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Political Sociology

SEMESTER - II

SOCIOLOGY

BLOCK - 1

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MASTER OF AARTS

POLITICAL SOCIOLOGY

BLOCK 1

DETAILED SYLLABUS

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COURSE INTRODUCTION:

This Course is meant for the learners of second semester of MA Sociology programme under the revised semester system of Krishna Kanta Handiqui State Open University. The course is titled *Political Sociology.* In this course the learners will be able to learn about different concepts and approaches employed by Sociologists to understand the relationship between politics and Society.

This course comprise of two blocks - block 1 and block 2. Block 1 will contain 7 units and block 2 will contain another 7 units.

BLOCK INTRODUCTION

This is the first block of the course. This block cosists of seven units.

The first unit *in Meaning and scope of Sociology.* This unit will discuss how Political Sociology as a discipline emerged, its meaning and scope of study.

The second unit is *Concepts in Political Sociology.* Every discipline contain certain concepts unique to itself. This unit intends to discuss some of the important concepts discussed in Political Sociology.

The third unit *is Political Culture.* This unit seeks to discuss the meaning, symbols and the utility of Political culture.

The fourth unit is *Political Socialisation*. This unit will discuss the meaning and agents of Political Socialisation.

The fifth unit is *State.* This unit will discuss the meaning elements and nature of state.

The sixth unit is titled as *Theories of origin of state .*This unit will discuss the divine origin theory and the evolutionary theory.

The seventh unit is titled as *Marxist theory of origin of state.* This unit will discuss how state becomes an instrument in promoting the interest of the ruling class.

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

UNIT-1 MEANING AND SCOPE OF POLITICAL SOCIOLOGY

UNIT STRUCTURE

1.1 Learning Objectives

1.2 Introduction

1.3 Meaning and Nature of Political Sociology

1.4 Reasons behind the emergence of Political Sociology

1.5 Scope of Political Sociology

1.6 Social Context of Political Power

- 1.6.1 Definition of Power
- 1.6.2 Types of Power

1.7 Major approaches in Political Sociology

1.8 Relevance of Political Sociology

1.9 Let Us Sum Up

1.10 Further Reading

1.11 Answers to check your Progress

1.12 Model Questions

1.1 LEARNING OBJECTIVES

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

- understand the reasons behind the emergence of political sociology.
- understand the similarities and differences between political science and political sociology.
- understand the course of development of the discipline.
- understand the meaning as well as the nature of political sociology.
- recognise at the major concerns that political sociology deals with.
- understand the conceptualisation of political power in the context of political sociology.
- understand the reasons behind the relevance of political sociology.

1.2 INTRODUCTION

Every society has formulated its own ways of governing people to maintain peace and harmony in society. Political institutions such as the state, the government and political parties; the election or selection of representatives etc were created to ensure the effective functioning of society. Hence, politics and power relations are the core study areas of political science. Political sociology on the one hand concentrates on the social context of power relations and also acts as a link between society and polity. Along with this, there are other socio-political aspects that come under the purview of political sociology which we will discuss in this unit.

1.3. POLITICAL SOCIOLOGY: MEANING AND NATURE

Before discussing the nature of the discipline, it is essential to have a clear picture about the meaning of political sociology which are discussed below:

1.3.1 Meaning and definition of Political Sociology

Political sociology is a branch of sociology whose prime concern is to study the interaction between politics and society. It studies the social or societal backgrounds of different political processes and its impact on organised politics. While doing so, it treats politics as an independent variable and regulates the use of sociological assumptions. As argued by political sociologists, anything that is political can be fully understood only when it is related and studied from a social angle. The following are some of the definitions of political sociology provided by different thinkers-

- According to Lewis Coser (1913-2003), " Political sociology is that branch of sociology which is concerned with the social cause and consequences of given power distributions within or between the societies, and with the social and political conflicts that lead to changes in the allocation of power"

- Michael Rush and Phillip Althoff defined it as, " A discipline that examines the link between politics and society and as such it is a theoretical and methodological bridge between political science and sociology"

- N.J.Smelser (1930-2017) defined it as, " A study of the interrelationship between society and polity, between social structures and political institutions"

- Political sociology is a separate and advanced discipline in itself though it represents as a whole, aspects of both political science and sociology.

1.3.2 Nature of Political Sociology

The following are the key points regarding the nature of political sociology-

- Political sociology can be described as the process of interaction between the conflicting social forces and the decision making authorities.

- Problems regarding the management of conflict, the articulation of interests, political integration and organisation are some of its major areas of concern.

- It studies political processes as continuous between a society and its leaders.

- It is closely associated with political philosophy.

- Marx's theory of economic determinism had laid the foundations of political sociology and it was he who highlighted the close connection between political power and social organisation.

- According to Marx, the economic elite exercise political power to serve the best interests of those who own the means of production, thereby reducing the status of politics to that of a phenomenon of economic reality.

- Neo-Machiavellian thinkers like Mosca, Vilfre Pareto and Michels opposed this principle of Marxism on the ground that it is a natural tendency to dominate a political minority and the role of leadership is very crucial in power dynamics.

- Regarding the concept and control of power, Marxists stressed that a political process is determined by the class who own the means of production and exchange. In contrast, Machiavellians believed that it is the leaders with exceptional qualities who exercise power.

- Regarding the function of politics, Marx emphasised upon class consciousness, class struggle and economic exploitation. On the other hand, Machiavelli emphasised upon the role of leadership in the political management of society. For him, the impact of politics is there in every organised society and hence political leadership and its management are important.

- Conflict is an inevitable element in the context of power; therefore its management is of utmost importance. Political sociology tries to identify and understand the sources and bases of conflict and suggests the ways to manage those conflicts.



CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Q1. Write Lewis Coser's definition of Political Sociology.

Q2. What is legitimacy according to Max Weber?

Q3. What are the different types of authority, as classified by Weber?

1.4 REASONS BEHIND THE EMERGENCE OF POLITICAL SOCIOLOGY

Various reasons as well as the contribution of many noted scholars led to the emergence of political sociology as a sub-discipline of sociology. Some of the major reasons were -

- There was a continuous dissatisfaction that was developing with the traditional nature of political science which was considered highly normative and prescriptive. Most Western political thinkers analysed political realities concentrating more on the question of ' what ought to be' except Nicolo Machiavelli (1469-1567), Thomas Hobbes (1588-1679) and David Hume (1711-1776).

- Political scientists had started to accept the influence of sociology in the sphere of politics especially in the US. In the post World War II era, due to the increased growth of science and technology and industrialisation, political scientists started to look into political realities from a scientific perspective. Due to this process, most of them were eventually attracted towards sociology, a discipline which had already established itself as positive and scientific. Moreover sociology also started to develop such principles of political science which gave the latter a more scientific outlook.

- The interrelation between state and society was never accepted by the traditional political scientists, at least to a large extent. On the contrary, it was the political sociologists who realised the limitations of different approaches of political science and stressed that political science should be studied under a wider sociological background. This viewpoint was further reinforced by the German political refugees in the USA who introduced a sociological perspective to the study of political science.

1.4.1 Development of Political Sociology: Contribution of Karl Marx and Max Weber

Besides the above mentioned reasons; the contributions of Karl Marx (1818-1883) and Max Weber (1864-1920) were significant enhancements towards the development of Political Sociology.

For a better understanding, the contributions of Karl Marx can be studied under three major categories- a general theory, a specific theory and a methodology. Marx developed the theory of thesis, antithesis and synthesis where he described the creation of a classless and stateless society formed out of the inevitable conflict of two opposite economic forces. His theories of surplus value and exploitation of labour formed the sociological base for the theory of class struggle. Marx argued that the working class or the proletariat would be more alienated from the rest of the society because their work became their means for mere survival rather than means for self-expression. This process of alienation would eventually result in class consciousnesses or the need for the recognition in society of the working class. This class consciousness would ultimately lead to class struggles. Although Marx's economic interpretation of history was criticised for various reasons but his theories and the scientific methodology that he adopted to formulate those theories had laid the foundations for many scholarly works in the future.

Max Weber also contributed towards the development of political sociology. In this context, Weber's views on state, politics, and more importantly legitimacy seems significant. Weber defined state as a human community which has the monopoly to use physical force within a given territory. Hence he described politics as a means to achieve the ability to share power or achieve the ability to influence the distribution of power among the states or among the groups within a state. The concept of legitimacy provided by Weber was another significant contribution to the study of political sociology. Legitimacy, according to Weber, is the authorisation for exercising power. Weber classified legitimacy into three

different kinds - traditional authority, charismatic authority and legal rational authority.

Apart from Marx and Weber, there are some other thinkers who contributed towards the growth of political sociology. Some of them were - Walter Bagehot (1826-1877), Gabriel Tarde (1843-1904), Vilfredo Pareto (1848-1923), Gaetano Mosca (1859-1941) etc.

1.5 SCOPE OF POLITICAL SOCIOLOGY

The following are major areas of concern in political sociology -

- Political sociology is concerned with the way in which social organisations and cultural values influence political arrangements.
- The participation of individuals in politics is another area of concern in political sociology.
- It is also interested in the formation of public opinion through individual voters; and also in the formation of political groups and associations and political movements.
- Political sociology also studies the behaviour of groups in organised politics, their interactions and the influence they exert on political parties and movements in changing or bringing about stability in the political system.
- The structure of state and legitimacy; its nature and conditions and also monopoly - its nature and use by the state and sub-units of state - their nature and connection to the state form major areas of concern in political sociology on the recent times.
- Another important concern of political sociology is the decision making process through public means. In this regard it takes into account both social forces and economic factors regulated by forces such as money, market etc.

- Its interest also includes the study of the concept of political systems. While doing so, it includes the study of the major structures of the government such as legislatures, courts and administrative agencies and also emphasizes the political aspects of those structures such as caste groupings, kinship groups and formal organisations.

- The concept of power and its related aspects form another major area of interest in political sociology. It studies the concept of power from the political as well as social angles.

- The concepts of 'authority' and 'legitimacy' play a vital role in bringing about stability in the political system and hence are of prime concern to political sociology.

- The study of elites and their leadership styles are also included in the study of political sociology.

- Political sociology is also concerned with the study of political processes and the impact of political culture on the political system.

- It is also interested in studying political participation and political mobilisation. According to political sociologists, these two cannot be studied in isolation because people have to be mobilised in order to make them participate in the political process.

- Political sociology is also concerned with different social stratification systems such as class, gender, caste and status and their impact on organised politics.

- Political development (a process through which a political system acquires new roles and values in a society) is another area of discussion in political sociology.



CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Q4. What is political development?

Q5. Name two systems of social stratification.

1.6 SOCIAL CONTEXT OF POLITICAL POWER

Power is one of the core subject matter in political sociology. Its main goal is to explain the connections between social interactions, social structures and social processes altered by struggle and resolution. Power is encountered every day and every hour and to have a better understanding of the conceptualisations of power, it is necessary to go through a few definitions.

1.6.1 Definitions of Power:

The works of Karl Marx and Max Weber serve as the classical foundations in defining power. Marx established that economic structures like corporations, owners of capital and more immediately the economic elite represent societal sources of power. According to Marx, the relationship between worker, wage and class interests was the source of alienating individuals not only from pursuing non-work related self-interests but also alienating individuals from each other. For Marx, power has an economic context rooted in the relationship between and among social classes.

On the contrary, Weber located power in a variety of social spaces including economic as well as non - economic contexts. It was Weber who had provided one of the first political sociological analyses of power. For Weber, power was rooted in formalised social systems such as organisations and bureaucracies as well as in social institutions such as religion and law. Weber was different from Marx when he argued that power was not simply

about economic relationships but rather a function of social patterns, culture and social organisation.

Since Weber's study of power in the early 1900s, social scientists have focused on what is meant by the distribution of power in society as well as identifying what kinds of resources make some individuals and groups powerful or powerless. Others have extended the notion that politics is inherent in most if not all aspects of social action and expression in human interactions.

Let us go through a few other definitions of power given by renowned political and sociological thinkers -

- According to Bertrand Russell (1872-1970), "Power is the production of intended effects."
- Max Weber defined power as, "the chance of a man or a number of men to realise their own will in social action even against the resistance of others who are participating in the action."
- Talcott Parsons (1902-1979) defined power as, "the generalised capacity to secure the performance of binding obligations, when the obligations are legitimised with reference to their bearing of collective goals and where in the case of recalcitrance, there is a presumption of enforcement by negative sanctions."
- Anthony Giddens (January 18, 1938) defined power as, "the capability to secure outcomes where the realisation of these outcomes depends on the agency of others."
- According to Anthony Orum (November 20, 1939), "power is the social capacity to make binding decisions that have far-reaching consequences for society."

