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Political Sociology

SEMESTER - II

SOCIOLOGY

BLOCK - 2

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MASTER OF ARTS

POLITICAL SOCIALOGY

BLOCK 2
DETAILED SYLLABUS

CONTENTS

		Page
UNIT 8 :	**Antonio Gramsci** State and Civil Society	**1-12**
UNIT 9 :	**Authority and Legitimacy** Meaning and types of authority; meaning, source and types of legitimacy	**13-26**
UNIT 10:	**Elite theory** Meaning of elite and elite theories of power	**27-41**
UNIT 11:	**Social Movements** Definition, types and characteristics of social movements	**42-58**
UNIT 12:	**Political Parties** Definition, origin and characteristics of political parties	**59-74**
UNIT 13:	**Pressure group, interest group and lobbying** Meaning, elements and features of pressure group; meaning and functions of interest group; meaning of lobbying	**75-86**
UNIT 14:	**Social Issues in India** Regionalism, Communalism, ethnicity and multiculturalism	**87-110**
✦ :	**References**	

BLOCK INTRODUCTION

This is the second block of the course. This block consists of seven units.

The first unit of this block is unit 8 which is titled as *Antonio Gramsci* This unit will discuss the relation between state and civil society.

The second unit of this block is Unit 9 which is titled as *Authority and Legitimacy*. This unit will discuss the meaning and types of authority and also the meaning, source and types of legitimacy

The third unit is unit 10 which is titled as *Elite Theory.* This unit will discuss the elite theories of power.

The fourth unit is unit 11, titled as *Social Movements*. This unit will discuss the meaning, types and characteristics of social movements.

The fifth unit is unit 12, titled as *Political Parties.* This unit will discuss the concept, origin and characteristics of political parties.

The sixth unit is unit 13 titled as *Pressure group, interest group and lobbying.* This unit will discuss the meaning, elements and features of pressure group; meaning and functions of interest group; meaning of lobbying

The seventh unit is unit 14 titled as *Social Issues in India.* This unit will discuss Regionalism, Communalism, ethnicity and multiculturalism in India.

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 8 : ANTONIO GRAMSCI

UNIT STRUCTURE

8.1 Learning Objectives

8.2 Introduction

8.3 State and Civil Society

8.3.1 Antonio Gramsci

8.3.2 State and Civil Society

8.4 Concept of Civil Society

8.5 Hegemony and the State

8.6 Let Us Sum Up

8.7 Further Reading

8.8 Answers to Check Your Progress

8.9 Possible Questions

8.1 LEARNING OBJECTIVES

After going through this unit you will be able to:

- explain the concept of hegemony by Antonio Gramsci
- explain Gramsci's views on State and Civil Society
- discuss the concept of civil society by Gramsci
- discuss Gramsci's views on hegemony and the state

8.2 INTRODUCTION

In this unit we shall learn about .one of the most influential neo-Marxist theorist. He had put forward the important concept of hegemony and was a critique of the civil society while offering a critical perspective of the capitalist state.

8.3 STATE AND CIVIL SOCIETY

8.3.1 Antonio Gramsci

Antonio Gramsci (22 January 1891 – 26 April 1936) was an Italian neo-Marxist theorist. He wrote on political theory, sociology and linguistics. He was a founding member and onetime leader of the Communist Party of Italy and was imprisoned by Benito Mussolini's Fascist regime.

His Prison Notebooks are considered a highly original contribution to 20th century political theory. Gramsci drew insights from varying sources not only other Marxists but also thinkers such as Niccolò Machiavelli, Vilfredo Pareto, Georges Sorel and Benedetto Croce. The notebooks cover a wide range of topics, including Italian history and nationalism, the French Revolution, Fascism, Fordism, civil society, folklore, religion and high and popular culture, Gramsci is best known for his theory of cultural hegemony, which describes how states use cultural institutions to maintain power in capitalist societies.

8.3.2 State and Civil Society

According to Gramsci, civil society is the arena which protects the interests of the capitalist class. The methods used to protect the interests of capitalist class are

- State – the state will use force or coercion to protect the interests.
- Civil society- it will use consent which is a better method to that of the method used by the state.

State and civil society both work for capitalist class. Capitalist class at first capture the mode of production and then the state and after capturing all the institutions it will capture the civil society. Civil society is created to hide the exploitation of the capitalist class done through the capitalist state. The working class believes that capitalist state is good as they could not realise the exploitations done on them because of the pressure of civil society which results in suppression of any kind of revolution. The capitalists

use civil society institutions in order to create hegemonic control over all classes of society.

The basic premise of the theory of hegemony is one with which few would disagree: that man is not ruled by force alone, but also by ideas. "The foundation of a ruling class," he wrote, "is equivalent to the creation of a Weltanschauung." (Weltanschauung- "world view")Marx had observed that "the ruling ideas of each age have ever been the ideas of its ruling class." Gramsci, however, found this fact much more suggestive than had Marx, for whom it was but a corollary of economic theory.

The concept of hegemony is associated with imposition of values by the dominant class by artificially creating consent. It means that in a culturally diverse society, the ruling class (the bourgeoisie) tries to dominate the same by trying to impose its own ideas, values, beliefs and mores by way of manipulation. Subsequently, the world view of the ruling class becomes the dominant ideology which is to be followed by all sections.



CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Q. 1: Who is the author of "Prison Notebooks" ?

Q 2: Antonio Gramsci was a founding member and one-time leader of the Communist Party of……..(Fill in the blanks)

Q. 3: According to Gramsci, a civil society is the arena which protects the interests of the capitalist class. (True/False)

Q.4: Mention the two methods used by the capitalists to protect their interests.

8.4 THE CONCEPT OF CIVIL SOCIETY

Gramsci's thinking was rooted in Marx and Lenin. He made all the Marxist assumptions about the material origins of class and the role of class struggle and consciousness in social change. He also took Marx's notion of bourgeous "hegemony" in civil society as expressed by Marx and Engels in The German Ideology (1845-46, in Tucker 1968, 162-164). He made it a central theme of his own version of the functioning of the capitalist system. This hegemony, in Gramscian terms, meant the ideological predominance of bourgeois values and norms over the subordinate classes : it is, in the words of one anlyst, "an order in which a certain way of life and thought is dominant, in which one concept of reality is diffused throughout society in all its institutional and private manifestations, informing with its spirit all taste, morality, customs, religious and political principles, and social relations, particularly in their intellectual and moral connotations"(Williams, in Miliband 1963,162)

According to Gramsci, the institutions of civil society like family, school and church familiarise the citizens with the rules of behaviour and teach them to show respect to the authority of the ruling classes. It was in his concept of civil society and his elevation of bourgeois hegemony to a predominant place in the science of politics that Gramsci went beyond Marx, Engels, Lenin, and Trotsky. In so doing, he emphasized much more than earlier writers about the role of the superstructure in perpetuating classes and preventing the development of class consciousness(Texier, in Mouffe 1969). He saur the state promoting a single (bourgeois) concept of reality and therefore, the state plays a more extensive role in perpetuating class. Gramsci gave the mass of workers more credit than Lenin for being able to develop class consciousness themselves, but at the same time he also saw the obstacles to consciousness as more formidable in western society than Lenin had imagined ; it was not merely lack of understanding of their position in the economic process that kept workers from comprehending their class role, nor was it only the "private" institutions of society, such as

religion, that were responsible for keeping the working class from self-realization, but it was the state itself that was involved in reproducing the relations of production. In other words, the state was much more than the coercive apparatus of the bourgeoisie; the state included the hegemony of the bourgeoisie in the superstructure.

These notions emerge more clearly when we understand the differences between the concepts of civil society and the state as used by "naturalists" like Locke and Rousseau, and those of Hegel, Marx and Engels. The naturalists view saw civil society as the reign of order over a state of nature in which men found themselves in some pre-state society. Civil society meant an organization of individuals beyond the family, production, etc., into a collective entity governed by laws. Men voluntarily entered this collective organisation. Civil society, then, was the state of nature organized and ordered by the collective will – by the state. And under some interpretation civil society could even be regarded as the State itself.

Hegel, on the other hand, called civil society the pre political society, that which the naturalists had named the state of nature. For Hegel, the civil society was the reign of "dissoluteness, misery, and physical and ethical corruption" (Hegel, in Mouffe 1969,28), just the opposite of the naturalist conception. Hegel's civil society had to be regulated and dominated by the superior intellectual capacity of the state, which was the highest form of man's ethical and moral order. The Marxian concept of civil society as the structural moment can be considered as the point of departure of Gramsci's analysis. But Gramci's theory according to Bobbio (1969), introduced a profound innovation in the Marxist tradition; civil society in Gramsci does not belong to the structural moment, but to the superstructural one.

For both Marx and Gramsci, civil society is the key factor in understanding capitalist development, but for Marx civil society is structure (relation in production). For Gramsci, on the other hand, it is superstructure that represents the active and positive factor in historical development.

8.5 HEGEMONY AND THE STATE

Hegemony is a crucial concept in the Gramscian system. But its important also derives from the historical situation of Italy in the 1920s.Hegemony means the ideological predominance of the dominant classes in civil society over the subordinate.

Gramsci's originality as a Marxist lay partly in his conception of the nature of bourgeois rule (and indeed of any previous established social order), in his argument that the system's real strength does not lie in the violence of the ruling class or the coercive power of its state apparatus, but in the acceptance by the ruled of a "conception of the world" which belongs to the rulers. Bobbic(1969) argues that Gramsci inverts traditional Marxist theory in two ways : first, Gramsci emphasizes the primacy of the ideological superstructures over the economic structure; second, he emphasizes the primacy of civil society (consensus) over political society (force). Although for both Marx and Gramsci, the civil society is fundamental to understanding the capitalist relations and their reproduction. Bobbic suggests that for Gramsci, it is superstructure that represents the active and positive factor in historical development; rather than economic structure.

For Gramsci neither force nor any of the logic of capitalist production could explain the consent that production enjoyed among the subordinate classes. Rather, the explanation for this consent lay in the power of consciousness and ideology. But, at the same time, in that very consciousness lay the foundations of a strategy for gaining the active consent of the masses through their self organization, starting from civil society, and in all the hegemonic apparatuses – from the factory to the school and the family.

Gramsci's concept of hegemony has two main principal meanings: first, it is a process in civil society whereby a fraction of the dominant class exercises control through its moral and intellectual leadership over the dominated classes.

