secondly, political parties provide an opportunities to the masses to elect their ruling elite.

Whatever the kinds of political parties - single, bi-party or multi party the citizens are directly linked with it, accordingly different problems faced by the society are easily solved by the politician.



As has been shown above the MPs may take up the social issues which he can raise at the highest forum of the country that is the parliament. In fact, all the major decisions concerning social problems are discussed in the house of parliament which bring corresponding change in society.

7.6.5 Pressure Groups

In addition to political parties, in our modern socio political systems pressure groups have played an important role. Simply speaking a pressure group, like a political party, can be defined as an association of people having common interest, which tries to make an influence on the government in order to fulfill their interest. Unlike political parties

which want to capture political power or form a government, the aim of pressure groups are not to capture political power but to influence or put pressure upon the government to meet their needs. Different thinkers have defined pressure groups in different ways-

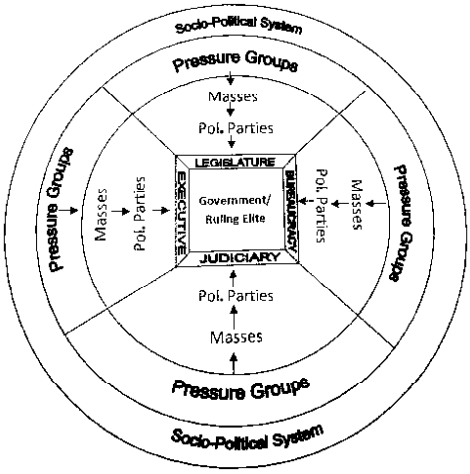
According to Henry A. Turner, "Pressure groups can be defined as Non- partisan organizations which attempt to influence some phase of public policy".

H. Zeigler, defines pressure group as "an organized aggregate which seeks to influence the context of governmental decisions without attempting to place its members in formal governmental capacities."

Scholars, like V. O. Key has defined it as - "Pressure groups are private associations formed to influence public policy.

By the above definitions, it is clear that pressure groups are non-partisan organizations which attempt to influence some phases of public policy.

As an agent of social change pressure groups are seen to take active part because, these groups consist of people belonging to society. Thereby these groups have represented the will of the masses in a given society. These groups have influenced all the branches of the government in order to meet their needs. We can illustrate it by the following diagram.



Pressure /influence of pressure groups on Government.

As shown in the above diagram pressure group tries to mobilize the masses in their favour which in turn make an influence over the political parties, accordingly the political parties put pressure upon the ruling elite so that the ruling elite make polices in favour of them. For example in North East NESO is the powerful student organization - a pressure group. They have tried their level best to mobilize the people of North East on different issues like illegal migrants, issues of citizenship, NRC update etc. which in turn make an influence upon the political parties, thereby put pressure on the government.

During the time of election, it is seen that most of the pressure groups have tried to help different political parties so that their desired candidate can get party tickets. They collect fund and spend out that amount on the canvassing, campaigns of the candidate.

After winning in the election they try to place their candidates in executive post i.e., to ensure that they get a berth in the ministry. They even try to influence the independence of the Judiciary. Though Judiciary is a neutral organ but appointment of Judges are political. They have given utmost attention on the appointment of the judges of the Judiciary so that their favourable Judges can come to the power. In countries like USA pressure groups appoint the lobbyist to make their demands successful.

7.6.6 Bureaucracy

In the frame work of a welfare state and in the wake of introduction of various development programmes bureaucracy is expected to function as catalytic agency of social change and development.

The term bureaucracy was first coined by French scholar Vincent de Gournay.

However, it was German sociologist Max Weber, in the 19th century who for the first time systematically developed the concept

of bureaucracy as an organizational mode. The term 'Bureaucracy' refers to two things --

- It refers to the tasks and procedures of administration and
- It is used as a collective word to indicate a body of administrative officials.

As an agent of social change it is seen that the development policies and programmes formulated at the higher level of government are implemented through various departments of government - which are manned by skill bureaucrats. Bureaucracy acts as a mediator between government and the masses. All the policies of the government are translated into practice by bureaucrats as well as the problems and grievances of the society are studied and communicated to the government by them.

During the time of emergency and crisis administration manned with skilled bureaucrats come forward to rescue society. It is the duty of bureaucrats like District commissioner to maintain law and order in society. It is the bureaucrats who often make different awareness programmes among the masses of society about different anti- social and anti-national elements.

In fact, they are considered as the back bone of a socio-political system and it is due to the increasing role of bureaucracy that it is known as the 'fourth branch of the government'. However, some scholars are of the view that by and large bureaucrats are conservative in their outlook and therefore, changes occur at snail's pace in society.

7.6.7 CIVIL SOCIETY

In the era of neo-liberal economy and globalization the role of civil society has assumed much more importance in socio - political and developmental discourse. The name of scholars like Hegel, Karl Marx, Fredrick Engels and Antonio Gramsci are associated with the concept of civil society.

At present 'civil society' is regarded as the 'third part' of the society as it is different from family, market units, political parties and from the government. Civil society can be defined as an aggression of autonomous non-governmental, non-political, voluntary, civil and social organization which represent the interest and will of individuals in a society. According to Niraja Gopal Jayal, "civil society covers all forms of voluntary association and social interaction not controlled by the state."

(as cited in Laxmikanth2011, pg 227)

Thus it is seen -

- Civil Society refers to voluntary and not-profit seeking groups.
- They are non-state institutions.
- Their main aim is to achieve common good.
- Though it is autonomous in character, but it is not beyond the control of state.

Some of the examples of civil society organizations.

- Religious organizations,
- Trade unions and other collective bargaining groups,
- Organizations of farmers,
- Women associations,
- Organisations at local and grass roots level,
- Different Non-governmental organizations etc.

Hence, the term 'civil society' itself is a plural concept. One cannot put 'a' or 'the' in front of of concept of civil society.

As an agent of social Change civil society has taken the role of an educator. It educates the masses about their rights and liabilities in society. Civil society collect and spread different information about various schemes, plans and projects of the government among masses and makes them aware about these programmes.

They act as watch dog against the violation of human rights and violation of public interest. For example in 1991 Manab Adhikar Sangram Samiti (MASS) was formed to protect and protest against the violation of rights of the people of Assam.

Sometimes one can notice civil society as mobiliser and agitator. It often tries to moblise people and form public opinion for or against government policy. And if they find, such government policies go against the society then they have taken the role of 'Agitator' on behalf of aggrieved citizens. For example, Krishak Mukti Sangram Samiti (KMSS), a peasant organization formed by RTI activist Akhil Gogoi in 2005, was able to mobilize the people of Assam against the anti-farmers policy of the Government securing land and forest rights, exposing corruption, opposing the construction of Big dams, and recently the citizenship (Amendment) Bill 2016.

Even, some civil societies have taken the role of conflict resolution in society. For example the Asom Sahitya Sabha, the Asom Sattra Sanmillan, the Asom Jatiyatabadi Yuba Chatra Parishad have tried in different phases of time to solve conflict between ULFA and the government.

In fact, civil society act as a think tank for society. When evils surround the society, they come forward to rescue society from impending dangers.

7.7 RESISTANCE TO SOCIAL CHANGE

Social change is universal, omnipresent phenomenon, however, people do not accept all the changes that occurred in society without questioning. Some changes are easily welcomed by the people and some changes came into existence after due resistance. It is on this point resistance to social change means opposition to, refusal to, unwillingness to, reluctance to accept social change by the masses. There are some important reasons why people resist or oppose social change.

1) **Inventions:** It is said that necessity is the mother of invention. It means the main driving force for new inventions is a need. If the inventions are need based of the people then it is easily acceptable for them. But if such invention goes against society or a section of society then it is more likely to resist the same by the masses. They come out to reject the same.

2) **Deficiency and fear about new inventions:** At the very beginning new inventions, be it mechanical or social inventions, have some Loopholes. Due to inadequacy on its part people are less likely to accept such inventions. Moreover, people have fear and doubt about new inventions. For example doubt and fear still persist among the male members in our society on the invention of male sterilization or permanent contraception. Such fear hinders the process of social change.

3) **Conservatism:** Conservatism on the part of the masses stood as an obstacle in the way of social change. They loved their age old tradition practices. Change denote replacement of the old by the new, which caused instability and disequilibrium in society. So contrary to change they try to maintain status quo in their social system.

4) **Lack of knowledge:** Sometime lack of knowledge, ignorance of the people also prevent social change. For example, due to the lack of knowledge on the part of the polling personnel before undergoing training some were hesitant to introduce EVM in place of Ballot Box. Therefore, proper demonstration and training is required before introducing a new change in society. However, it is difficult to demonstrate on the social issues. Nevertheless the means of street play, Drama, movies can be used to demonstrate different social issues.

5) **Habit:** Habit stood as an obstacle to social change. An invention, after regular practice, people become familiar and habituated to it . Therefore, when a new change occurs replacing the old one people refuse to accept it on the plea of unfamiliarity. They are accustomed to regular practice and opposed to unfamiliarity.

6) **Economic gaps:** A society having wide economic gap between the rich and the poor, or where people suffers from extreme poverty, it is not possible to bring meaningful social changes. The poor, downtrodden and deprived section in the society are unable to reap the fruits of social change. It is because sometime accepting new ones become a costly affair.

7) **Intellectual capacity:** Social change requires some amount of Intellectual capacity on the part of the masses. People should have creative mind and rational thinking in order to realize new changes in the society.

8) **Mal Administration:** Administrative machinery is the main agent of social change because most of the legitimate changes occur in our society through this. However, if the administrative system itself suffers from mal practice, inefficiency, corruption etc, it will not become easy to bring social change in an orderly manner.

9) **Vested interest group:** The people having vested interest always try to oppose social change. There are some section in society who always notice whether the new change endangers their interest or not . If they found it does - they would leave no stone unturned to stop such changes.

10) **Superstitions and Rumours:** Superstition and blind faith is also responsible for the opposition to social change. It is due to superstition that witch hunting is still practiced in our country. Likewise rumours on certain phenomenon also hinders social change. Moreover, in the age of internet such rumour becomes viral spreading to the nook and corner of the society, which harms a lot . For Example government of Assam had made a special drive on 'Measles and Rubella vaccination' in 2017 and 2018 among school going children in different parts of Assam. In the meantime a rumour had spread among people that such vaccine would make both males and females infertile. As a result of which the government's effort to bring change in the society in the true sense of the term failed.

In addition to these the factors like climate change and pollution, terrorism, war like situation mainly in bordering areas, lack of infrastructure in remote areas and so on are also stood as an obstacle to social change.

However, one cannot say resistance has no significance. Resistance to social change has some positive side also. One must resist those inventions and changes in society if it causes harm to many. If decision is taken to introduce totalitarianism by replacing democracy it must be protested as totalitarianism negates the rights of many, harmful for masses. Therefore, all changes cannot be welcomed without questioning.



CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Q.4: How does governing elite differs from Non-Governing elite?

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Q.5: What do you meant by counter movement?

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Q.6: What is the basic difference between political party and pressure groups?

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7.8 LET US SUM UP

- Social changes is a universal phenomenon, denotes variations in social structure and social norms and values.
- There are different theories of social change ranging from evolutionary theory to Marxian theory. And each of them have studied different processes of social change.
- Marxian theory is differ from other theories in the sense that contrary to stability and system maintenance it talks about why and how instability, clash, conflict and social disorder emerge in society.

- As an agent of social change elite is not a static element. There is continuous ups and down of elite which ensures the upward mobility of the best minds.
- Masses, social movements, Political party and pressure groups represent the collective behaviour and efforts in bringing social change.
- At present, civil society also emerge as an important agent of social change. It acts as a think tank for society.
- People do not welcome all the changes without questioning. Some sort of resistance comes from the people in the process of bringing social change. It is however, all resistance are not harmful. For the greater interest of the society, some resistance is very essential.



7.9 FURTHER READING

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2. Bhushan, Vidya & DR, Sachdeva (1994). *An introduction to sociology*. Allahabad: kitab Mahal
3. Johari, J.C. (1996). *Comparative politics*. New Delhi: Sterling Publishers Pvt. Ltd.

Web Links:

http://www.yourarticlelibrary.com/sociology/top-5-theories-of-social-change explained/35124

https://www.investopedia.com/terms/c/conflict-theory.asp

https://www.newworldencyclopedia.org/entry/social-change



7.10 ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Ans. to Q. No. 1: Social changes led chain system effect. It means change of one aspect brings corresponding effect on other aspects. For example economic globalization brings lots of changes in different aspects like cultural, educational, political and social and so on.

Ans. to Q. No. 2: In the evolutionary theory of social change, Auguste Comte has mentioned three stages in the evolution of society and human thought. These stages are the theological, the metaphysical and the positive.

Ans. to Q. No. 3: Sorokin in his pendulum theory views on social change has mentioned three types of culture namely, sensate, ideational and idealistic culture. The basic differences between the senate and the ideational culture are- The sensate culture directly linked to the senses and sensual desires. Whereas, the ideational culture do not appeal to senses, but linked to the mind or to the spirit .

Secondly- The sensate culture is hedonistic, practical and thus empirical in nature.

On the Contrary, ideational culture is abstract and symbolic in nature.

Ans. to Q. No. 4: Governing elites are those who directly or indirectly carry out the functions of the government. They are the real policy makers in a political system.

On the other hand the non-elite do not directly take part in the government and decision making process but influence decision from outside.

Ans. to Q. No. 5: Counter movement, the name itself suggests it is a movement to oppose other movement. Against a social movement counter movements occur. The purpose behind such counter movement is to oppose the original movement . The counter movement tries to maintain the status- quo in society.

Ans. to Q. No. 6: Like a political party, a pressure group is also an association of people having common interest. However, there are some basic differences between the two. The main aim of a political party is to capture political power i.e; become a government. Where as the purpose of a pressure group is not to become a government but to make a pressure or influence upon the government to fulfil their desired interest.



7.11 POSSIBLE QUESTIONS

A) Very Short Questions

Q. 1: What is the basic theme of functionalist theory?

Q. 2: What are the views of Herbert Spencer on evolution of society?

Q. 3: What are the views of Sorokin on pendulum theory of social change?

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

Q. 1: How Oswald Spengler viewed on cyclical nature of social change?

Q. 2: What are the views of Sorokin on pendulum theory of social change?

Q. 3: Point out V. Pareto's views on circulation of elite.

Q. 4: Mention four points of drawbacks lies in conflict theory of social change.

Q. 5: Describe the role of masses in bringing social change.

Q. 6: Mention four features of civil society.

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

Q. 1: What do you mean by social change? Discuss its main features.

Q. 2: Critically discuss about the Marxian theory of social change

Q. 3: Briefly explain the role of different agents in bringing social change.

Q. 4: Discuss the role of elite as an agent of social change.

Q. 5: What do you mean by social Movement? How does social movement help in bringing social change?

Q. 6: What is pressure group? Discuss the role of pressure groups as an agent of social change.

Q. 7: Define civil society. Discuss the role of civil society as an agent of social change.

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UNIT 8: VIOLENCE

UNIT STRUCTURE

8.1 Learning Objectives

8.2 Introduction

8.3 Meaning and Nature of Violence

8.4 Theories and Forms of Violence

8.5 Culture of Violence

8.6 Impact of Violence in the Society

8.7 Let Us Sum Up

8.8 Further Reading

8.9 Answers to Check Your Progress

8.10 Possible Questions

8.1 LEARNING OBJECTIVES

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

- discuss the meaning and nature of violence
- explain different forms and theories of violence
- analyse the impact of Violence in the society.

8.2 INTRODUCTION

The nature of violence has undergone a transformation in the last few decades. Contemporary violent conflicts, especially of armed nature are fast adopting alternative methods of warfare and spreads all over the world in diverse socio-political context. Violations of human rights, armed violence sponsored by both state and non-state actors etc have resulted in perpetuating fear and insecurity and thereby dismantling the emotional fabric of a greater society. The violence of different characters jeopardizes the lives of the civilian in an armed conflict situation which created a dilemma in case of human security as well. Violence is an expression of conflict. As a human being, we have a choice of how we wish to respond to conflict or express it- Violently or non-violently. Gandhi, Dalai Lama and many others choose to express conflicts non-violently.

8.3 MEANING AND NATURE OF VIOLENCE

The definition of violence is indeed very broad. Generally, the term violence has been interpreted as the opposite of peace and non-violence. Violence can occur between individuals, within families, among communities and most likely between ethnic groups. It is because of antagonistic ideas, frustration, differences among people, relative deprivation , psychological hostility, intolerant behaviour, institutional deregulations, absence of co-operation etc.

Johan Galtung, a Norwegian sociologist and a principal founder of the discipline of Peace and Conflict Studies developed a theoretical school which speaks of four levels at which conflict can emerge: Internal conflicts in a person or between persons i.e inter-personal and intra-personal; Conflicts between races, sexes, generations or classes; conflicts between the states; and conflicts between different civilizations of the world.

Galtung uses six dimensions while analysing the concept of violence: (1) violence can be physical or psychological, (2) it can use negative or positive means of influence, (3) it can have an object or not, (4) it can have a subject or not (personal vs. structural), (5) it can be intended or not,(6) it can be manifest or latent. Psychological or potential violence which also can be considered as 'latent violence' in the words of Galtung. Johan Galtung brilliantly explained about this kind of violence. According to him psychological violence inject upon the psyche of human being. For example, when a nation conducted nuclear explosion on its own territory without hurting single individual, but as a threat directed to the other parts of the world, the explosion itself has no object, but the threat does have one which ultimately results in latent violence.

Galtung, who had significantly defined structural violence as the systematic ways in which a given regime prevents individuals from achieving their full potential. The term 'structural violence' was for the first time, commonly used by Johan Galtung in 1970. Structural violence is a systematic way of violence in which a particular social structure or institutional mechanism kills individuals by depriving them from minimum needs. We

can categorize institutionalized elitism, ethnocentrism, classism, racism, sexism, adultism, nationalism, heterosexism etc as the notable examples of structural violence. Due to the socio-political and economic exploitation and domination, life spans of the individuals are reduced. In different occasions, structural violence often culminate into violent conflict or direct form of violence including family violence, racial violence, hate crimes, terrorism, genocide and war.

In 1984, Petra Kelly in her first book 'Fighting for Hope' wrote, "A third of the 2,000 million people in the developing countries are starving or suffering from malnutrition. Twenty-five percent of their children die before their fifth birthday [...] Less than 10 percent of the 15 million children who died this year had been vaccinated against the six most common and dangerous children's diseases. Vaccinating every child cost £3 per child. But not doing so costs us five million lives a year. These are classic examples of structural violence".

In some cases, Ethnocentrism acted as a source of structural violence. It entails a belief system that one's own race or ethnic group is the most important and all aspects of its culture thought to be superior in comparison to those of other. Most likely 'racism' also denotes a race-based prejudice, violence, discrimination or even worst form of exploitation and oppression. A lot of contestation arises due to the meaning of 'Racialism'. According to the Oxford English Dictionary, racism is a belief or ideology that all members of each race possess characteristics or abilities specific to that race, especially to distinguish it as being either superior or inferior to another race or races. The Merriam-Webster's Dictionary defines racism as a belief that race is the primary determinant of human traits and capacities and that racial differences produce an inherent superiority of a particular race, and that it is also the prejudice based on such a belief.