1.6.2 TYPES OF POWER

Political sociologists have created typologies of power to give a better understanding regarding the abstract notion of power. These typologies highlight the nature of power in the construction of capacity, exchange of resources and distribution of power in society. They are-

1. Coercive and Dominant power,
2. Authority and Legitimate power and
3. Privileged and Interdependent power.

Coercive and Dominant Power: Coercive power can be seen, for instance, in the form of physical force when one nation-state exercises it to invade and conquer another. The resources used to coerce may include brute force, military prowess and the strength of large armies. Coercion is perhaps the most raw and pure form of power. Dominance also reflects the use of resources with consequences for others in society.

Authority and Legitimate Power: Authority is a form of power that emerges from the consent of individuals and groups, based on a sense of legitimacy and obedience or duty. Individuals and groups within society create order by recognising the power of law, tradition or custom. They behave based on the belief that the power of the state protects members of society while preserving community interests.

Privileged and Interdependent Power: The idea of interdependent power depicts power relationships between individual and social groups as reciprocal. Power is a two way process, where actors, may think that they have no influence, but actually they do have influence, given the way in which the social system is set up.

1.7 MAJOR APPROACHES IN POLITICAL SOCIOLOGY

Political sociologists have organised the study of relationships between society, politics and power into three major frameworks. They are - the Pluralist, the Elite/Managerial and the Social-Class approach.

The pluralist approach to the study of politics and society is based on the assertion that power is distributed throughout society among a 'plurality' of power centres. These power centres include political parties, interest groups, voters, associations and a variety of other social factors. These power centres, according to them, compete for power within society. In their view, power is fragmented and often changes when one group takes over the other and coalitions are formed only to fall apart over time.

The focus of the elite/managerial perspective is on the concentration of power in society in the hands of a few who are distinguished by shared background characteristics such as expertise, personality, social ties or membership in a select strata of society. It is the elite power centre that controls the distribution of resources in society through its various structures and complex organisations. Thus the elite perspective places significant emphasis on how the concentrated power centres of society control the state and its governing apparatus.

The social class perspective, to some extent, is similar to that of elite/ managerial approach. The difference between the two is that the social class perspective suggests that the basis for the concentration of power is not necessarily based on characteristics of individuals who hold power but rather the economic interests are the basis for power in society. The class perspective studies how the control of capital, labour, markets and raw materials are maintained by the capitalist classes. This framework is based on the Marxist theories that power rests in the classes that control the means of production.



CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Q6. State Max Weber's definition of power.

Q7. Mention the types of power.

Q8. Write the pluralist's viewpoint about the distribution of power in society.

1.8 RELEVANCE OF POLITICAL SOCIOLGY

To many scholars, the terms 'Political Science' and 'Political Sociology' are synonymous. The term 'Political Science' reflects a certain tendency toward isolating the study of political phenomena by limiting its contacts with other branches of social sciences. On the other hand, 'Political Sociology' views political phenomena from a sociological perspective and it also tries to remove barriers between various social sciences and emphasizes the essential unity of all the social sciences.

Political sociology is indeed relevant to political science in many ways. Political sociology has broadened the area of enquiry by widening the scope of what is considered as 'political' phenomena. Political sociology has established that political variables influence social, cultural and economic variables and also vice versa. Political sociology has opened up new frontiers in research, experiments and methods of analysis. The advent of political and sociological perspectives counters the over-emphasis of behaviouralism. On the one hand, behaviouralism concentrates on building a theory based on the individuals' behaviour in a political system; on the other hand political sociology believes in structuring theories based on the activities of groups in society. Political sociology always tries to give a much more comprehensive, realistic, and precise theory oriented analysis.

Non - western studies of political sociology analyze comparative politics based on empirical data gathered from specific investigations. This comparative analysis helps in improving the understanding of different national, cultural and societal values throughout the world.

To the study of political sociology, concepts like state, the constitution, representation, rights and duties of citizens, activities of political parties, pressure groups, media and mass communication are of great importance. Political sociology also helps in framing theories on abstract formulations such as systems, process, development and communication.

The gap between microanalysis and macroanalysis of politics in political sociology was bridged by the structural and functional approaches towards their study.

The entire political system has become a world community in recent times and hence for a better society and better living, it is essential to build a relationship between domestic politics and international relations. Hence, the study of political sociology will always be relevant.



1.9 LET US SUM UP

- Political sociology is comparatively a new subject which emerged as an independent discipline after the end of World War II.
- Political sociology is interested in areas that are important for both political science and sociology.
- It concentrates on the social context of power relations and act as a link between society and polity.
- Political sociology emerged due to the need for a discipline which would study the interrelations between state and society from a wider and more scientific perspective; as traditional political science failed to do so.

- The contributions of Karl Marx and Max Weber worked as the foundations for the further development of political sociology.
- Influences of Marx and Weber can also be seen in the conceptualisations of power in political sociology.
- There are three major approaches towards the study of relationships among society, politics and power- the pluralist approach, the elite/ managerial approach and the social-class approach.
- A typology was developed to provide a deep insight into the abstract notion of power by political sociologists. The types are - (1) Coercive and dominant power, (2) Authority and legitimate power and (3) Privileged and independent power.
- The study of political sociology is relevant in many ways.
- It was political sociology which tried to study political phenomena from a wider perspective as well as relating it with other social sciences.
- It was political sociology which stressed the fact that political variables and social, economic and cultural variables influence each other simultaneously.
- It is closely related to subjects such as sociology, political science, psychology etc. Each subject provided great insights for the development of the subject as an independent discipline.



1.10 FURTHER READING

Dasgupta,Samir.(2011).Political Sociology.New Delhi:Pearson Education India

Gupta,Dipankar(1996).Political Sociology In India.New Delhi:Orient Longman Pvt. Ltd.

1.11 ANSWER TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Answer to Q 1. According to Lewis Coser, "Political sociology is that branch of sociology which is concerned with the social cause and consequences of given power distributions within or between the societies, and with the social and political conflicts that lead to changes in the allocation of power"

Answer to Q 2. According to Max Weber, legitimacy is the authorisation for exercising power.

Answer to Q 3. Traditional authority, Charismatic authority and Legal-rational authority.

Answer to Q 4. Political development is a process through which a political system acquires new roles and values in a society.

Answer to Q 5. Class and caste.

Answer to Q 6. Max Weber defined power as, "the chance of a man or a number of men to realise their own will in social action even against the resistance of others who are participating in the action."

Answer to Q 7. The types of power are - (1) Coercive or Dominant power, (2) Authority and legitimate power and (3) Privileged and Interdependent power.

Answer to Q 8. The pluralist approach to the study of politics and society is based on the assertion that power is distributed throughout the society among a 'plurality' of power centres. These power centres include political parties, interest groups, voters, associations and a variety of other social factors.

1.12 MODEL QUESTIONS

1. Answer in one or two words:

A. Who developed the theory of thesis, antithesis and synthesis?

B. Name one thinker apart from Marx and Weber, who contributed to the growth of political sociology.

2. Write short notes (within 150 words):

A. Nature of political sociology.

B. Emergence of political sociology.

C. Major approaches to the study of interrelations among society, politics and power.

3. Long answer type questions (within 300-500 words)

A. Discuss the relevance of political sociology.

** ** ** ** **

UNIT-2 CONCEPTS IN POLITICAL SOCIOLOGY

UNIT STRUCTURE

2.1 Learning Objectives

2.2 Introduction

2.3 Meaning and definition of Civil Society

2.3.1 Functions of Civil Society

2.4 Meaning of Bureaucracy

2.4.1 Characteristics of Bureaucracy

2.5 Political System

2.5.1 Meaning and Definition

2.5.2 Characteristics of Political System

2.5.3 Forms of political System

2.6 Political Economy

2.7 Let Us Sum Up

2.8 Further Reading

2.9 Answers to check your Progress

2.10 Model Questions

2.1 LEARNING OBJECTIVES

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

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

2.2 INTRODUCTION

In the previous unit, we have discussed about the definition of political sociology and its gradual development as a distinct branch of sociology. This branch of sociology assumes importance as it tries to give us the sociological perspective to understand political aspects of a society.

Accordingly, in this unit we will discuss about some important concepts in political Sociology like civil society, bureaucracy, political system and political economy.

2.3 Meaning and definition of Civil Society

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

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

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

John Locke (1632-1704) emphaised on the separation of the affairs of the state with that of the civil society. Civil society is considered a separate unit, and protecting the individuals rights and property against autocratic

state's powers becomes an essential function of civil society. Karl Marx states that, 'civil society as such develops only with the bourgeoisie'.

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

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

2.3.1 Functions of Civil Society

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

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

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

2.4 Meaning of Bureaucracy

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

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

2.4.1 Characteristics of Bureaucracy

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

- In a bureaucratic organisation there are strict rules and regulations.These rules are impersonal and impartial. It is the laws which are over and above everything; the same laws and not the persons that make the bureaucracy work.
- There are clear and specified functions for each member within the organisation. There's also clear and unambiguous division of labour in bureaucracy.
- In a bureaucratic set-up, there's hierarchy of positions, under one main leader or bureaucratic head there are several assistants, each of whom has, in turn, many more assistants under them.
- There are also definite set of rules related to the rules of control. The superior officer exercises control over his juniors. This control is not due to personal qualities of the officer, but because of the already laid down rules and regulations.
- In a bureaucratic set up, there's separation of administrators and proprietors.

- There's no monopolistic control, as any person who's inefficient can be replaced or suspended.

- All rules, regulations are not verbally formulated but they are written down so as to reduce ambiguity and misuse. This facilitates smooth functioning of the bureaucratic organisation.



Activity 2.2

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

2.5 Political System

2.5.1 Meaning and Definition

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

Political system assumes integral position in the understanding of political sociology. Political system relates to the members of a social organisation who are in power. It is composed of sub-systems which perform specialised functions. A political system is different from the state. Political system provides evidence for the state's sovereignty over a territory and its people. A state throughout the course of its history may have different political systems. Political system constitutes a balance among competing interests, capabilities, and wills and a specific status quo. Political systems comprises of authoritative roles as well as norms and a proper allocation of rights and duties among its members. Within a system itself, David Easton (1957)

notes that the efforts of the members to bring in and cope with changes in the environment has an influence on the workings of the political system. The behaviour of any political system can be understood by the kind of system that it is, and by its own structure and the needs of the system.

According to Max Weber, " political system is a human community that successfully claims the monopoly of the legitimate use of physical force within a given territory." David Easton defines political system "as that system of interaction in any society through which binding and authoritative allocation of values are made and implemented." Gabriel A. Almond and James S. Coleman defines political system as the legitimate order for maintaining or transforming the system in the society. Robert A. Dahl says, "A political system is any persistent pattern of human relationship that involves, to a significant extent, power, rule and authority."

2.5.2 Characteristics of Political System

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

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

Depending upon the needs of the people as well as the economic resources available to them, different political systems have existed so far.

A political system can be open or closed in nature. While in an open system, there is ascope for further changes regarding the rules and regulations. It is more open to meet the needs of the members. Whereas in a closed form of political system, it's more restrictive towards outward changes. A closed form of political system does not believe in adopting new set of regulations, or rules.

2.5.3 Forms of Political Systems

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

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

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

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

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

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

- Dictatorship: It relates to a form of political system where power is concentrated in the hands of a single individual or family. The individual who holds the position of dictator is able to make decisions and change the functioning of the society over which they rule.

In the next section we will discuss further about political economy.



CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Q 2: State whether the following statements are true or false.

a) The concept of civil society laid emphasis only on the individual freedom.
b) Bureaucracy is a reflection of rational-legal authority within formal organizational setting.
c) Karl Marx described some of the ideal characteristics of bureaucracy.
d) The systems approach helps us to understand the concept of political system.

2.6 Political Economy

Political economy encompasses more or less matters related to economic questions, arising as a result of the French and English Enlightenment of the eighteenth century. Political economy was the original term used for the study of production, the acts of buying and selling, and

their relationship to laws, customs and governments. It developed in the 18th century in order to study the economies of the state. Political economists like John Locke, Adam Smith, David Ricardo and Karl Marx emphasised upon the labour theory of value, according to which labour is the real source of value. Political economy also took into account the development of technology, whose role in social and economic relationships grew ever more important.

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

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



CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Q : State the name of three important political economist

Q : Which century is associated with enlightenment ?