Second, it is a relationship between the dominant and dominated classes. Hegemony involves the successful attempts of the dominant class to use its political, moral, and intellectual leadership to establish its view of the world as all-inclusive and universal, and to shape the interest and needs of subordinate groups.

We can begin to understand Gramsci's analysis of the state, the role of intellectuals (and education) in the superstructure (and therefore in the process of historical change) and his view of the strategy necessary to replace the bourgeois state(and civil society) in Western Europe with a proletarian hegemony.

For Gramsci, the state as superstructure becomes a primary rather than a secondary variable in understanding capitalist society. Furthermore, he incorporated the apparatus of hegemony in the state as well as civil society, thereby expanding it beyond the Marxist-Leninist conception of the state as a coercive instrument of the bourgeoisie. Thus, the state is, at one and the same time, a primary instrument for the expansion of dominant class power and a coercive force(political society) that keeps subordinate groups weak and disorganized.

We are still on the terrain of the identification of state and government — an identification which is precisely a representation of the economic-corporate form, in other words the confusion between civil society and political society. For it should be remarked that the general notion of the State includes elements which need to be referred back to the notion of civil society (in the sense that one mighty say that State = political society + civil society, in other words hegemony protected by the armour of coercion). (Gramsci 1961,263)

This is one view of what Gramsci meant by the state and its role in dominant-class hegemony. However, as Anderson (1966) has shown, there are several definitions of hegemony and the state's place in it appearing in the Prison Notebooks. In the first "oscillation," the opposition is between

the state and civil society; hegemony (direction) pertains to civil society and coercion (domination) to the state. There is a contrast between civil society and the state – the dominant group exercises hegemony through society and direct domination through the state and its juridicial government. The dominant class gains consent to its social domination through hegemony in the society as whole, but exercises domination through the control of the state's coercive apparatuses. "The state is the entire complex of practical and theoretical activities with which the ruling class not only justifies and maintains the domination, but manages to win the active consent of those whom it rules" (Gramsci 1961,244)

In the second definition , the state includes civil society; it encompasses civil society. "The General notion of the state includes elements which need to be referred back to the notion of civil society (in the sense that one might say that the state = political society + civil society, in other words hegemony armoured with coercion) (Anderson 1966, 12-13). In that case, hegemony is not a pole of consent in contrast to another of coercion, but as a synthesis of consent and coercion. Hegemony is no longer confined to civil society but is also located in the state a as "political hegemony," contrasted with "civil hegemony." Thus, hegemony is everywhere, but in different forms; the state becomes an apparatus of hegemony, encompassing civil society and only distinguished from it by the coercive apparatuses pertaining only to the state.

In the third definition, the state and the civil society are identical, thus, consent and coersion become co-extensive with the state and hegemony is inseperable from the state apparatuses themselves. There is no longer a distribution of hegemony between civil society and political society. State and civil society both are merged into a larger unity and the state is the same as the social formation itself, including governmental and various private apparatuses. As we will see, it is this last definition that Althusser uses in his "ideological state apparatuses": all ideological and political superstructures – including the family, trade unions, reformists

political parties, and private media- are by definition state apparatuses, or – to put in another way – are hegemonic apparatuses.

In the next conception of the state, we see that it is part of dominant class hegemony. In this definition, Gramsci viewed the state as an extension of the hegemonic apparatus – as part of the system developed by the bourgeoise to perpetuate and expand their control of society in the context of class struggle. The incorporation of the state into dominant class hegemony emerged, according to him, from the nature of the bourgeois class itself – from the fact that the had constituted itself as an organism of continous movement, capable of absorbing and culturally transforming the entire society.

All of this suggests that Gramsci's view of the state was principally ideological, that it was a hegemonic apparatus that arose from the conception of the bourgeois class as a potentially totally inclusive group, and hence to a system of laws and norms that treated individuals as if they were going to be incorporated into the bourgeoisie.

Nevertheless, the importance of the state as an apparatus of hegemony is for Gramsci still rooted in the class structure, a class structure defined by and tied to the relations in production.Gramsci raises man's thought (consciousness) to a newly prominent place in the "Philosophy of Praxis" (as he calls Marxism). Control of consciousness is as much or more an area of political struggle as control of the forces of production.



CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Q. 5: Gramsci viewed the state as an extension of the hegemonic apparatus.(True/False)

……

Q. 6: State and civil society both work for the capitalist class. (True/ False)

Q. 6: What is hegemony?

.....

.....

.....

.....



8.6. LET US SUM UP

- Antonio Gramsci was born on 22 January 1891.
- He was an Italian neo Marxist theorist and politician.
- He wrote on political theory, sociology and linguistics.
- He was a founding member and onetime leader of the Communist Party of Italy and was imprisoned by Benito Mussolini's Fascist regime.
- According to Gramsci, civil society is the arena which protects the interest of the capitalist class.
- State and civil society both work for capitalist class.
- Capitalist class at first capture the mode of production and then the state and after capturing all the institutions it will capture the civil society.
- Gramsci's thinking was rooted in Marx and Lenin.
- He also took Marx's notion of bourgeous "hegemony" in civil society as expressed by Marx and Engels in The German Ideology
- The naturalists view saw civil society as the reign of order over a state of nature in which men found themselves in some pre-state society. Civil society meant an organization of individuals beyond the family, production, etc.
- Hegel, on the other hand, called civil society the pre political society, that which the naturalists had named the state of nature.

- Gramsci viewed the state as an extension of the hegemonic apparatus.
- Gramsci raises man's thought (consciousness) to a newly prominent place in the "Philosophy of Praxis" (as he calls Marxism).



8.7. FURTHER READING

- Gauba, O.P., An Introduction to Political Theory, Macmillan Publishers Pvt. Ltd., 2012.
- Jha, Shefali, Western Political Thought – From Plato to Marx, Pearson, 2010.



8.8. ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Ans to Q No 1: Antonio Gramsci .

Ans to Q No 2: True

ns to Q No 3: He was a founding member and onetime leader of the Communist Party of Italy.

Ans to Q No 4: State and Civil Society

Ans to Q No 5: True

Ans to Q No 6: True

Ans to Q No 6 : Hegemony is a crucial concept in the Gramscian system. But its important also derives from the historical situation of Italy in the 1920s.Hegemony means the ideological predominance of the dominant classes in civil society over the subordinate.

8.9. POSSIBLE QUESTIONS

Q 1: Name a work of Gramsci.

Q 2: What is Civil Society according to Gramsci?

Q 3: What is hegemony according to Gramsci ?

Q4: Discuss Gramsci"s Concept of Hegemonic State.

Q5: Discuss Gramsci's views on civil society.

Q 6: Explain Gramsci's views on Hegemony and the State

*** ***** ***

UNIT 9: AUTHORITY AND LEGITIMACY

UNIT STRUCTURE

9.1 Learning Objective

9.2 Definitions of Authority

9.3 Types of Authority

9.4 Characteristics of Authority

9.5 Legitimacy and its meaning

9.6 Source and types of legitimacy

9.7 Let us sum up

9.8 Further Reading

9.9 Answers to check your progress

9.10 Possible Questions

9.1 LEARNING OBJECTIVES

After going through this unit you will be able to-

- understand the meaning and concept of authority.
- understand Weber's classification of authority.
- understand legitimacy and its meaning.
- identify the sources and types of legitimacy.

9.2 DEFINITIONS OF AUTHORITY

Politics is traditionally concerned with the exercise of power but more often it is narrowly interested in the phenomenon called 'authority' or 'political authority'. The exercise of authority is a constant and wide-spread phenomenon in human society. Human society maintains itself through 'order' and it is authority which works as the foundation of 'social order'. In all kind of organizations, whether political or non-political, there is always the presence of 'authority'. Hence, it is difficult to assume authority as a completely political phenomenon. Every association in human society has its own structure of authority irrespective of its size or duration.

In its broadest sense, authority is a form of power; it is a means through which one person can influence the behaviour of another. Power and authority are distinguished from one another as contrasting means through which compliance or obedience is achieved. Power can be defined as the ability to influence the behaviour of another and authority can be understood as the right to do so. Power brings about compliance through persuasion, pressure, threats, coercion or violence. Authority, on the other hand, is based upon a perceived 'right to rule' and brings about compliance through a moral obligation on the part of the ruled to obey. Sociologists distinguish power as legitimate and illegitimate. According to them, legitimate power is authority and thus legitimacy is the basis of authority.

The following are some definitions of authority provided by different social scientists-

- E. A. Shils (1910-1995), in the *Dictionary of Sociology* defined it as – "Authority is that form of power that orders or articulates the actions of other actors through commands which are effective because those who are commended regards the commands as legitimate."
- Robert Michels (1876-1936), in the *Encyclopaedia of the Social Sciences* defines authority as "the capacity, innate or acquired, for exercising ascendancy over a group."
- Max Weber (1864-1920) used the term 'authority' to refer to legitimise power.
- According to Bertrand De Jouvenel (1903-1987), "Authority is the faculty of inducing assent. To follow an authority is a voluntary act. Authority ends, where voluntary assent ends."

In Weber's view, authority is linked with power and legitimate use of power alone is authority. Hence, every use of power cannot be called authority. Authority runs the society and brings stability to it.

9.3 TYPES OF AUTHORITY

There are two major approaches to the interpretation of authority. The first is the 'broad and elastic' approach, wherein authority is perceived as any system of power or social control that is regarded as legitimate by the people who are involved in the process. This approach sees authority as a universal phenomenon, coextensive with organised society and which covers within its sphere radically divergent types of relationships.

The second approach is widely recognized in western legal and political philosophy, especially with regard to the theories of the modern state. According to this approach, the nature of authority defines the specific nature of the relationship between the 'ruler' and 'ruled'. According to Talcott Parsons (1902-1979), the tern 'authority' covers only those power relationships which are legitimate.

WEBER'S CLASSIFICATION OF AUTHORITY

Modern sociologists have approached the concept of authority from a different angle. German sociologist, Max Weber, considers authority as a form of power, a 'legitimate power'. He analyses it as a matter of people's belief about its legitimacy. Weber was concerned with explaining why and under what circumstances, people were prepared to accept the exercise of power as rightful or legitimate. In other words, he defined authority simply as a matter of people's belief about its rightfulness, regardless of where that belief came from and whether or not it is morally justified. Weber identified and characterised three types of legitimate authority which also corresponds to three types of dominance or leadership. They are –

- Traditional authority,
- Charismatic authority and
- Rational-legal authority.