An encyclopaedia article provides an explanation to the much-discussed term of 'Structural violence', "Violence is built into the social system and expresses itself in the unequal distribution of power and, as a result, unequal opportunities (i.e inequality in the distribution of income,

education, opportunities etc). So far as Galtung is concerned, structural violence is synonymous with 'Social Injustices'.

In the last decade of 20th century, Galtung popularised another typology of violence which can be commonly considered as cultural violence. In the words of Galtung, 'Cultural violence should be understood as those aspects of culture that can be used to justify or legitimate the use of direct or structural violence'.

The violence in structural form not only injects the human body but also impacts the mind and the soul. In analysing the very concept of structural violence, Galtung aptly discussed about Negative and Positive Peace. The kind of peace which may be more than just the absence of overt violent conflict is considered to be negative peace. On the other hand, positive peace includes a range of relationships up to a state where nations might have collaborative and supportive co-ordinations. The destructive level of structural violence goes beyond the degree of direct violence. This kind of violence does injustices to the individual at higher level. For example, from economic point of view, we can consider Neo-colonialism as one kind of structural violence. In a conflict prone area, the possibilities of this kind of violence is greater in comparison to peaceful region.



CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Q.1: Who is the principal founder of the discipline of Peace and Conflict Studies?

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Q.2: Write briefly about the meaning of violence.

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Q.3: Mention four levels of conflicts as pointed out by Johan Galtung

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8.4 DIFFERENT THEORIES AND FORMS OF VIOLENCE

8.4.1 Diiferent Theories of Violence

Several theories attempt to explain the causes, dynamics, and manifestations of violence. Here are some prominent theories of violence:

Social Learning Theory: Developed by Albert Bandura, social learning theory posits that individuals learn behaviors, including violent ones, through observation, imitation, and reinforcement. This theory suggests that exposure to violence in one's environment, such as within the family or through media, can lead to the internalization and replication of violent behaviors.

Strain Theory: This theory, associated with sociologist Robert Merton, suggests that societal structures and institutions may pressure individuals to engage in deviant behavior, including violence, when they are unable to achieve culturally prescribed goals through legitimate means. When individuals experience strain between their aspirations and their opportunities, they may turn to violence as a means of attaining their goals.

Social Control Theory: Developed by Travis Hirschi, social control theory proposes that strong social bonds and attachments to conventional institutions, such as family, school, and community, deter individuals from engaging in delinquent or violent behavior. Conversely, weak social bonds or breakdowns in social control mechanisms may increase the likelihood of violence.

Biological Theories: Biological perspectives on violence explore the role of genetics, brain chemistry, and neurological factors in predisposing individuals to aggressive or violent behavior. While genetics may predispose individuals to certain traits associated with violence, such as impulsivity or low empathy, environmental factors also play a significant role in shaping behavior.

Psychological Theories: Psychological theories of violence examine individual-level factors, such as personality traits, cognitive processes, and emotional regulation, that may contribute to violent behavior. These theories include psychodynamic perspectives, cognitive-behavioral theories, and theories of personality disorders, which highlight the influence of internal psychological dynamics on aggression.

Feminist Theories: Feminist perspectives on violence emphasize the role of gender inequality, patriarchy, and power dynamics in perpetuating various forms of violence against women and marginalized groups. These theories critique traditional explanations of violence and highlight the importance of understanding violence within broader systems of oppression and discrimination.

In addition to the above theories, it worthwhile to especially explain Johan Galtung's contribution towards developing a theoretical framework of violence:

Galtung's Conflict Triangle:

Johan Galtung developed a theoretical model popularly known as 'Galtung's conflict triangle' or 'the violence triangle'. Johan Galtung's classification of violence can roughly be categorised into three categories constituting the three components of this triangle: direct violence, cultural violence and structural violence. In the words of Galtung, "The visible effects of direct violence are known: the killed, the wounded, the displaced, the material damage, all increasingly hitting the civilians. But the invisible effects may be even more vicious: direct violence reinforces structural and cultural violence. According to Johan Galtung, "cultural and structural violence cause direct violence, using violent actors who revolt against the structures and using the culture to legitimize their use of violence as instruments... The direct violence may be the lesser evil, at least in the longer

term, than the structural and cultural damage brought." In a structural violence there is less possibility of win-win situation and always the underdog loses the game in competing with the top one.

8.4.2 Forms of Violence

Considering the magnitude of violence it can be categorized in different categories. Conflict become violent when there is no or inadequate channels for disagreement and dialogue. For Johan Galtung, violence is something that harms or hurts the body, mind and spirit. Violence can be physical or direct, psychological, structural, cultural and political in nature.

1. **Direct or Physical Violence:** This form of violence is based entirely on physical assault or direct attack like hurting someone, slap on the face etc. Direct or physical violence is the last result of a violent activity conducted by human being against others after developing a violent mind. Cultural and structural violence causes direct violence which was also elaborated by Johan Galtung as well.
2. **Psychological Violence:** This type of violence basically arise in pre-conflict and post-conflict situations. Psychological violence refers to behaviours or actions that harm an individual's psychological well-being, sense of self-worth, and emotional stability. Unlike physical violence, psychological violence often leaves no visible scars but can have profound and lasting effects on a person's mental health and overall quality of life. Fear psychosis, deep traumatic stress, domestic violence etc are some of the stances of psychological violence. Post-traumatic stress disorder (PTSD) also a part of psychological violence. Prolonged human rights abuse, torture etc in the long run result in the form of psychological abuse which increases vulnerability on the part of the victims..
3. **Structural Violence:** Structural violence refers to a form of

violence where the institutional mechanism or the social and political structure deprived certain categories of people from getting privilege from different schemes and developmental model. The very idea of Structural Violence was very well elaborated for the first time by Johan Galtung in the year 1969 in his article 'Violence, Peace and Peace Research'. Galtung argued that structural violence explained the negative power of social institutions among marginalized communities. Casteism, capitalism, neo-colonialism, communalism, untouchability, religious intolerance, discriminatory attitude of the institutional mechanism are some of the instances of structural violence.

4. **Cultural Violence:** Johan Galtung defines cultural violence as any aspect of a culture that can be used to legitimize violence in its direct or structural form. When attempts are made to legitimize in terms of culture and enforce laws, principles, language upon others forcefully, it then takes the form of cultural violence. It is a form of violence which carries lots of invisible effects where the actors revolt against the structure by using the culture to legitimize their use of violence as instruments.

5. **Political Violence:** This kind of violence perpetrated by people or governments to achieve political goals. These categories of violence conducted by one state against its hostile state during the time of war and also against the non-state actors. For instance- police brutality, counter-insurgency, genocide etc are the finest examples of political violence. The degree of violence increases during the time of political violence in a contested multicultural society. Post-conflict trauma is maximum in case of a political violence due to its destructive propensity. Political violence conducted by the state and non-state actors with the help of arms and other sorts of instrument which has the capacity to destroy the opponents.



CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Q.4: Robert Merton is associated with which theory of violence ?

Q.5: Write the meaning of cultural violence.

8.5 CULTURE OF VIOLENCE

Culture of violence is a complex phenomenon deeply ingrained within societies across the globe. It encompasses a wide array of behaviours, beliefs, and norms that perpetuate and normalize various forms of violence, ranging from physical aggression to structural inequalities. Understanding the dynamics and implications of this culture requires an exploration of its origins, manifestations, and impacts on individuals and communities.

One of the fundamental aspects contributing to the culture of violence is historical precedent. Many societies have a long history of conflicts, wars, and conquests, which have shaped their collective psyche and social structures. These historical experiences often glorify violence as a means of achieving power, dominance, or perceived justice.

Structural inequalities also play a significant role in sustaining the culture of violence. Economic disparities, racial discrimination, gender-based violence, and other forms of systemic injustice create fertile ground for the perpetuation of violence. Media representations and cultural narratives also shape the culture of violence by influencing perceptions and attitudes towards aggression and conflict resolution. Popular media often glorifies violence, presenting it as a solution to problems or as a form of entertainment. Video games, movies, music, and other forms of media frequently depict violent acts without fully exploring their consequences or promoting alternative non-violent approaches to conflict resolution. These portrayals can desensitize individuals to the realities of violence and reinforce harmful stereotypes and prejudices.

Socialization processes within families, schools, and peer groups further reinforce the culture of violence by imparting values, attitudes, and

behaviors that normalize aggression and conflict. Children often learn from a young age that violence is an acceptable or even necessary response to perceived threats or challenges. Communities affected by the culture of violence often experience social fragmentation, mistrust, and insecurity. High levels of violence can undermine social cohesion, disrupt community networks, and erode trust in institutions and authority figures. Moreover, the normalization of violence can hinder efforts to address underlying social problems and promote sustainable development, perpetuating cycles of poverty, crime, and instability.

Addressing the culture of violence requires a multi-faceted approach that addresses its root causes and promotes alternatives to aggression and conflict. This includes promoting social justice and equity, investing in education and youth empowerment, community-based interventions, and fostering a culture of empathy, dialogue, and respect for human rights. By challenging the normalization of violence and promoting peaceful and inclusive societies, we can work towards building a safer and more just world for all.



CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Q 6: Write breifly about the meaning of culture of violence.

8.6 IMPACT OF VIOLENCE IN THE SOCIETY

If we develop a hypothesis that human beings have a violent brain, it is considered to be scientifically incorrect because violence is neither in our colonial legacy nor in our genes. All the human values have been continuously eroded in the society and in the long run human categories culminated the kind of structural and other forms of violence in the societal perspectives. Since human species invented war which begins in their mind so also they are capable enough to ensure peace since the later also begins in the human mind as well. These are nothing but certain aspects of biological pessimism and we need to focus upon societal aspect of human

being so that individuals can develop optimistic bond of mind which is very much conducive for human security. Violent conflict especially armed violence completely undermines the issue of human security for which security dilemma arise in large part of the world. The gap between the increasing aspirations, expectations and capabilities lead to violence followed by frustration.

In violent armed conflict situation innocent civilians lose their lives without any crime of their own. People living in conflict zones have to cope up with an environment of fear as widespread fear usually accompanies armed violence. People in conflict prone areas witness fear for life and physical well-being as well as fear to freely exercise religious, cultural, political, economic rights and entitlements. They have to live in an atmosphere of fear, anxiety, suspicion and insecurity. People in conflict areas are seen to be in constant anticipation of trouble, be it threats from the militants or harassment by security forces. They have the fear of being caught in the crossfire. Fear of being targeted or becoming incidental victims of armed violence is very much prevalent among the people living in conflict zones . The insecurity perpetrated by prolonged period of violent conflicts leaves adverse effect on the psychology of the people. They have to often suffer from deep psychological trauma. This psychological trauma causes serious health problems and disturbs mental peace. In violent conflict situation displacement is triggered by armed violence and ensuing heightened insecurity. Displacement from one's home and habitat is very pathetic because when the displaces move from their original habitats, they incur immense losses in life sustaining resources including social networks, neighbours and access to common property resources . Displacement leads to specific vulnerabilities to women and children. Because of displacement normal social life and productive activities come to a halt. Displacement stigmatises people as camp dwellers. It leads people to a situation where they have lost their land- which was not only their source of income but also their cultural attachment to heritage, lost the status associated with land ownership and become labourers on others' land and have shifted from being self-sufficient to dependency on government's welfare assistance . In this

way violence affects the social and financial status of the people living in conflict prone areas. The displaced people who stay at the camps often express their unwillingness to return to their homes for the fear of further violence. Education of child is also affected because of armed violence. As in violent conflict zones, schools are often converted into relief camps, education of children gets adversely affected. Again a significant numbers of parents in conflict areas hesitate to send their children to school because of insecurity associated with travelling long distances to attend schools. Thus education which is assumed as a key component of human efficiency and human development has been denied to the children of the societies which are prone to armed violence. Health care facilities are also negatively affected by armed violence. Many a time due to the fear of armed groups, medical personnel don't want to go and do their jobs in conflict prone rural areas. Because of such lack of medical staff common people have to suffer severely. Children, women and girls have to face particular difficulties in such situation. More particularly absence of reproductive health care facilities results in negative consequences for women and their children. In conflict areas people themselves impose restrictions on their mobility due to the fear of violence both from the state security force and armed groups. Restriction on mobility has adverse effect on financial condition of people. Development activities are also severely hampered in such situation as the state invests more and more fund to counter the armed groups.



CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Q.7: Write briefly about the impact of violence in conflict prone areas.

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8.7 LET US SUM UP

- The term violence has been interpreted as the opposite of peace and non-violence. Violence can occur between individuals, within families, among communities and most likely between ethnic groups.
- It is due to because of antagonistic ideas, frustration, differences among people, relative deprivation , psychological hostility, intolerance behaviour, institutional deregulations, absence of co-operation etc.
- Johan Galtung, a Norwegian sociologist and a principal founder of the discipline of Peace and Conflict Studies developed a theoretical school which speaks of four levels at which conflict can emerge: Internal conflicts in a person or between persons i.e inter-personal and intra-personal; Conflicts between races, sexes, generations or classes; conflicts between the states; and conflicts between different civilizations of the world.
- Considering the magnitude of violence it can be categorized in different categories. Violence can be physical or direct, psychological, structural, cultural and political in nature.
- Johan Galtung developed a theoretical model popularly known as 'Galtung conflict triangle' or 'the violence triangle'. He analysed the causes of violence in three phases: before violence, during violence and after violence.
- Violence has adverse impact on the society. Violent conflict especially armed violence completely undermines the issue of human security for which security dilemma arises in large part of the world.
- Development activities are also severely hampered in violent situation as the state invests more and more fund to counter the armed groups.



8.8 FURTHER READING

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8.9 ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Ans. to Q. No. 1: Johan Galtung

Ans. to Q. No. 2: The definition of violence is indeed very broad. Generally, the term violence has been interpreted as the opposite of peace and non-violence. Violence can occur between individuals, within families, among communities and most likely between ethnic groups. It is due to because of antagonistic ideas, frustration, differences among people, relative deprivation , psychological hostility, intolerance behaviour, institutional deregulations, absence of co-operation etc.

Ans. to Q. No. 3: (i) Conflicts internal to a person or between persons i.e inter-personal and intra-personal

(ii) Conflicts between races, sexes, generations or classes;

(iii) conflicts between the states; and (iv) conflicts between different civilizations of the world.

Ans. to Q. No. 4: Strain theory of violence

Ans. to Q. No. 5: Johan Galtung defines cultural violence as any aspect of a culture that can be used to legitimize violence in its direct or structural form. When attempts are made to legitimize in terms of culture and enforce laws, principles, language upon others forcefully, it then takes the form of cultural violence. It is a form of violence which carries lots of invisible effects where the actors revolt against the structure by using the culture to legitimize their use of violence as instruments.

Ans. to Q. No. 6: Culture of violence is a complex phenomenon deeply ingrained within societies across the globe. It encompasses a wide array of behaviours, beliefs, and norms that perpetuate and normalize various forms of violence, ranging from physical aggression to structural inequalities.

Ans. to Q. No. 7: In violent armed conflict situation innocent civilians lose their lives without any crime of their own. People living in conflict zones have to cope up with an environment of fear as widespread fear usually accompanies armed violence. They have to live in an atmosphere of fear, anxiety, suspicion and insecurity. People in conflict areas are seen to be in constant anticipation of trouble, be it threats from the militants or harassment by security forces. The insecurity perpetrated by prolonged period of violent conflicts leaves adverse effect on the psychology of the people. Violence affects the social and financial status of the people living in conflict prone areas. The displaced people who stay at the camps often express their unwillingness to return to their homes for the fear of further violence. Education of child is also affected because of armed violence. As in violent conflict zones, schools are often converted into relief camps, education of children gets adversely affected. Again a significant numbers of parents in conflict areas hesitate to send their children to school because of insecurity associated with travelling long distances to attend schools. Thus education which is assumed as a key component of human efficiency and human development has

been denied to the children of the societies which are prone to armed violence. Health care facilities are also negatively affected by armed violence. Many a time due to the fear of armed groups, medical personnel don't want to go and do their jobs in conflict prone rural areas.



8.10 POSSIBLE QUESTIONS

A) Very Short Questions

Q. 1: Who wrote the book 'Fighting for Hope'?

Q. 2: State the meaning of psychological violence.

Q. 3: Write breifly about the social control theory of violence.

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

Q. 1: Write a note on the various dimensions of violence as mentioned by Galtung.

Q. 2: Explain the different forms of violence.

Q. 3: Briefly explain the culture of violence in the society.

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

Q. 1: Explain the meaning of violence.

Q. 2: Discuss Johan Galtung's views on violence.

Q. 3: Examine the impact of violence in the society.

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UNIT 9: AGRARIAN CLASS STRUCTURE AND RURAL LEADERSHIP IN INDIA

UNIT STRUCTURE

9.1 Learning Objectives
9.2 Introduction
9.3 Nature of Agrarian Class Structure in India,
9.4 State Intervention in Rural Transformation in Post-independent India
9.5 Changing Dynamics and Emerging Pattern of Rural Leadership in India.
9.6 Let Us Sum Up
9.7 Further Reading
9.8 Answers to Check Your Progress
9.9 Possible Questions

9.1 LEARNING OBJECTIVES

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

- explain the meaning of agrarian class structure
- explain the nature of the agrarian class structure in India
- discuss the nature of state intervention in rural transformation in post-independent India
- discuss the changing dynamics and emerging pattern of rural leadership in India

9.2 INTRODUCTION

In the post-independence era, rural India has structured itself into four classes and that is what becomes a part of the system. It can be said that the agricultural field has three classes within itself- landowners, tenants and the labourers; while the fourth class being of the non- agriculturalists. The groups and settlements of people who earn their living mainly by cultivating land and by carrying out allied activities like fishing and animal husbandry are called agrarian societies. Agricultural economics sprang from

the economic activities of agricultural production, agricultural consumption, agricultural investment and agricultural exchange which relates to product pricing of agriculture goods and factor pricing or simply distribution of agriculture goods and services. It is important to note that the activities of production, consumption, and distribution of goods and services are the three vital economic activities of every economy. And, agricultural production is clearly an important economic activity. But, like all other economic activities, it is carried out in a social context or structure as it is governed by social interactions and connections.

9.3 NATURE OF AGRARIAN CLASS STRUCTURE IN INDIA

Persons engaged in agriculture or cultivation of land also deal with each other in different social capabilities and dimensions. Some may cultivate their lands on their own while others may hire labourers or give their land on rent to tenants. They not only interact within their agrarian peasantry class but they also on a regular basis interact with various other classes of people who offer them different types of services necessary for the cultivation of land.

Unlike the modern industrial societies which are fully integrated and internally connected where it is somewhat easy to classify and recognize various class groups, the pre-modern social structures of agrarian societies were diverse and disparate as they are characterized by assortments, multiplicities, and mixtures of various kinds. Along with the division of labour, the notion of surplus value also came into being in the agrarian class structure. The division of labour refers to the division of different kinds of tasks that are carried out by specific individuals or groups as a part of a stable group, arrangement or set-up. So, when a group of workers does different tasks in order to increase production and productivity, we call it a division of labour.