2.7 LET US SUM UP

- Civil society and bureaucracy are other two impoprtant concepts which are necessary for the understanding on political sociology.
- Civil society as a concept gained momentum from the 1980s onwards.
- lCivil society is the space which exists between the community and the state.
- lCivil society is seen by many researchers and practitioners as a basic pillar of democracy.
- lCivil society is considered a separate unit which protects the individual's rights and property from an autocratic state's clutch.
- The term bureaucracy literally means "rule by desks or offices," a definition that highlights the often impersonal character of bureaucracies.
- Bureaucracy helps to ensure that thousands of people work together in compatible ways by defining everyone's roles within a hierarchy.
- Bureaucracy encompassed an authority which is based on administrative rules rather than personal allegiance or social custom.
- It also entails a rational as well as impersonal institution whose members function more as offices than as individuals within the bureaucratic set up.

- Political system assumes integral position in the understanding of political sociology.
- Political system relates to the members of a social organisation who are in power.
- It is composed of sub-systems which perform specialised functions.
- Political economy encompasses more or less matters related to economic questions, arising as a result of the French and English Enlightenment of the eighteenth century.
- Political economy was the original term used for the study of production, the acts of buying and selling, and their relationship to laws, customs and governments.
- The literal meaning of the word is that it is a kind of economy which has relation to the community or state; to the social whole rather than to individuals.
- Political economy is the study and use of how economic theory and methods which influence political ideology.



2.8 FURTHER READING

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

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

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

2.9 ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRES

Ans to Q No 1: (a) government, sovereignty, population and territory (b) contested concept (c) the governing elites, the non governing elites (d) traditional authority, charismatic authority, rational-legal authority

Ans to Q No 2: (a) false (b) true (c) false (d) true

Ans to Q No 3: (a) Marx, Engels (b) Cadre Parties (c) Left-wing, Right-wing (d) Krishak Mukti Sangram Samiti.

2.10 MODEL QUESTIONS

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

Q1: Define Civil Society.

Q2: State two characteristics of Bureaucracy.

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

Q1: Discuss the significant of Civil Society in the present context.

** ** ** **

UNIT-3 POLITICAL CULTURE

UNIT STRUCTURE

3.1 Learning Objectives

3.2. Concept of Political Culture

- 3.2.1. Key features of Political Culture
- 3.2.2. Dimensions of Political Culture
- 3.2.3. Classification of Political Culture

3.3. Symbols and Political Culture

3.4. Role and Utility of Political Culture

3.5. Let Us Sum Up

3.6. Further Reading

3.7. Answers to Check Your Progress

3.8. Model Questions

3.1 LEARNING OBJECTIVES:

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

- understand the concept of Political Culture
- know about the various features and dimensions of Political Culture
- classify the various types of Political Culture
- understand the significance of symbols in Political Culture
- know about the various roles that Political Culture play in our daily lives

3.2 CONCEPT OF POLITICAL CULTURE

Political culture refers to a set of attitudes and practices held by people which govern their behavior and give meaning to a political process. The concept of political culture was first proposed by Gabriel Almond (1956) and subsequently employed in the book *The Civic Culture* (Almond and Verba 1963). Political culture is mainly related to political relationships and public policy. It also consists of political ideals, norms, customs, traditions and other political traits of a particular society. Political cultures matter because they shape the political perceptions and actions of people. They

can be considered as a nation's political personality. Political culture is all about public events and political experience and as a concept it serves for a wide range of heterogeneous political issues. Thus, political culture is the manifestation of the psychological and subjective dimensions of politics. The term political culture was actually introduced to promote the American political system in the entire world. The concept of Political culture is a unique contribution of Political Sociology.

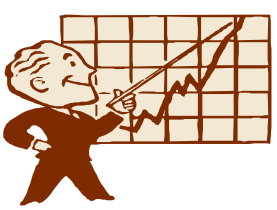
Gabriel Almond defined political culture as the "particular pattern of orientations to political action."

Later, Almond and Verba revised this definition and termed political culture as the "distribution of patterns of orientation."

The International Encyclopedia of Social Sciences defines political culture 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."

María Eugenia Vázquez Semadeni defines political culture as "the set of discourses and symbolic practices by means of which both individuals and groups articulate their relationship to power, elaborate their political demands and put them at stake."

According to Kavanugh political culture may be described as a "short laud expirations to denote the emotional and attitudinal environment with in which a political system operates."



CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Q.1: What do you mean by political culture?

Q.2: Who introduced the concept of political culture?

3.2.1. KEY FEATURES OF POLITICAL CULTURE:

- There are three key features of political culture as given by Gabriel Almond and Sidney Verba.
- The first feature is "deference" which considers the concepts of respect, acknowledgement of "inferiority" or "superiority", and authority in society.
- The second feature is "consensus", which represents the key link between government and public agreement and appeasement.

The third key feature is "homogeneity."

3.2.2. DIMENSIONS OF POLITICAL CULTURE:

There are three dimensions of orientation of political culture:

- Cognitive orientation
- Affective orientation
- Evaluative orientation

Cognitive orientation:

The cognitive dimension refers to the knowledge about a political system. It means that people have full information and knowledge about the processes of political systems. For example, who are the leaders of a particular political group, what are the problems related to a particular polity?

Affective orientation:

Affective orientations refer to the feelings and emotions and other subjective judgments of people towards the political system. One example can be given about the feeling of alienation towards a particular political system.

Evaluative orientation:

Evaluative orientations refer to the judgments and evaluative capacities of the people towards the political system. It involves the use of values, information and feelings towards the political system.

These three dimensions of political culture are inter-related and they heavily influence the working of a political system of any country. However, the nature of these orientations may vary from society to society.



CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Q.3: Fill in the blanks:

a) and_____gave the key features of political culture.

b) _____ and_____are the features of political culture.

c) _____and _____ are the dimensions of political culture.

3.2.3. CLASSIFICATION OF POLITICAL CULTURE:

There are many kinds of political cultures which are based on various factors. Moreover, there are sub - political cultures within a particular political culture which generate different political values and attitudes. However, sometimes these sub - political cultures tend to dominate the entire political culture. Due to this, a particular political culture may suffer from major crises. For example the political situation in Sri Lanka and Ireland whose political cultures are facing major and continuous crises indicates the above mentioned fact.

According to Almond and Verba, there are three kinds of political cultures based on pure and mixed forums.

(Pure forums):

Ø Parochial political culture:

The culture in which people do not have any knowledge about the political system and are rather more interested in their own races, religion and traditions is called parochial political culture.

Ø Subject political culture:

The culture in which people have full knowledge about their political system but are unaware of their responsibilities is called subject political culture. Moreover in this system, the people do not want to participate in the political system.

Ø Participate political system:

In this form of political culture, people are fully aware of their political system and they take part in all the activities of their political system.

(Mixed forums):

Ø Parochial subject:

This form of culture shifts from parochial to subject. This means that people start to know and understand their political system and yet remain inactive at the input end. They are ready to leave their traditional elements in favor of gaining knowledge.

Ø Subject participate:

This form of culture shifts from subject to participate. People have knowledge about the political system and they start taking interest in the political system which gradually leads to their participation.

Ø Parochial participate:

In this form of political culture the orientations of the people are parochial but the norms and demands of their political system are participated. This is the worst form of political culture.

According to Almond and Verba, these kinds of political culture combine to create civic culture.

According to S.E Finer, there are four kinds of political culture:

Ø Mature political culture:

In this kind of political culture, there is consensus among the people over the political system. Britain and American political culture are the best examples of this kind.

Ø Developed political culture:

Developed political culture is found in those political systems where a national consensus exists. The French political culture is a developed political culture.

Ø Low political culture:

In this kind of culture, sometimes problems emerge on the basic principles of the separation of power and legitimacy. In many cases people do not have a national census and the military directly takes over the country. But the people do demonstrate and revolt against the military regime. Pakistan's political culture is one such example.

Ø Minimal political culture:

In the minimal kind of political culture, there is no national consensus. There is always a chance of military takeover. Moreover there is no public demonstration against the military regime. Such political cultures exist in Ghana and Congo.

According to William S. Stewart, all political behavior participates in one or more of the eight political cultures: anarchism, oligarchy, Tory corporatism, fascism, classical liberalism, radical liberalism, democratic socialism, and Leninist socialism.

Arend Lijphart gave two kinds of classifications of political culture:

- **First classification:**
  - Mass political culture
  - Elite political culture
- **Second classification (of elite political culture):**
  - Coalitional political culture
  - Contradictive political culture



CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Q.4: Who defined political culture as the "particular pattern of orientations to political action"?

3.3 SYMBOLS AND THE POLITICAL CULTURE:

Symbols transmit meanings from person to person despite the huge differences and distance between space and time. These symbols play a very significant role in the field of politics too. National symbols play an integral part in a country's national ideology. Therefore, it can be said that political symbolism has an equally important role to play in the context of political culture as well. Political symbolism is inherently the "cultural" perspective of political culture. It is the most relevant unit of analysis in the study of political culture. Political symbolism is also used to represent a particular political standpoint in front of the wider social order. It also complies with the political culture of a particular country.



CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Q.5: What is known as the cultural perspective of political culture?

3.4 ROLE AND UTILITY OF POLITICAL CULTURE:

Political culture plays a very important role in shaping the political perceptions and actions of a particular population. It also helps in judging the levels of development and modernization of countries. Political culture shapes the values and norms of the society in favor of the political system. Prof. S.P. Verma talks about five main contributions of political culture as an approach:

- First, it has made the subject of Political Science a more complete social science.
- Secondly, it has focused our attention to the study of the political community as being distinct from the individual. Thus it has focused our attention towards the total political system.
- Thirdly, it has encouraged political scientists to take up the study of social and cultural factors that are responsible for giving a broad shape to the political culture of a country.
- Fourthly, it has helped us in combining the study of the national factors which shape the actions of the individuals to a large extent.
- Lastly, this approach has helped us in understanding why different political societies inevitably moved in different directions of political development, or why they may have found themselves suffering from severe constraints, socio-economic as well as political, which made them move towards political decay.



3.5 LET US SUM UP

- Political culture is a set of attitudes and practices held by people which govern their behavior and gives meaning to a political process.
- The concept of political culture was first proposed by Gabriel Almond.
- The key features of political culture include deference, consensus and homogeneity.
- The three dimensions of political culture are cognitive, affective and evaluative dimensions.
- Political culture has various forms in society.
- Political symbolism is the cultural perspective of political culture.
- Political culture shapes the political perceptions and actions of a population.
- The study of political culture has made the subject of political sociology more complete and apt.



3.6 FURTHER READING

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Lowell Dittmer. (1977). Political Culture and Political Symbolism: Toward a Theoretical Synthesis. World Politics. Vol. 29, No. 4. pp. 552-583



3.7 ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Answer to Q.1: Political culture refers to a set of attitudes and practices held by people which govern their behavior and gives meaning to a political process.

Answer to Q.2: The concept of political culture was first introduced by Gabriel Almond in the year 1956.

Answer to Q.3 a: Gabriel Almond and Sidney Verba gave the key features of political culture.

Answer to Q.3 b: Deference, consensus and homogeneity are the features of political culture.

Answer to Q.3 c: Cognitive, affective and evaluative orientations are the dimensions of political culture.

Answer to Q.4: Gabriel Almond defined political culture as the "particular pattern of orientations to political action."

Answer to Q.5: Political symbolism is known as the cultural perspective of political culture.



3.8 MODEL QUESTIONS

A. Answer in one or two words.

Q.1: In which book did Gabriel Almond first mention about political culture?

B. Write short notes (Answer within 150 words).

Q.1: Explain the key features and dimensions of political culture.

Q.2: What role does political culture play in shaping the political perception of a population?

C. Long type questions (Answer within 300-500 words).

Q.1: Classify and explain in details about the various kinds of political culture.

Q.2: Explain the significance of political culture in the life of individuals of a society

** ** ** **

UNIT-4 POLITICAL SOCIALIZATION

UNIT STRUCTURE

4.1 Learning Objectives

4.2 Introduction

4.3 Meaning of Political Socialization

4.4 Types of Political Socialization

4.5 Agencies or agents of Political Socialization

4.5 Functions of Political Socialization

4.7 Let Us Sum Up

4.8 Further Reading

4.9 Answers to check your Progress

4.10 Model Question

4.1 LEARNING OBJECTIVES

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

- Understand the meaning ,
- recognise the types,
- recognise agencies and functions of political socialization

4.2 INTRODUCTION:

In the previous unit we have discussed asout political culture. The Political Culture of a society influence the process of political sociolisation. In this unit we will learn about political socialisation in detail.

4.3 MEANING OF POLITICAL SOCIALIZATION:

Political socialization is a process by which we form our ideas and views about politics. It is a life-long process that never stops. This process is basically about how the power is arranged in the society and how we as individuals view that arrangement. Based on that view, we define ourselves as to who we are and how we should behave in a particular social, economic and political set-up.

However, political socialization is more than mere understanding of power structure. It is also a process by which we acquire our values and ideas about politics. These ideas then become central to our political stand and ideology. In short, political socialization is an unavoidable and unstoppable process that continuously brings an individual face-to-face with political realities and shapes his/her response to those realities.