- **Traditional Authority**

Weber defined traditional authority as “the domination which rests upon piety for what actually or allegedly or presumably existed.” In this type of authority, one who holds and exercises authority claims to derive from old traditions and is the most common form of legitimate authority. People obey traditional authority because it has always been that way. For instance people obey a king or a ruler as they are aware of the fact that their past generations did the same and this obedience gave their society order and continuity. Hence, in this context, tradition and the stability of social order are both related to the acceptance of traditional authority. According to Weber, “here the obligation of obedience is not based on impersonal order, but is a matter of personal loyalty within the area of accustomed obligation.”

In a political system based on traditional authority, power is legitimised by ancient customs. Unwritten laws and sacred qualities are major characteristics of the authority of a traditional ruler. Tribal leaders and monarchs have always relied on traditional authority. and therefore it is the most common source of the legitimisation of power from a historical perspective.

Exercise of traditional authority is more common in organisations such as established churches, the higher reaches of government, courts and familial organisations based on kinship ties etc as these organisations stress upon continuity with the past and the upholding of widely shared values and beliefs.

- **Charismatic Authority**

In the words of Weber, “Charismatic authority shall hence refer to a rule over men, whether predominantly external or internal, to which the governed submit because of their belief in the extraordinary quality of a specific person.” Charismatic authority is not based on any legal or traditional system. On the other hand, in the systems where this kind of authority

prevails, power is legitimised by unusual, exceptional or even supernatural qualities that people attribute to particular political, religious or military leaders. According to Weber, "It is the charismatically qualified leader as such who is obeyed by virtue of personal trust in him and his revelations, his heroism or his exemplary qualities so far as they fall within the scope of the individual's belief in charisma." It is the extra-ordinary qualities of a person which attract others irrespective of the fact whether these qualities are actual or alleged or presumed.

Hero worshipping is the basis of legitimacy in this kind of authority. Charismatic authority is inherently unstable and it is not managed according to rules or traditions. It disappears as soon as the charismatically qualified person disappears. Charismatic authority is always personal where the personal qualities of a leader alone matter. It is also not bound to the existing order.

- **Rational-legal Authority**

In rational-legal authority, power is legitimised by explicit rules and procedures which define the rights and obligations of the rulers. A written constitution or a set of laws define those rules and procedures. Rational-legal authority puts more emphasis on the government of laws and not of people. Tradition or personal charisma do not play important role in this kind of authority. For instance, the authority of the Prime Minister or the President in a democratic state comes from the political post he/she holds and not because of personal charisma or qualities. According to Weber, "It extends to the person exercising the authority of office under it only by virtue of the formal legality of their commands and only within the scope of authority of office."

Rational-legal authority is commonly found in the political systems of modern societies. In every modern state, certain positions are created for the smooth functioning of the government and each position is designated with certain legal powers so that holders of such positions can use those

powers to perform the functions and responsibilities associated with it. It is also expected from the person with authority that that they use this authority within prescribed limits.



CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Q1. Fill in the blanks:

a. Politics is traditionally concerned with.....

b. ..... is the basis of legitimacy of charismatic authority.

Q2. What is traditional authority, according to Max Weber?

9.4 CHARACTERISTICS OF AUTHORITY

The following are the major characteristics of authority-

- Legitimacy: This determines the effectiveness of authority. Hence, it is the hallmark of the concept of authority. Authority is accepted when it has legitimacy, that is to say it implies a right to obtain or secure a certain performance from others. Such rights may be legal or formal, or it may be supported by tradition, custom or accepted as a standard of authenticity. According to Robert A. Dahl (1915-2014), "A commands B and B feels A has perfect right to do so and he has a complete obligation to obey. Power of this kind is often said to be legitimate. But when B feels A has absolutely no right to ask him to obey, which he has no obligation to obey, and which perhaps, he actually has an obligation to resist. Power of this kind is often said to be illegitimate. Legitimate power is often called authority".

- Dominance: Authority is the capacity of the individual to command others. An individual or a group which possesses authority exercises *dominance* over other individuals. Authority is a command from a superior to a subordinate.

- An Informal Power: This is not formal power as it lacks the characteristics which are the main features of power. According to Carl J. Fredrick

(1901-1984) "Authority is not a power but something that accompanies power." It is the quality in men and things which add to their power, something which creates power but is not power itself. Authority, being legitimate is based on consent and thus commands more respect than the illegal force exercised by intruders, thieves or dacoits. Therefore, authority itself is not power, rather it is the embodiment of a reason for wielding or exercising power.

- Accountability: The individual or a group of individuals who possess authority are responsible to some higher authority. In a democratic system, accountability is the most significant characteristic of authority.

- Rationality: This is the main characteristic of authority. In the words of Fredrick, 'The man who has authority possesses something that I would describe as the capacity for reasoned elaboration for giving convincing reasons for what he does or proposes to have others do." The basis of authority, thus, is logic or reason.

- Subjectivity in implementation: Though authority has an element of objectivity about it, its exercise is significantly influenced by subjective factors, such as the personality of the individual who is empowered to use it and also of the subordinate or group of subordinates with reference to whom it is to be exercised.

- Decision-Making: It is a prerequisite of authority. An individual with authority can command his/her subordinates to act or abstain from acting in a particular manner only when he/she has made decisions regarding the course of activities to be performed by them.

9.5 LEGITIMACY AND ITS MEANING

Legitimacy is an important topic in political philosophy. The word 'legitimacy' has been derived from the Latin word 'legitimas' which was used during the middle ages and was interpreted as 'lawful'. To denote the power constituted by law, Cicero (106BC-43BC) used the word 'legitimate'.

Later, the word 'legitimate' was used for traditional procedures, constitutional principles and adaptations to principles. The element of 'consent' was added to its meaning much later and it was considered as the essence of legitimate rule. Political legitimacy is considered a basic condition for governing, without which a government will suffer legislative deadlocks and collapse. The enlightenment-era British social philosopher John Locke (1632–1704) said that political legitimacy derives from popular explicit and implicit consent of the governed.

Legitimacy is commonly defined in political science and sociology as the belief that a rule, institution, or leader has the right to govern. When shared by many individuals, legitimacy produces distinctive collective effects in society, including making collective social order more efficient, more consensual, and perhaps more just. According to Tom Tyler, "If authorities are not viewed as legitimate, social regulation is more difficult and costly". This accounts for the interest rulers show in legitimating their rule. Legitimation is the process by which actors strive to create legitimacy for a rule or ruler, where legitimacy as a belief is a subjective and an individualistic quality. Thus, legitimation is a process that is inherently social and political. Actors and institutions constantly work to legitimize their power and challengers work to delegitimize it. Legitimation is often done by justifying the existence of rulers or their rules in terms of important normative principles of the society. Legitimacy itself is a fundamentally subjective and normative concept. It exists only in the beliefs of an individual about the rightfulness of rule. It is distinct from legality in the sense that not all legal acts are necessarily legitimate and not all legitimate acts are necessarily legal. One would hope for a close coincidence between the two, but it is conceptually necessary to keep the two separate. The possibility always exists that rulers might impose laws which the followers find illegitimate, and this possibility ensures that the two concepts cannot be reduced to one. Moreover, to say what is legal to be the same as what is legitimate means that the government would have the power to control the categories of legitimate and illegitimate and what they entail.

In modern times, it was Max Weber who first projected the concept of legitimacy as a universal concept. According to him, legitimacy is based on belief and it gets obedience from the people. He also argues that power can be effective only if it is legitimate. Power should be based on legitimacy; otherwise it would invite trouble and may prove itself ineffective. In democracy the importance of legitimacy is not less because democracy is based on consent. It cannot be forced on people against their will.



CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Q3. Mention any two characteristics of authority.

Q4. What is the common definition of legitimacy in political science and sociology?

9.6 SOURCES AND TYPES OF LEGITIMACY

- Sources of Legitimacy:

According to Max Weber, there are three sources of legitimacy-and they are:-

- Tradition: Legitimacy derives from societal custom and habit that emphasize the history of the authority of tradition. Traditionalists understand this form of rule as historically accepted and hence its continuity; because it is the way society has always been. Therefore, the institutions of traditional government usually are historically continuous, as in monarchy and tribalism.

- Exceptional Personal Qualities: Legitimacy can also be based on devotion to the specific and exceptional sanctity or exemplary character of an individual person. In other words, legitimacy may derive from the ideas and personal charisma of a leader, a person whose authoritative persona charms and psychologically dominates the people of the society to agree with the government's regime and rule.

- Legality: Legitimacy may also derive from the belief that power is wielded in a way that is legal. What is done legally is regarded as legitimate. It is derived from a system of institutional procedure.

Grace A. Jones has mentioned the following sources of legitimacy in the context of British political systems. They are-

- Continuity with the political and social institutions,
- Tradition of non-violence,
- Religious beliefs,
- Beliefs in values,
- Electoral process, liberty and unanimity,
- Coordinated and integrated society and continuity of its traditions and
- Adaptive political culture.

According to Carl J. Friedrich (1901-1984), a German-American political theorist, the sources of legitimacy are-

- Religious,
- Philosophical and juristic,
- Procedural and
- Empirical.

Legitimacy is not a mere abstract or moral feeling. It is something related with the entire political system. It is the soul of democracy which enables a ruler to govern with minimum political resources.

- Types of Legitimacy:

According to David Easton (1917-2014), a Canadian born American political scientist, there are three types of legitimacy-

- Ideological Legitimacy: Ideological legitimacy is when the source of legitimacy is the prevailing ideology of a society. A political system is in fact an articulated set of ideals, ends and purposes which help members

tointerpret the past, explain the present and provide a vision for the future. The ideology portrays the aims and objectives of a particular political system.

- Structural Legitimacy: This includes principles which lead members in a particular system to accept as legitimate and contribute to the validation of structures and norms of the regime. Every political system sets some goals, on the basis of which authority is exercised and political power is wielded. This basis of validation is termed as structural legitimacy.

- Personal Legitimacy: If the behaviour and personality of those at the helm of affairs is of a dominating importance and if the members consider these authorities as trust-worthy, this is known as personal legitimacy. David Easton is of the view that a large class of leaders, regardless of any inner conviction or outer recognition as such by followers, manage to build up a belief in their legitimacy.



CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Q5. What are the sources of legitimacy, according to Carl J. Friedrich?

Q6. What are the types of legitimacy, according to David Easton?



9.7 LET US SUM UP

- Authority and its exercise is a constant and widespread phenomenon in human society.
- It works as a foundation in maintaining social order.
- It is a form of power, a means through which one can influence the behaviour of others.
- Sociologists define authority as legitimate power.
- Legitimacy is the basis of authority.