The agriculture sector takes account of all those economic activities where there is the direct use of natural resources such as agriculture, forestry, fishing, fuels, metals, minerals, and so on. Agriculture has become a rather marginal sector of the economy in most developed societies of the West,

providing employment to only a very small proportion of their populations, while in the developing countries, it provides employment to a very large proportion of their populations, and yet the worth, impact and, significance of agriculture has substantially dropped. As a consequence, we need to keep in mind the fact that there is no single model or theory of agrarian class structure that can be applied to all the societies to develop an evocative, expressive, and eloquent understanding of the nature and significance of agrarian social structure , in general, and agriculture , in particular.

The traditional Indian agrarian structure was organised within the framework of the "jajmani system". Under this system, land was owned and cultivated by the caste group called "jajmans" (the patrons). The "kamins" (the manual workers) on the other hand, constituted the caste group which was required to work for the jajmans. The jajmans, in return for the services rendered by the kamins, payed a share from the farm produce to the latter. However, the relationship though was based on reciprocal exchange was determined by the caste system and reinforced caste-based inequalities. The upper caste groups who owned land were undoubtedly more powerful than the manual workers. With the advent of the British, the agrarian class structure underwent a sea change. In places like Bihar and Bengal , full ownership rights were transferred to the zamindars who were only tax collecting intermediaries in the earlier times. A large number of peasants who had been cultivating land now became tenants of the zamindars or the new landlords. The tenants had to pay a fixed amount of cash to the zamindar rather than a share of what was produced. Thus, even when there was a drought or when the crops were destroyed due to bad weather or other causes, the tenants had to pay the amount leading them to a life of poverty and indebtedness.

After gaining independence, the Indian government tried to introduce changes in land relations. The Indian Parliament passed the Zamindari Abolition Act, 1950 which abolished the zaminadri syatem and sought to grant the ownership of land to the actual tillers of the land. Land ceiling legislations were also passed in many states to avoid concentring of land in the hands of a few and bring about redistribution of land.

Renowned economist Daniel Thorner put forward the following model of agrarian class structure in India:

(a) Maliks : Their income was primarily from property rights and collected rent from tenants, sub-tenants and sharecroppers.

(b) Kisans: They are peasants who own small plots of land and work with their own labour.

(c) Mazdoors: They do not possess any land of their own. The work in others' land as tenants/sharecroppers or wage labourers.

However, given the complexities of the socio-economic environment in India, it is not always possible to follow the above mentioned classification regarding the agrarian class structure in India. Instead, depending upon ownership of land and the relative size of land holdings, one could classify the Indian agrarian class structure. In this context, a more acceptable classification is that of big landlords (owning large land holdings), big farmers, middle farmers, small and marginal farmers and the landless labourers.



CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Q.1: Traditional Indian agrarian structure was organised within the framework of the "jajmani system". (True/False)

.....

Q.2: What is the nature of agrarian class structure in India? Explain.

.....

.....

.....

9.4 STATE INTERVENTION IN RURAL TRANSFORMATION IN POST INDEPENDENCE INDIA

- **Rural Development after Independence**

Rural development has acquired special significance in the countries of the developing world. Since independence, the Government of

India has launched various programmes of 'planned change' encompassing social, economic and political processes. There are two approaches adopted by the government with regard to the patterns of development. These approaches are (a) the 'transformation' approach and (b) the 'improvement' approach.

- **The Transformation Approach**

The 'transformation' approach attaches importance to a radical change in the existing system in terms of scale of operation, production techniques, and socio-legal reforms. Implementation of land reform measures comes within the purview of this approach. So far as the land reform measures are concerned, a large number of tenants or farmers have now become the owners of the land that they are cultivating. The slogan "land to the tiller" has been successfully translated into reality in most of the States of India. The tenancy rights are more secure now. The Zamindari abolition laws have succeeded in eliminating the intermediaries. The evil of absentee landlordism associated with the Indian agriculture has been removed. Co-operative farming has been advocated. Through the Bhoodan movement efforts are being made to provide the landless labourers with land. Efforts are also being made for the compilation and updating of the land records.

- **The Improvement Approach**

The 'improvement' approach seeks to bring about agricultural development within the existing peasant production system. It attaches importance to the programmes of rural development such as the Community Development Programme, Panchayati Raj Institutions and other programmes and agencies related to the process of development in rural India.

According to the Planning Commission, community development is the process of changing the life of a community from backwardness to a new economic and social order through its open efforts. The Community Development Programme undertaken by the government of free India on 2nd October 1952 - the day of

Gandhi Jayanti - constitutes the biggest rural reconstruction scheme. The programme is instrumental in raising the standard of living of the rural people and in reconstructing rural India.

The programme has attained considerable success in the fields of agriculture, education, employment, health services, communication, vocational training, supply of drinking water and social welfare. But it is also true that with the passage of time the Community Development Programme has started losing its importance as it did earlier. It has suffered from several drawbacks. Various factors such as lack of clearly defined priorities, cornering of the benefits by the rich and big farmers, lack of commitment, administrative inefficiency and corruption at the bureaucratic level, etc. contribute to the failure of the programme. Despite these shortcomings, the CDP has contributed a lot in arousing the consciousness and awareness of the rural people about the modern means of agriculture.

The Community Development Programme was launched with a view to obtaining people's participation in the development process. But this objective of the CDP was not materialised. To ensure the involvement of the people in the development of villages, the Government of India appointed a committee headed by Balwant Rai Mehta in January 1957. On the basis of the recommendation of the committee, the Panchayati Raj through the organization of Gram Panchayat, Panchayat Samiti and Zilla Parishad received special attention of the committee.

Panchayati Raj has been viewed as an attempt to implement the process of democratic decentralization. So far as the administrative implication of the Panchayati Raj system is concerned, it has bridged the gulf between the bureaucratic elite and the people. Socially the Panchayati Raj system has generated a new leadership having a modern and pro-social outlook. At the same time, viewed from the developmental angle, the Panchayati Raj system has enabled the rural people to cultivate a progressive outlook. But, the Panchayati Raj institutions are also not free from criticisms. The

important reasons attributed to its ineffectiveness are the structural inadequacies of the institutions, administrative inefficiency and corruption at the level of bureaucracy, absence of conceptual clarity and lack of political will. Despite these shortcomings, it must be mentioned here that the Panchayati Raj Institutions have administered enormous economic funds and resources to accelerate the process of rural development.

It is a fact in case of India that a large proportion of the agricultural land is without irrigation facilities. This vast area naturally falls outside the orbit of green revolution. So far as the dry areas are concerned, the applicability of the new agricultural strategy is simply not available. Besides this, the adoption of new technology is confined only to some developed areas like Punjab, Haryana and Western Uttar Pradesh etc. The states of the Eastern region covering West Bengal, Bihar and Orissa have not been benefitted by such HYV technology. The other parts of the country have remained untouched by the new agricultural strategy.

Some of the programmes launched by the Government of India for rural development and reconstruction are as follows:

- **IRDP:**

The Integrated Rural Development Programme signifies a programme for improving the living standards of the poorest of the poor living in rural areas and for making the process of rural development self-sustaining. It was initiated in the year 1978-79.

It is based on "the local needs, resources endowments and potentialities." Its objective is to enable selected families to cross the poverty line by taking up self-employment ventures.

IRDP employs the cluster approach to select villages for implementing various components of the programme- the antyodaya approach to select beneficiaries within the selected villages. The antyodaya approach makes sure that the poorest of the poor are selected first. The central and state government provides financial

resources for the programme and lay down broad guidelines for its implementation. However, the main administrative unit of its implementation is the District Rural Development Agencies (DRDAs). At the Block level a number of extension officers are provided for programme implementation.

IRDP has also suffered from some drawbacks such as widespread corruption, and lack of integration, etc. Despite these drawbacks, it cannot be denied that the Integrated Rural Development Programme has attained considerable success in terms of the number of beneficiaries covered and the amount of subsidies and loans disbursed.

- **NREP:**

National Rural Employment Programme was launched in October, 1980 as a centrally sponsored scheme on 50:50 sharing basis between centre and states. Generating additional gainful employment opportunities, creating durable community assets and improving the overall quality of life in rural areas constitute the three -fold objectives of the programme. The programme is implemented through DRDA. It has been merged with the Jawahar Rozgar Yojna from April, 1989.

- **TRYSEM:**

The scheme of Training Rural Youth for Self- Employment was initiated in August, 1979, with the primary objective of providing technical skills to the rural youth to enable them to seek employment in fields of agriculture, industry, services and business activities.

- **RLEGP:**

Rural Landless Employment Guarantee Programme was launched on 15th August, 1983 to generate additional employment in rural areas particularly for the rural landless workers. Under this scheme, employment is given to at least one member of every landless family upto 100 days in a year. So far as this programme is concerned, preference in employment is given to the landless labourers, women, SCs and STs. Financed exclusively by the Central Government, the

programme undertakes several activities such as construction of wells, roads, houses, social forestry, etc.

- **JRY:**

Jawahar Rozgar Yojna was launched in April, 1989. It is pre-eminently a wage employment programme. Under the scheme, it is expected that at least one member of each poor family would be provided with employment for 50 to 100 days in a year at a work place near his / her residence. About 30 per cent of the jobs under this scheme are reserved for women. The scheme is implemented through Village Panchayats.

These are some schemes adopted by the Government for attempting to transform the rural structures.



CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Q.3: Write the full form of NREP.

.....

.....

Q.4: In which year was the Community Development Programme launched ?

.....

9.5 CHANGING DYNAMICS AND EMERGING PATTERN OF RURAL LEADERSHIP IN INDIA

Age has been an important variable in the Indian tradition of leadership. In the past, Indian village community leadership has been the monopoly of the old people who dominated the rural power structure because of their vast experience, maturity etc. Traditionally, the patterns of rural leadership indicated that there was a great respect for age and maturity. The rural leadership arose due to prestige of any sort, social or economic status, heredity, senority, etc. Before independence, there were informal leaders, who belonged to mainly the higher privileged castes, which did not have numerical strength but were dominant in all aspects of life.

But at present, the composition and functions of leadership have undergone great changes with the growth of new institutions and with the introduction of new strategies regarding rural reconstruction. In India, the process of modernisation has , to some extent, changed the old values of traditional Indian society. Therefore, due to these changed circumstances, the persons in the younger age groups can discharge leadership functions more efficiently and effectively. Thus, a kind of shift has been noticed in the traditional pattern of power structure in rural India. It is evident that the majority of rural leaders belong to the middle age group, though a considerable number of them belong to the young age group also. Again, with the expansion of economic activities, spread of modern education, land reform policies of the government and establishment of democratically instituted panchayati raj institutions, etc. have also contributed to the emergence of a new rural leadership India which is relatively democratic in outlook rather than entirely feudal in nature. The new leaders are young, educated and mostly belong to the middle-class agriculturists and are also successful in political mobilisation through which they gain positions at village Panchayats and cooperatives. New leaders are more receptive in adopting innovations and tend to be more cooperative with the government officials in implementing various community development programmes. Simultaneously, due to the functioning of the electoral system in India in the post-independent period, political parties try to appease those groups which are numerically stronger are, at times, appeased more by the political parties and accordingly, local leaders with the ability to mobilise the members of their respective communities have emerged in rural areas.



CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Q.5: Write briefly about the changing pattern of rural leadership in India.

.....

.....

.....



9.6 LET US SUM UP

- Traditional Indian agrarian structure was organised within the framework of the "jajmani system". Under this system, land was owned and cultivated by the caste group called "jajmans" (the patrons). The "kamins" (the manual workers) on the other hand, constituted the caste group which was required to work for the jajmans.
- The jajmans, in return for the services rendered by the kamins, payed a share from the farm produce to the latter.
- With the advent of the British, the agrarian class structure underwent a sea change.
- In places like Bihar and Bengal , full ownership rights were transferred to the zamindars who were only tax collecting intermediaries in the earlier times. A large number of peasants who had been cultivating land now became tenants of the zamindars or the new landlords.
- After gaining independence, the Indian government tried to introduce changes in land relations. The Indian Parliament passed the Zamindari Abolition Act, 1950 which abolished the zaminadri syatem and sought to grant the ownership of land to the actual tillers of the land. Land ceiling legislations were also passed in many states to avoid concentring of land in the hands of a few and bring about redistribution of land.
- Renowned economist Daniel Thorner put forward a model of agrarian class structure in India.
- However, given the complexities of the socio-economic environment in India, it is not always possible to follow the above mentioned classification regarding the agrarian class structure in India. Instead, depending upon ownership of land and the relative size of land holdings, one could classify the Indian agrarian class structure. In this context, a more acceptable classification is that of big landlords (owning large land holdings), big farmers, middle farmers, small and marginal farmers and the landless labourers.
- Rural development has acquired special significance in the countries of the developing world. Since independence, the Government of

India has launched various programmes of 'planned change' encompassing social, economic and political processes. There are two approaches adopted by the government with regard to the patterns of development. These approaches are (a) the 'transformation' approach and (b) the 'improvement 'approach.

- The 'transformation' approach attaches importance to a radical change in the existing system in terms of scale of operation, production techniques, and socio-legal reforms. Implementation of land reform measures comes within the purview of this approach.
- So far as the land reform measures are concerned, a large number of tenants or farmers have now become the owners of the land that they are cultivating. The slogan "land to the tiller" has been successfully translated into reality in most of the States of India. The tenancy rights are more secure now.
- The 'improvement' approach seeks to bring about agricultural development within the existing peasant production system. It attaches importance to the programmes of rural development such as the Community Development Programme, Panchayati Raj Institutions and other programmes and agencies related to the process of development in rural India.
- Some of the programmes launched by the government for rural development include IRDP,NREP, TRYSEM, RLEGP, etc.
- Age has been an important variable in the Indian tradition of leadership. In the past, Indian village community leadership has been the monopoly of the old people who dominated the rural power structure because of their vast experience, maturity etc.
- A kind of shift has been noticed in the traditional pattern of power structure in rural India. It is evident that the majority of rural leaders today belong to the middle age group, though a considerable number of them belong to the young age group also.
- Again, with the expansion of economic activities, spread of modern education, land reform policies of the government and establishment of democratically instituted panchayati raj institutions, etc. have also

contributed to the emergence of a new rural leadership India which is relatively democratic in outlook rather than entirely feudal in nature.

- The new leaders are young, educated and mostly belong to the middle-class agriculturists and are also successful in political mobilisation through which they gain positions at village Panchayats and cooperatives.
- Simultaneously, due to the functioning of the electoral system in India in the post-independent period, political parties try to appease those groups which are numerically stronger are, at times, appeased more by the political parties and accordingly, local leaders with the ability to mobilise the members of their respective communities have emerged in rural areas.



9.7 FURTHER READING

1. Abraham M. Francis (1974). *Dynamics of Leadership in Village India*. Allahabad: Indian International Publication
2. Adisehiah S. Maleom , Mukherjee Pranab (1994). *Decentralised Planning and Panchayati Raj*. New Delhi : Concept Publishing Co.
3. Annamalai V. (1996). *Formation and Transformation of Power in Rural India*. New Delhi : Discovery Publishing House.
4. Bandyopadhyay D. and Mukherjee Amitava (2004). *New Issues in Panchayati Raj*. New Delhi : Concept Publishing Co.



9.8 ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Ans. to Q. No. 1: True

Ans. to Q. No. 2: The traditional Indian agrarian structure was organised within the framework of the "jajmani system". Under this system, land was owned and cultivated by the caste group called "jajmans" (the patrons). The "kamins" (the manual workers) on the other hand,

constituted the caste group which was required to work for the jajmans. The jajmans, in return for the services rendered by the kamins, payed a share from the farm produce to the latter. However, the relationship though was based on reciprocal exchange was determined by the caste system and reinforced caste-based inequalities.The upper caste groups who owned land were undoubtedly more powerful than the manual workers. With the advent of the British, the agrarian class structure underwent a sea change. In places like Bihar and Bengal , full ownership rights were transferred to the zamindars who were only tax collecting intermediaries in the earlier times. A large number of peasants who had been cultivating land now became tenants of the zamindars or the new landlords. The tenants had to pay a fixed amount of cash to the zamindar rather than a share of what was produced. Thus, even when there was a drought or when the crops were destroyed due to bad weather or other causes, the tenants had to pay the amount leading them to a life of poverty and indebtedness.

After gaining independence, the Indian government tried to introduce changes in land relations. The Indian Parliament passed the Zamindari Abolition Act, 1950 which abolished the zaminadri syatem and sought to grant the ownership of land to the actual tillers of the land. Land ceiling legislations were also passed in many states to avoid concentring of land in the hands of a few and bring about redistribution of land.

Renowned economist Daniel Thorner put forward the following model of agrarian class structure in India:

(d) Maliks : Their income was primarily from property rights and collected rent from tenants, sub-tenants and sharecroppers.

(e) Kisans: They are peasants who own small plots of land and work with their own labour.

(f) Mazdoors: They do not possess any land of their own. The work in others' land as tenants/sharecroppers or wage labourers.

However, given the complexities of the socio-economic environment in India, it is not always possible to follow the above mentioned

classification regarding the agrarian class structure in India. Instead, depending upon ownership of land and the relative size of land holdings, one could classify the Indian agrarian class structure. In this context, a more acceptable classification is that of big landlords (owning large land holdings), big farmers, middle farmers, small and marginal farmers and the landless labourers.

Ans. to Q. No. 3: 1952

Ans. to Q. No. 4: Integrated Rural Development Programme

Ans. to Q. No. 5: Age has been an important variable in the Indian tradition of leadership. In the past, Indian village community leadership has been the monopoly of the old people who dominated the rural power structure because of their vast experience, maturity etc. Traditionally, the patterns of rural leadership indicated that there was a great respect for age and maturity. The rural leadership arose due to prestige of any sort, social or economic status, heredity, senority, etc. Before independence, there were informal leaders, who belonged to mainly the higher privileged castes, which did not have numerical strength but were dominant in all aspects of life.

But at present, the functions of leadership has undergone a change with the growth of new institutions and with the introduction of new strategies regarding rural reconstruction. In India, the process of modernisation has to some extent changed the old values of traditional Indian society. Therefore, due to these changed circumstances, the persons in the younger age groups can discharge leadership functions more efficiently and effectively. Thus, a kind of shift has been noticed in the traditional pattern of power structure in rural India. It is evident that the majority of rural leaders belong to the middle age group, though a considerable number of them belong to the young age group also. Again, with the expansion of economic activities, spread of modern education, land reform policies of the government and establishment of democratically instituted panchayati raj institutions, etc. have also contributed to the emergence of a new rural leadership India which is relatively democratic in outlook rather than entirely feudal in nature. The new leaders are young, educated and mostly

belong to the middle-class agriculturists and are also successful in political mobilisation through which they gain positions at village Panchayats and cooperatives. New leaders are more receptive in adopting innovations and tend to be more cooperative with the government officials in implementing various community development programmes. Simultaneously, due to the functioning of the electoral system in India in the post-independent period, political parties try to appease those groups which are numerically stronger are, at times, appeased more by the political parties and accordingly, local leaders with the ability to mobilise the members of their respective communities have emerged in rural areas.