Political socialization, as we have seen is the process that influences and prepares an individual for a political life. As such, it occurs at both the individual and community level and several individuals and institutions contribute to it. For example, individuals are members of their family, peers and social class, which are also the means of political socialization. Besides, the existing laws, media, religion, education, their own gender also play a role in political socialization of the individuals. Therefore are known as the agents of socialization. The primary agents of socialization are those that directly develop our specific political orientations such as the family. Less personal agents of political socialization such as media are known as secondary agents.

Family is primary agent of political socialization because it helps in the formation of our fundamental political attitudes and values right from the childhood. However, as individual grows and matures, he/she may retain some values he/she had imbibed from the family and may discard some. In the process, he/she may acquire newer ideas and values from different sources. And this is where the other agents of political socialization come in picture. Therefore, Almond rightly says that political socialization "not only gives us insight into the pattern of political culture and subcultures in [a] society, but also locates for us in the socialization processes of the society the point where particular qualities and elements are being sustained or modified"

Changes in the political cultures depend on how people acquire their attitudes and values. We use the term socialization to refer to the way in which political values are formed and the political culture is passed from

one generation to the next. Most children acquire elementary but distinctive political attitudes and behaviour patterns at a relatively early age.

At any specific time, several feelings and attitudes go into the making of an individual's political self. At the deepest level, there are general identification and beliefs such as nationalism, ethnic or class self-images, religious and ideological commitments, and a fundamental sense of rights and duties in the society. At an intermediate level, individuals acquire less intense emotional attitudes towards political and governmental institutions. Finally, there are more immediate views of current events, policies, issues, and personalities. All these levels of attitudes can change, but those in the first group usually were acquired earliest, have been most frequently reinforced, and tend to be the most durable.

4.4 TYPES OF POLITICAL SOCIALIZATION

There are mainly two types of political socialization.

- **Direct or Manifest political socialization:** It is the process in which the content of the acquired values or feelings is directly political. Here an individual learns about patterns and functions of government and political parties through the influence of family, teachers and so on.

- **Latent or Indirect political socialization:** The latent political socialization begins with non-political objects and orientations which then create political orientation. Latent political occurs through certain channels. They can be 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 become political skills for an individual. For example Participation in college and university politics strengthens the ground for future role in politics.

Thus both forms of socialization act through several channels. Imitation, political experience, anticipatory behaviour and political education are some

of the 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 also bring about a change in the attitude of the people towards politics.

Apart from these two types of main political socialization "there are other three categories of types of political socialization, viz particularistic and universalistic, affective and instrumental, and specific and diffuse political socialization. Particularistic socialization is that process in which individual is taught only one role. He/she does not learn anything about other roles which means, socializing an individual into particularistic values only. In universalistic socialization cosmopolitan outlook is developed. An individual therefore learns several roles. In affective socialization there is stress on emotional values like pride in one's political system, loyalty to one 's country, respect for ruler, etc. In instrumental socialization the emphasis is on pragmatic bargaining and calculating strategies which means that it teaches individuals that a political system should be supported not for all times, but as long as one drives benefits from it. In specific socialization, specific attitudes and values are imparted by specific political structures. In diffused socialization,one is socialised about the vague things such as religion, politics, economy, society, etc. It is found in societies in which there is no differentiation between the state and society." Thus various types of political socialization can be attributed to the political environment of a country. It is a life-long process and takes place by the means of various primary and secondary agencies of socialization.

- **Community-level Socialization** - Community-level effective socialization is partly an unanticipated consequence of religious teachings. Children are typically taught that religious authority is benevolent and loving, both at home and as part of the more formal activities of religious authority. As we said earlier, children's early

relationship to political authority are similar to their orientations to religious authority. May be, some of the positive feelings towards religion are extended to political figures as well. There is some evidence that young children confuse religious ritual with patriotic observance. Young Children may think of the political community as a device for restraining people from indulging in destructive impulses. On the other hand rational adults see that political organization can be used to improve the human conditions and is necessary for the achievement of goals that are individually impossible to obtain. In general, three things can be said of in respect of political socialization of the political community: First, young children do come to have some ideas about their nation. Typically they express very positive attitudes that may be the result of learning from others experiences. Secondly, it is clear that the level of cognitive development (associated with age) determines that certain conceptions of the public or national interest are possible at different stages. Thirdly, there is a growing concern with the need to account for community level socialization.

l Regime level Socialization

If a regime is popular and it enjoys great support, the people may come to associate it with the community. Similarly an unpopular regime may be thought to be so bad that everything associated with it, including the community, may lose support. In an absolute monarchy, the mass of population may consider themselves to be subject rather than citizens, and they would tend to be passive and believe themselves to be incapable of judging the wisdom or otherwise of various public policies.

Youthful orientations to authority figures also involves studies of President or Policeman, as in itself an indication of regime support, a recent considered that the ultimate in that support was willingness to participation which means responsive government, maximally gratifying policies and consequently greatest citizen contentment.

Government Level Socialization

Clearly the most prevalent kind of mass behavior at the government level in Western democracies is voting. Because voting is a prominent government level behavior, it is a good way of classifying children's government level orientation. Candidate orientation, issue orientation and party identification are also some behavioral aspects.

Elite Socialization

The socialization of elites is a process very different from the socialization of masses. For one thing relevant political behavior on the part of elites, leadership, policy decision making, is not performed by the masses. Biographies of a number of political figures are full of description of dramatic events in childhood, which supposedly had significant impact thus accounting for some success or failure. By now it is common knowledge that elites even in democratic nations are drawn disproportionately from higher social classes and from particular professions, notably the law. A recent study of the members of four American State legislatures demonstrated that 52 per cent of this elite group became interested in politics either as children or as adolescents. The inference is that "State Legislators tend to come from familiar strata which are much more involved in politics than the average American family".



CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Q1a) State two types of political socialization.

Q1 b) What is meant by Particularistic socialization?

4.5 AGENCIES OR AGENTS OF POLITICAL SOCIALIZATION:

Individual in all societies are socialised by different agents of political socialization which influence their political attitudes. Some, like civics courses in school, are direct and deliberate sources of political learning. Other, like play and work groups, are likely to shape the political orientation of the individuals indirectly. Some of the significant agents of political socialisation are discussed below:

I The Family

The direct and indirect influences of the family which is the first socialization source that an individual encounters is powerful and lasting. The family has distinctive influence in shaping our attitudes towards authority. Families perpetuate values that support political authorities and can heavily contribute to children's initial political ideological views, or party affiliations. Families have an effect on "political knowledge, identification, efficacy, and participation", depending on variables such as "family demographics, life cycle, parenting style, parental level of political cynicism and frequency of political discussions.

Encouraging participation in family matters and decision making process can increase a child's sense of political competence, providing skills for political interaction and thereby encouraging active participation in the political system as an adult. Similarly unquestioning obedience to parental decision may predispose the child to a role as a political subject. The family also shapes future political attitudes by locating the individual in a vast social world; establishing ethnic, linguistic, class, and religious ties, affirming culture values, and directing occupational and economic aspirations.

A revolution in women's access to resources in recent decades has profoundly affected the politics of advanced industrial nations. The trend toward gender equality in education, occupation, and profession has transformed the structure of the family. The lessening of gender differences

in self-images, in parental roles, and in relation to the economy and the political system, is significantly affecting pattern of political recruitment, political participation, and public policy. A more open family, equality of parenting, and the early exposure of children to child care and pre-school group experiences have modified the impact of the family in the socialization process in ways that are still being assessed. Especially in the developing world, the changing role of women may have profound influences in modernizing the society.

I The peer group

Besides the family there are other groups in society which are based upon primary relationship, yet differs from family in structure and character. Childhood play groups, friendship cliques, small work groups etc, are some of the examples of peer group. Even though there is intimate relationship in a family among its members, it is characterized by hierarchy. The parent- child relationship is always hierarchical and each family contains at least two separate generations. Thus all of them do not enjoy the same status. But peer groups are formed by equals and the relationship is not therefore hierarchical. Peer groups may have leaders, but they do not have well defined and rigid roles.

As the child reaches adolescence the political socialisation process will assume new dimension. Then comes the problem of interpretation of and adjustment to political changes. The family influence will diminish and the peer group will become the guiding agency for the adolescent. It is also true to say that peer groups supplement the socialising functions of the family by preparing the individual for more specific political experiences. Such supplementation is necessary in the modern context because parents are not able to prepare their children successfully for full social and political participation in the complex social and political structures. Moreover, a peer group does not always work in conflict with the family. It may work as a political reinforcement of familial ideas.

There are certain reasons for the success of peer groups. Firstly, there is easy flow of interaction among its members, and also there is the emotion-laden personalized relations. The members of a peer group enjoy free access and exposure to each other. Secondly, the relationship is highly intimate which makes the task of socialisation very easy. But it must be borne in mind that politics need not come up for discussion among the members of the peer group always.

Since orientations to other political actors constitute an important area of political culture, the ways in which peer group contacts affect these orientations has a bearing on future political behaviour. The peer group relationships may build or breakdown attitudes of hostility and aggression. The individual members of the group may develop skills in human interaction. They will also get training in group decision-making.

I School

School provides with knowledge about the political world and their role in it with more concrete definition of political institutions and its relationship with other aspects of society. Schools also transmit the values and attitudes of the society. They can play an important role in shaping attitudes about the unwritten rules of the political game, instilling the values of public duty, and developing informal political relations. Schools can reinforce affection for the political system and make the children feel for the common symbols, such as the flag and pledge of allegiance that encourage emotional attachments to the system. When a new nation comes into being, or a revolutionary regime comes to power in an old nation, it usually turns immediately to the school as a means to supplant "outdated" values and symbols with new ones which are congruent with the new ideology.

Education also affects the political skills and resources of the public. Educated persons are more aware of the impact of government on their lives and pay more attention to the decision making process. The better-educated has mental skills that improve their ability to interpret and act on new information. They also have more information about political processes

and undertake a wider range of political activities. These effects of education appear in studies of political attitudes in many nations.

Spending numerous years in school, children in the United States learn to reinforce a view of the world that "privileges capitalism, ownership, competitive individualism, and democracy." Through primary, secondary and high schools, students are taught key principles such as individual rights and property, personal responsibility and duty to their nation. Similarly we learn about our constitution, rights and duties through various subjects which are taught in our school.

l Mass Media

Mass media is not only a source of political information; it is an influence on political values and beliefs. Various media outlets, through news coverage and late-night programs, provide different partisan policy stances that are associated with political participation.

The newspaper can bring awareness to many people. People get to know about the local, national and world affairs through newspaper. The influence of the newspaper is not confined to the literate people alone. The habit of reading loud at tea shop, bus stop, libraries or clubs and such other points of small gathering, facilitates the circulation of the news among the illiterate as well but to a limited extent. The newspapers are supposed to play a major role in keeping people informed of the merits and demerits of the rule in power. But that ideal situation does not exist anywhere. The newspapers represent vested interests and are, therefore, inclined to manipulate public opinion. Further, the news is being sensationalized.

Cinema has become one of the most irresistible attraction for the people today. Therefore it may be regarded as a major socializing agency. Cinema is a complex source of cultural communication. It is enormously powerful in transforming people. Cinema opens up the ideas, relations and problems of a society in front of the masses. It also lures them towards the temptations of pomp and pleasure of a new world which is unreal. Cinema represents a

parallel society. It is an imaginary world where all agencies of socialization converge and therefore the effect is total. Many people who see cinema undergo transformation that leads to a cultural shift in a big way. Cinema can also transform people's perception, aspirations and vision, thereby shaping their political orientation.

- **Religion:**

Religious beliefs and practices play an important role in political opinion formation and political participation. The theological and moral perspectives, offered by religious institutions, shape judgement regarding public policy and ultimately translate to direct "political decision making on governmental matters such as the redistribution of wealth, equality, tolerance, deviance, limits on individual freedom, the severity of criminal punishment, policies relating to family structure, gender roles, and the values about human life."

- **Public Meetings**

Public meetings do act as a socializing agent with respect to the development of political self-awareness. The public meetings discuss matters of contemporary social and political importance often directly related to the community. When the communities attend such meetings they might carry new ideas accelerating the process of political socialization.