- In Weber's view, every use of power cannot be called authority. Only the legitimate use of power is authority.
- It maintains stability in society.
- Max Weber identified and characterised three types of legitimate authority.
- They are- traditional authority, charismatic authority and rational-legal authority.
- Traditional authority is derived from old traditions.
- In charismatic authority, power is legitimised by unusual, exceptional or even supernatural qualities (actual, alleged or presumed) that people attribute to particular political, religious or military leaders.
- In rational-legal authority, power is legitimised by explicit rules and procedures which define the rights and obligations of the rulers.
- The main characteristics of authority are – legitimacy, dominance, informal power, accountability, rationality, subjectivity in implementation and decision-making.
- Legitimacy is commonly defined in political science and sociology as the belief that a rule, institution, or leader has the right to govern.
- According to Weber, power should be based on legitimacy; otherwise it would invite trouble and may prove itself ineffective.
- Weber identified three sources of legitimacy – tradition, exceptional personal qualities and legality.
- David Easton classified legitimacy into three groups- ideological legitimacy, structural legitimacy and personal legitimacy.

9.8 FURTHER READING

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

Bottomore, T.B.(1980).*Political Sociology.*HarperCollins Publishers.

9.9 ANSWER TO CHECK PROGRESS QUESTIONS

Answer to **Q1. Fill in the blanks:**

a. Politics is traditionally concerned with the exercise of power.
b. Hero worshipping is the basis of legitimacy of charismatic authority.

Answer to **Q2.** According to Max Weber, "Traditional authority is domination which rests upon piety for what actually or allegedly or presumably existed."

Answer to **Q3.** Legitimacy and dominance.

Answer to **Q4.** Legitimacy is commonly defined in political science and sociology as the belief that a rule, institution, or leader has the right to govern.

Answer to **Q5.** According to Carl J. Friedrich, the sources of legitimacy are – religious, philosophical and juristic, procedural and empirical.

Answer to **Q6.** According to David Easton, there are three types of legitimacy – ideological, structural and personal.

9.10 POSSIBLE QUESTIONS

1. Answer in one or two words:

a) In which year Bertrand De Jouvenel was born?
b) Name any two sources of legitimacy, mentioned by Grace A. Jones.

2. Write short notes (within 150 words):

a) Charismatic authority.

b) Ideological legitimacy.

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

a) Discuss Weber's classification of authority.

b) What is legitimacy? Discuss about its types.

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UNIT 10: ELITE THEORY

UNIT STRUCTURE

10.1 Learning Objectives

10.2 Meaning of Elite

10.3 Elite Theories

10.3.1. Elite Theory of Pareto

10.3.2. Elite Theory of Mosca

10.3.3. Elite Theories of Burnham, Mills and Mannheim

10.4 Comparison Between Elite Theory and Pluralist Theory

10.5 Elitist Perspective of Democracy and Decision-making

10.6 Let Us sum up

10.7 Further Reading

10.8 Answer to check your progress

10.9 Posible Questions

10.1 LEARNING OBJECTIVES

After reading this chapter, you will be able to -

- understand the origin, meaning and concept of elite.
- understand different theories developed around the concept of elite
- identify the similarities and dissimilarities among these theories.
- understand the differences between elite theory and pluralist theory.
- understand the views of elite perspective on democracy and decision making.
- understand the criteria of criticism of elite perspective on democracy.

10.2 MEANING OF ELITE

The term Elite is derived from Latin word ‘Eligere’ which means to choose or pick. The term ‘elite’ was first used in Military administration as a choice of persons and it was used to mean ‘choice’ in the 14th century and ‘best of the best’ by the 15th century. The term elite was introduced to describe a standard of excellence and later extended to refer to superior

social groups such as highly successful military units and the upper ranks of the aristocracy.

The concept of elite is not new as is evident in the writings of Plato and Aristotle. The term Elite is used in different contexts under varied conditions for identifying its nature and role in the respective political system. However, it received serious attention during 19th century because of two Italian contributors, viz., Vilfredo Pareto, a sociologist and Gaetano Mosca, a political scientist. Social scientists like Robert Michaels (1876-1936), Harold Lasswell (1902-1978), James Burnham, C.Wright Mills and Ortega Gasset (1883-1955) have developed 'Elite Theory' based on sociological, psychological and economic dimensions. Karl Mannheim, Anthony Downs and Joseph Schumpeter are other leading exponents, who further developed this theory under different political systems.

Elites are those people who perform key roles in the governing of a society. They make decisions as well as influence the whole decision making process at both national and local levels of government. They also occupy significant positions of authority in large institutions. The presence of elites is common in all political systems regardless of location, time and culture. An 'elite' can be a nobleman, the clergy, a business leader, a bureaucrat or a democratically elected official.

10.3 ELITE THEORIES

In this context, we will mainly focus on elite theories developed by Vilfredo Pareto and Gaetano Mosca. Along with these two, elite theories of some other thinkers will also be discussed.

10.3.1 ELITE THEORY OF PARETO (1848-1923)

Vifredo Pareto, an Italian sociologist, was regarded as a major exponent of elite theory. In his book, 'The Mind and Society' (1916), Pareto developed this theory and the circulation of elites. He applied socio-psychological factors to identify 'elites' and their nature. According to Pareto,

the marked degrees of quality differ from person to person in every society. He believed that in every civilized society, very few people have such inherent quality or marked excellence. In his opinion, people are born unequal everywhere both physically and mentally with regard to their abilities and capacities. Thus he made social stratification and class distinction on the basis of psychological traits such as a superior class of people he called 'elites' and the inferior ones as non-elites.

According to Pareto, "By elite we mean the small number of individuals who in each sphere of activity have succeeded and have arrived at a higher echelon in the professional hierarchy." He defines elites as superior classes of people, who are according to Pareto, the best in a particular field or branch in each sphere and they influence civil society to a large extent. Pareto advised elites, who were sizeable in number, to possess certain qualities to remain or maintain themselves in power. Pareto called these qualities 'residues' which are essential for elites to assume top positions in a civilised society.

These qualities are-

- Persistence of aggregates,
- Sociability,
- Activity,
- Integrity,
- Sex
- Instinct of combinations.

Regarding the nature of human society, Pareto endorsed Machiavellian views. In his opinion, man is guided by sentiments and passions and is thus a creature of impulses and instincts. Every society has two types of individuals and he referred them as 'foxes' and 'lions'. Those individuals are referred to as foxes that are bold and courageous but not cautious, yet use their cunning traits to survive. In contrast, those

referred to as lions are strong, conservative, tradition loving, orthodox and loyal to the ideals of family, religion and country.

Pareto divided civil society into two categories- (1) governing and (2) non-governing elites. On the basis of this categorisation, Pareto further discussed the circulation of elites and the nature of governing elites in a civil society. He argues that the residues of foxes believe in cunningness but hesitate to use force and lack loyalty and hence they are unable to form a stable society. On the other hand, residues of lions possess strong loyalty towards family, tribe, state, and nation. They rely more on force which will enable them to overthrow the regime of foxes and establish their rule. But the rule of lions will not last long as society is dynamic and requires innovativeness. Hence, foxes will establish their rule once again and this process will continue. According to Pareto, "history is a graveyard of numerous fallen elites". Hence, it is necessary to combine the residues of the elements of the fox and the lion to have a strong and stable society.

10.3.2 ELITE THEORY OF MOSCA (1858-1941)

Gaetano Mosca, another Italian political scientist developed his version of elite theory in his book, 'The Ruling Class' (1939). According to Mosca, 'Elites in a society were nothing other than a ruling class'. He divided society into two – the ruling and the ruled class. The ruling class holds an elite status due to its ability in an organization and thus the elites are organised minorities in a society. On the contrary, the ruled classes are the majority in number and are unorganised. The ruling class performs all political functions, monopolizes power and enjoys the advantages. But the ruled class is directed and controlled by the ruling class in a manner that is more or less legal, now more arbitrary and violent.

Mosca, firmly believes that an elite holds power in an organization on the basis of ability and aptitude to command and exercise political control. Once the ruling class loses the aptitude to rule, command and control, there is the possibility of the replacement of elites. In this way, Mosca admits

the circulation of the elites as advocated by Pareto. In his opinion, the elites who do not adapt to changing conditions and fail to solve emerging or new problems or interests are likely to be replaced by the new one.

10.3.3 ELITE THEORIES OF BURNHAM, MILLS AND MANNHEIM

Apart from Pareto and Mosca, many others have developed elite theory in their respective fields of study. Here, we will very briefly discuss three of those theories developed by James Burnham, C. Wright Mills and Karl Mannheim.

ELITE THEORY OF JAMES BURNHAM (1905-1987)

James Burnham's "Managerial Revolution" adopts an economic approach to identify elitism. According to Burnham, the power of the elite depends upon a degree of control over the principal means of production and distribution. On the basis of such control, an 'elite' manages to get preferential treatment in society and is able to prevent the rest from enjoying the same position in society. He explained that the capitalist system would be replaced by a society that is controlled economically and politically by a managerial-elite as the capitalist means had passed the control of business to professional managers. Thus this managerial revolution ultimately leads to the consolidation of managerial power as the state takes over the industry and the 'manager' and the 'bureaucrat' become interchangeable.

ELITE THEORY OF C. WRIGHT MILLS (1916-1962)

According to Mills, "Elites are those who hold the leading positions in the strategic hierarchies". The basis of elite power is both economic and social and those who occupy top positions in institutions are power elites. He was concerned with power and rule and in his opinion power is an attribute of institutions. Mills adopted 'Institutional Power Approach' to study the elites in his book 'Power Elites' (1959). According to him, it is the power in an institution that determines the position, status, authority and influence of the elite in a modem society. The institutional power determines the role

of elites and further empowers them to determine or fix the role of others in a contemporary society.

ELITE THEORY OF KARL MANNHEIM (1893-1947)

Mannheim argues that the nature of society remains democratic, even though policy and decision making remains in the hand of chosen elites. He proposed a method to narrow the gap between elites and the masses for stable governance. He insists that selection of elites must be on the basis of merit and the distance between elites and masses should be minimised in order to ensure compatibility between elite rule and government.



CHECK YOUR PROGRESS:

Q1. Fill in the blanks:

a. 'Managerial Revolution' is associated with.....

b. The term elite is derived from.....

c. Vilfredo Pareto was born in the year.....

Q2. Who is the author of the book 'Power Elites'?