9.9 POSSIBLE QUESTIONS

Q. 1: Explain the factors responsible for change of rural leadership structures in India.

Q. 2: Explain the rural leadership structures in India in the colonial period and post-colonial period?

Q. 3: What kind of leadership has emerged in recent times in India at the grassroots level?

Q. 4: What are the various kinds of schemes adopted by Government for transforming and developing rural structures?

Q. 5: Write a note on Community Development Programme.

Q. 6: How do you analyse education and political mobilisation as factors responsible for changing dynamics of leadership pattern at the grassroots level in India?

Q. 7: Explain how the state has the state intervened in the process of rural transformation in post independent India?

Q. 8: Mention the various schemes adopted by Government of India aimed at developing the rural structure in India. Analyse their aims and objectives.

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UNIT 10: URBAN-INDUSTRIAL CLASS STRUCTURE: RISE OF MIDDLE CLASS

UNIT STRUCTURE

10.1 Learning Objectives

10.2 Introduction

10.3 Emergence of the Urban Middle Class in India

10.4 Role of the Urban Middle Class and its Impact on the Indian Society

10.5 Future of the Urban Middle Class in India

10.6 Let Us Sum Up

10.7 Further Reading

10.8 Answers to Check Your Progress

10.9 Possible Questions

10.1 LEARNING OBJECTIVES

After going through this chapter you will able to :

- trace the origin of Indian middle class
- discuss the salient features of urban middle class in India
- explain the role of the urban middle class in the Indian society
- critically examine the features of the urban middle class in India

10.2 INTRODUCTION

This unit introduces you to a very significant aspect of the Indian society i.e., urban industrial class structure with special reference to the role of the urban middle class in India. Both the processes of industrialization and the emergence of the middle class are the fundamental features of a modern society. As we all know, the British colonial masters introduced modern ideas, institutions and infrastructure for the sake of colonial economy in India. Hence, it is the colonial modernity that paved the way for the emergence of the middle class in India. In every society, the middle class plays a very significant role in the socio-political, economic and cultural life. Aristotle says that political community is best governed by the citizens of

the middle class. In the modern times, it is Karl Marx who elaborately discussed the concept of class as a fundamental category of social analysis. While discussing class, Marx primarily focused on two antagonistic classes i.e, the bourgeoisie and working class in an industrial capitalist society. He did not extensively use the term middle class, rather he used the term petty bourgeoisie to refer to the class or strata between bourgeoisie and the working classes. However, he very categorically observed that the increasing size of the middle classes is an important feature of the development of capitalism. With this backdrop, the present unit makes an attempt to understand the emergence of urban middle class in the context of India and its role in the contemporary Indian society.

10.3 EMERGENCE OF THE URBAN MIDDLE CLASS IN INDIA

In Europe, the middle class as a social category came into being mainly due to the industrial revolution of the eighteenth century which brought about mechanical, economic, technical changes in the society. It is essential to note that middle class is not a homogenous category. Theoretically, the middle class can be classified as old middle class that includes small producers, artisans, independent professionals, etc., and new middle class comprising clerical, supervisory, technical workers, teachers, government officials and so forth. In case of India, the factors responsible for the emergence of middle class are different from those of Europe. In India middle class emerged because of the intervention of British colonialism for two hundred years that caused changes in land, legal, socio-economic and political arena followed by the introduction of modern western education, capitalist enterprise, improved transport and communication system and commercial progress. Needless to say that this educated middle class in the later phase played a significant role in the national struggle for India's independence. However, the middle class activities in colonial India were mainly confined to the socio-cultural arena. These classes could not expand much in the economic arena, as this domain was directly controlled by the colonial masters. B.B. Misra has categorized the colonial middle class into four groups according

to the role played by them in the colonial economy:

i. Commercial Middle Class: The commercial middle class consisting of middle men and brokers who were found engaged in the foreign companies and in the indigenous mercantile and banking houses in the latter part of the eighteenth century.

ii. The Money-lender Class: The money-lenders, banias and the creditor class emerged because of a new monetized economy introduced by the British colonial policy.

iii. The industrial middle class: The industrial middle class, which is small in number constituting of basically the English civil servants were the first who initially invested money in small industries particularly in Bengal and Mumbai.

iv. The Educated middle class: The educated middle class basically comprised professionals who emerged with the introduction of western education.

After the achievement of independence, initiatives have been taken for accelerating the process of industrialization under the direct control of the state. The economic model adopted during the Nehru era which is well known as the Nehruvian model of development was basically an import substituting industrialization. The idea was to industrialize rapidly by setting up public sector enterprises in heavy industries and discouraging the entry of foreign capital in the domestic economy. The leading role of the public sector in industry, infrastructure, transport, telecommunication, mining, banking, insurance etc., ultimately led towards the consolidation of a developmental state that became the steering wheel of economic planning and development. The rapid industrialization was considered as the key to the removal of poverty and promotion of welfare for the people. Many theorists have argued that although the Indian state constitutionally adopted a liberal democratic character, it was necessarily different from that of the advanced capitalist democracies of Europe or North America. Because, the Indian capitalist class in the immediate aftermath of independence could not acquire that much of social power to exercise its hegemony. In such a situation, the state remained as a relatively autonomous entity and was

able to balance the interests of different classes. Analyzing the class character of the Indian state, Pranab Bardhan argued that the Indian political space was mainly contested by three dominant classes i.e., capitalists, rich farmers and the bureaucratic managerial class. The strong, interventionist and developmental state required a large number of technocrats and bureaucratic managerial class to run its business and those classes mainly came from urban middle class people. The urban middle class exercised its influence over both the central and the state government through the electoral mobilization of political parties and social movements. Apart from bureaucracy, it also largely influenced print and visual media, judiciary and other dominant regulatory bodies.

The process of economic liberalization in the 1990s has brought certain structural changes to the Indian middle class. Leela Fernandes has argued that the shift from a state managed economy to a liberalized economy has restructured the Indian middle class at two levels. Firstly, it has marginalized the traditional middle classes who were basically associated with state enterprises, public sector industries and so on and secondly, it has created a new middle class who are benefited from the process of economic liberalization particularly the urban youth professionals who have been able to benefit from sharp rises of multinational corporations and subsequently of Indian companies. This new middle class basically consists of the industrial, bureaucratic and IT (Information Technology) sector elites. Scholars like Bhagavan Prasad divides this new middle class into four groups on the basis of occupation :

1. Salaried persons including administrative employees both institutional and government officials.
2. Independent professionals including medical practitioners, lawyers, teachers, journalists and other consultants.
3. Non-salaried such as private business houses, entrepreneurship etc.
4. Retired persons and widows from wealthy families.

Income, social status, consumerism, lifestyle are the key criteria to

categorize these new middle classes in India. A few characteristic features of the new urban middle class can be identified as follows:

1. **Proficiency over English:** Proficiency in English has become the popular idiom of the newly emerged urban middle class in India. Today, India is the second most significant English speaking country after USA. The middle class mainly the IT sector professionals are increasingly seen to aspire international job opportunities and have developed a global worldview while embracing technological advancement and advanced language skill.
2. **Consumerist culture and lifestyle:** The urban middle class is perhaps the most significant consumer of high end goods, such as the latest model cars, air conditioners, mobiles, designer clothes and much more. Today, consumption has become the way of life of the urban middle class. The idealized image of the urban middle class in print and visual media is that of an affluent consumer who has finally achieved the ability to exercise choice through consumption.
3. **Technology-savvy knowledge society:** The urban middle classes are often known as the knowledge class because of their specialized advanced education and technological expertise. The Indian IT industry has become the new hope of the Indian middle class. The IT entrepreneurs and professionals are considered as heroes of the new middle class.
4. **Career oriented class:** The urban middle class has gradually become more obsessed with their career growth and material prosperity. Their value system is gradually oriented towards material wellbeing and prosperity.
5. **More globalised rather than localized:** The new urban middle class undoubtedly has become an integral part of the process Liberalization, Privatization and Globalization (LPG). Thus, they are becoming increasing globalized and well connected with the fast moving world through electronics and technology. They maintain a professional lifestyle and are exposed to the global culture, a modern world view, international education and global market economy. At

times, the urban middle class has also become a melting pot of cultures mingling global and local cultural and political influences.

6. **Increasingly depoliticized class:** The activities of the urban middle class are confined to the arena of the civil society outside the domain of formal electoral politics. They often avoid the old politics of political parties and social movements and have steadily withdrawn from the participation in electoral politics. Thus, the gradual depoliticization has become the defining feature of the urban middle class.



CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Q.1: "Political community can be best governed by the citizens of middle class."- Who said this ?

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Q.2: Karl Marx used the term……to refer to the class or strata between the bourgeoisie and the working class. (Fill in the Blank)

Q.3: Mention two characteristic features of the new Indian middle class.

.....

.....

Q.4: Mention the three dominant classes of the Indian society in the aftermath of independence.

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10.4 ROLE OF THE URBAN MIDDLE CLASS AND ITS IMPACT ON THE INDIAN SOCIETY

The urbanized middle class historically played a very significant role in the process of modernization and democratization of Indian society. As stated earlier, the emergence of the urban middle class is basically the product of the colonial economy that brought about significant changes in the Indian society in the nineteenth century. B.B. Misra has categorically mentioned that the first generation of the Indian middle class who took advantage of the

changing situation in the colonial economy belonged to the high caste groups as they already occupied higher traditional, social, economic and political positions. They shifted to urban centres and received education and also took new profitable occupations. They mainly remained confined to the urban centres specifically to the presidency towns because of concentration of wealth and educational institutions. This educated middle class people provided leadership in the public sphere and visualized the nationalist discourse of modern India. The colonial masters introduced modern English education system only to generate a class that would help them in the process of consolidation and expansion of colonial rule. They believed that modern education would lead to the creation of a class that would be Indian in blood but English in taste and intellect. However, those middle class people mainly belonged to the service sector and literary class who gradually became the articulate section of the Indian society particularly the writers and the native intellectuals, whom we now call the first generation of Indian nationalists. They were gradually engaged in social reform movements and started submitting petitions to the colonial state for bringing certain transformations in the Indian society. In the later period too, the leadership of the nationalist organizations like the Indian National Congress or the Muslim League came from the literary or professional middle classes. Hence, the nationalist thought during the anti-colonial movement reflected the dynamics of both socio-religious nationalism as well as representative citizenship oriented towards urban based discourse of civic nationalism. However, the rise of Gandhi's influence in the nationalist movement gradually changed its orientation and converted it into a mass movement. The state and middle class relationship became more prominent in the early decades of post-independent India. As stated earlier, the historical relationship between state and middle class politics played a central role in shaping the direction of economic development. The state directly or indirectly contributed to the expansion of middle class interests. The urban middle class mainly controlled the public institutions such as state bureaucracy and organized industry. The connections between urban middle class and the state in post-independent India were first consolidated through the structure of state bureaucracy. The basic structure of the colonial authority i.e., Indian Civil Service was retained and expanded into the Indian

Administrative Service. The Indian Administrative Service remained as the central structure of the bureaucracy of the post-colonial state basically comprising the English educated segment of the middle classes. Pranab Bardhan has rightly noted that "the role of professional middle class and white-collar workers in controlling networks of patronage through the distribution of economic resources and benefits transformed this section of middle class into one of the dominant propriety classes that shaped the state directed model of the Indian political economy. At the same time, India had also witnessed a significant development of local industrial capitalism and the leading classes associated with it, particularly the big bourgeoisie, industrial working class and urban middle class."

It is important to note that Indian democracy itself is a product of middle class politics that often converts popular aspirations into political goals. Middle class often acts as mediator between the state and the masses and as a manager of the ruling powers. Middle class activism has always been seen in the domain of civil society, a sphere outside the arena of formal politics of the state. Many scholars called the civil society as a creative society, a site of public debates, on questions of culture, nation and civic life. However, it should be kept in mind that state- middle class relationship is not always collaborative in nature. Sometimes it is also marked by certain internal contradictions. When demands come from previously marginalized groups like low caste groups, ethnic and religious minorities for attaining access to middle class membership, there occurs some internal conflict within the middle classes on caste, religion and ethnic lines. After the liberalization process of the Indian economy in the 1990s, the nature of urban Indian middle class has undergone certain changes. The process of globalization has generated a lot of debate about the changing role of the urban middle class in the Indian society. It has been claimed that the size of the middle class has grown up to twenty percent of the total population of India. Some others put this figure at thirty percent. Indian middle class has emerged as a prominent consuming class in the global market economy. The urban Indian middle class has been portrayed in popular media as a sizable market for the global multinational corporations. It is the urban middle classes that have been benefited much from the process of globalization. The urban middle class

which once played a historic role in running the developmental autonomous state in the Nehruvian phase has declined in the present phase of economic globalization and has become merely a consuming class. Pavan K. Varma in his book The Great Indian Middle Class (1998) has argued that with the process of globalization, the social and moral responsibility of the middle class to the nation as a whole has gradually declined.



CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Q.5: Middle class has been seen in the domain of……..(Fill in the Blank)

Q.6: Mention two important domains where the urban middle class influences much in the post independent period.

.....

.....

10.5 FUTURE OF THE URBAN MIDDLE CLASS IN INDIA

Today the urban middle class is one of the fastest growing segments of the Indian population. They played a vital role in India's economic growth and constitute a sizable portion of the global work force particularly in the IT sector and other related industries. Their increasing consumption habit, economic mobility has assigned them a significant place both in the Indian as well as in the global society. However, the process of globalization has also adversely affected the role of the middle class in a developing society like India. It needs to be mentioned that middle class is not merely an economic category connected to consumption and income. Middle class is also a sociological category that has been playing a historical role in settling values and norms in the society. The universal values like justice, equality, representation, rights through affirmative actions have often been articulated by the middle class and it has put pressure on the state for the protection and promotion of those values in the society at large. In the contemporary scenario, a large segment of the Indian middle class seems to have withdrawn from this historic role and has emerged as an economically upwardly mobile consumerist and self-conscious category. Decline of the middle class as a sensitive democratic force articulating and

representing the larger interests of the society will be a serious challenge for Indian democracy. Besides, India along with other developing countries have witnessed a brain drain of skilled workers where highly educated and qualified professionals are migrating to developed countries for higher wages, better life styles, prospects and more celebrated careers. This will create a vacuum in the skilled labour force in the developing countries like India in the days to come. A more self-centered world view of the middle class has also enormously affected the community and family structure, particularly the children and elderly persons at home. Thus, the middle class in contemporary India is in a critical state of transition. On the one hand, the Indian middle class has emerged as one of the economically celebrated social groups in the globalized world, on the other hand, it has failed to provide its historic leadership to various sections of the Indian society. While globalization and neo-liberal policies are economically benefiting the middle class, these will also bring serious challenges to the socio-cultural dynamics of the Indian society in the days to come.



CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Q.7: Who is the author of the book The Great Indian Middle Class?

.....

Q.8: The process of globalization marked the distinction between traditional middle class and …….. (Fill in the Blank).



10.6 LET US SUM UP

- Middle class referred to the class or strata between the bourgeoisie and working class. It includes middle income groups like small producers, artisans, independent professionals, technical workers, government officials, etc. Emergence of middle class is a significant feature of modern industrial capitalist society.
- In case of India, the colonial modernity particularly the introduction of English education paved the way for the emergence of middle class.

They provided leadership in the social reform movements as well as nationalist struggle for India's independence.

- After the achievement of independence in India, the state-middle class relationship became more significant. The technocrats and bureaucratic managerial class played a crucial role in running the functions of the autonomous developmental state in the Nehru era.
- Role of urban middle class is also very significant in democratic politics. The urban middle class activism has been seen in the domain of civil society, a sphere outside the arena of formal politics of the state. Urban middle class also plays a pivotal role in settling universal values like justice, equality, representation, rights etc.
- The process of liberalization and globalization in the 1990s has brought structural changes to the urban middle classes in India. It has brought sharp distinction between traditional middle classes who are basically associated with state enterprises and public sector industries and the new middle class who are associated with the global corporate economy.
- In the post reform period the size of the Indian middle class is highly increasing and the Indian middle class market has emerged as a lucrative arena for global multinational corporations.
- Urban middle classes have often portrayed as a sizable consuming class in the global market economy.
- The process of globalization also adversely affected the role of the middle class in the Indian society. Although it has become an economically celebrated class yet its social role is declining as a value settler and a mediator between the ruling class and the masses.



10.7 FURTHER READING

1. Misra, B.B. (1963). The Indian Middle Classes: *Their Growth in Modern Times*. Londin. Oxford University Press.
2. Fernandes, Leela (2006). *India's New Middle Class: Democratic Politics in an Era of Economic Reform*. London. University of Minnesota Press.

3. Varma, Pavan. (1998). *The Great Indian Middle Class*. New Delhi. Viking Publisher.
4. Jayal, Niraja Gopal; Mehta Pratap, Bhanu (eds) (2010). Oxford *Companion to Politics in India*. New Delhi. Oxford University Press.



10.8 ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Ans. to Q. No. 1: Aristotle

Ans. to Q. No. 2: Petty bourgeoisie

Ans. to Q. No. 3: a. New middle class is the most significant consuming class of high end goods.

b. The activities of the urban middle class are confined to the arena of the civil society outside the domain of formal electoral politics.

Ans. to Q. No. 4: a. Capitalist class

b. Rich farmers

c. Bureaucratic managerial class

Ans. to Q. No. 5: civil society

Ans. to Q. No. 6: a. Bureaucracy

b. Mass media both visual and print

Ans. to Q. No. 7: Pavan Varma

Ans. to Q. No. 8: new middle class



10.9 POSSIBLE QUESTIONS

Q. 1: Discuss the role of colonial modernity in the process of emergence of the middle class in india.

Q. 2: Write briefly about the rise of the urban middle class in India after independence.

Q. 3: Discuss the impact of globalization on the Indian urban middle class.

Q. 4: Write a brief note on the relationship between middle class and civil society.

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UNIT 11: DEMOGRAPHIC CHANGE IN INDIA

UNIT STRUCTURE

11.1 Learning Objectives

11.2 Introduction

11.3 Meaning and Nature of Demographic Change in India

11.4 Factors responsible for Demographic Change in India

11.5 Impact of Demographic Change in Socio-Economic and Political spheres

11.6 Let Us Sum Up

11.7 Further Reading

11.8 Answers to Check Your Progress

11.9 Possible Questions

11.1 LEARNING OBJECTIVES

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

- explain the meaning of the concept of demography
- explain the nature of demographic change in India
- discuss the factors responsible for demographic change in India
- analyse the impact created by demographic changes in socio-economic and political spheres

11.2 INTRODUCTION

The term "demographic change" is most commonly used to refer to shifts in population structure. Demographic changes create an impact in the socio-economic and political spheres. Several factors are responsible in bringing about democratic changes. At the same time, different societies experience different levels of demographic changes depending upon the level of development in which the particular society finds itself in.

11.3 MEANING AND NATURE OF DEMOGRAPHIC CHANGE IN INDIA

The word "demography" is of ancient Greek origin and it literally means "describing the population". It is used to describe the size, composition and structure of populations. The term "demographic change" is most commonly used to refer to shifts in population structure.