- **Other secondary groups**

Various secondary groups also work as agents of political socialization. Their impact varies with the nature of societies. The more highly developed and complex society is, the greater will be the number of secondary groups and more important role they play in the process of socialization. As the complexity and development increases in society so does the value of secondary groups. There are three types of secondary groups which socialize politically in different ways. Firstly, there are secondary groups with a distinctly political character. Political parties and political youth groups fall in this category. They are established clearly for the purpose of

disseminating political values, mobilizing political action and recruiting the political leaders. The second type represents those groups which are instituted for non-political purposes, but which are found to carry on political education and mobilization along with their other activities for example labour union and students' union. These groups aim at collective bargain in their particular field. But even these groups are led by the leaders following particular political ideologies. Some of the members are even active members of a particular political party. They impart political education to their followers and take part in active politics from time to time. The third type of secondary groups does not have any political character, nor do they ever try to impart political education to their members. But mere participation in their routine affairs gives their members opportunities to develop orientations that have political relevance.

As already mentioned, political Parties are playing a crucial role in political socialization. Nowadays parties have become more than an electoral or aggregating instrument. They also act as supplier of jobs and a means of bringing people into contact with the government, providing information, integrating various groups and propagating national programmes. In recent years, with the emergence of totalitarian systems, and in the developing countries, party structures have been recognized as powerful agents of political socialization.

Two kinds of political socialization are performed by political parties. The first is the re-enforcement of the existing political culture, providing continuity in performance. The second is the initiation of significant change in existing political culture patterns. Under conditions of radical, social, economic and political change, shifting from one systems to the other- is carried by political parties. Political parties carry on socialising activities effectively depending upon the internal characteristics of the party as well as on the conditions of political and social environment. The style of adherence to the party sub-culture, depends on the nature of the party organization, the solidarity of party leaders and other factors also needs to

be considered. Almond and Verba commenting on the Mexican revolution said: "This revolution is the crucial event in the development of the Mexican political culture, for it created a sense of national identity and a commitment to the political system that permeates almost every stratum of society. The Mexicans display a greater pride in their political and governmental institutions than citizens in the more economically advanced Germany and Italy". Castro's revolution in Cuba also appears to have strengthened the political system obtained in that country.

When we analyze the political system in Soviet Russia, we have to distinguish between the apparatus of party control and related agencies which seek to create homogeneity of political orientation, and the institutions and agencies which are responsible for the development of conflicting tendencies. The party organization, its youth group, and its professional and occupational associations seek to inculcate a homogeneous point of view, limiting or suppressing conflicting attitudes and orientations. On the other hand, the family, work and professional group, regional and ethnic group often perpetuate conflicting attitudes, aspirations and beliefs. These conflicting tendencies challenge the aims of the party leadership. But there are intermittent responses taking the form of coercion and socio-economic sanctions.

4.6 FUNCTIONS OF POLITICAL SOCIALIZATION:

The functions of political socialization are given below:

- The main function of political socialization is the transmission of political values from one generation to another.
- Political socialization shapes and transmits a nation's political culture.
- It maintains, transforms and sometimes creates the political culture of a society.
- Political socialization introduces values, norms and orientations in the minds of individuals.

- Sometimes, a newly independent country may try to find a new political system for itself and thereby create a new political culture for itself and maintain the same.
- The process of political socialization continues on throughout the life of the individual.
- Political socialization is the modification of political culture.



CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Q2 Fill in the blanks

a) Cinema represents a …….society.

b) Schools also transmit the……. And……..of the society



LET US KNOW

Political attitudes: A political attitude is a central component of people's belief systems. Values are sometimes contrasted with attitudes, which are often defined as a set of beliefs organized around a specific object or situation.



4.7 LET US SUM UP

- Political socialization is a process by which we form our ideas and views about politics.
- It is a life-long process that never stops.
- This process is basically about how the power is arranged in the society and how we as individuals view that arrangement.

- The direct and indirect influences of the family-the first socialization source that an individual encounters-are powerful and lasting.
- The family has distinctive influence on attitudes towards authority.
- School provides with knowledge about the political world and their role in it and with more concrete perceptions of political institutions and relationship.
- Mass media is not only a source of political information; it is an influence on political values and beliefs.
- Religious beliefs and practices play a role in political opinion formation and political participation
- Besides the family there are other groups in society which are based upon primary relationship, yet differing from family in structure and character.
- Childhood play groups, friendship cliques, small work groups, brothers and sisters, married couples are some of the examples of these groups.
- Secondary groups also work as agents of political socialization.
- Their impact varies with the nature of societies.
- The more highly developed and complex society is, the greater will be the number of secondary groups and more important role they will play in the process of socialization.



4.8 FURTHER READING

Beck, Paul Allen. 1977. "The Role of Agents in Political Socialization," in Stanley Allen Renshon (ed.), Handbook of Political Socialization Theory and Research. The Free Press: New York:

Sapiro, Virginia. 2004. "Not Your Parents' Political Socialization: Introduction for a New Generation

Jayapalan, N., Political Sociology, Atlantic Publishers And Distributors (P)Ltd, New Delhi, Jan. 2000

4.9 ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Answer to QA1) Latent and Manifest political Socialisation.

Answer to QA2) Particularistic socialization is that process in which individual is taught only one role.

Answer to QB1) Parallel

Answer to Q B2) values and attitudes

4.10 MODEL QUESTIONS

QA Short Questions

Q1 State the meaning of Elite Socialisation

Q2 Describe the functions of political socialization.

QB Long Questions

Q1 Discuss the agencies of political socialization.

Q2) State the meaning of political socialization. Discuss the significance of political socialization in the present day context.

** ** ** **

UNIT-5 STATE

UNIT STRUCTURE

5.1 Learning Objectives

5.2 Introduction

5.3 State

- 5.3.1 Meaning of the State
- 5.3.2 Elements of the State
- 5.3.3 Nature of the State
- 5.3.4 Evolution of the State

5.4 Let Us Sum Up

5.5 Further Reading

5.6 Answers to Check Your Progress

5.7 Model Questions

5.1 LEARNING OBJECTIVES

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

- explain the meaning of the State
- explain the constituent elements of the State
- describe the nature of the State
- describe the evolution of the State
- list out the different forms of States that have emerged at different stages.

5.2 INTRODUCTION

As citizens, we find ourselves to be in constant touch with the institution of the state. In fact, the state gets reflected in objects like the national flag, the national anthem, the constitution, the legislature, the police, the bureaucracy, public offices and such other aspects of public life. As a most basic consideration of Political Sociology and Political Science, it is important that we have a clear understanding of the state as a political organization.

5.3 State

One of the primary concerns of Political Sociology is the state. The Greeks used the word "Polis" for "City States" in which they lived. The Romans used the term "Civitas" to imply the idea of citizenship of a city together with the notion of public welfare. The modern term "state" has been derived from the word "status" earlier used by the teutons. It was Niccolo Machiavelli(1469-1527), who in the sixteenth century, introduced the term "State" in the modern literature of Political Science for the first time.



LET US KNOW

Political Scientist, R.G. Gettel, defined Political Science as "the science of the state" while J.W. Garner was of the view that "Political Science begins and ends with the State." (Mahajan, V.D.: Political Theory, S. Chand & Company Ltd., New Delhi, 2006, p.132)

5.3.1 Meaning of the State



Plato : He was a classical Greek philosopher born in 428 BC in Ancient Greece. He was the teacher of Aristotle and established the Academy in A thens the first institution of higher learning in the western world. this most important book is "The Republic."

The term "state" has been defined by a number of political thinkers. Some of these definitions are given below:

- Aristotle defined the state as "a union of families and villages having for its end a perfect and self-sufficing life by which we mean a happy and honourable life" (Agarwal, R.C.: Political Theory- Principles of Political Science, S. Chand & Company Ltd., New Delhi, 2007, p.65)
- According to Swiss jurist and politician Bluntschli, "The state is politically organised people of a definite territory" (Kapur, A.C. : Principles of Political Science, S.Chand & Company Ltd., New Delhi, 2006, p.77)
- According to American political scientist Burgess, "The state is a particular portion of mankind viewed as an organised unit"

((Agarwal,R.C.: Political Theory- Principles of Political Science, S. Chand & Company Ltd., New Delhi, 2007, p.65)

- Political thinker Phillimore defines the state as "a people, permanently occupying a fixed territory, bound together by common laws, habits and customs into one body politic, exercising through the medium of an organised government, independent sovereignty and control over all persons and things within its boundaries, capable of making war and entering into all international relations with the communities of the globe."(Agarwal,R.C.: Political Theory- Principles of Political Science, S. Chand & Company Ltd., New Delhi, 2007, pp.65-66)



Jean-Jacques Rousseau (28 June 1712 – 2 July 1778): He was a political philosopher who was born in Geneva, Switzerland and whose views greatly influenced the French Revolution as well as the American Revolution.

By summing up all these definitions, we can come to the conclusion that state is a political community which is independent and has a fixed and defined territory and possesses sovereignty over it.

5.3.2 Elements of the State

An analysis of the above definitions reveal that the modern state is constituted of four constituent elements, namely, Population, Territory, Government and Sovereignty. Of these, the first two are physical elements, the third is political and the fourth is spiritual. The four constituent elements of the state are discussed below:



Monaco: The Principality of Monaco is a small sovereign state located in Western Europe.

- Population or the number of people: There can be no state without people or human habitation. While the necessity of population as an essential element of state is recognised, there is no unanimity with regard to its size. Plato was of the view that an ideal state should have a population of 5040. Aristotle opined that the population of a state should be large enough to be self-sufficing and small enough to be well governed. The view of Rousseau was that 10,000 was an ideal number. In today's world, we have states with large populations like India and China on the one hand and those with small populations like Monaco and San Marino.



San Marino: A micro-state in southern Europe.



Gypsies and Nomads: Wandering communities without any definite homeland.

While considering the population of a state, we have to study not only the number but also the quality of the people inhabiting the state. According to Aristotle, a good citizen makes a good state and a bad citizen, a bad state. Again the population of a state may be heterogeneous and need not belong to a single race, religion, language or culture.

Accordingly, while the size of the population of a state cannot be fixed, it is important that the people are self-sufficient to meet all their necessary requirements based on the proper utilisation of resources.

- **Territory or a definite place of residence:** The second essential constituent of a state is territory. If the people continue to move from one place to another without having any definite territory for their residence, there can be no state. The gypsies and nomads who wander from one place to another, cannot be said to constitute a state. The territorial jurisdiction of a state extends not only over the land but also over rivers, lakes, mountains, marginal sea, subsoil and aerial space above it. However, it is difficult to decide the size of an ideal state. The state of San Marino has an area of 38 Sq.miles only. The Vatican City under the Pope covers 108 acres only. On the other hand, states like the United States of America and China have large territories. It is important to note that more than the size, it is the proper utilisation of the resources in the state which leads to its prosperity and development.

- **Government:** The third essential constituent of the state is the government. Population and territory alone cannot form a state. Unless people of a territory are subject to the control of an organised government, a territory cannot be called a state simply because it is inhabited. The government is the political machinery or organisation through which the collective will of the state is formulated, expressed and executed. As a matter of fact, the state operates through the governmental machinery. It is the agency through which society is politically organised, common policies are determined and by which common affairs are regulated and common interests are promoted.

Hence, the government is responsible for the maintenance of law and order and for the provision of common services like defence, issue of currency, foreign relations, roads, bridges, transport and communications, water, electricity, health and education, etc. No particular type of government can be recommended as essential. It varies in kind and complexity from nation to nation.

- **Sovereignty:** Sovereignty is the most important characteristic of the state. It is what distinguishes a state from other forms of human organisation. There can be no state in the absence of sovereignty. Broadly speaking, sovereignty means supremacy of the state. Sovereignty is of two types-internal sovereignty and external sovereignty. Internal sovereignty means that the state is supreme in all internal matters. It exercises its supremacy over all the institutions and the people of the state and the latter have to obey its commands. External sovereignty implies that a state must be free from foreign control. If a state is controlled by another state, the former will no longer be regarded as a sovereign state and it will become a part of the state which exercises control over it. This is the reason why India before August15, 1947, could not be regarded as a state, as the country was under the control of Great Britain.



Activity 4.1

Try to relate the four elements of the state to India. Does India qualify as a state?

…….

…….

…….

…….



CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Q 1: Who introduced the term "State" in the modern literature of Political Science for the first time.

.....

Q 2: Sovereignty is the most important characteristic of the state. (True/ False)

.....

Q 3: The Greeks used the word ..... for "City States" in which they lived. (Fill in the blank)

.....

Q 4: List out the four constituent elements of the state?

.....

Q 5: Plato was of the view that an ideal state should have a population of 5040. (True/False)

.....

Q 6: Who held the view that the ideal population of a state should be 10,000 ? (Aristotle/Rousseau/Burgess)

.....