Q3. What is Pareto's definition of elite?

Q4. Who adopted 'Institutional Power Approach" to study the elites?

10.4 COMPARISON BETWEEN ELITE THEORY AND PLURALIST THEORY

The following are the major areas of differences between elite theory and pluralist theory-

- Elite theory differs from pluralist theory mainly in its identification of the ruling minority. The elitist perspective asserts that the government is

managed by the few or the eiltes. According to this theory, they hold power because of their control over key financial, communicational, industrial and governmental institutions. On the contrary, pluralism often relies on group analysis. According to pluralism, people with similar interests form interest groups mostly along economic, religious, ethnic or cultural lines. A government is formed by people operating through competing interest groups. The pluralist perspective favours a decentralised and organisationally complex structure to provide such groups easy access to public officials for consideration of their views.

- According to elite perspective there are two divisions in a society- the elites and masses. The elites or the few who govern and masses or the many that are governed. On the contrary, pluralism divides society into different leadership groups.

- Elitism emphasizes the importance of leaders for maintaining their positions of power, whereas pluralism emphasizes devotion of leaders to their group interests.

- Elite theorists argue that the mass membership of organisations, parties, interest groups and institutions do not ensure either any direct leadership over the elite leadership or effective individual participation in decision-making.

- Elite theorists take into account all power holders in society – private as well as public. But pluralism mainly focuses on governmental leaders and those who directly interact with them. Pluralism also asserts that since the leaders are elected in elections, they can be held accountable to the people

- The shared experiences, values, goals and characteristics of leaders, according to elite perspective, are very essential in preserving the social system and their position in it. On the contrary, pluralism emphasizes the diversity among the leaders' differences in backgrounds, ideology and viewpoints.

- Pluralism and elitism also differ on the issues of nature and the extent of mass influence on societal decision-making. According to the elite perspective, it is the elites that influence the masses more than the masses influence the elites. Elites while making decisions for the masses act on their own as to do what is good for the masses and not what the masses decides for themselves. Pluralists also acknowledge the elitist view that the elites make decisions in society but they also stress that the masses influence the decisions in policy making both through their membership in organised interest groups and their participation in elections.

- According to elite theory, the principle function of elections is to legitimize elite rule by providing symbolic reassurance that democratic elites govern on behalf of the masses.

Elite theory and pluralist theory, despite its differences, also share some similarities. Both theories agree that social decision-making occurs through elite interactions and not by mass participation. The key political actors are the leaders of organisations and institutions, not individual citizens. Both theories also agree on the surface that public policy generally reflects the interests of large organisations and institutions instead of the interests of the majority of the masses.



CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Q5. What is the principle function of elections, according to elite theory?

Q6. How do people influence the decisions in policy-making, according to pluralists?

10.5 ELITIST PERSPECTIVE ON DEMOCRACY AND DECISION MAKING

From Vilfredo Pareto to Anthony Downs (November 21, 1930), almost all elite theorists have provided their respective views on democracy and decision making. The following is an attempt to highlight briefly all major viewpoints-

- Every society is effectively ruled by a minority, as argued by Pareto and Mosca. They accepted the need for a governing elite in every society. The distinctive feature of democracy, as a form of government is that it allows the elite to form freely and establishes a regulated competition between the elites for positions of power. Their conception of democracy as a political system further implies that the elites are relatively open and recruited on the basis of merit. In democracy, the whole adult population can participate in the decision-making process in the sense that it can exercise a choice between rival elites.

- According to Gaetano Mosca, Robert Michels (1876-1936) and Joseph Schumpter (1883-1950), the representative form of democracy is the only operational form of democracy in modern societies. In this form of democracy, the emergence of the elite is not only necessary but also inevitable and desirable. It is considered inevitable in the sense that the rise of leaders can be seen in the representative form of democracy from the masses.

- People elect their representatives and further delegate the power of decision making to those representatives. These elected leaders represent the political class of that society. The elites play a key role in the nomination and selection process in favour of candidates of their choice, by using the advantage of their influential position in political parties. The nomination of a candidate is generally done on the basis of strength and the position of that particular candidate to win over the rival candidate in the elections. Politically and economically influential

candidates are given top priority in the selection process. In other words, according to elite theorists, political parties usually nominate candidate belonging to the elite category.

- Elite theorists also argue that only in the representative form of democracy can the elite compete with each other for power freely.

- In representative forms of democracy, a group of a few elites to whom the power is delegated generally execute the majority of decision-making processes. On the other hand, the participation of the masses in the decision making process is very limited. Further, according to Michels, the masses cannot exercise effective control on the elected representatives in democracy. He pointed out few reasons for this-

  - Leaders adopt different techniques to make themselves indispensable after getting elected,

  - The necessity to have leaders is also felt by the masses over a period of time,

  - Though not initially, but the masses will be satisfied to have people who will be there to take the trouble to look after the affair of the masses.

  - And finally, leaders will become indispensable due to the skills and experience they have gathered over a span of time.

- With the multitude of elites, each circulating in and out of power, elite theorists contend that their power is not a threat to democratic procedure. In democracy, according to elite theorists, no single elite is completely autonomous or in control of the others. On the other hand, to achieve anything, elites must negotiate and co-operate with each other.

CRITICISMS

The following are the major criticisms levelled against the elitist perspective of democracy and decision making-

- Democratic elitism as an ideal form of government is strongly rejected by both individualists and liberal-democratic theory.
- Elite theorists treat democracy as a mere means, not an end unto itself. Moreover, it accepts the fact that some have more power over others which also suggests that it undermines the equality of individuals.
- Another criticism is the notion that the majority of the masses are just passive consumers and they are incapable of exercising any power over the decision-making process.
- The competitive model of elite theorists is also objected due to its narrow definition of the political sphere.
- It is also criticised as it is mostly based on assumptions and it also opposes the civic sense of democracy.
- Since it is against the rule of majority, it opposes the basic principle of democracy.
- According to critics, the place of elites within democratic politics is both a practical and theoretical problem. On the one hand, democracies are based on some type of political equality among citizens. On the contrary, elite theories emphasize the political inequalities within democracies.
- Criticising elite theories, pluralists argue that power is significantly decentralised and organised interest groups try to influence the policies in which they are interested. The elitist view that one individual or group controlling one resource of power can automatically control other resources of power is regarded as untrue by the pluralists.



CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Q7. Which is the only operational form of democracy according to elite theorists?

Q8. In which year Joseph Schumpeter was born?



10.6. LET US SUM UP

- The term ‘elite’ originated from Latin word ‘Eligere’, which means to choose.
- In the general sense, the term elite refers to those people who perform key roles in the functioning of a society.
- The use of the term and its meaning has changed over the course of time.
- Initially elite was used to refer to a standard of excellence but later by using ‘elite’ for people, it started to mean superior social groups such as top military units or the upper strata of aristocracy.
- The use of the term was also evident in the works of Plato and Aristotle. It was used to identify and explain the nature of elites in different contexts and in different political systems.
- The study of elites received substantial amount of interests in the nineteenth century in the works of Pareto and Mosca.
- Elite theory was further developed by social scientists like Michaels, Lasswell, Burnham, Mills and Gasset based on sociological, psychological and economic dimensions.
- On the other hand, Mannheim, Downs and Schumpeter developed elite theory under different political systems.
- Italian sociologist Vilfredo Pareto developed the theory and circulation of elites in his book ‘The Mind and Society’.
- Pareto divided civil society into ‘governing’ and ‘non-governing’ elites.
- Pareto advised the elites to have a certain quality to remain or maintain themselves in power. He referred to these qualities as ‘residues’ and further explained six different types of residues.

- According to Pareto, every society has two types of individuals and he referred to them as 'foxes' and 'lions'.
- Foxes are those who are courageous but not cautious and have the cunningness to survive. On the other hand those are referred to as lions who are strong, conservative, traditional, orthodox and loyal to ideals of family, religion and country.
- To form a strong and stable society, it is necessary to combine the elements of both fox and lion residues, as argued by Pareto.
- Gaetano Mosca, a political scientist from Italy developed his version of elite theory in his book 'The Ruling Class'.
- He divided society into two categories - ruling and ruled class.
- He referred the elites as the ruling class who are organised minorities in society and the ruled class as a majority in number but unorganised.
- Burnham through his 'Managerial Revolution' approach asserts that the basis of elite power depends upon the degree of control over principal means of production.
- According to C. W. Mills, the basis of elite power is both economic and social. According to him, it is the power in an institution that determines the position, status, authority and influence of elite in a modem society.
- According to Mannheim, a society can remain democratic, even the policy and decision-making is in the hand of the elites.
- Elite theorists also differ from pluralist theorists. Elites divide society into two groups-elites and masses. In contrast, pluralists divide society into different leadership groups. Elite perspective takes both private and public power holders into account whereas the pluralist perspective mainly focuses on governmental leaders.

- Elite theorists argue that the representational form of government is the only operational form of democracy where the elite can compete for power with each other freely. The emergence of elite is necessary as well as inevitable and desirable.



10.7 FURTHER READING

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

Bottomore, T.B.(1980).Political Sociology.HarperCollins Publishers.



10.8 ANSWER TO CHECK PROGRESS QUESTIONS

Answer to Q1. Fill in the blanks:

a. 'Managerial Revolution' is associated with James Burnham.

b. The term elite is derived from Latin word 'Eligere'.

c. Vilfredo Pareto was born in the year 1848.

Answer to Q2. C. Wright Mills is the author of the book 'Power Elites'.

Answer to Q3. According to Pareto, "By elite we mean the small number of individuals who in each sphere of activity have succeeded and have arrived at a higher echelon in the professional hierarchy."

Answer to Q4. C. Wright Mills adopted 'Institutional Power Approach' to study the elites.

Answer to Q5. According to elite theory, the principle function of elections is to legitimize elite rule by providing symbolic reassurance that democratic elites govern on behalf of the masses

Answer to Q6. People influence the decisions in policy making both through their membership in organised interest groups and their participation in elections.

Answer to Q7. The representative form of democracy, according to elite theorists, is the only operational form of democracy.

Q8. Joseph Schumpeter was born in the year of 1883.