All the societies, at one time or another, move from a near-equilibrium condition of high mortality and high fertility towards a presumed low-fertility and low-mortality equilibrium is termed as 'demographic transition' and the concept was pioneered by American demographer F.W.Notestein. Since 1950, demographic transition has occupied centre stage in demographic analyses and, therefore, the progress in demographic transition need to be understood and interpreted correctly. The contemporary theory of population change revolves around the concept of the classical demographic transition model enunciated by Notestein. However, a perfect portrayal of demographic transition is required to investigate the impact of demographic changes on social, economic and political structures of nations. A largely acceptable characterization of demographic transition consists of five components: mortality decline, natural increase in population size, fertility decline, urbanization and population aging. For instance, the conception of a shift from a regime of negligible population growth characterized by high birth and death rates to one of equally little growth based on low birth and death rates, during which there is a rapid increase in numbers due to the demographic gap, the lag of fertility decline behind the mortality decline. Although, this conception is only a rough generalization, it has such wide applicability that it has become a central axis of conceptualization about population trends. Numerous studies have assessed demographic transition in terms of fertility, mortality and health trends and transition on the global scale.

India accounts for nearly about 17% of the world's population and is experiencing rapid demographic changes. It has wide implications not only for the country but also for the whole world. The country exhibits one of the highest demographic heterogeneities ever experienced anywhere in the

world at the regional and state levels. Demographic changes taking place across the country are often accompanied by substantial socio-economic changes. It may be stated that India experienced a rapid increase in population all through the second half of the past century. Such kind of growth in population was considered to reflect the failure of the family planning programme adopted by the country. But it has been seen that India's population growth started to slow down since 1991. But although the growth rate declined compared with the previous decade, yet the annual addition to the population remained nearly the same. It is true that the ultimate population size of India will critically depend on all the anticipated changes to family, mortality and migration. It is possible that the current fertility transition and its future trends may completely redefine the ultimate size of India's population.

It is very clear that the demographic character of India's population is changing rapidly. India is now entering the final stages of demographic changes. The classical demographic changes that is underway in India reflects the scenario where the mortality rates fall while the birth rate remains high. It may be mentioned here that the country experienced a negative population growth between 1911 and 1921 because of the recurrence of plague, cholera and influenza epidemic.

As defined by the United Nations Population Fund (UNFPA) , "the economic growth potential that can result from shifts in a population's age structure, mainly when the

share of the working-age population (15 to 64) is larger than the non-working age share

of the population (14 and younger, and 65 and older)." As per Census of India, 2011, India has more than 50% of its population below the age of 25 and more than 65% below the age of 35.

Thus, India being home to a sizeable section of working-age population, the country can reap immense benefit from its demographic dividend if gainful and sustainable employment opportunities could be created for each hand in the working age group.



CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Q.1: A word derived from the ancient Greek work "demography" literally means "describing the population. (True/False).

.....

Q.2: The term 'Demographic Transition' was pioneered by whom?

.....

11.4 FACTORS RESPONSIBLE FOR DEMOGRAPHIC CHANGES IN INDIA

Let us try to analyse the demographic change in India and the factors responsible for the same in the context of the five-stage Demographic Transition Model (DTS) (Source: https://socialsci.libretexts.org/Bookshelves/Sociology/Book%3A_Sociology_(Boundless)/17%3A_Population_and_Urbanization/17.2%3A_Population_Growth/17.2E%3A_Demographic_Transition_Theory) :

Stage 1

In stage one, pre-industrial society, death rates and birth rates are high and roughly in balance. An example of this stage is the United States in the 1800s. All human populations are believed to have had this balance until the late 18th century, when this balance ended in Western Europe. In fact, growth rates were less than 0.05% at least since the Agricultural Revolution over 10,000 years ago.

Population growth is typically very slow in this stage, because the society is constrained by the available food supply; therefore, unless the society develops new technologies to increase food production (e.g. discovers new sources of food or achieves higher crop yields), any fluctuations in birth rates are soon matched by death rates. It may be mentioned here that India experienced a negative population growth between 1911 and 1921 because of the recurrence of plague, cholera and influenza epidemic.

Stage 2

In stage two, that of a developing country, the death rates drop rapidly

due to improvements in food supply and sanitation, which increase life spans and reduce disease. The improvements specific to food supply typically include selective breeding and crop rotation and farming techniques. Other improvements generally include access to technology, basic healthcare, and education. For example, numerous improvements in public health reduce mortality, especially childhood mortality. In India, with the launch of the Community Development Programme in 1952 and the Green Revolution in the 1960s there was a gradual decrease in the mortality rate in India.

Stage 3

In stage three, birth rates fall. Birth rates decrease due to various fertility factors such as access to contraception, increases in wages, urbanization, a reduction in subsistence agriculture, an increase in the status and education of women, a reduction in the value of children's work, an increase in parental investment in the education of children and other social changes. Population growth begins to level off. The birth rate decline in developed countries started in the late 19th century in northern Europe. While improvements in contraception do play a role in birth rate decline, it should be noted that contraceptives were not generally available nor widely used in the 19th century and as a result likely did not play a significant role in the decline then. It is important to note that birth rate decline is caused also by a transition in values; not just because of the availability of contraceptives. In India, family planning has brought down rates of population growth to some extent. Improvements in primary health and family planning and other elements of reproductive health care has resulted in lower birth and death rates, increased life expectancy and reduced infant mortality.

Stage 4

During stage four there are both low birth rates and low death rates. Birth rates may drop to well below replacement level as has happened in countries like Germany, Italy, and Japan, leading to a shrinking population, a threat to many industries that rely on population growth. Sweden is considered to currently be in Stage 4. As the large group born during stage two ages, it creates an economic burden on the shrinking working population. Death rates may remain consistently low or increase slightly due to

increases in lifestyle diseases due to low exercise levels and high obesity and an aging population in developed countries. By the late 20th century, birth rates and death rates in developed countries leveled off at lower rates. India has not yet reached this stage.

Stage 5 (Debated)

In the fifth stage, birth rate decreases lower than the death rate, causing population to decrease. Japan, Portugal , etc. are possible examples if this stage.

The United Nations Population Fund (2008) categorizes nations as high-fertility, intermediate-fertility, or low-fertility. The United Nations (UN) anticipates the population growth will triple between 2011 and 2100 in high-fertility countries, which are currently concentrated in sub-Saharan Africa. For countries with intermediate fertility rates (the United States, India, and Mexico all fall into this category), growth is expected to be about 26 percent. And low-fertility countries like China, Australia, and most of Europe will actually see population declines of approximately 20 percent.

Some other factors responsible for demographic change in India at present are as follows:

Globalisation:

In the era of globalisation, it is argue that international trade contributed to the divergence in the timing of the demographic transition and the emergence of sustained economic growth across countries. The expansion of international trade enhanced the specialization of industrial economies in the production of industrial, skill-intensive, goods. The associated rise in the demand for skilled labour has induced a gradual investment in the quality of the population, expediting a demographic transition, stimulating technological progress and further enhancing the comparative advantage of these industrial economies in the production of skill-intensive goods.

The decline in gender gap:

The rise in demand for human capital and its impact on the decline in the gender wage gap during the nineteenth and the twentieth century have contributed to the onset of the demographic transition. In particular,

the rise in women's relative wages during the process of development, its positive impact on female labour force participation, and its adverse effect on fertility rates have been at the center of a complementary theory of the demographic transition that generates the relationship between income per capita and population growth.



CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Q.3: In India, with the launch of the …….. in 1952 and the Green Revolution in the 1960s there was a gradual decrease in the mortality rate in India. (Fill in the Blank)

Q.4: In which stage of the Demographic Transition Model (DTS) the death rates drop rapidly due to improvements in food supply and sanitation, which increase life spans and reduce disease.

.....

11.5 IMPACT OF DEMOGRAPHIC CHANGE IN SOCIO-ECONOMIC AND POLITICAL SPHERES

India is often characterized as an emerging economic super power. The process of integration of India into the global market is progressing fast and India is one of the fastest growing major economies of the world. India has several strengths which can be fully exploited in the coming decades. The relatively young population which is still growing at about 2 per cent per annum can be considered as an important asset. This asset can generate huge demographic dividend in the coming decades. India can become the principal supplier of skilled workers to developed countries experiencing acute labour shortage. It can contribute to provide a potential for the smooth transition of India into a world economic power. The high quality engineering and management talent of India is also a matter of appreciation. But at the same time, there is another side to this picture. India has a large population of poor and destitute people in the whole world. India also accounts for the one of the largest number of illiterate people and the largest number of unemployed in the world. It has the largest number of anaemic women and children, and high infant/child and maternal mortality rates. The country must also try to

address these problems for improving the overall quality of life of its population in a sustained and consistent manner.

The gains of economic development though have benefited the middle classes in general as consumers, yet, socially backward classes have gained only marginally from economic development which may not be sufficient for them to improve their social skills to enable them to earn more.

At the time of independence, considerable disparities existed in economic and social development of different regions of the country existed. One of the main objectives of the planning process initiated in the early 1950s was to reduce these regional differences and to achieve, regionally balanced development. Various policy instruments including direct public investment by the government in infrastructure, guided private investment and building up of capacity enhancing institutions have been tried to achieve this objective. These policies were continued during the first three decades of planning. Though these measures were not highly successful, they ensured that disparities were not getting aggravated during this period. With the initiation of economic reforms in the early 1980s which culminated in full-fledged deregulation, liberalization and globalization in the early 1990s, the role of the government in investment decisions has diminished. Private investment became the principal engine of economic development. Private investments flowed to those regions where conditions are favourable to achieve maximum return on investment.

Differential economic performance of the last two decades has contributed to the increase of regional disparities in the country. Broadly speaking, while the western and southern States have experienced faster economic growth, the northern and eastern States lagged behind. On the other hand, population growth continues to be significantly higher in the lagging regions as compared to the forward regions. As a result, the per capita income differentials have been widening even further. Thus, while the economic centre of gravity has been shifting in the south-westerly direction, the demographic centre of gravity has been moving in the opposite direction. Another dimension of the same problem is that while more and more employment opportunities are created in the developed regions of

the country, the labour force growth is much higher in the backward regions. This will necessarily imply that large scale migration in search of employment will take place from the backward regions to the developed regions. This will have adverse implications socially as well as economically. Apart from the social and cultural dislocation of the migrants, the response of the recipient community also may have adverse social impact on the migrants.



CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Q.5: Write briefly about the impact of demographic change in the socio-economic and political spheres.

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.....

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.....



11.6 LET US SUM UP

- The word "demography" is of ancient Greek origin and it literally means "describing the population". It is used to describe the size, composition and structure of populations. The term "demographic change" is most commonly used to refer to shifts in population structure.
- India accounts for nearly about 17% of the world's population and is experiencing rapid demographic changes. It has wide implications not only for the country but also for the whole world. The country exhibits one of the highest demographic heterogeneities ever experienced anywhere in the world at the regional and state levels.
- Demographic changes taking place across the country are often accompanied by substantial socio-economic changes. It may be stated that India experienced a rapid increase in population all through the second half of the past century. Such kind of growth in population was considered to reflect the failure of the family planning programme adopted by the country. But it has been seen that India's population

growth started to slow down since 1991. But although the growth rate declined compared with the previous decade, yet the annual addition to the population remained nearly the same.

- It is true that the ultimate population size of India will critically depend on all the anticipated changes to family, mortality and migration. It is possible that the current fertility transition and its future trends may completely redefine the ultimate size of India's population.
- It is very clear that the demographic character of India's population is changing rapidly. India is now entering the final stages of demographic changes. The classical demographic changes that is underway in India reflects the scenario where the mortality rates fall while the birth rate remains high. It may be mentioned here that the country experienced a negative population growth between 1911 and 1921 because of the recurrence of plague, cholera and influenza epidemic.
- India being home to a sizeable section of working-age population, the country can reap immense benefit from its demographic dividend if gainful and sustainable employment opportunities could be created for each hand in the working age group.
- All the societies, at one time or another, move from a near-equilibrium condition of high mortality and high fertility towards a presumed low-fertility and low-mortality equilibrium is termed as 'demographic transition' and the concept was pioneered by American demographer F.W.Notestein.
- Since 1950, demographic transition has occupied center stage in demographic analyses and, therefore, the progress in demographic transition need to be understood and interpreted correctly. The contemporary theory of population change revolves around the concept of the classical demographic transition model enunciated by Notestein.
- However, a perfect portrayal of demographic transition is required to investigate the impact of demographic changes on social, economic and political structures of nations. A largely acceptable characterization of demographic transition consists of five components: mortality decline, natural increase in population size, fertility decline, urbanization and population aging.

- The demographic change in India and the factors responsible for the same in the context of the five-stage Demographic Transition Model (DTS).
- In stage one, pre-industrial society, death rates and birth rates are high and roughly in balance. It may be mentioned here that India experienced a negative population growth between 1911 and 1921 because of the recurrence of plague, cholera and influenza epidemic.
- In stage two the death rates drop rapidly due to improvements in food supply and sanitation, which increase life spans and reduce disease. In India, with the launch of the Community Development Programme in 1952 and the Green Revolution in the 1960s there was a gradual decrease in the mortality rate in India.
- In stage three, birth rates fall. Birth rates decrease due to various fertility factors such as access to contraception, increases in wages, urbanization, a reduction in subsistence agriculture, an increase in the status and education of women, a reduction in the value of children's work, an increase in parental investment in the education of children and other social changes. In India, family planning has brought down rates of population growth to some extent. Improvements in primary health and family planning and other elements of reproductive health care has resulted in lower birth and death rates, increased life expectancy and reduced infant mortality.
- During stage four there are both low birth rates and low death rates. Birth rates may drop to well below replacement level as has happened in countries like Germany, Italy, and Japan, leading to a shrinking population, a threat to many industries that rely on population growth.
- In the fifth stage, birth rate decreases lower than the death rate, causing population to decrease. Japan, Portugal , etc. are possible examples if this stage.
- The United Nations Population Fund (2008) categorizes nations as high-fertility, intermediate-fertility, or low-fertility. The United Nations (UN) anticipates the population growth will triple between 2011 and 2100 in high-fertility countries, which are currently concentrated in sub-Saharan Africa. For countries with intermediate fertility rates (the

United States, India, and Mexico all fall into this category), growth is expected to be about 26 percent. And low-fertility countries like China, Australia, and most of Europe will actually see population declines of approximately 20 percent.

- Some other factors responsible for demographic change in India include globalisation and the decline in gender gap.
- India is often characterized as an emerging economic super power. The relatively young population which is still growing at about 2 per cent per annum in a world inhabited by nations can be considered an important asset. This asset can generate huge demographic dividend in the coming decades. India can become the principal supplier of skilled workers to developed countries experiencing acute labour shortage. It can contribute to provide a potential for the smooth transition of India into a world economic power.
- At the same time, India has a large population of poor and destitute people in the whole world. India also accounts for the one of the largest number of illiterate people and the largest number of unemployed in the world. It has the largest number of anaemic women and children, and high infant/child and maternal mortality rates. The country must also try to address these problems for improving the overall quality of life of its population.
- Differential economic performance of the last two decades has contributed to the increase of regional disparities in the country. Broadly speaking, while the western and southern States have experienced faster economic growth, the northern and eastern States lagged behind. On the other hand, population growth continues to be significantly higher in the lagging regions as compared to the forward regions.
- Another dimension of the same problem is that while more and more employment opportunities are created in the developed regions of the country, the labour force growth is much higher in the backward regions. This will necessarily imply that large scale migration in search of employment will take place from the backward regions to the

developed regions. This will have adverse implications socially as well as economically. Apart from the social and cultural dislocation of the migrant, the response of the recipient community also may have adverse social impact on the migrant.



11.7 FURTHER READING

1. Gupta, Ashwani (2016). *Changing Demographics in India's Northeast and Its Impact on Security*. KW Publishers Pvt Ltd.
2. Chandana, R.C. (1994). *A Geography of Population: Concepts, Determinants and Patterns*. New Delhi, Kalyani Publishers.



11.8 ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Ans. to Q. No. 1: True

Ans. to Q. No. 2: F.W.Notestein

Ans. to Q. No. 3: Community Development Programme

Ans. to Q. No. 4: Second

Ans. to Q. No. 5: India is often characterized as an emerging economic super power. The relatively young population which is still growing at about 2 per cent per annum can be considered as an important asset. This asset can generate huge demographic dividend in the coming decades. India can become the principal supplier of skilled workers to developed countries experiencing acute labour shortage. It can contribute to provide a potential for the smooth transition of India into a world economic power. The country must also try to address these problems for improving the overall quality of life of its population in a sustained and consistent manner.

Differential economic performance of the last two decades has contributed to the increase of regional disparities in the country. Broadly speaking, while the western and southern States have experienced faster economic growth, the northern and eastern

States lagged behind. On the other hand, population growth continues to be significantly higher in the lagging regions as compared to the forward regions. As a result, the per capita income differentials have been widening even further. Thus, while the economic centre of gravity has been shifting in the south-westerly direction, the demographic centre of gravity has been moving in the opposite direction. Another dimension of the same problem is that while more and more employment opportunities are created in the developed regions of the country, the labour force growth is much higher in the backward regions. This will necessarily imply that large scale migration in search of employment will take place from the backward regions to the developed regions. This will have adverse implications socially as well as economically. Apart from the social and cultural dislocation of the migrants, the response of the recipient community also may have adverse social impact on the migrants.



11.9 POSSIBLE QUESTIONS

Q. 1: What are the basic factors which are responsible for demographic change in a territory?

Q. 2: Analyse the major impact of demographic change over India's economy and polity?

Q. 3: What are the circumstances responsible for India's demographic change?

Q. 4: Write about the socio-economic consequences of demographic changes in India?

Q. 5: Is migration a major issue leading to India's demographic change in a huge manner?

Q. 6: Explain the factors responsible for demographic change in India.

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UNIT 12: MIGRATION

UNIT STRUCTURE

12.1 Learning Objectives

12.2 Introduction

12.3 Meaning and Nature of Migration

12.4 Rural-Urban Migration

12.5 Inter-State Migration

12.6 Impact of Migration

12.7 Measures to Check Migration in India

12.8 Let Us Sum Up

12.9 Further Reading

12.10 Answers to Check Your Progress

12.11 Possible Questions

12.1 LEARNING OBJECTIVES

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

- analyse the meaning and nature of Migration
- focus on the concept of rural-urban migration which is a vibrant issue now-a-days
- describe the causes of inter-state migration
- analyse the consequences of migration in India and all over the world
- explain the measures to check the migration in India.

12.2 INTRODUCTION

India has a long history of migration. More than a century ago, large numbers of Indian migrants - many of them involuntary ones - moved to Africa, the Caribbean and within the Indian subcontinent itself. Some of the top destinations of Indian migrants in more recent decades include Persian Gulf countries, North America and Europe. India has been among the world's top origin countries of migrants since the United Nations started

tracking migrant origins in 1990. The number of international Indian migrants has more than doubled over the past 25 years, growing about twice as fast as the world's total migrant population. Nearly half of India's migrants are in just three countries: the United Arab Emirates, Pakistan and the United States. About 3.5 million Indians live in the UAE, the top destination country for Indian migrants. Over the past two decades, millions of Indians have migrated there to find employment as labourers. Pakistan has the second-largest number of migrants, with 2 million.