5.3.3 Nature of the State

There are various points of view regarding the nature of the state. Accordingly, it is necessary to examine some of the more important views regarding the nature of the state for a clear understanding of the same. These are discussed below:

- **Legal Notion of the State:** The Roman Empire gave birth to the legal notion of the nature of the state. In the modern period, thinkers like Bodin, Hobbes, Bentham and Austin are the chief exponents of the legal notion of the state. They interpret the state as entirely a legal

construction. The state was formed for making, interpreting and enforcing law in order to regulate human behaviour. It is a legal entity. If the law is violated, it has coercive power at its command to punish the violator. The legal notion of the state is criticised as a partial view. It is pointed out by the critics that besides law making, the state is also responsible for promotion of the moral and spiritual life of the people.



Decentralisation of political power: Delegation of decision making authority to the lower levels of the governmental organisation.

- **Ethical Notion of the State:** The ethical notion regarding the nature of the state was propounded by Plato and Aristotle. The state is necessary for intellectual, moral and material development. It is a natural institution rather than a man-made institution. In their view, the state represented the highest morality. Whatever is done by the state is always justified. Many political philosophers like Rousseau, Kant, Hegel, T.H. Green and others also supported the notion of the state as the supreme ethical institution. This view is criticised on the ground that the state is regarded as an end in itself and not a means for the moral and intellectual development of man. In modern times, such a view has provided a foundation for the totalitarian notion of the state.



Totalitarian: A system of government consisting of only one leader or party that has complete power and control, permitting no opposition.

- **State as a Necessary Evil:** The individualists considered the state as a necessary evil. According to them, the state is an evil. However, if each individual is left to himself or herself and allowed to do whatever he or she wants, one will seek one's own selfish interests at the expense of others. There will be no law and order. Accordingly, the state becomes necessary to maintain law and order in the society. Adam Smith, Bentham and Herbert Spencer supported this view. Critics point out that the state is not a negative institution. The state is capable of performing many positive functions for the welfare of society at large.



'might' : Great power or strength.

- **Anarchist notion of the state as an Unnecessary Evil:** The anarchist view regarding the nature of the state is that the state is an evil and as such the sooner it is abolished, the better it will be for the spontaneous development of a person's personality. They believe that with the gradual

perfection of human nature, the state as an agency for regulating human conduct will become less and less necessary.

- **Pluralist Notion of the state:** According to the Pluralist view of the state, the state is to be accorded a coequal status with other permanent groups like the family, the church, the trade union, the social club, etc. which cater to our various needs. The Pluralists stand for decentralisation of political power and do not consider the state as in anyway superior to other associations which perform their due functions in the society. The important advocates of this view are MacIver and Laski. However, critics are of the view that it is important to have a superior organisation in the form of the state to regulate and coordinate the affairs of the various organisations in the society.

- **Totalitarian state:** According to the totalitarian view of the state, the state has absolute powers and the individuals have no right against the state. The state exercises exclusive control over the whole life of the individual. Philosophers like Hegel and Nietzsche, writers like Bernhardi and Treitschke and dictators like Mussolini and Hitler supported the totalitarian notion of the state. Critics point out that such a view of the state is highly undesirable as it is undemocratic and it denies the worth and dignity of the human personality.

- **Power notion of the state:** The advocates of this view interpret the state exclusively in terms of 'might'. The German writers, especially, Berhandi and Treitsche, interpreted the state exclusively as a power system with unlimited authority to make war and peace. When individuals come into contact with each other, conflicts and contradictions arise in society. This requires the use of power to cope with the demands of various sections of the society and to maintain peace and harmony in society. The power view of the nature of the state is not accepted by many writers. They do not deny that force is an essential part of the state, but they point out that force is not the foundation of the state. Brute power can never justify a state. Power needs to be transformed

into authority. In other words, the use of power by the state must be for social ends and based on popular consent.

- **State as a Welfare System:** The contemporary liberal view of the state is that of a welfare state. The main supporters of this view are thinkers like J.S. Mill, T.H. Green, MacIver and Laski. According to this view, the state is not merely an agency for the maintenance of law and order. The state as a welfare system performs many positive functions besides maintaining law and order. It promotes human welfare. It serves the interests of the whole society. The state is required to regulate the working conditions of workers, spread education, promote the health of the people, run social services and eradicate social evils.



LET US KNOW

The Directive Principles of State Policy incorporated in Part IV of the Indian Constitution contains the idea of a welfare state. These are policy directives laid down for the State to be implemented so as to bring about social justice and equality in the society.

- **Organic view of the state:** The organic view of the state compares the state with a living organism and the individuals with its organs. As the existence and worth of the organs (hands, legs, etc.) depends on the existence of the organism (the living body as a whole), so also the existence and worth of the individuals depend on the existence of the state. The state is like a living organism and there is complete interdependence among the individuals who constitute it. The state without individuals has no meaning and the individuals separated from the state have no meaningful role to play. Hobbes, Rousseau, Herbert Spencer and Fichte are some of the political thinkers associated with the organic view of the state. German philosopher Fichte was the first

to point out the interdependence of society and individual. Bluntchli was of the view that the state is the very image of human organism. Each has its member parts, its organs, its functions and its life processes. Critics are of the view that a comparison between the state and organism is superficial.

- **Class View of the state:** Some writers have described the state as a class structure. With the emergence of private property, the society came to be divided into two classes-the dominant class possessing ownership of private property and the dependent or oppressed class which is the propertyless class. The dominant class tries to uphold its own interests at the expense of the dependent or oppressed class. According to Karl Marx, the state is an organisation for the exploitation of the poor by the rich. The critics of this theory point out that there can be no rigid division of society into two classes, the dominant and dependent classes. They argue that a normal state exists for common good and not for serving the interests of the powerful sections.



CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Q 7: The Roman Empire gave birth to the Legal Notion of the nature of the state. (True/False)

.....

Q 8: Which view regarding the nature of the state regards the state as the highest morality?

.....

Q 9: German writer, Berhandi, was an exponent of the ..... notion of the state.(Fill in the blank)

.....

Q 10: Pluralists stand for centralisation of political power. (True/False)

.....

Q 11: The .....maintain that the state becomes necessary only to maintain law and order in the society. (Fill in the blank)

.....

Q 12: Which view regarding the nature of the state regards the state as the promoter of human welfare?

.....

5.3.4 The Evolution of the State

The modern state has evolved over a period spanning over thousands of years. The interplay of several factors such as kinship, religion, property, war, technological development and political consciousness have contributed to the emergence of the state. Sociologists have generally identified the following forms of state in the course of its historical evolution: the Tribal State; the Oriental Empire; the Greek City-State; the Roman World Empire; the Feudal State; and finally, the Modern Nation-State.

- **The Tribal State:** The tribal state was the earliest stage of state organisation. The tribal states were small in size. The head of the tribe, often assisted by an advisory council, wielded authority and governed the state. The head of the tribe dictated and his dictates were obeyed by the members of the tribe. Anyone who disobeyed was punished by the head and punishment was meted out as per the customs and traditions of the tribe. The main purpose of the existence of these tribal states was the preservation of internal order and the waging of war with other tribal states. These states retained strong traces of common birth, common religion and common trade interests.

- **The Oriental Empire:** In due course of time, tribes settled in places where their basic needs and necessities were fulfilled. They settled in places where they could get food to eat, water to drink and pastures for their cattle. Flourishing civilisations arose in the fertile valleys of the Nile in Egypt, the Euphrates and Tigris in Mesopotamia, the Ganges in India and the Yellow River and Yangtze Kiang in China. The increased prosperity led to the development of the art of war and conquests of

territories. As the stronger groups won over the weaker ones, the inhabitants of these valleys were bound together into the empires of Egypt, Babylon, Assyria, India and China. The Oriental Empires were neither strongly centralised nor closely knit together. They were made up of subordinate units which though were practically autonomous in local affairs, were under central supervision. The units were under the obligation to furnish soldiers and to pay tributes. However, the large size of these empires eroded central authority, led to local revolts and external invasions. As a result the empires disintegrated in course of time.

- **The Greek City-State:** The next stage was the Greek city states. The peculiar location of Greece helped in the evolution of a new form of political organisation called the city-state in the ancient days. The mountains and the sea divided this area into small parts in the form of numerous valleys and islands. The different communities inhabiting these small areas developed features peculiar to their own. Accordingly, several city states emerged in ancient Greece with a variety of political institutions. The size of the Greek states was confined to the city which was the centre of all activities. The city-states were the outcome of local patriotism. Athens and Sparta were two such city-states which attained a higher level of political development and individual liberty. Gradually, the Greek city-states disintegrated due to mutual rivalry and frequent wars between themselves and external invasion.

- **The Roman Empire:** After the downfall of the Greek city-states, the main political development was the emergence of the Roman empire. The Roman state passed through several periods. The first period was that of the monarchical state. During that period, the king was not only the head of the state but also the chief priest of the community. The king was required to consult the Council of Elders and follow their advice. During this period, the nobles known as the Patricians shared political power with a monarch. But the Plebians who included average working

citizens of Rome like farmers, bakers, builders or craftsmen enjoyed no political rights. Gradually, monarchy was succeeded by a republic ruled by elected representatives and both Patricians and Plebians got equal political rights. During this period Rome started annexing the neighbouring territories. Consequently, the Republic gave way to the Roman Empire which extended over Austria, Germany, France, Spain, England, the Balkans, Greece, Asia Minor and the whole of the Mediterranean coast and its hinterland. In due courses of time, the Roman Empire began to decay as institutions of democracy and local self-government disappeared.



Asia Minor : A region of the world that corresponds roughly to modern day Turkey that lies between the Black sea and the Mediterranean seas.

- **The Feudal State:** After the fall of the Roman Empire, central authority was eroded and its vast territories fell into the hands of powerful feudal chiefs, i.e., the landlords holding big estates. Each of these nobles created a community of his own based on ownership of big estates. These feudal chiefs began to exercise powers in fifth century A.D. Each feudal lord gave his land to tenants-in-chief who in turn gave the same to tenants. This led to a hierarchical political organisation upon the basis of landholding, with the king as the supreme lord at the top and serfs or the landless peasants at the bottom. In fact the king exercised only superficial control over the feudal vassals who enjoyed the real power within their domain.



Colonies: A country or territory under the control of another country.



Serfs: An agricultural labourer confined to working in a particular estate.

The erosion of the authority of kings, led to the emergence of the Christian church as another symbol of authority. By the beginning of the fourteenth century, when Popes were using their authority arbitrarily, the authority of the church was challenged and power of monarchy restored.



Vassals: (In the feudal system) a person who has to fight for a lord in return for holding a piece of land.

- **The Modern Nation-State:** The modern state is largely identified as the nation-state. Feudalism was succeeded by nation-states, each one of which was based on the bonds of nationality and language, strengthened by natural boundaries. This process led to the emergence of France, Spain, England, Switzerland, the Netherlands, Russia and later Germany and Italy as nation-states by the sixteenth century. Initially,

the nation-states were mostly monarchies. However, since the middle of the eighteenth century, there has been a slow transition from the absolute monarchy to constitutional monarchy and democracy in large parts of Europe. With the growth and expansion of democracy, the principles of liberty, equality, popular sovereignty came to be established in a large part of Europe. Beginning in the seventeenth century, many European countries started extending their domination over Asia, Africa and Latin America in search of new sources of raw material, cheap labour and new markets. During the nineteenth century, there came into existence many colonial empires with Great Britain having colonies all over the world. Political awakening and national movements for independence in most of these colonies ultimately led to popular uprisings against the foreign powers, especially after the First World War (1914-18). Subsequently, many of these countries gained independence one after the other from their colonial rulers, especially after the Second World War (1939-45). In this context, mention may be made of countries like India, Pakistan, Burma, Sri Lanka, Egypt, Nigeria, etc.

From the above discussion, we find that in the history of mankind, various types of state systems were evolved in different ages leading up to the modern nation-states of today.



LET US KNOW

In today's world, with the advancement of the means of transport and communication and rapid progress in the field of information technology, the distance between nation-states has virtually been eliminated. This has resulted in increasing interaction between nation-states for trade and other purposes, which has converted the world into what has been termed as a "global village".



ACTIVITY 4.2

Find out the names of two counties from Asia and two others from Africa which achieved independence in the post Second World War period.

……

……



CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Q 13: The tribal state was the earliest stage of state organisation. (True/ False)

.....

Q 14: The Roman Empire was succeeded by the ..... State. (Fill in the blank)

.....

Q 15: Mention four countries from Europe which emerged as nation-states by the sixteenth century.

.....

Q 16: Mention the names of two prominent Greek city-states.

.....



5.4 LET US SUM UP

- The term state has been defined variously by different thinkers as “a union of families and villages” to a “politically organized people” involving “a definite territory” and “a government” possessing “independent sovereignty”.

- The modern state is constituted of four constituent elements, namely, Population, Territory, Government and Sovereignty. Of these, the first two are physical elements, the third is political and the fourth is spiritual.

- While discussing the nature of the state we have learnt about the various notions of the state like the legal notion of the state, the ethical notion of the state, the power notion, the class view of the state, state as a welfare system, etc.