10.9 POSIBLE QUESTIONS

1. Answer in one or two words:

A. Who is the author of the book 'The Ruling Class'?

B. In which year Karl Mannheim was born?

2. Write short notes (within 150 words):

A. Elite theory of C. W. Mills.

B. Elite theory of Burnham.

C. Elite theory of Mannheim.

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

A. What is meaning of elite? Discuss the elite theory developed by Pareto.

B. what are the differences between the elite and pluralist theory? Discuss.

C. Discuss the elite perspective on democracy and decision-making.

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UNIT 11: SOCIAL MOVEMENTS

UNIT STRUCTURE

11.1 Learning Objectives

11.2 Introduction

11.3 Defining and understanding social movements

11.4 Characteristics of social movements

11.5 Types of social movements

11.6 Importance of social movement

11.7 Conclusion

11.8 Let us sum up

11.9 Further Readings

11.10 Answer to check your progress

11.11 Posible Questions

11.1 LEARNING OBJECTIVES

After reading this unit you will be able to:

- understand what is a social movement
- understand the origin of social movements
- understand the characteristics of social movements
- identify the types of social movements

11.2 INTRODUCTION

The term “social movements” is considered to be introduced by the German sociologist, Lorenz von Stein in 1850 in his book, “History of the French Social Movement from 1789 to the Present”. However, scholars such as Charles Tilly claim that there was no existence of social movements before the late 18th century, thereby asserting that it was in the first decades of the 19th century that social movements were introduced in England and in North America. Since then, social movements have spread across the globe.

Although social movements are a familiar feature of the socio-political landscape, it is difficult to define the term. To define it in a broad sense, social movements are composed of multiple collective actions. Social movements comprise of a significant section of a society bound by a common grievance, which is commonly driven by a lack of democracy in a specific political setting. This collective action involves individuals performing an action over a sustained period of time to achieve a shared purpose. People's engagement with authority and/or powerful actors often takes place through spontaneous collective actions outside established institutional channels. Collective action is identified as an agency for individuals who face social exclusion and act as a voice for those who may not wish to use formal representation; providing broader participation in decision-making; and more transparent, responsive and accountable national governments and international governance institutions.

When individuals feel alienated or excluded from privileges and benefits that they deserve and develop a deep distrust of how political institutions manage society is what leads to the emergence of social movements. Social movements express social, cultural, political or economic concerns locally, nationally or trans-nationally; and they are found in both democratic and repressive states. In recent times, information and communication technologies (ICTs) such as the internet, mobile phones and social media platforms have opened new spaces of engagement for collective action, thereby extending the spread of social movements.



Check your progress

1. The term social movement was introduced by the German sociologist, ———— in 1850.

2. What is the name of Lorenz von Steins's book?

3. Charles Tilly claims that social movements originated in ———— and ————————.

4. In a broad sense, social movements are composed of ————.

5. What is the reason behind the emergence of social movements?

11.3 DEFINING AND UNDERSTANDING SOCIAL MOVEMENTS

According to the Oxford Concise Dictionary of Politics, social movements "are change-oriented political formations, often using tactics such as direct action, with loose and informational organisational structures." Social movements are organised around particular ideas and issues which grant a political and social identity to individuals. According to Charles Tilly, social movements are a series of contentious performances, displays and campaigns by which ordinary people make collective claims on others. He argues that it is through the medium of social movements that people participate in public offices. According to Tilly, social movements comprises of three major elements,

- *Campaigns* : A sustained , organised public effort making collective claims on target authorities;

- *Social movement repertoire:* employment of combinations from among the following forms of ;political action; creation of special –purpose associations and coalitions , public meetings, solemn processions ,

vigils, rallies , demonstrations , petition drivers, statements to and in public media, and pamphleteering; and

- *WUNC displays*: participants' concerted public representation of worthiness, unity, numbers, and commitments on the part of themselves and/or their constituencies.

Further, Heberle defined a social movement as a collective effort to transform established relations within a particular society. Smelser views social movements as directly oriented towards a change in social institutions and social norms. Tilly is of the opinion that historical analysis of movements are concerned with motives and beliefs of crucial participants who are taken to be undifferentiated masses which can be mobilised into collective action. A social movement can also be termed as,

> a large group constituted in support of a set of purposes or beliefs that are shared by the members ... and represents an effort by a large number of people to solve collectively a problem that they feel they have in common. (Paul Wilkinson, 1971)

Thus, social movements grasp certain thoughts and theories that legitimize their aims, and they use symbols that evoke feelings of group solidarity that are expressive of shared collective concerns. Social movements are formed around issues of identity and concerns of equity and security. Although, scholars have defined social movements differently, they agree on two elements in terms of defining social movements, which is *collective mobilisation* and *change orientation*. Nevertheless, other elements such as objectives, ideology, programmes, leadership and organisation form an integral part of social movements. As such, a proper and complete understanding of social movements must take into consideration all of these factors. Irrespective of all and other attributes of a social movement, the presence of common ideology or common identity driving towards achieving a common goal is most necessary (if not sufficient) for a social movement to originate.

The four basics that constitute the analytical framework of a movement are- meaning, source, ideology and organisation. One of the major components of the analytical aspect of a movement is the source and origin of a social movement. Social movements develop because there is a perceived gap between the current ethics and aspirations of people and the present reality. However, it is necessary to understand the structural conditions under which a movement originated. In general, there are three popular explanations in terms of understanding the genesis of a movement. First is the theory of relative deprivation whose major advocates were Merton and Runciman. The concept of relative deprivation was originally developed by the authors of American Soldier in 1949, but it was subsequently Merton who put it to use to explicate the reference group theory and social mobility. Relative deprivation is considered a negative discrepancy between legitimate expectations and existing reality and as such it becomes a central issue in the study of social movements. Here, it is material possession, status, behaviour and worth that is analysed along with relative deprivation. Gurr has explained how relative deprivation emerges as a gap between expectations and perceived capabilities involving economic conditions, political power and social status. As such, understanding the origin of a social movement in terms of the relative deprivation theory emphasizes the mobilization of the perceived deprivation of social collectivities to transform the current order, which leads to the emergence of a social movement within the limits of the goals and objectives. The leading basis of categorizing objectives may be religion, caste, tribe, language, region and economy among others. The second popular theory behind the origin of social movements is the strain theory advocated by Neil Smelser. According to Smelser, structural strain is the basis of collective behaviour which acts at different levels of norms, values and mobilization. It is under circumstances of strain that people form a sense of generalised belief which becomes a precondition in a social system for the origin of a social movement. However, social movements do not occur only under conditions of deprivation and strain and it is here that Wallace's Revitalisation theory provides a different approach. According to this theory, social movements

can also originate from people with a sharp positive goal of creating a more satisfying culture for themselves. Thus, movements can also originate from deliberate efforts of the members of a group. As such, a movement along with assessing the prevailing situation also aims to provide positive solutions for improving and altering the situation of dispossession and degradation.

All the theories explained above although put forward different elements, all the points can be drawn to a single frame. Consequently, the emergence of a social movement depends upon a set of factors which may be termed as basic and proximate. Here basic factors are those features of a social structure that hold potentialities of discontent and dissatisfaction inherent in them and proximate factor are intervening factors which convert these potentialities into consciousness and action. The sources of a movement are rooted in the structural reality of the system.



CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

6. What is the definition of social movement given by the Oxford Concise Dictionary of Politics?

7. Social movements are organised around particular ideas which grants a —— and ——— to individuals.

8. Charles Tilly considers social movements as a series of ————— , displays and ———— by which ordinary people make collective claims on others.\

9. What are the two most important elements in regards of social movements?

11.3.1 IMPORTANT THEORIES RELATED TO SOCIAL MOVEMENTS

➢ *Theories of collective behaviour*

The *collective behaviour* school of thought viewed social movements as an irrational or semi-rational spontaneous response to abnormal

conditions in society, which challenged a legitimate social order and social norms of behaviour (Horn, 2013:20). It emerged against the background of the 1929 Great Depression in the US, the rise of fascism in Europe, and the Second World War.

- *Theories of resource mobilisation*

McCarthy and Zald (1977:1217) formulated social movements as 'a set of opinions and beliefs which represent preferences for changing some elements of the social structure and/or reward distribution of a society'. This approach focuses on organisational resources and motivations for participation in movements, such as potential rewards, incentives and costs (Chester & Welsh, 2011:7; Horn, 2013:20).

- *Theories of political processes*

This approach sought to examine movements' political and institutional contexts to shed light on 'political opportunity structures' and the success or failure of mobilisation processes. It emphasised social movements' political character as a form of 'contentious politics', which viewed one or more governments as a claimant or a target of claims (McAdam, Tarrow, & Tilly, 2001).

- *Theories of framing*

This approach explains how movements emerge around the construction of ideas and meanings and cognitive and moral constructions

of prevailing problems, social struggles or injustices (Leach & Scoones, 2007; Horn, 2013). It analyses how debates, concepts and movement narratives about the 'root of the problem' are. framed or reframed to fit the movement's genda, so that people can connect with the cause and develop appropriate strategies.

11.4 CHARACTERSITICS OF SOCIAL MOVEMENT

The character of social movements can be distinctive in accordance to the nature of the social movement. However, there are certain key characteristics of any social movement which can be underlined as follows-

- Social movements can be described as a platform for the existence of an informal network of social actors. It is the loose and dispersed links between individuals and groups of individuals which result in the formation of a collective network. These networks propagate and promote the circulation of essential resources for making the social movement more widespread and inclusive and help in the further dissemination of information, expertise and material resources.

- Social movements demonstrate a minimal degree of organization, however, the level of organisation may be loose, informal or a highly institutionalised one. For instance, the Greenpeace organisation can be cited as an appropriate example. Greenpeace has a tightly knit organizational structure at its centre, however, at the global level its links are loose and weakly bonded organizationally. Due to its broadness, at both organisational and ideological level, Greenpeace acts more as an organisation than a non-governmental organization. As a result of this, Greenpeace has achieved considerable success and growth in putting forth its cause.

- Social movements play an important role in consolidating its members for achieving a common goal. They emphasise mostly on collective action. The presence of common ideology or common identity driving

towards achieving a common goal is a necessary requisite for a social movement to originate.

- Social movements act as mediums or platforms which lead to the formation of new ideas and thought processes. Movements provide the context in which new ideas and activities can be developed. As individuals associate themselves with larger numbers of issues, it helps them to expand their horizon and develop distinctive and new thinking.

- Social movements generally aim at promoting or resisting changes in the structure of the society that involves taking recourse to non-institutional forms of political participation. As such, social movements are mostly change-oriented. However, this level of change may vary, i.e, whether they oppose it or seek change.