12.3 MEANING AND NATURE OF MIGRATION

The term migration generally refers to the process of a person or people travelling to a new place or country, usually in order to find work and live there temporarily or permanently. Migration is a way to move from one place to another in order to live and work. Movement of people from their home to another city, state or country for a job, shelter or some other reasons is called migration. Migration from rural areas to urban areas has increased in past few years in India. Nowadays, many people decide to migrate to have a better life. Employment opportunities are the most common reason due to which people migrate. Except this, lack of opportunities, better education, construction of dams, globalization, natural disaster (flood and drought) and sometimes crop failure forced villagers to migrate to cities. People who move from one place to another in search of work or shelter are called migrants. Most of the times migrants people are not skilled or educated, therefore they usually employed as daily wagers (workers who are paid at the end of each day, for their services). Daily wagers do not get enough money for the survival of their families and suffering from many problems such as they do not have enough food to eat, sanitation, hygiene, a proper place to live etc. Migration is becoming a very important subject for the life of cities. Many opportunities and attraction of big cities pull large numbers of people to big cities. Migration can have positive as well as negative effects on the life of the migrants. There are some positive and negative impacts of migration.

Positive Impact:

- Unemployment is reduced and people get better job opportunities.
- Migration helps in improving the quality of life of people.
- It helps to improve social life of people as they learn about new culture, customs, and languages which helps to improve brotherhood among people.
- Migration of skilled workers leads to a greater economic growth of the region.
- Children get better opportunities for higher education.
- The population density is reduced and the birth rate decreases.

Negative Impact:

- The loss of a person from rural areas, impact on the level of output and development of rural areas.
- The influx of workers in urban areas increases competition for the job, houses, school facilities etc.
- Having large population puts too much pressure on natural resources, amenities and services.
- It is difficult for a villager to survive in urban areas because in urban areas there is no natural environment and pure air. They have to pay for each and everything.
- Migration changes the population of a place, therefore, the distribution of the population is uneven in India.
- Many migrants are completely illiterate and uneducated, therefore, they are not only unfit for most of the jobs, but also lack basic knowledge and life skills.
- Poverty makes them unable to live a normal and healthy life.
- Children growing up in poverty have no access to proper nutrition, education or health.
- Migration increased the slum areas in cities which increase many problems such as unhygienic conditions, crime, pollution etc.

- Sometimes migrants are exploited.
- Migration is one of the main causes of increasing nuclear family where children grow up without a wider family circle.

India as one of the oldest civilizations and land of opportunities has been remained an attraction for visitors, traders, students and warriors from all over the world since very long. But, it had attained a new form and increased enormously in scale during the colonial period. Thereafter, in the light of remarkable changes and developments brought in the social, economic and political set up and advancement in the technological sector during the last decades of 20th century, the trends of migration from and in India turned to be more dynamic than ever before. The expansion of means of communication and transportation also provided impetus to the movement of people in India not only to the international streams but also within the country. Internal migration in our country was far more contextual in terms of the number of people who moved from one state to other or rural areas to the urban for better future. Indians for a number of centuries had been emigrating to promote trade, political and religious links with several countries. The trends and implications of migration from India varied from time to time. The tradition of out-migration of Indians could be traced back to 268-231 B.C. when emperor Ashoka sent messengers across the world to spread the message of peace given by Lord Buddha (Sahai and Chand 2004:59). However, systematic migration flows from India to various parts of the world were noted during the last two centuries and the origin of modern-day emigration was started in the 18th century under the British rule. During colonial period, the process of international migration from India had entered into a new phase. The Britishers after abolishing slavery system in the Empire replaced black slave labour with the Indian labour to work on plantations and in mines. The first batch of unskilled Indian labourers was transported to Mauritius for sugar plantation. Afterwards, more such labour force was recruited on contract to work on tea, rubber, sugarcane and palm plantation and in mines.

The countries where Indian labourers migrated were West Indian colonies, Fiji, South Africa, Mauritius, Malaysia, Singapore, Ceylon (Sri Lanka) and Burma. Apart from labour migration to the British colonies, a big number of Indians was also migrated to the advanced industrial countries like United Kingdom (UK) in Europe in the early 19th century and to North America in the 20th century. Migration of people from different countries, more significantly from neighbouring countries, to India was associated with the democratic polity, liberal society, religious freedom and developed economy coupled with more job avenues. Since 1947 the number of legal as well as illegal immigrants in India was been increasing over the decades. But, an instant increase in the number of foreign migrants in the country was noted during 1991-2001.

By the end of 2006, a huge number of people from Bangladesh, Tibet and Sri Lanka were recognized as refugees by the Indian government and the United Nations High Commission for Refugees (UNHCR) and were given shelter in India. A major part of them comprised the Chakma and Jumma refugees from Bangladesh. They were from tribal community consisting Buddhists and Hindus living along with the Chittagong Hill Tracts (CHTs) of Bangladesh.

Internal migration of people from one part to other within India was very limited before the arrival of Britishers. It was because of two major reasons. First, people were used to engage in agro-based rural socio-economic operations by which they were satisfied in fulfilling the needs within their own villages. Second, lack of improved transportation and communication facilities discouraged them to migrate from their native places. But the developmental changes brought up by the Britishers in production and economic systems, starting of railways and improving communication and other transportation facilities pushed the internal as well as international migration in India. Earlier migratory trends in India were primarily towards the eastern parts of the country.



CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Q.1: What do mean by migration?

.....

.....

Q.2: What two positive and two negative impacts of migration?

.....

.....

12.4 RURAL-URBAN MIGRATION

Rural-urban migration is a form of so-called internal migration which means a movement within a country and which stays in contrast to international or intercontinental migration. It refers to the movement of people from the countryside respectively the rural areas into the cities, often the metropolitan cities of a country. This change of residence is often connected with the migration of labour and a career change from primary to second or third sector. It is obvious that these developments always show two sides: one side or the area of destination gains population whereas the other side respectively the area of origin loses people. One always has to keep that in mind because interaction, networking and communication between both sides are absolutely necessary in trying to achieve a balanced development of both rural and urban areas. There are different reasons that cause rural-urban migration in developing countries - they are the so-called push and pull factors. They can be seen as a simultaneous analysis of factors that force migrants out of rural areas (push-factors) and factors that attract migrants to urban areas. Factors and determinants of migration are rather diverse and they can be split up in economic and non-economic reasons. It may be stated that economic push factors include unemployment or underemployment in rural areas, low wages and no assets as well as lack of land, which is sometimes due to inheritance systems that split the land among a large number of people, making it less productive. At the same time, non-economic push factors play an additional role and mainly include a poor

rural infrastructure in general, i.e. poor living conditions referring to housing, education possibilities and healthcare; furthermore aspects of agricultural change like modernization of farming, new techniques and machines as well as economic reforms in general cause less demand of labour in the agricultural sector and therefore it causes people to search for new job opportunities; additional factors that act as push factors are natural disasters, drought or famine, war and conflicts that in most of the times affect rural areas by destroying most of their belongings and farm land and affects their livelihood. It can also be stated that economic pull factors include factors that attract people to move into the cities which are mainly the counterparts of the push factors: rural migrants hope for employment and higher wages in the cities caused by a higher demand of labour there in general, due to economic growth. Besides this, non-economic pull factors include social factors such as the hope for better healthcare and education provision or the urban facilities and way of life in general as well as factors like protection from conflicts etc.

With these push and pull factors in mind one can imagine that there are crucial changes and results in both areas of origin and destination caused by these movements from the countryside to the city. The increasing numbers of people moving towards the large urban areas cause three things to happen.

Firstly - urban growth which means that towns and cities are spatially expanding. They cover an increasing area of land, mainly because there aren't enough housing facilities in the city itself so that new incomers often have to move to shanty towns that are increasing in size and number.

Secondly - urbanization which refers to the fact of a significant increase in the proportion of people living in cities in the total population.

Third - rural depopulation which usually means that large numbers of working age people migrate from the countryside to earn more money in the city. But then they leave behind the very old and the very young, causing further problems in rural development as the young, skilled adults are missing.

12.5 INTER-STATE MIGRATION

Migration is the geographic movement of people across a specified boundary for the purpose of establishing a new permanent or semi-permanent residence. Along with fertility and mortality, migration is a component of the population change. The term "in migration" and "out migration" are used for movement between areas within a country (internal migration). The parallel terms "immigration" and "emigration" are used to refer to moves between countries (international migration).

There has been a basic difference in the processes of migration in developing countries from that of the developed countries. In developing countries like India, migration mostly takes place not due to the so called pull forces of the destination place as usually happens in case of developed countries, but because of poverty, unemployment, natural calamities and underdevelopment at the origin place. Migration in developing countries is still viewed as a survival strategy. Poverty and prosperity both are responsible for inducing migration. While the former is mostly true in developing countries, the latter kind of migration is found in developed countries. Interstate migration can be a source of population gain or loss for a state or territory. For a large country like India, the study of movement of population in different parts of the country helps in understanding the dynamics of the society better. At this junction in the economic development, in the country, especially when many states are undergoing faster economic development, particularly in areas, such as, manufacturing, information technology or service sectors, data migration profile of population has become more important. Opportunities in urban areas for employment, education, etc. have been a pull factor attracting migrants from rural to urban areas and from smaller towns and cities to larger urban areas. There is also migration in the opposite direction from urban to rural areas due to various reasons.



CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Q.3: Write two pull factors that attract migrants from rural to urban areas.

.....

12.6 IMPACT OF MIGRATION

A significant component of any assessment is to look at how immigration has affected social relationships within society. At one level, the impacts that have been felt in Jobs, public services etc. Migration is one of the common trends in these days. In the same way, agricultural labour migration is also common in these days. Labourers face so many problems in their living condition and these problems pull them from their native place and migrate to other places where they get good employment and income opportunity. Migration has continues to have a major impact on human societies. The effects of migration are seen in both the societies that people leave called "sending societies?, and those in which they settle, called "receiving societies?. These societies are not always countries or nation. People may for instance, move from a rural society, such as a village, to an urban one, such as a city, within the same country. The impacts of these internal moves may be serious for the villages as international movements are for notion.

Demographic Consequences:

Migration may have profound effects on the size, structure and growth patterns of population. Migration effects on both populations and the patterns of population. It effects on both population of the places that people leave and on the populations of those in which they settle. These effects vary with different types of migration and length of migrants stay in places. The absence of large number of either men or women may have a limited impact on the sending society in short term but if they are absent for longer periods of time, their absence will have significant effects on population growth rates in the medium and long terms.

Social Consequences:

Migration may have importance on the cultures and societies. It effects on the cultures of both the places that migrants leave and those in which they re-settle. These effects vary with different types of migration, the skills of the migrants and the lengths of time involved.

Political Consequences

Migration can have an impact on politics in both the places which people leave and those to which they move. Governments will have to make policies to attract migrants, to persuade migrants to return, or to limit migration to ensure that they have access to skills that they need. These are political effects vary with different types of migration.

Economic Consequences

Migration can have significant effect on economy also. Migration impacts on the economies that people leave and those in which they re-settle. These effects vary with different types of migration, the skills of the migration and length of time involved.



CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Q.4: Write the social and political consequences created by migration of people from one place to another?

.....

12.7 MEASURES TO CHECK MIGRATION IN INDIA

There are various socio-economic factors which work as push and pull factors of migration in India. However, the following measures can check the migration of rural people towards urban areas in India:

- There should be proper and adequate medical facility in the villages with reputed doctors.
- The Govt. should provide with proper Banking facilities in each villages. Provisions should be made for economic empowerment of the people.
- The primary school should be well structured and skilled teachers should be appointed. Besides these, there should be adequate high schools and colleges for the local people.
- There should be proper electric supply.
- There should be proper transportation and market facilities from

rural to urban areas which will check the migration of rural people towards cities.

- Frequent occurrences of natural calamities like flood, erosion etc. force many people to migrate to other places. Therefore, proper care should be taken well in advance to mitigate such problems which will control migration.
- The government should arrange various awareness programmes among the rural people to make them aware about the Govt. schemes. Besides these, the government should adopt different schemes which provide employment opportunities to the youths.



12.8 LET US SUM UP

- Migration generally refers to the process of person or people travelling to a new place or country, usually in order to find work and live there temporarily or permanently.
- Migration is a way to move from one place to another in order to live and work.
- Migration can have positive as well as negative effects on the life of the migrants.
- Rural-urban migration is a form of so-called internal migration which means a movement within a country and which stays in contrast to international or intercontinental migration.
- Opportunities in urban areas for employment, education, etc. have been a pull factor attracting migrants from rural to urban areas and from smaller towns and cities to larger urban areas.
- Internal migration often involves longer working hours, poor living and working conditions, social isolation and poor access to basic amenities.
- Most migrant labourers in India are employed in the unorganised sector, where the lack of regulation compounds their vulnerability; they are largely ignored by government and NGO programmes.

- Legislation regarding migrants fails because regulatory authorities are over-stretched; the state sees migrants as a low priority; and migrant workers have little support from civil society.
- International migrants have mainly come from Kerala, Tamil Nadu, Andhra Pradesh and Punjab, and have consisted of people with professional expertise of technical qualifications migrating to industrialised countries; and skilled and semi-skilled workers migrating to the Middle East.
- In Kerala, remittances made up 21 per cent of state income in the 1990s, and emigration appears to have increased the wealth of the state.
- There are various socio-economic factors which work as push and pull factors of migration in India.



12.9 FURTHER READING

1. Amin, S. (1974), *Modern Migration in Western Africa*. London: Oxford University Press.
2. Banerjee, B. (1986), *Rural to Urban Migration and the Urban Labour Market*. Delhi: Himalaya Publishing House.
3. Bilsborrow et al. (eds.) (1984), *Migration Surveys in Low Income Countries*. London: Croom Helm.
4. Bulsara, J.F. (1964), *Problems of Rapid Urbanization in India*. Bombay: Popular Prakash an.
5. Caldwell, J. C. (1969), *African Rural-Urban Migration: The Movement of Ghana's Towns*. Canberra: Australian National University Press.
6. Chattopadhyaya, H. (1987), *Internal Migration in India: A Case Study of Bengal.* New Delhi: K.P. Bagachi & Company.

12.10 ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Ans. to Q. No. 1: The term migration generally refers to the process of a person or people travelling to a new place or country, usually in order to find work and live there temporarily or permanently. Migration is a way to move from one place to another in order to live and work.

Ans. to Q. No. 2: Positive Impact:

- Migration helps in improving the quality of life of people.
- Children get better opportunities for higher education.

Negative Impact:

- The loss of a person from rural areas, impact on the level of output and development of rural areas.
- The influx of workers in urban areas increases competition for the job, houses, school facilities etc.

Ans. to Q. No. 3: Opportunities in urban areas for employment, education, etc. have been a pull factor attracting migrants from rural to urban areas.

Ans. to Q. No. 4: (i) Social Consequnces: Migration may have importance on the cultures and societies. It effects on the cultures of both the places that migrants leave and those in which they re-settle. These effects vary with different types of migration, the skills of the migrants and the lengths of time involved.

(ii) Political Consequences : Migration can have an impact on politics in both the places which people leave and those to which they move. Governments will have to make policies to attract migrants, to persuade migrants to return, or to limit migration to ensure that they have access to skills that they need. These are political effects vary with different types of migration.



12.11 POSSIBLE QUESTIONS

A) Very Short Questions.

Q. 1: State the meaning of migration.

Q. 2: What do you mean by seasonal migration?

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

Q. 1: Differentiate between internal and international migration.

Q. 2: Write about seasonal migration from a particular area or village.

Q. 3: Briefly explain the various measures to check migration in India.

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

Q. 1: What is migration? Explain the positive and negative impacts of migration.

Q. 2: Describe the socio-political and demographic consequences of migration.

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UNIT 13: DOMESTIC VIOLENCE AND LEGAL PROTECTION IN INDIA

UNIT STRUCTURE

13.1 Learning Objectives

13.2 Introduction

13.3 Meaning and Nature of Domestic Violence

13.4 Factors Responsible for Occurrence of Domestic Violence

13.5 Measures to Stop Domestic Violence in India: Legal Provisions

13.6 Let Us Sum Up

13.7 Further Reading

13.8 Answers to Check Your Progress

13.9 Possible Questions

13.1 LEARNING OBJECTIVES

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

- explain the meaning and nature of domestic violence
- examine the factors responsible for occurrence of domestic violence
- discuss the numerous legal provisions to check domestic violence in India.

13.2 INTRODUCTION

Gender crimes are not a recent phenomenon. Crimes against women have been committed since ancient period. Violence to wives, the central concern here, is found in all societies and across all economic and age groups. Any traditional custom that place women in subordinate positions within society or in the family has the potential to turn violent. The putative sacredness of a traditional marriage, rigid ideas of conjugality, and patriarchal traditions of family structure take precedence over concerns for women or children. It has been observed that whenever male authority is threatened the lives of women, and children become redundant and are considered dispensable.

Prejudice towards women is entrenched in Indian culture. But, by no means is this unique to India. Prejudice towards women is common in other societies. Women are devalued, subordinated and mistreated daily. Crimes against women occur every single day around the world with forensic precision. According to the October 2002 World Health Organization Report on Violence and Health, it is estimated that interpersonal violence results the death of one person every minute somewhere across the world. Police records in India reveal that a woman is raped every 34 minutes, molested every 26 minutes, kidnapped every 43 minutes and killed every 93 minutes. In this unit we shall discuss the problem of domestic violence against women in detail.

13.3 MEANING AND NATURE OF DOMESTIC VIOLENCE

- **Meaning**

  The problem of violence against women is not new. Violence against women can be categorized under the following;

  - **Criminal Violence:** This includes violence like rapes, abductions and murders etc.
  - **Social Violence:** Forcing the wife/daughter-in-law to go for female foeticide, eve-teasing, refusing to give a share to women in property, forcing a young widow to commit sati, harassing the daughter-in-law to bring more dowry etc. falls under this category.
  - **Domestic Violence:** This particular violence against women include dowry-deaths, wife battering, sexual abuse, maltreatment of widows and/or elderly women etc.

Domestic violence is therefore the violence or other abuse by one person against another in a domestic setting, such as in marriage or cohabitation. It may be termed **intimate partner violence** when committed by a spouse or partner in an intimate relationship against the other spouse or partner, and can take place in heterosexual or same-sex relationships, or between former spouses or partners. Domestic violence can also involve violence against children, parents, or the elderly. Globally, the victims of

domestic violence are overwhelmingly women, and women tend to experience more severe forms of violence.

The first known use of the term domestic violence in a modern context, meaning violence in the home, was in an address to the Parliament of the United Kingdom by Jack Ashley in 1973. Traditionally, domestic violence was mostly associated with physical violence. Terms such as wife abuse, wife beating, and wife battering were used, but have declined in popularity due to efforts to include unmarried partners, abuse other than physical, female perpetrators, and same-sex relationships. Domestic violence is now commonly defined broadly to include "all acts of physical, sexual, psychological or economic violence" that may be committed by a family member or intimate partner.

Now, let us look at some of the definitions of domestic violence which would in turn help us to understand the meaning of the term more clearly.