- The modern state has evolved over a long period of time through the interplay of several factors like kinship, religion, property, war, technological development and political consciousness. Sociologists have generally identified the following forms of state in the course of its historical evolution: the Tribal state; the Oriental empire; the Greek City-State; the Roman World Empire; the Feudal State; and finally, the Modern Nation-State.

5.5 FURTHER READING

1) Agarwal, R.C. (2006). Political Theory-Principles of Political Science. New Delhi: S. Chand and Company.

2) Asirvatham, Eddy & Misra, K.K.(2006): Political Theory. New Delhi: S. Chand and Company.

3) Kapur,A.C.(2006). Principles of Political Science. New Delhi:S. Chand and Company.

4) Mahajan V.D. (2006). Political Theory. New Delhi: S. Chand and Company.

5.6 ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Ans to Q No 1: Niccolo Machiavelli.

Ans to Q No 2: True

Ans to Q No 3: Polis

Ans to Q No 4: Population, Territory, Government and Sovereignty.

Ans to Q No 5: True

Ans to Q No 6: Rousseau

Ans to Q No 7: True

Ans to Q No 8: The Ethical Notion of the State

Ans to Q No 9: Power

Ans to Q No 10: False

Ans to Q No 11: Individualists

Ans to Q No 12: State as a Welfare System

Ans to Q No 13: True

Ans to Q No 14: Feudal State

Ans to Q No 15: England, France, Switzerland and the Netherlands,

Ans to Q No 16: Athens and Sparta



5.7 MODEL QUESTIONS

A) Very Short Questions

Q 1: State the definition of state provided by Aristotle.

Q 2: Mention the names of any two supporters of the legal notion regarding the nature of the state.

Q 3: Which view consider the state as a necessary evil?

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

Q 1: Describe in brief any four constituent elements of the state.

Q 2: Explain the Anarchist notion regarding the nature of the state.

Q 3: Explain the Organic view regarding the nature of the state.

Q 4: Describe in your own words the Roman Empire with regard to the evolution of the state.

Q 5: Describe in your own words the Modern-Nation State with regard to the evolution of the state.

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

Q 1: Explain the meaning of the state. Describe the constituent elements of the state.

Q 2: Discuss the various views regarding the nature of the state.

** ** ** **

UNIT- 6 THEORIES OF THE ORIGIN OF THE STATE: DIVINE ORIGIN THEORY AND EVOLUTIONARY THEORY

UNIT STRUCTURE

6.1 Learning Objectives

6.2 Introduction

6.3 Theories of the Origin of the State

- 6.3.1 Divine Origin Theory
- 6.3.2 Evolutionary or Historical theory

6.4 Let Us Sum Up

6.5 Further Reading

6.6 Answers to Check Your Progress

6.7 Model Questions

6.1 LEARNING OBJECTIVES

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

- explain the origin of the state with reference to the Divine Origin Theory
- point out the criticisms of the Divine Origin Theory
- describe the Evolutionary or Historical theory regarding the origin of the state
- examine the criticisms of the Evolutionary or Historical theory.

6.2 INTRODUCTION

Human beings can lead a civilized life only in a well-organized state. In the previous unit ,we discussed the meaning, nature and the four constituent elements of the state. Through this unit an effort will be made to discuss two important theories associated with the origin of the state - the Divine Origin Theory and the Evolutionary or Historical.

6.3 THEORIES OF the ORIGIN OF THE STATE

There are a number of theories regarding the origin of state. Different scholars have expressed different views through their own theories in this context. Two such important theories are the Divine Origin theory and the Evolutionary or Historical theory. Here, we will discuss these two theories with emphasis on their relevance and importance in explaining the origin of the state and criticisms against the theories.

6.3.1 Divine Origin Theory

The Divine Origin theory is the oldest theory which seeks to explain the emergence of the state. The divine origin theory is as old as the state itself. This theory strongly holds the view that the state is a divine institution created by God. This theory firmly believed that it was the will of God that human beings should live in a political society and therefore, God has created the state to save mankind from destruction. God has created the state for the welfare of all people. According to this theory, the state is governed by God Himself who sends His representative to govern the state. Thus, the theory believes that the King is the divinely appointed agent and the representative of God and that's why he is responsible to God and not to the people. On earth, the King has unlimited power and nobody can limit his power or question his authority. All actions and orders of the King are supposed to be just and benevolent. The King derives all powers and authority from God and resistance to the authority of the King reflects disobedience to God and thus, it is a sin. According to this theory, obedience of the people towards the King is a religious duty. Another important point to be mentioned here is that the supporters of the Divine Origin theory believed in the hereditary monarchical form of government, and hence all the powers and rights that a King possesses should pass from father to son. Thus, the theory establishes divine sanctity of the state and places the King above all people and law.

In the ancient period, it was strongly believed that the state was the creation of God. During that period, the authority of the state was connected with certain unseen powers and the ruler was a combination of priest and King. The order of the King was supposed to be supreme and resistance to the King's authority was considered as an act against God. There are many references to this Divine Origin theory in the old religious books, such as the Mahabharata, the Old Testament etc.

Criticisms of the Divine Origin theory :

The Divine Origin theory of the state was relevant in the ancient period but now, it has lost its relevance. This theory is subject to criticism on many grounds. Some of the criticisms levelled against this theory are mentioned below :

- Critics have pointed out that the argument of the Divine Origin theory that the state is a divine institution created by God does not find any relevant place in the present context, as the state is essentially a human institution.
- The Divine Origin theory may give rise to the despotic ruler since this theory tries to justify unlimited and arbitrary powers of the king.
- This Divine Origin theory stands only for absolute monarchical form of government. But in the present context, such monarchical form of government has lost its relevance.
- The Divine Origin theory supports absolute power of the King without any say of the people. This reflects that in such a state, people did not have any individual freedom.

Though the Divine origin theory is no longer valid today, it had its utility in the primitive period, when the society was semi-civilised and there was no authority to impose rules and regulations. The Divine Origin theory inculcated the belief that the powers and laws of the King had religious sanctions and thus, obedience to the state is a religious duty. Thus, this

theory taught people to obey the King when the people were not in a position to govern themselves. In such a context, the Divine Origin theory helped to maintain order which established the belief that the King is the representative of God and people have to obey him.



CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Q.1: According to the Divine Origin theory, who is the creator of the state?

.....

Q.2: According to the Divine Origin theory, the King is the representative of God. (True/False)

.....

Q.3: Mention the names of any two religious books where we can find the traces of the Divine Origin theory.

.....

Q.4: Mention two criticisms of the Divine Origin theory.

.....

6.3.2 Evolutionary or Historical Theory

The Evolutionary or Historical theory is another important theory regarding the origin of the state. The theory is the outcome of modern sociological, historical and anthropological research. The evolutionary theory strongly holds that the state is a natural institution. Regarding the emergence of the state, this theory advocates that the state did not appear abruptly but is the result of evolution from the past and is evolving slowly and gradually over a long period of time. The state has acquired its present shape by passing through several stages of evolution. A number of factors have contributed to the evolution of the state, such as- social instinct, kinship, force or war, religion, economic activities and political consciousness. These are discussed as follows-

- **Social Instinct:** Social Instinct of human beings is an important factor that contributed in the evolution of the state. Greek political philosopher Aristotle said, “Man is by nature a social animal”. Aristotle strongly believed that it was due to social instinct that human beings felt the need of a state so that they could lead a secured life and the state ensured a better life for them. In this context, we can say that this social instinct of man encouraged people to live together and led to the formation of society and gradually to the formation of the state.

- **Kinship:** Another important factor that has contributed to the emergence of the state is kinship or blood relationship. Much before the formation of the state in the primitive period, people who had blood relationship among themselves used to live together. American scholar , Professor Gilchrist has also said that blood relationship was an inevitable bond in the society. We can say that the earliest human organisations and unions among the people were based on blood relationship and kinship. People who had a common ancestor lived together as a union. So, the family was at the base of human organization during the primitive period. With the passage of time, family gradually developed into a household through its expansion, then into clans and the clans were united to tribes which eventually led to the formation of state. Family relationship developed the attributes like loyalty and obedience which are also important factors toward the evolution of the state. So, we can say that kinship played a very important role in the evolution of the state.

- **Force or War:** Another factor that has played a very important role in the emergence of the state is force or war. During the primitive period, force or might was the determining factor in every aspect and only the physically strongest survived. A stronger group of people could overthrow the weaker group and establish its domination. Historical evidence also shows that a number of warriors established their domination by forcefully occupying some portion of a territory. This factor of force or war also led to the establishment of many modern states. From the

very ancient period, war has been a major factor behind the establishment of the state.

- **Religion:** In the evolution of the state, religion is also a factor that has played an important role. In the ancient period, religion controlled almost every aspect of human life. Religion helped in strengthening the ties of oneness in families, clans, tribes and kingdoms. During the primitive and the Middle Ages, religion brought people to a common platform and inculcated the feeling of unity among them. During the very primitive period, people due to their ignorance followed religious norms superstitiously. People thought that all the changes in their lives, in nature and the earth had happened due to some supernatural power and if they did not worship God then there would be great disaster. By taking advantage of the ignorance of the people, the magician kings appeared in the subsequent ages and established their authority by claiming that they could dispel all evil spirits. With the passage of time, the magician kings were replaced by the priest kings who enjoyed power and authority till the end of the Middle Ages; for example, the Pope ruled the Christian world as its religious head. So it can be said that religion, from the very ancient period, united people on the basis of common religious practices and rituals which they followed under the leadership of priestly authorities, eventually leading to the formation of the state.

- **Economic Activities:** Economic activities have also played an important role in the evolution of the state. From the very dawn of human civilization, men have a number of economic needs and aspirations and for fulfilling these needs and aspirations they have to depend on one another and as a result of this dependency, economic relations grew among the people. In such economic relationships, disputes arose among the people and then there came the need of the state authority to regulate, by enacting laws, the economic relations among people. Thus, economic activities also helped in the evolution of the state.

- Political Consciousness: Another factor which has played an important role in the evolution of the state is the rise of political consciousness that dawned upon the people. With the passage of time, people wanted to live a better and settled social, moral and intellectual life. Moreover, the people started realising the importance of maintaining peace and order and along with this, political consciousness came to them. People came to realise that they could make progress only through some kind of political organization. This political consciousness brought a kind of cooperation among the people to fulfill their needs and aspirations. This political consciousness gradually led to the formation of the state in due course of time.

Criticisms of the Evolutionary or Historical Theory

However, the evolutionary or historical theory has been criticised on the following grounds:

- The critics are of the view that the evolutionary or historical theory has simply explained the factors that led to the formation of the state. The theory has not provided the answer as to when and how the state has come into existence.

- The evolutionary or historical theory has mentioned that the factors which led to the emergence of the state are universal. But according to the critics, these factors are not universal.

- Though this theory is useful in explaining about the origin of the state, yet it has not provided any account of the condition of the primitive stage prior to the formation of the state.

Despite such criticisms, this theory has its own value in political science. The evolutionary or historical theory advocates that the state evolved gradually by passing through various stages over a long period of time as a result of plurality of factors.



CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Q. 5: According to the Evolutionary theory, the state is a natural institution. (True/False)

.....

Q.6: What are the factors that have led to the evolution of the state over a long period of time?

.....

Q. 7: Write briefly about the factor of political consciousness in the evolution of the state.

.....



6.4 LET US SUM UP

- The Divine Origin theory and the Evolutionary or Historical theory are the two important theories associated with the Origin of the State.
- The Divine Origin theory believed that the state is a divine institution created by God.
- According to the Divine Origin theory, the state is governed by God himself or sends His representative to govern the state. So the King is the representative of God and that's why the King is responsible to God and not to the people.
- The Divine Origin theory favoured absolute and unlimited power for the King. According to this theory, resistance to the authority of the King is a sin.
- The Divine Origin theory is criticised as it may give rise to despotic ruler and it is against individual freedom.

- Though the Divine Origin theory is criticised, it had its utility in the early period. During the early period when there was no authority, the Divine Origin theory helped to maintain order which established the fact that the King is the representative of God and people have to obey him.

- The Evolutionary or Historical theory regarding the origin of the state advocates that state did not appear abruptly; in fact, it is the result of evolution from the past and it is evolving slowly and gradually over a long period of time.

- The Evolutionary or Historical theory has mentioned that a number of factors have affected the evolution of the state, such as- social instinct, kinship, force or war, religion, economic activities and political consciousness etc.

- The critics have pointed out that the Evolutionary or Historical theory has simply explained the factors that led to the formation of the state but has not provided the answer as to when and how the state has come into existence. The theory has not given any picture regarding the condition of the primitive stage prior to the formation of the state.