- Social movements make use of 'protests' as an important medium to garner support and put forward their demands. Most of the research carried forward on social movements emphasise that protests put forth



CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

10. Social movements can be described as a platform for the existence of an ——— of social actors

11. What do social movements mostly emphasise on?

12. The presence of ————————— is the driving force towards the origination of a social movement.

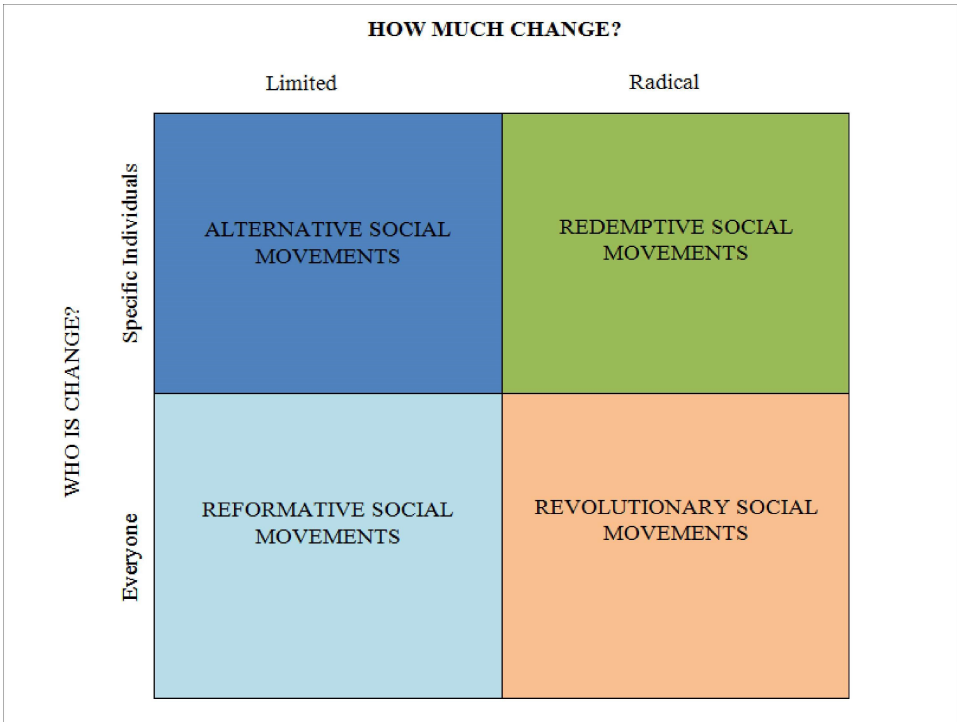
13. How do social movements act as a medium for fostering new ideas?

14. Social movements make use of ———— as an important medium to garner support and put forward their demands.

unconventional modes of activity to articulate their demands. Nevertheless even protests have come to be an established part of the repertoire of action undertaken by social movements.

11.5 TYPES OF SOCIAL MOVEMENTS

Social movements can be divided into different categories. According to David Aberle(1966), they may be divided on the basis of two



characteristics: (1) what is the movement attempting to change and (2) how much change is being advocated; and based on this, social movements can be described as being of four types- **alterative, redemptive, reformative, and revolutionary social movements.**

Source- David F Aberle,. 1966.

- ***Alternative social movements*** – These social movements look at a selective part of the population, and the amount of change is limited due to this.

- ***Redemptive social movements*** also look at a selective part of the population, but they fight for and seek a radical change and this is what distinguishes them from alternative social movements.

- ***Reformative social movements*** consider mostly the larger population, but they seek a limited change. An example of this would be the environmental movement as they address everyone to help the environment in their lives (for instance recycling).

- ***Revolutionary social movements*** seeks to change all of society. The Communist party is an example of wanting to radically change social institutions.

Further, social movements can also be categorised into the following divisions-

- *Reform movements* – These categories of movements are mostly dedicated to changing some norms, usually legal ones. Examples of such a movement would include a trade union with a goal of increasing workers rights, a green movement advocating a set of ecological laws, or a movement supporting the introduction of capital punishment or right to abortion. Some reform movements may advocate a change in custom and moral norms, for example, condemnation of pornography or proliferation of some religion.

- *Radical movements* – These movements are dedicated to change some value systems. It directs its attention to the creation of a new social order and the destruction of the existing social order. Those are usually much larger in scope than the reform movements; examples would include the American Civil Rights Movement which demanded full civil rights and equality under the law to all Americans, regardless of race.

Moving further, on the basis of the action of social movements, they can be can be divided into three parts:

- General Social Movements

- Specific Social Movements
- Expressive Social Movements

General Social Movements – These social movements have only a general direction towards which they move in a slow, halting, yet persistent manner. The main general social movements are the labor movement, the youth movement, the women's movement and the peace movement.

Specific Social Movements -The outstanding instances of these types of movements are reform movements and revolutionary movements. These movements have a well defined objective or goal and they develop and organize themselves in a structured manner towards achieving that specific goal. The main goal of this movement is to eradicate the improper and unjust policies which the success of the movement will entail. Mechanisms of such types of movements are grouped under five headings: (a) agitation, (b) development of esprit de corps, (c) development of morale, (d) the formation of an ideology, and (e) the development of operating tactics.

Expressive Movements- These forms of social movements do not seek to change the institutions of the social order or its objective character, but merely want to show their presence and existence in the social order. The very standing examples of expressive social movements are religious movement and fashion movement.

11.6 IMPORTANCE OF SOCIAL MOVEMENTS

An interesting topic while discussing social movements is why social movements actually matter. The existence of social movements indicates a lively civil society. Social movements have existed across the world spanning centuries and they can be considered formidable political forces or in the words of Babington, 'affirm the importance of "civil society actors" in the processes of social and political change'. It is necessary that social movements exist in society because this would entail a better governance structure, along with providing a platform to the citizens to voice out their opinions and develop a sense of citizenship and self-identity which would

then encourage participation among citizens. Social movements as a site for identity formation can transform people from state subjects to active and engaged citizens. Further, social movements also instil a sense of



CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

15. What is the basis of David Aberle's categorisation of social movements?

16. What are Alternative social movements ?

17. Redemptive social movements also look at a ———— of the population, but they ought for a ————————.

18. What are reform movements?

19. Radical movements are dedicated to change some ————

collectiveness among the members which creates a 'collective power' through strength in numbers and solidarity. As people associate themselves with varied issues, social movements provide opportunities to learn about emerging issues that matter to citizens.

11.7 CONCLUSION

Some social movements may seek to reform the current system, some may espouse radical and revolutionary ideas, and some may seek to enhance or circumscribe rights. Some use violence; others do not. Citizens, non-citizens (e.g. migrants) and a variety of actors use social movements to champion a cause and direct, promote or resist change. However, the impact and effectiveness of social movements are highly contextual and can be difficult to assess. In conclusion, social movements are powerful, complex and dynamic drivers of change.



11.8 LET US SUM UP

- The term “social movements” is considered to be introduced by the German sociologist, Lorenz von Stein in 1850.
- Charles Tilly claims that there was no existence of social movements before the late 18th century.
- Social movements are composed of multiple collective actions.
- Social movements comprise of a significant section of a society bounded by a common grievance.
- Social movements are organised around particular ideas and issues which grants a political and social identity to individuals.
- The four basics that constitute the analytical framework of a movement are- meaning, source, ideology and organisation.
- Social movements can be described as a platform for the existence of an informal network of social actors.
- Social movements act as mediums or platforms which lead to formation of new ideas and thought processes.
- Social movements generally aim at promoting or resisting changes in the structure of the society.
- Social movements make use of ‘protest’ as an important medium to garner support and put forward their demands.
- David Aberle categories social movements into four types-alterative, redemptive, reformative, and revolutionary social movements.
- The existence of social movements indicates a lively civil society.

11.9 FURTHER READING

Kama M.N (ed.), *Social Movements in North-East India,* New Delhi: Indus Publishing Company, 1998.

Rao M.S.A. (ed.), *Social Movements in India,* New Delhi: Manohar Publications, 1979.

Shah Ghanshyam, *Social Movements in India: A Review of literature,* New Delhi: Sage, 2004.

Oommen T K (ed.), *Social Movements I Issues of Identity*, New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2010

Wilkinson, Paul *Social Movement,* London: Praeger Publications, 1971.

11.10 ANSWER TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Answer to Q. 1. The term social movements was introduced by the German sociologist, Lorenz von Stein in 1850.

Answer to Q. 2. The name of Lorenz von Stein's book is "History of the French Social Movement from 1789 to the Present".

Answer to Q. 3. Charles Tilly claim that social movements originated in England and London.

Answer to Q. 4. In a broad sense, social movements are composed of multiple collective actions.

Answer to Q. 5. The reason for emergence of social movements is when individuals feel alienated or excluded from priviledges and benefits that they deserve and develop a deep distrust of how political institutions manage society.

Answer to Q. 6. According to the Oxford Concise Dictionary of Politics, social movements are "are change-oriented political formations, using,

oftenly tactics such as direct action, with loose and informational organisational structures."

Answer to Q. 7. Social movements are organised around particular ideas which grants a political and social identity to individuals.

Answer to Q. 8. Charles Tilly considers social movements as a series of contentious performances , displays and campaigns by which ordinary people make collective claims on others.

Answer to Q. 9. In regards of social movements, the two most important elements are *collective mobilisation* and *change orientation*.

Answer to Q. 10. Social movements can be described as a platform for the existence of an informal network of social actors.

Answer to Q. 11. Social movements emphasise mostly on collective action. They play an important role in consolidating its members for achieving a common goal. The presence of common ideology or common identity driving towards achieving a common goal is most necessary for a social movement to originate.

Answer to Q. 12. The presence of common ideology or common identity is the driving force towards the origination of a social movement.

Answer to Q. 13. Social movements act as mediums or platforms which lead to formation of new ideas and though processes. Movements provide the context in which new ideas and activities can be developed. As individuals associate themselves with larger number of issues, it helps them to expand their horizon and develop distinctive and new thinking.

Answer to Q. 14. Social movements make use of 'protest' as an important medium to garner support and put forward their demands.

Answer to Q. 15. David Aberle categorises social movements on the basis of two characteristic:- (1) who is the movement attempting to change and (2) how much change is being advocated.

Answer to Q. 16. Alternative social movements look at a selective part of the population, and the amount of change is limited due to this.

Answer to Q. 17. Redemptive social movements also look at a selective part of the population, but they ought for a radical change.

Answer to Q. 18. Reform movements are mostly dedicated to changing some norms, usually legal ones

Answer to Q. 19. Radical movements are dedicated to change some value systems.