According to The **United Nations Declaration on the Elimination of Violence Against Women**, domestic violence is "Physical, sexual and psychological violence occurring in the family, including battering, sexual abuse of female children in the household, dowry-related violence, marital rape, female genital mutilation and other traditional practices harmful to women, non-spousal violence and violence related to exploitation."

The **U.S. Department of Justice** defines domestic violence as "A pattern of abusive behavior in any relationship that is used by one partner to gain or maintain power and control over another intimate partner. Domestic violence can be physical, sexual, emotional, economic, or psychological actions or threats of actions that influence another person. This includes any behaviors that intimidate, manipulate, humiliate, isolate, frighten, terrorize, coerce, threaten, blame, hurt, injure, or wound someone."

According to the online portal **'Arizona Coalition- To End Sexual and Domestic Violence'**, Domestic violence is not physical violence alone. Domestic violence is any behavior the purpose of which is to gain power and control over a spouse, partner, girl/boyfriend or intimate family member. Abuse is a learned behavior; it is not caused by anger, mental problems, drugs or alcohol, or other common excuses.

The **Centre for Family Justice**, explains, "Domestic abuse is a pattern of coercive, controlling behavior that is a pervasive life-threatening crime affecting people in all our communities regardless of gender, age, sexual orientation, race, ethnicity, religion, social standing and immigration status."

According to **National Council for Single Mothers and their Children**, "It is a pattern of abusive behavior through which a person seeks to control and dominate another person."

The Research Centre for Women Studies, SNDT, Mumbai, elaborates the term as "all acts perpetrated in the private domain of the hoe to secure women's subordination and which is rationalized and sanctioned by the prevailing gender ideology. It is thus seen as going beyond the legal definition of physical assault, to include, psychological and sexual violence."

- **Nature**

  Abuse can take on many forms. It has different natures. Some types are more subtle than others and might never be seen or felt by anyone other than the woman experiencing the abuse. The abuser uses a combination of tactics that work to control the victim. The abuse also usually increases in frequency and severity over time. The Missouri Coalition- against Domestic and Sexual Violence has made an attempt to understand the nature and the dynamics of domestic violence.

  (a) Physical Abuse

  Physical abuse is easier to recognize and understand than other types of abuse. It can be indicated when the batterer;

  - Scratches, bites, grabs or spits at a current or former intimate partner.
  - Shakes, shoves, pushes, restrains or throws her.
  - Twists, slaps, punches, strangles or burns the victim.
  - Throws objects at her.
  - Subjects her to reckless driving.
  - Locks her in or out of the house.
  - Refuses to help when she's sick, injured or pregnant, or withholds medication or treatment.

- Withholds food as punishment.
- Abuses her at mealtime, which disrupts eating patterns and can result in malnutrition.
- Abuses her at night, which disrupts sleeping patterns and can result in sleep deprivation.
- Attacks her with weapons or kills her.

(b) Sexual Violence and Abuse

Sexual violence and abuse can be extraordinarily difficult for victims to talk about because of the ways in which this type of violence often is perpetrated. Sexual violence or abuse can be indicated when the batterer;

- Is jealous or angry and assumes she will have sex with anyone.
- Withholds sex and affection as punishment.
- Calls her sexual names.
- Pressures her to have sex when she doesn't want to.
- Insists that his partner dress in a more sexual way than she wants.
- Coerces sex by manipulation or threats.
- Physically forces sex or is sexually violent.
- Coerces her into sexual acts that she is uncomfortable with.
- Inflicts injuries that are sex-specific.
- Denies the victim contraception or protection against sexually transmitted diseases.

(c) Psychological Abuse

It is the abuser's use of physical and sexual force or threats that gives power to his psychologically abusive acts. Psychological abuse becomes an effective weapon in controlling a victim, because she knows through experience that her abuser will at times back up the threats or taunts with physical assaults. Psychological abuse can be indicated when the batterer;

- Breaks promises, doesn't follow through on agreements or doesn't take a fair share of responsibility.
- Verbally attacks and humiliates his partner in private or public.
- Attacks her vulnerabilities, such as her language abilities, educational level, skills as a parent, religious and cultural beliefs or physical appearance.
- Plays mind games, such as when he denies requests he has made previously or when he undercuts her sense of reality.
- Forces her to do degrading things.
- Ignores her feelings.
- Withholds approval or affection as punishment.
- Regularly threatens to leave or tells her to leave.
- Harasses her about affairs he imagines her to be having.
- Stalks her.
- Always claims to be right.
- Is unfaithful after committing to monogamy.

(d) Economic Abuse

Economic abuse can be indicated when the batterer;

- Controls all the money.
- Doesn't let her to work outside the home or sabotages her attempts to work or go to school.
- Refuses to work and makes her support the family.
- Ruins her credit rating.



LET US KNOW

In 1983 and 1986, amendments were made to the existing Criminal Law to take onboard the category of 'cruelty to wives' in terms that were diffuse or incomplete in definition, difficult to implement within the procedures of criminal law, and easy to circumvent. For instance, 'cruelty', was defined as the causing of 'grave injury or danger to life, limb or death,' thus leaving outside ambit the mundane non-physical forms of violence of everyday life.

Another problem is that in the amendments domestic violence is dubiously sutured to dowry demand and harassment, with the result that often in the perception of the police and the legal machinery, a claim to cruelty cannot by definition be made unless appended to the claim to dowry harassment. It is almost as though it is only by invoking the criminality of dowry and related violence that an intervention into the sacralized space of the family can be justified.

It is only since the 1990s that domestic violence has been specifically highlighted as an endemic and pervasive reality of women's lives as well as a fundamental violation of their rights. Globally, the Vienna Congress on Human Rights (1994) and the Fourth World Conference of Women at Beijing (1995) included this issue as a critical area of concern.

Apart from identifying women's abuse as a human rights issue, these also called for a crucial redefinition of what constitute violence against women in their intimate relationships. And indeed, there has been a radical redefinition and elaboration of the paradigm over the past few years both by international bodies and by Indian feminist forums such as the Lawyers' Collective Women's Rights Initiative (LSWRI).



CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Q.1: When violence committed by a spouse or partner in an intimate relationship against the other spouse or partner, it is called ….. (Fill in the blanks)

Q.2: What is Domestic Violence?

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.....

Q.3: State the defination of domestic violence provided by the Centre for Family Justice.

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13.4 FACTORS RESPONSIBLE FOR OCCURRENCE OF DOMESTIC VIOLENCE

There are two main factors which could be held responsible for domestic violence. One is the family and other the caste, class and community.

- **The Family as the Site of Violence**
  - In a study of domestic violence in the Indian context, Malavika Karlekar, abstracts certain generic characteristics of the family and the "naturalization" of violence within it. Whether the basic family unit is joint or nuclear, it is the ground for the play of power and powerlessness along the lines of gender and age. Violence understood not only as physical harm but also as discrimination, deprivation, denial of access to resources, intimidation, exploitation, and other means whereby economic and social inequality is perpetuated as the tool that reproduces the inherently hierarchical structure of the family. Those most vulnerable to familial violence are children, women, and the aged.
  - Family as one of the prime site of domestic violence means that an inclusive understanding of domestic violence must take into account not only inter-spousal violence but also the very real practice of child and elder abuse within the home. However, while any child is vulnerable to violence, the girl-child may be more discriminated against. A differentiation must also be made between the violence perpetrated against old males and females.
  - For the women, the abuse suffered in old age might differ from with her experience of violence as a child in the natal home and as wife in the conjugal home. Elder female might be seen to be disempowered by age and loss of status as they are no longer perceived as being economically "productive". As such, violence in old age signals for men the loss of the patriarchal power that they once exercised within the same familial structure. One could refer to this process as a "feminization" in

status and therefore, a greater vulnerability to abuse.

- To this extent, all violence within the family is gendered. And, even we isolate wife-abuse as the object of analysis, it is important to keep in mind the range of violence of which it represents one stage.
- The perpetrators of violence often include female affine (a relative by marriage) such as the mother-in-law or sister-in-law. The politics of the household cannot be seen simply as a struggle between oppressing men and victimized women. As the household constitutes the site for struggle over resources and power, women themselves may be inserted into a hierarchical based on age, marital status, maternal status, the ranking among daughters-in-law and so on.
- The differential access to power and resources would lead to a re-division of household labor among women, relationships of bitterness between them, and re-entrenching of patriarchy as the more privileged of the female members function as the substitute (and often, violent) agents of male hegemony and control.

- **Caste, Class and Community as the Site of Violence**
  - When we discuss the pervasiveness and historical persistence of violence against women, it is necessary to recognize the historical contingency of patriarchal forms and practices. Patriarchal arrangements are subject to constant reconstitution because of their fundamental implication in the historical articulation and re-articulation of class, caste, and community. Gender inequality does not function in isolation but is intricately related to other forms of social hierarchy.
  - As a prominent thinker Sangari (a prominent scholar) puts patriarchies as being simultaneously located in specific modes of production, in class structure and mobility, in particular forms of class-caste status with custom, tradition or religion.

- Such a perspective helps us to open up the family as the site of violence and to situate its politics within a larger family moving towards caste, class and community. Thus, rearticulating of caste, class or community identities would inflect the specific forms and intensities of private and public violence against women at specific historical junctures.
- Economic pressures too, play a part. Deorala, the town where Roop Kanwar was burnt, now boast a thriving "sati industry". Equally, the conservative Muslim backlash during the **Shah Bano case** reveals the anxiety of a community that perceives itself to be in crisis and seeks to assert its integrity through an intensification of its indigenous patriarchal practices.
- To take another example, the spread of the practice of dowry within the middle-classes, even to communities where it did not earlier exist, calls for an analysis of new trajectories of class mobility and changing middle class aspirations in a context of high capitalism and an ethos of consumerism.



Shah Bano case: This is controversial case of alimony and maintenance in Muslim. This case in fact highlights how people use religion as a tool for their own personal vendetta.

Therefore, theorizing of domestic violence, then, must centrally involve the identifying and analysis of old and emerging forms of vulnerabilities that undermine women in the contemporary context. It must move beyond the merely "domestic" to address the ambiguities and contradictions generated at the interface of different structures and relations of oppression and their specific implications for women in a climate of growing gendered violence.



CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Q.4: Caste, class and community are also factors of domestic violence. (True/False)

.....

Q.5: Muslim backlash during the ..... reveals the anxiety of a community that perceives itself to be in crisis and seeks to assert its integrity through an intensification of its indigenous patriarchal practices. (Fill in the blank)

Q.6: Write briefly about family as the site of violence against women.

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13.5 MEASURES TO STOP DOMESTIC VIOLENCE IN INDIA: LEGAL PROVISIONS

There are varied consequences of domestic violence depending on the victim, the age group, the intensity of the violence and frequency of the torment they are subjected to. Living under a constant fear, threat and humiliation are some of the feelings developed in the minds of the victims in a situation of domestic violence. The consequences of the domestic violence in detail can be broadly categorized under - the Effect on the victim himself/herself and the family, effect on the society and the effect on nation's growth and productivity. Therefore, it is of utmost important to find measures to check domestic violence.

To stop domestic violence there is urgent need of awareness and detection of such cases. Education and awareness too play a very important role in this regard. But, along with that legal provisions are of utmost importance. Let's look at the situation in India and how the state has tackled the menace.

- The Protection of Women from Domestic Violence Act, 2005 is an Act of the Parliament of India enacted to protect women from domestic violence. It was brought into force by the Indian government from 26 October 2006.
- The Act provides for the first time in Indian law a definition of "domestic violence", with this definition being broad and including not only physical violence, but also other forms of violence such as emotional/verbal, sexual, and economic abuse.
- It is a civil law meant primarily for protection orders and not meant to penalize criminally. The Act does not extend to Jammu and Kashmir,

which has its own laws, and which enacted in 2010 the Jammu and Kashmir Protection of Women from Domestic Violence Act, 2010.

- Primarily meant to provide protection to the wife or female live-in partner from domestic violence at the hands of the husband or male live-in partner or his relatives, the law also extends its protection to women living in a household such as sisters, widows or mothers. Domestic violence under the Act includes actual abuse or the threat of abuse whether physical, sexual, verbal, emotional or economic. Harassment by way of unlawful dowry demands to the woman or her relatives would also be covered under this definition.

The salient features of the Protection from Domestic Violence Act, 2005 are as follows;

- The Act seeks to cover those women who are or have been in a relationship with the abuser where both parties have lived together in a shared household and are related by consanguinity, marriage or a relationship in the nature of marriage, or adoption; in addition relationship with family members living together as a joint family are also included. Even those women who are sisters, widows, mothers, single women, or living with them are entitled to get legal protection under the proposed Act.
- "Domestic violence" includes actual abuse or the threat of abuse that is physical, sexual, verbal, emotional and economic. Harassment by way of unlawful dowry demands to the woman or her relatives would also be covered under this definition.
- One of the most important features of the Act is the woman's right to secure housing. The Act provides for the woman's right to reside in the matrimonial or shared household, whether or not she has any title or rights in the household. This right is secured by a residence order, which is passed by a court. These residence orders cannot be passed against anyone who is a woman.
- The other relief envisaged under the Act is that of the power of the court to pass protection orders that prevent the abuser from aiding or committing an act of domestic violence or any other specified

act, entering a workplace or any other place frequented visited by the abused, attempting to communicate with the abused, isolating any assets used by both the parties and causing violence to the abused, her relatives and others who provide her assistance from the domestic violence.

- The Act provides for appointment of Protection Officers and NGOs to provide assistance to the woman, medical examination, legal aid, safe shelter, etc.
- The Act provides for breach of protection order or interim protection order by the respondent as a cognizable and non-bailable offence punishable with imprisonment for a term which may extend to one year or with fine which may extend to twenty thousand rupees or with both. Similarly, non-compliance or discharge of duties by the Protection Officer is also sought to be made an offence under the Act with similar punishment.



LET US KNOW

Many have however also criticized the Protection from Domestic Violence Act, 2005 as having too little force, serving chiefly as a civil, rather than criminal, law- requiring a further offense by the accused respondent (such as violating a Protection Order issued under this law) before triggering criminal law sanctions against the respondent (such as arrest and imprisonment). However, groups involved in drafting the law believed this would provide more rapid and flexible relief for the victim.



CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Q.7: "Domestic violence" includes actual abuse or the threat of abuse that is physical, sexual, verbal, emotional and economic. (True/False)

.....

Q.8: The Protection of Women from Domestic Violence Act, 2005 came into force on …….. (Fill in the blank)

Q.9: State one criticism regarding the Protection of Women from Domestic Violence Act, 2005.

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13.6 LET US SUM UP

- Gender crimes are not a recent phenomenon. Crimes against women have been committed since antiquity. Violence to wives, the central concern here, is found in all societies and across all economic and age groups.
- Prejudice towards women is entrenched in Indian culture. But, by no means is this unique to India. Prejudice towards women is common in other societies. Women are devalued, subordinated and mistreated daily. Crimes against women occur every single day around the world with forensic precision.
- Domestic violence is the violence or other abuse by one person against another in a domestic setting, such as in marriage or cohabitation. It may be termed intimate partner violence when committed by a spouse or partner in an intimate relationship against the other spouse or partner, and can take place in heterosexual or same-sex relationships, or between former spouses or partners.
- The Missouri Coalition- against Domestic and Sexual Violence has made an attempt to understand the nature and the dynamics of domestic violence which categorized it as Physical Abuse, Sexual Violence and Abuse, Psychological Abuse, and Economic Abuse.
- There are two main factors which could be held responsible for domestic violence. One is the family and other the caste, class and community.
- Domestic violence in order to check first need a lot of awareness and detection of such cases. Education and awareness too plays a very

important role in this regard. But, along with that legal provisions are of utmost importance.

- The Protection of Women from Domestic Violence Act 2005 is an Act of the Parliament of India enacted to protect women from domestic violence. It was brought into force by the Indian government from 26 October 2006.



13.7 FURTHER READING

1. Ahuja, R. (2011). *Social Problems in India*. New Delhi: Rawat Publication.
2. Bhattacharya, R. (2013). *Behind Closed Door- Domestic Violence In India*. New Delhi: Sage Publications.
3. Chatterji, S.A. (1997). *The India Women's Search For an Identity*. New Delhi: Vikas Publishing House.



13.8 ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Ans. to Q. No. 1: intimate partner violence

Ans. to Q. No. 2: Domestic violence is the violence or other abuse by one person against another in a domestic setting, such as in marriage or cohabitation.

Ans. to Q. No. 3: The Centre for Family Justice, explains, "Domestic abuse is a pattern of coercive, controlling behavior that is a pervasive life-threatening crime affecting people in all our communities regardless of gender, age, sexual orientation, race, ethnicity, religion, social standing and immigration status."

Ans. to Q. No. 4: True

Ans. to Q. No. 5: Shah Bano case

Ans. to Q. No. 6: The perpetrators of violence often include female affine such as the mother-in-law or sister-in-law. The politics of the household cannot be seen simply as a struggle between oppressing men and victimized women. As the household constitutes the site

for struggle over resources and power, women themselves may be inserted into a hierarchical based on age, marital status, maternal status, the ranking among daughters-in-law and so on. The differential access to power and resources would lead to a re-division of household labor among women, relationships of antagonism between them, and re-entrenching of patriarchy as the more privileged of the female members function as the surrogate (and often, violent) agents of male hegemony and control.

Ans. to Q. No. 7: True

Ans. to Q. No. 8: 26 October 2006.

Ans. to Q. No. 9: Many have criticized the Protection of Women from Domestic Violence Act 2005 as having too little force, serving chiefly as a civil, rather than criminal, law-requiring a further offense by the accused respondent (such as violating a Protection Order issued under this law) before triggering criminal law sanctions against the respondent (such as arrest and imprisonment).



13.9 POSSIBLE QUESTIONS

Q. 1: The Act against Domestic Violence provides for appointment of Protection Officers and NGOs to provide assistance to the woman. (True/False)

Q. 2: Define Domestic Violence in your own words.

Q. 3: Describe in brief the nature of domestic violence.

Q. 4: Explain the different types of abuses melted towards women.

Q. 5: Describe in your own words the contemporary domestic problems of women in Indian society.

Q. 6: Explain the legislative measures to counter domestic violence in India.

Q. 7: Critically discuss the caste, class and community as the site of violence against women.

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UNIT 14: ISSUES OF CHILD LABOUR IN INDIA

UNIT STRUCTURE

14.1 Learning Objectives

14.2 Introduction

14.3 Nature of Child Labour in India

14.4 Forms of Child Labour in India

14.5 Factors responsible for the emergence of Child Labour in India

14.6 Constitutional provisions to combat Child Labour in India

14.7 Let Us Sum Up

14.8 Further Reading

14.9 Answers to Check Your Progress

14.10 Possible Questions

14.1 LEARNING OBJECTIVES

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

- explain the nature and forms of child labour in India
- examine different factors responsible for the growth of child labour in India
- analyze the existing constitutional provisions to combat child labour in India.