6.5 FURTHER READING

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6.6 ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Ans to Q No 1: God

Ans to Q No 2: True

Ans to Q No 3: The Mahabharata, the Old Testament

Ans to Q No 4: (i) The Divine Origin theory may give rise to the despotic ruler since this theory advocates for the unlimited and arbitrary powers of the king.

(ii) The Divine Origin theory stands only for an absolute monarchical form of government. But in the present context, such monarchical form of government has lost its relevance.

Ans to Q No 5: True

Ans to Q No 6: Social instinct, kinship, force, religion, economic activities and political consciousness.

Ans to Q No7: One of the factors which played an important role in the evolution of the state is the rise of political consciousness among people. With the passage of time, people wanted to live a better and settled social, moral and intellectual life. Moreover, people also realised the importance of maintaining peace and order and along with this, political consciousness also appeared among them. People came to realise that they could make progress only through some sort of political organizations. This political consciousness brought a kind of cooperation among the people to fulfill their needs and aspirations. This political consciousness of the people gradually led to the formation of state in due course of time.

6.7 MODEL QUESTIONS

A) Very Short Questions

Q 1: According to the Divine Origin theory, the King is responsible to whom?

Q 2: Mention any two factors that have helped in the evolution of the state.

Q 3: Who said, “Man is by nature a social animal”?

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

Q 1: Write a short note on the role of religion in the evolution of the state.

Q 2: Write briefly about the utility of the Divine Origin theory.

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

Q 1: Critically discuss the Divine Origin theory.

Q 2: Critically discuss the Evolutionary or Historical theory regarding the origin of the state.

** ** ** **

UNIT- 7 THE MARXIST THEORY OF STATE

UNIT STRUCTURE

7.1 Learning Objectives

7.2 Introduction

7.3 The Marxist Theory

7.4 Criticisms of the Marxist Theory

7.5 Let Us Sum Up

7.6 Further Reading

7.7 Answers to Check Your Progress

7.8 Model Questions

7.1 LEARNING OBJECTIVES

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

- discuss the Marxist theory regarding the origin of the state
- examine the criticisms of the Marxist theory.

7.2 INTRODUCTION

Regarding the origin of the state different sections of scholars have expressed different views in their theories. Some of the important theories, such as–the Divine Origin theory, the Evolutionary theory and the Social Contract theory, have already been discussed in the previous units. Another important theory, which explains the origin of the state, is the Marxist theory. This Marxist theory analyses the origin of the state from class perspective. In this unit we will critically discuss the viewpoints of the Marxist theory regarding the origin of the state.

7.3 THE MARXIST THEORY

One of the important theories regarding the Origin of the state is the Marxist theory. The Marxist theory was developed by German philosophers Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels. The Marxist theory upholds the view that the state is not a natural institution. The state has come into existence to

protect and promote the interest of the wealthy class, not for the welfare of all the people. The supporters of this theory consider the state as an instrument of domination. According to the Marxist theory of the origin of the state, the state originated at a certain stage of human history and is associated with the emergence of the concept of private property. With the emergence of private property, the society was divided into two distinct classes- the "haves' or the dominant class representing the owners of private property and the "have-nots" or the exploited representing the propertyless class. At every stage of human history, the state becomes an instrument of exploitation and coercion of the "have-nots" by the "haves". The state is thus, the product and manifestation of irreconcilable class hostility.

The Marxist theory regarding the origin of the state is basically drawn from Friedrich Engels' book "The Origin of the Family, Private Property and the State" (1894). Karl Marx, V I Lenin (Founder of the Russian Communist Party and the first head of the Soviet Union), Joseph Stalin (head of the Soviet Union), Mao Zedong (Chinese Communist leader), Antonio Gramsci (Italian Marxist thinker) are important supporters of this theory. The advocates of the Marxist theory regarding the origin of the state were greatly influenced by the views of the American anthropologist Lewis H. Morgan who in his book "Ancient Society" (1871) opined that in primitive society, there was no state and people led a communal life or a shared way of life without having any personal property. The Marxist thinkers have accepted this view of Morgan. Engels held the view that the state was not a natural institution. State is essentially the product of society at a certain point of development. The concept of the state as an institution came into existence with the emergence of private property. The Marxist theory firmly holds that the state is not a natural institution and the emergence of the state is closely associated with the concept of class. This theory mentioned that during the primitive age, gentes (smaller kinship groups) constituted the first group or community which in turn constituted tribes. During that time, this type of social organization did not have the concept of state or authority. However, with the passage of time the idea of having private property emerged which

eventually led to the emergence of different classes. Thus, during the slave society, there emerged two classes, namely the slave owners and the slaves, the former being the dominant class and the latter being the exploited class. Similarly, during the feudal society, there emerged two classes, namely the feudal landlords and the landless serfs or the peasants, the former being the dominant class and the latter being the exploited class. During the capitalist society, the dominant class is the capitalist class which owns all means of production, while the exploited class is the working class. Accordingly, at each stage of development of society, there existed basically two types of classes, such as the exploiters and the exploited. With the emergence of classes, there arose a clash of interests among these classes. At that point, the need was felt for having some organisation to arbitrate and solve these disputes and conflicts. Against this background, the state came into existence. So the Marxist theory regarding the origin of the state puts forward the view that the state is an artificial institution. The state has come into existence to protect the interests of the propertied class. According to the Marxist theory, the state always takes sides with the dominant class which exploits the poorer class.

While discussing the Marxist theory regarding the origin of the state, it is important to mention here that this theory has given emphasis on the difference between the infrastructure or base of the society and the superstructure of the society. Infrastructure or base of the society generally refers to the economic structure of the society which consists of the ownership of means of production. Superstructure generally refers to the other aspects of the society which include social, legal, political, cultural, religious, philosophical and ideological aspects of the society. According to the Marxists, the infrastructure or the economic structure of the society controls all other aspects of the society. The Marxists have argued that the state also belongs to the superstructure and is being controlled by the infrastructure or economic forces of the society. As a result, the state becomes an instrument to serve the interest of the owners of the means of production (who are relatively fewer in number) and protects the ideology

of this class. This eventually leads to the exploitation of the depressed class who do not have the ownership of the means of production. So, according to the Marxist theory, the state becomes a class institution– an institution of the propertied class to protect their own interests.

It is to be mentioned here that the Marxist theory, while discussing the origin of the state, has held the view that the state must wither away to establish a classless society. Since the state is an institution of the propertied class to oppress the poor sections of the society, the propertied class wants the continuation of the state to maintain their supremacy over the exploited class. But, the Marxists are of the view that the state must wither away through proletarian revolution which would lead to the establishment of a classless society.



LET US KNOW

The socialist state as advocated by Karl Marx would use only that much fund as is necessary for covering the administrative costs for running public services, for responding to natural disasters and for supporting those who were physically incapable of working. Having met these expenditures from out of the "proceeds of labour", the state should then go on to share the remaining goods among the workers, with each individual getting as much goods as the amount of labour invested by him or her. Thus, the worker who has worked harder and put in more labour will get a greater share of the proceeds of collective labour than the one who has not worked as hard. This is based on the principle of "each according to deed." Marx believed that private property was the root cause of inequality. Accordingly, in the socialist state, there would be no economic and social inequalities as all properties and means of production would be owned collectively by the state.



ACTIVITY 7.1

Try to find out the names of two important books written by Karl Marx.

……

……



CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Q.1: According to the Marxist theory the state is a natural institution. (True/False)

.....

Q.2: Who is the author of the book "Ancient Society"?

.....

Q.3: The Marxist theory opines that the state is a tool which works for the welfare of all the people of society. (True/False)

.....

Q.4: Write briefly about the concepts of Superstructure and Infrastructure or Base of the society.

.....

7.4 CRITICISMS OF THE MARXIST THEORY

However, the Marxist theory has been criticised from various angles. Some of these criticisms are:

- The Marxist theory is criticised because of its overemphasis on class interest and class differentiation regarding the origin of state. In other words, this theory recognised the economic factor as the most important element which led to the emergence of the state. But critics are of the view that there are other factors too which have contributed to the

emergence of the state and the Marxist theory has ignored these other factors.

- English political philosopher Plamenatz has argued that class came into being only after the emergence of the state. According to him class structure is a post-state phenomenon as against the Marxist view that the emergence of class and class interests has led to the emergence of the state.

- The critics have also criticised the viewpoint of the Marxist theory that the state is only an instrument of exploitation. The critics are of the view that the modern state is a welfare state and its aim is to achieve the welfare of all people irrespective of any class division.

- The Marxist theory has given overemphasis on class struggle. The view point of the Marxist theory that the state would wither away due to the struggle between the two classes of the society, i.e. the bourgeoisie and the proletariat, has not come out to be true.

Despite such criticisms held against the Marxist theory, this theory has its own significance and contribution in explaining the origin of the state.



CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Q.5: Who opined that the class-structure is a post-state phenomenon?

.....

Q.6: Write two criticisms levelled against the Marxist theory regarding the origin of the state.

.....



7.5 LET US SUM UP

- The Marxist theory holds the view that the state is not a natural institution. The state has come into existence to protect and promote the interest of the wealthy class, and not for the welfare of all the people.

- The Marxist theory regarding the origin of the state is mainly associated with eminent scholars like - Friedrich Engels', Karl Marx, V I Lenin, Joseph Stalin, Mao Zedong, Antonio Gramsci and others.

- According to the Marxist theory, state has emerged with the emergence of the private property.

- The Marxist theory believed that during the primitive age "gentes" (smaller kinship groups) constituted the first group or community which in turn constituted "tribes". At that time, this type of social organization did not have the concept of state or authority.

- With the passage of time, the concept of private property came into existence bringing in its train the concept of different classes of people. At each stage of the development of the society, basically there existed classes of two types, the exploiters and exploited.

- According to the Marxist theory, with the emergence of classes, there arose a clash of interests among these classes and at that point there was a necessity to have some organisations that could address these conflicts. Against this background, the state came into existence. So, regarding the origin of the state, the Marxist theory holds the view that the state is an artificial institution which has come into existence to protect the interest of the propertied class.

- While discussing the state, the Marxist theory has given emphasis on the difference between the Infrastructure or Base and the Superstructure of the society. Infrastructure or Base generally refers to the economic structure of the society and superstructure generally refers to the other aspects of the society which include social, legal, political, cultural,

religious, philosophical and ideological aspects of the society. The infrastructure or the economic structure of the society controls all other aspects of the society. The Marxists argued that the state also belongs to the superstructure and is being controlled by the infrastructure or economic forces of the society.

- The Marxist theory also predicts the withering of the state through a proletarian revolution to establish a classless society.

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6. Marx, Karl. The Communist Manifesto.

7.7 ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Ans to Q No 1: False

Ans to Q No 2: Lewis H. Morgan

Ans to Q No 3: False

Ans to Q No 4: Infrastructure or base generally refers to the economic structure of the society which consists of the ownership of the means of

production. Superstructure generally refers to the other aspects of the society that include social, legal, political, cultural, religious, philosophical and ideological aspects of the society. According to the Marxist theory, the infrastructure or the economic structure of the society controls all other aspects of the society.

Ans to Q No 5: Plamenatz

Ans to Q No 6: (i) The Marxist theory is criticised because of its overemphasis on class interest and class differentiation regarding the origin of state. In other words, this theory has recognised the economic factor as the most important element which led to the emergence of the state. But critics are of the view that there are other factors too which have contributed to the emergence of the state and the Marxist theory has ignored these other factors. (ii)The critics have also criticised the viewpoint of the Marxist theory that the state is only an instrument of exploitation. The critics are of the view that the modern state is a welfare state and its aim is to achieve the welfare of all people irrespective of any class division.



7.8 MODEL QUESTIONS

A) Very Short Questions

Q 1: Mention the names of any three supporters of the Marxist theory regarding the origin of the state.

Q 2: Who is the author of the book “The Origin of the Family, Private Property and the State”?

Q 3: What do you mean by the infrastructure of the society?

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

Q 1: Write briefly about the main theme of the Marxist theory regarding the origin of the state.

Q 2: Write briefly about the infrastructure and the superstructure of the society.

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

Q 1: Discuss the Marxist theory regarding the origin of the state. Explain the criticisms levelled against the theory.

Q 2: Explain the meaning of the infrastructure and the superstructure of the society with reference to the Marxist theory regarding the origin the state. Present a critical evaluation of the Marxist theory.

** ** ** **



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Name of the Paper:
Course Code:

Centre for Internal Quality Assurance (CIQA)
Krishna Kanta Handiqui State Open University
City Office, Housefed Complex, Guwahati- 06

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
Housefed Complex, Dispur, Guwahati- 781006
(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?

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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.

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(To be inserted as last page after the end of the last unit of the course)