14.2 INTRODUCTION

One of the most pressing social problems that the human community has been facing worldwide is the problem of child labour. According to 2016 International Labour Organisation (ILO) report, almost 40 million children between 5 to 14 years of age work as modern slave and 152 million work as a labour in developing countries. In 2000, there were 211 million children worked as domestic workers and other forms of labour. The ILO's data shows the increased numbers child labour in the present century. According to ILO's estimation, 61 percent of the total child labour population is concentrated in Asia, 32 and 7 percent are in Africa and Latin America respectively. Almost

half of the total numbers of children are working in hazardous condition which increases their vulnerability. The issue of child rights is directly related with these sorts vulnerabilities against the children. The 2016 ILO's report which was published in 19th September, 2017 describes the scale and key characteristics of child labour in the world, as well as changes in the global child labour situation over time. The problem of child labour remains an endemic and unending issue both in economic and social reform mechanism of the government as well as non-governmental organisation.

International Labour Organisation has been working significantly since the time of its inception and remains committed to the cause for which it was established. ILO has adopted 12 major Conventions in the process of preventing child labour. In 1990, International Labour Organisation took a serious step and established International Programme on the Elimination of Child Labour (IPEC). This particular programme basically stressed on focusing the issue like worst abuses, hazardous work, forced labour, condition of street children etc. In June 17, 1999 International Labour Organisation adopted a landmark treaty on Worst Forms of Child Labour Convention which came into force on November 19, 2000. This treaty provided for the prohibition on exploitative practices such as slavery, sale and trafficking of children, bondage, child prostitution etc. It also highlighted the issue of forced recruitment of children in armed conflict. International Labour Organisation insists on educational practices to be available for each and every category of children. According to ILO's International Programme for Elimination of Child Labour, free and compulsory education upto minimum age for entering into employment is a key tool in preventing child labour. In the context of such gravity of the problem, in this unit we shall discuss the issues of child labour in Indian context.

14.3 NATURE OF CHILD LABOUR IN INDIA

Child labour, especially bonded or forced labour is a serious problem in India. The problem of bonded labour prevails in India particularly in certain sectors like agriculture, carpet-weaving, other small industries etc. According

to the Child Labour Prohibition Act 1986, a child is defined "as any person up to the age of 14". This Act prohibits employments of a child in any employment including as a domestic help. UNICEF estimates that India with its larger population has the highest number of labourers in the world under 14 years of age. Poverty, hunger, lack of education, increased numbers of workers in the unorganized sector and the growth of the informal economy are considered to be the key causes of child labour in India. In a third world countries like India, employers basically want to employ the cheap labourer especially in small industrial sectors like glass industry, carpet industry, brick industry, hotels, stalls etc , because the owner can engage the child labourer at the cost of minimum wages. Child labour increases in India as a result of poor socio-economic condition of the Indian society. In 1988, Government of India launched a project for the eradication of child labour and the problem of illiteracy in India. The key targets which has fixed by this project are-

- Speeding up the enforcement of the prohibition of child labour;
- Provide employment for parents;
- Expanding formal and non-formal education;
- Promoting school enrolment through various incentives such as payment of stipend;
- Raising public awareness;
- Survey and evaluation.

In India, both boys and girls under 14 years are forced to pick up jobs mostly in unorganized sector wherein they face problems like long hours of work, work in hazardous employment, low wages, work in unhealthy environment etc. As a result of this sort of degradable environment of work, the children undergo serious problems in terms of health insecurity. In most of the urban areas in India, the numbers of children working in small tea stall has been increasing which results in their vulnerability. In some occasions, the numbers of child labour increases due to the reluctance of the parents to send their children to schools for education as they are the sole bread-earner for their families. In India, child labour is deliberately created by vested interests to get cheap labour.

14.4 FORMS OF CHILD LABOUR IN INDIA

The problem of child labour in India is not only an economic compulsion of poor families, but also a consequence of extreme social and economic exploitation. According to International Labour Organisation, educational interventions are central to the prevention and elimination of worst forms of child labour. Lack of education is one of the important causes for the child labour in India. Different forms of child labour prevail in India, some of which can be mentioned as follows-

- **Bonded Labour:** This is one of the worst forms of child labour in India. Bonded labour prevailes in India in different fields such as- in agricultural field, in different quarries, carpet-weaving and in certain small industries or factories.
- **Serfdom:** This form of labour enforced upon a person by forcing him or her to live and work on land belonging to another person, with little or no pay.
- **Forced Labour:** This form of child labour is seen when someone is forced to work against their wishes. Different non-state actors recruit children to engage them during the time of armed conflict. During conflict situations, children are abused and exploited, often being forced to kill or deface other human beings. In normal situation also children are forced to work as labourer against their wish.
- **Domestic Worker:** In India, the issue of child domestic worker remains a serious problem for the last couple of decades. The social structure and economic dependency of the lower strata of the society increases the numbers of child domestic worker in India.
- **Child Prostitution:** In India, girl children are exploited sexually, they are used in sexual images and forced to go for prostitution. Poverty, homelessness, unwillingness to have girl child, child trafficking etc are the main reasons for the emergence of the problem of child prostitution in India.
- **Child involvement in Drugs Trafficking:** Children are also getting involved forcefully by the middlemen for drugs trafficking purposes.

School dropout, disturbing childhood, homelessness etc are the main reasons of their involvement in drugs trafficking which result in uncertainty of their life. Their involvement in drugs trafficking increases their work load as labour in certain illegal agencies which adversely affect health, safety and morals of the children.

- **Child Labour in Agricultural Field:** This form of child labour prevails in almost all parts of India especially in rural India. Due to economic dependency and landlessness on the part of the poor people, the children of these poor families engaged themselves in agricultural field of the land owner. The pesticides used for crops may harm the children because they do not have safety equipment.



CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Q.1: Mention any two provisions of the Worst Forms of Child Labour Convention.

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Q.2: Write briefly about any two forms of child labour in India.

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14.5 FACTORS RESPONSIBLE FOR THE EMERGENCE OF CHILD LABOUR IN INDIA

The problem of child labour is a crucial issue in the developing and underdeveloped countries. Though the neo-liberal state structure has accelerated the process of development in the third world countries, but at the same time the problem of child labour is also increasing in these regions. India is not an exception to this problem. There are different factors which are responsible for the increasing the number of child labourer in India. Some of these factors are discussed in the following-

- **Socio-economic condition of the family:** The problem of child labour in India is related to the economic conditions of the families in terms of its members in workforce. Depending upon the degree of dependency syndrome on the part of the family, the children of that family have to engage themselves in different hazardous work which increases the problems of child labour in India.
- **Lack of educational accessibility:** In India, there are instances where children are deprived of their fundamental right to education. There are no proper facilities of education in thousands of villages of India. The worst sufferers are the poor families who don't have the sufficient resources to send their children to schools. Lack of affordable school for the education of poor children leaves them illiterate and helpless. This ultimately pushes them into the trap of child labour in India.
- **Poverty and socio-economic backwardness:** The main reason of increasing child labour in India is poverty and socio-economic backwardness. Due to poverty, the economic condition of the weaker family gradually declines which ultimately results in increased numbers of child labour. The parents of weaker family send their children to work in hotels, shop, factories, home, agricultural fields instead of sending them to school. The socio-economic condition of the poor family always remains stagnant because these categories of people due to their economic dependency preferred to engage their children in different labour work instead of thinking in terms of education of their children.
- **Lack of Education:** Lack of education on the part of the poor families due to their incapacity for blessing themselves with educational resources proof to be one of significant factors responsible for the prevailing child labour in India. Even after many decades of Independence, children are deprived of their fundamental right to education. For the poorest of the poor family, education of their child is a distant cry till today in different parts of India as they fail to get their daily wages. Education of the children is a necessary criterion for minimizing the numbers of child labour. Larger the

educated masses, lesser will be their orientation towards sending their children to work. The educated families realize the importance of sending their children to school. But in the context of Indian society, due to extreme poverty, the poor family negated to send their children to school for incapacity in term of financial bearing.

- **Increased wage labour and workforce participation:** There is an increasing demand in the labour market for the wage labour in the third world countries like India. So the poor families try to engage their children in different wage labour in order to get more wages. The lower wage rate of the children increases their demand in the market which ultimately results in higher degree of child labour.
- **Over population:** The population of the country increases on the basis of fertility rate. The fertility rate of population is maximum in case of the poor family. The reason behind this increasing rate of children in the poor family lies in the matter of their illiteracy, religious believe, lack of awareness etc. As result of it, those poor families where numbers of children are higher, they need to engage themselves in different wage labour in order to get their daily meal.
- **Disturbing childhood and problems of addiction and disease of parents:** Due to addiction and diseases, sometimes in certain families, parents fail to fulfil the daily requirements of the family. In such circumstances, there is a tremendous pressure on the part of child to engage him or her in any form of work so that he or she may able to contribute something for the survival of the family. Subsequently it alienates the child from going to school and he or she try to concentrate more on earnings instead of education. In most cases, parents preferred to send them to work in comparison to sending school.
- **Increasing demand of cheap labour:** In the age of globalization and neo-liberal structure of the state mechanism, the three stances i.e liberalization, privatization and consumerism inspire to go for cheap labour. Subsequently, the need for cheap labour and its connection with economic needs of the needy sections fasten the

degree of child labour in India. The small industries and shopkeepers recruit children to their work in the hope of earning more profit as the child work at the cost half payments in comparison to the elder workers.

- **Discriminatory attitude towards girl child:** In rural poor families, girls are treated badly in comparison to boy child. The social structure and certain hypothetical assumption that girls are weaker than the boy leads to the increasing vulnerability of girl child. Moreover, the poor families willing to send their boy child to school only and preferred to engage the girl child in labour along with them in order to collect certain extra money.

14.6 CONSTITUTIONAL PROVISIONS TO COMBAT CHILD LABOUR IN INDIA

In India child labour is a major problem which needs immediate attention both from the state and the civil society. The Constitution of India and various Act enacted by the Indian Parliament have been trying to arrange certain legal provisions to combat the problem of child labour in India. Different Articles enshrined in the Indian Constitution which is related to different issues of child labour clearly reflect the willingness on the part of the state mechanism to realize human rights norms. Some of the provisions of the Constitution of India in this regard can be mentioned as follows:

- **Article 23:** Article 23 stressed on "prohibition of traffick in human beings and forced labour". According to this Article, traffick in human beings and beggar and similar forms of forced labour are prohibited and any contravention of this provision shall be an offence punishable in accordance with law. It also states that nothing in this Article shall prevent the state from imposing compulsory service for public purposes, and in imposing such service the state shall not make any discrimination on grounds only of religion, race, caste or class or any of them.
- **Article 24:** According to this Article, no child below the age of 14 years shall be employed to work in any factory or mine or engage in any other hazardous employment. The court in M.C. Mehta Vs State

of Tamil Nadu case noted that menace of child labour was widespread. In this case, the court issued wide ranging directions in the context of employment and exploitation of children in prohibiting employment of children below the age of 14 and making arrangements for their education by creating a fund and providing employments to the parents or abled bodied adults in the family.

- **Article 39:** The State shall, in particular, direct its policy towards securing- (a) that the health and strength of workers, men and women and tender age of children are not abused and that citizens are not forced by economic necessity to enter avocations unsuited to their age or strength; (b) that children are given opportunities to develop in a healthy manner and in condition of freedom and dignity and that childhood and youth are protected against moral and material abandonment.
- **Article 45:** The State shall endeavor to provide within a period of ten years from the commencement of the Constitution, for free and compulsory education for all children until they complete the age of 14 years.
- **Factories Act:** According to Section 67 of this Act, no child who has not completed his or her 14th year shall be required or allowed to work in any factory.

There are some of the important legislations in India in combating Child Labour. These are-

- Child Marriage Restraint Act of 1929
- Children (Pledging of Labour) Act of 1933
- Employment of Children Act of 1938
- Children Act of 1960
- The Child Labour (Prohibition and Regulation) Act of 1986

Articles 23 and 24 of the Indian Constitution have clearly highlighted the issue of child labour. The Child Labour (Prohibition and Regulation) Act, 1986 was enacted on 23rd December 1986 by the Indian Parliament and was enforced on 26th May, 1993 by the central government. The main objectives of this Act are-

- Ban on the employment of children i.e, those who haven't completed their fourteenth year, in specified occupations;
- Lay down a procedure to decide modifications to the schedule of banned occupation and processes;
- Regulate the conditions of work of children in employment where they are not prohibited from working;
- Lay down enhanced penalties for employment of children in violation of the provisions of this Act, and other Acts which forbid the employment of the children;
- To obtain uniformity in the definition of 'child' in the related laws.

To solve the problem of child labour, the root causes of exploitation of children and their abuse should be identified. With the help of constitutional mechanism there is a gradual increasing process of for combating child labour in India. But every step in the field of human rights proof to be futile, if children get deprived from their wishes. Specific strategies for the protection of child rights need to be implemented. Along with the constitutional mechanism, the Supreme Court of India and other wings of the judiciary should be actively concerned to ensure the welfare of the child. Then can only a plausible solution for the problems of child labour will be attainable.



CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Q.3: Write briefly about any two factors responsible for the emergence of the problem of child labour in India.

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Q.4: Mention any two Acts enacted by the Parliament of India to combat the problem of child labour.

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Q.5: Write briefly about any two provisions incorporated in the Indian Constitution to deal with the issue of child labour.

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14.7 LET US SUM UP

- One of the most pressing social problems that the human community has been facing worldwide is the problem of child labour. The problem of child labour remains an endemic and unending issue both in economic and social reform mechanism of the government as well as non-governmental organisation.
- International Labour Organisation has been working significantly since the time of its inception and remains committed to the cause for which it was established. ILO has adopted 12 major Conventions in the process of preventing child labour. In 1990, International Labour Organisation took a serious step and established International Programme on the Elimination of Child Labour (IPEC). According to ILO's International Programme for Elimination of Child Labour, free and compulsory education upto minimum age for entering into employment is a key tool in preventing child labour.
- In India too the problem of child labour has become a major issue. In India, both boys and girls under 14 years are forced to pick up jobs mostly in unorganized sector wherein they face problems like long hours of work, work in hazardous employment, low wages, work in unhealthy environment etc. As a result of this sort of degradable environment of work, the children undergo serious problems in terms

of health insecurity. In India, child labour is deliberately created by vested interests to get cheap labour.

- Different forms of child labour prevail in India, some of which are- bonded labour, serfdom, forced labour, domestic worker, child prostitution, child involvement in drugs trafficking, child labour in agricultural field etc.
- There are different factors which are responsible for the increasing the number of child labourer in India. Some of these factors are - socio-economic condition of the family, lack of educational accessibility, poverty and socio-economic backwardness, lack of education, increased wage labour and workforce participation, over population, disturbing childhood and problems of addiction and disease of parents, increasing demand of cheap labour, discriminatory attitude towards girl child etc.
- In India a number of provisions are incorporated to combat the problem of child labour. Beside these constitutional provisions, the India Parliament has also enacted a number of laws in this regard. Some of the Acts are- Child Marriage Restraint Act of 1929, Children (Pledging of abour) Act of 1933, Employment of Children Act of 1938, Children Act of 1960, The Child Labour (Prohibition and Regulation) Act of 1986 etc.



14.8 FURTHER READING

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14.9 ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Ans. to Q. No. 1: The Worst Forms of Child Labour Convention provided for the prohibition on exploitative practices such as slavery, sale and trafficking of children, bondage, child prostitution etc. It also highlighted the issue of forced recruitment of children in armed conflict.

Ans. to Q. No. 2: (i) Forced Labour: This form of child labour is seen when someone is forced to work against their wishes. Different non-state actors recruit children to engage them during the time of armed conflict. During conflict situations, children are abused and exploited, often being forced to kill or deface other human beings. In normal situation also children are forced to work as labourer against their wish.

(ii) Domestic Worker: In India, the issue of child domestic worker remains a serious problem for the last couple of decades. The social structure and economic dependency of the lower strata of the society increases the numbers of child domestic worker in India.

Ans. to Q. No. 3: (i) Socio-economic condition of the family: The problem of child labour in India is related to the economic conditions of the families in terms of its members in workforce. Depending upon the degree of dependency syndrome on the part of the family, the children of that family have to engage themselves in different hazardous work which increases the problems of child labour in India.

(ii) Lack of educational accessibility: In India, there are instances where children are deprived of their fundamental right to education. There are no proper facilities of education in thousands of villages of India. The worst sufferers are the poor families who don't have the sufficient resources to send their children to schools. Lack of affordable school for the education of poor children leaves them illiterate and helpless. This ultimately pushes them into the trap of child labour in India.

Ans. to Q. No. 4: Children Act of 1960, the Child Labour (Prohibition and Regulation) Act of 1986.

Ans. to Q. No. 5: (i) Article 23 stressed on "prohibition of traffick in human beings and forced labour". According to this Article, traffick in human beings and beggar and similar forms of forced labour are prohibited and any contravention of this provision shall be an offence punishable in accordance with law. It also states that nothing in this Article shall prevent the state from imposing compulsory service for public purposes, and in imposing such service the state shall not make any discrimination on grounds only of religion, race, caste or class or any of them.

(ii) According to Article 24, no child below the age of 14 years shall be employed to work in any factory or mine or engage in any other hazardous employment. The court in M.C. Mehta Vs State of Tamil Nadu case noted that menace of child labour was widespread. In this case, the court issued wide ranging directions in the context of employment and exploitation of children in prohibiting employment of children below the age of 14 and making arrangements for their education by creating a fund and providing employments to the parents or abled bodied adults in the family.



14.10 POSSIBLE QUESTIONS

Q. 1: Write briefly about the role of the International Labour Organization in dealing with the problem of child labour.

Q. 2: Examine various forms and nature of the problem of child labour in India.

Q. 3: Explain various factors responsible for the emergence of child labour in India.

Q. 4: Discuss various constitutional and legislative measures adopted in India to combat the problem of terrorism in India.

*** ***** ***



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Learner's Feedback on Course

Dear Learner,

Regarding the course as mentioned above, we would like to know your opinions and comments so as to improve the quality of self learning materials in future. Please respond to the following statements by ticking the number you feel most reflect your opinion. After completion of the additional comments, please detach the page and send/mail the same to us at the address given below.

The Director, Centre for Internal Quality Assurance, KKHandiqui State Open University
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(E-mail id: ciqa@kkhsou.in)

1) Approximately how many hours did you spend for studying the units in the course? ☐☐☐

2) Please give your opinions (by ✓ mark) to the following items based on your reading of the block:

Sl. No.	Statements	Strongly Agree	Agree	Neither Agree nor Disagree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
I)	The SLMs of the course fulfil the learning objectives set out in the beginning of each unit					
II)	The units of the SLM could satisfy my academic needs and expectations					
III)	The Unit writers have excellent knowledge about the course contents					
IV)	Language and contents of the units were presented at a level which I could readily understand					
V)	Ample opportunity for participation in the activities provided in the units					
VI)	Used enough Illustrations (Diagrams, tables etc.) for conceptual clarity					
VII)	Quality of content is engaging, relevant, and up-to-date					
VIII)	The self check questions are very helpful					
IX)	The Possible/model questions and the answers to check my progress have benefited me a lot					

Additional Comments: *(Please feel free to provide your open comments)*

1) Which aspects of the SLM, according to you, worked well?

.....

.....

2) What sort of changes/improvements do you feel KKHSOU could implement to improve the overall quality of the SLM?

.....

.....

Thank you for taking the time to complete this form.