11.11 POSIBLE QUESTIONS

Short Question (Answer within 150 words)

1. What are the three major elements of a social movement according to Charles Tilly?
2. Describe certan theories related to social movements?

Long answer type Question (Within 300-500 words)

Q. What are the characteristics of a social movement?

Q. Describe David Aberle's four categorisation of social movements?

Q. What are the three categories of social movement on the basis of act of a social movement?

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UNIT 12: POLITICAL PARTIES

UNIT STRUCTURE

12.1 Learning Objectives

12.2 Introduction

12.3 Defining political parties

12.4 Functions of political parties

12.5 Types of political parties

12.6 Political parties in India

12.7 Typology of political parties in India

12.8 Let us sum up

12.9 Further Readings

12.10 Answer to check your progress

12.11 Posible Questions

12.1 LEARNING OBJECTIVES

After reading this unit you will be able to:

- understand political parties
- understand the origin of political parties
- identify the types of political parties
- identify and understand the political parties in India

12.2 INTRODUCTION

The study of political parties is an important part of the study of politics as it takes one beyond the traditional range of political theory and practice. Political parties play a very important role in the working of a democratic system and have become a universal phenomenon, As such, apart from some case of tradition-ridden states like Saudi Arabia and the Maldives , every state of the world has its own model of a party system.

12.3 DEFINING POLITICAL PARTIES

Political Parties can be defined as organised groups which seek political power within a political system. The modern day political parties have their origin in 19th century Europe and the United States along with the development of electoral and parliamentary mechanisms. The term 'Party' has been derived from the old French word *'Partir'* which means "to divide". As such, political parties can be stated to be organised groups, which represent diversified interests, values and ideologies in order to exercise power.

Huckshorn defines political parties as "an autonomous group of citizens having the purpose of making nominations and contesting elections in the hope of gaining control over governmental power through the capture of public offices and the organization of government." Heywood is of the opinion that, "A political party is a group of people organized for the purpose of winning government power .and usually displays some measure of ideological cohesion". Further, Edmund Burke, Benjamin Constant and others envisage parties as an ideological group. Burke argues, "Party is a body of men united for promoting their joint endeavours the national interest upon some particular principles in which they are all agreed." He is of the opinion that parties are ideological entities and are different from factions, which according to Burke were detrimental for the society.

Further, emphasising the theoretical and practical aspects of the principles of a party, Philip Friese defines parties as "common union of citizens agreed in opinion and design concerning government, and organised for the double purpose of propagating those opinions and designs by discussion, and of personifying them by the election and appointment of persons strongly entertaining them to fill the leading positions of the state." However, defining a party only on the basis of the principles is a limited definition. As such, scholars have also attempted to define parties from the perspective of a power seeking instrument which aims to come to power through electoral techniques. Max Weber describes a political party as "an

associative type of social relationship, membership in which rests on formally free recruitment.....devoted to secular power within a corporate group for its leaders in order to attain ideal or material advantage for its active members (which) may consist in the realisation of certain objective policy for the attainment of personal advantage or both". Similarly, Schumpeter contradicts Burke and defines parties as "a group whose members propose to act in concert in the competitive struggle for power".

Moving further, another category of defining parties is on the basis of their electoral nature. Austin Ranney and Willmore are of the opinion that "Political parties are autonomous organised groups that make nominations and contest election in the hope of eventually gaining and exercising control of the personnel and policies of government."

Most of the parties are animated by the desire to capture power while formulating issues in terms of ideology. They play the game of power in the name of ideology. J.La Palombara and Myron Weiner provide a broad definition of parties which includes such elements as "(1) continuity in the organisation that is an organisation whose expected life span is not dependent on the life span of the current leaders; (2) manifest and presumably permanent organisation at the local level with the regularised communications and other relationships between local and national units; (3) self conscious determination of leaders at both national and locals levels to capture and hold decision making power alone or in coalition with others and not simply influence the exercise of power; and (4) a concern on the part of the organisation for seeking followers at the polls in some manner striving for popular support."

Political parties are the primary and the intermediary structures between society and government. They act as a connecting bridge between the government and society and enforce dual communication between them. As such, political parties can rightly be called the "life line of modern politics."[8]



CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

1. The modern day political parties have their origin in the 19th century_____ and the _____.

2. Where has the word party derived from?

3. Burke considers parties as _____.

4. What is Philip Friese's definition of parties?

5. Political parties are the_____and the _____ structures between society and government.

12.4 FUNCTIONS OF POLITICAL PARTIES

Political Parties necessarily function depending upon the nature of the political system and the society in which they operate. Political Parties perform several important functions. The notable functions of a party can be underlined as follows-

- Political Parties unite, simplify and stabilise the political process. They bring together sectional interests, overcome geographical distances and provide coherence to diverse government structures.

- Political parties struggle to capture power and thus they seek to widen the interests they represent and harmonize these interests with each other. Although, interest articulation functions are also performed by pressure groups, interest aggregation is done solely by parties.

- Political parties act as a link between the government and society. They attempt to educate, instruct and activate the electorate.

- Parties perform the functions of political mobilizing , secularization and recruitment. Parties take up mediums such as mass media to politically educate the masses and mobilize them.

- Political Parties recruit political leaders. This is one of the most important functions of political parties. While increasing the scope of political activity and widening popular participation, political parties also perform the important function of recruiting leaders.

- Political parties present issues and set value goals for the society. All parties have philosophical bases, irrespective of their divisive nature and political behaviour.

- Political parties act as a broker of ideas by selecting a number of issues and focusing their attention on them.

- Political parties also aid in the process of political modernization. They strive to give a particular shape to the government by providing the main link between different social and economic groups. They constitute the chief agency for political education and socialization as they break down traditional barriers and act as the binding force in communities divided on the basis of religion , national origin etc.

- Political Parties also perform functions of social welfare which can also be termed as their, 'non-political activity'. They work for the alleviation of social evils along with providing aid and necessary goods at the time of epidemics and wars.



CHECK YOU PROGRESS

6. Political Parties necessarily function depending upon the___ of the political system and the_____ in which they operate.

7. Parties take up mediums such as _____ to politically educate the masses and _____them.

8. Political parties also aid in the process of _____.

12.5 TYPES OF POLITICAL PARTIES

A typological classification of the party system is governed by various factors such as the nature of social composition, economic divisions, religious and ethnic affiliations, cultural diversities and political differences over matters of internal and external policy of the state. Maurice Duverger formulated a simplistic classification of political parties into- *one, two and multi party system.* However, significant developments have taken place in the realm of contemporary politics and the typological classifications have undergone considerable changes along with this.

According to J. La Palombara and M. Weiner; the one party system may be divided into 'one party authoritarian,' 'one party pluralistic' and 'one party totalitarian.' One party System leaves very little choice for the people and it often results in monopolistic rule. A two party system comprises of two parties which are competent and strong players who come into power through other parties may operate but remain on the sidelines. Two party systems exist in United Kingdom, the United States, Australia, New Zealand and Germany. Two-party system provides the voters a clear alternative and national issues get crystallised in two broad alternatives presented by two major parties. Under this system, one party forms the government and the other keeps a watchful eye on it as the opposition.

The multi-party system refers to the existence of more than two political parties in a political system. Generally under multi-party systems, no single party is expected to win a majority thereby leading to a coalition government. For instance, the party system in Sweden, Norway, France, Italy, Denmark, India and many other countries provide examples of this system. In countries like India, within the framework of multi party system, there emerges what is known as "one dominant party system", i.e, when one party is stronger and powerful than all other parties and institutionally establishes its dominance in the political system. The Congress Party in India, up to the 1980s, bear a great resemblance to the "One dominant party system".

Giovanni Sartori brings an idea of numerical criterion for distinguishing between the two party system. According to him, there are five categories of democratic party systems.-

- the predominant party system
- two-partism
- Moderate multi-partism
- Extreme multi-partism
- the atomised party system.

According to Sartori, under the predominant party system are those in which power is exercised by not more than a single party for a long period. The "two partism" is characterised by two leading parties which come to power alternatively. Under such systems, neither coalition governments are formed nor third parties assume any significant role. The "moderate multi partism" and "extreme multi-partism" are identified by more than two parties and under such systems, a coalition of parties always alternate in power. In "moderate multi-partism" all political parties support to the system and it rales. They work with pragmatism and open mindedness in their mutual relations and also in their approach towards various problems and political issues. The "extreme multi-partism" is generally of the communist or fascist variety, which is characterised by an anti-system opposition.

Further, party systems can also be categorised in accordance to the purpose and manner of competition among the parties. La Palombara and Weiner have classified party systems into two broad categories- *competitive systems and non-competitive systems*. Competitive systems mostly include all the two-party and multi-party systems.

Moving further, political parties can also be classified in a different way according to strength. The strength of the political parties is exhibited perfectly through electoral competition. Duverger evaluates the strength of parties as-

- parties with a majority character and also with the capability of commanding absolute parliamentary majority
- major parties which fail to command absolute majority but can govern with some external support
- medium parties which can participate in government only by playing a subordinate role in coalition
- minor parties which are very small and incapable of playing any role in government or opposition.

The classification put forth by Duverger, more or less is concerned with the potential role of parties in government and in the opposition.

Again, Gabriel A. Almond has developed a classificatory scheme of party systems on the basis of the functional significance of the parties in the political process. Almond puts forth a four-fold scheme of party systems - "authoritarian party system," "dominant non-authoritarian party system," "competitive two party systems" and "competitive multiparty system." Authoritarian party system can be further divided into the totalitarian and authoritarian types. Totalitarian parties accrue interest by means of penetrating the social structure and by the transmission and aggregation of demands and claims through the party structure. Dominant non-authoritarian party systems are mostly prevalent in developing countries where nationalist movements were spearheaded by groups and public organisations which assumed power after Independence. The Competitive two party system is characterised by a homogeneous, secular, bargaining political culture with an effective and autonomous system of associated interest groups. The competitive multi party system is the most fragmented and is found in West European countries.

Thus, the classification of party systems can be many and varied. India has a multi-party system and Indian politics is dominated by several national and regional parties. The erstwhile Soviet Union and Yugoslavia

had single party systems. Similarly, China has a one-party system. Earlier in Germany there existed only one-party – the Nazi Party; similarly in Italy, the only party was known as the Fascist Party. In a two party or bi-party system, there are two main political parties. The United Kingdom (UK), the United States of America (USA), Australia and New Zealand have bi-party systems. Other parties may exist but their roles are generally insignificant. For example in the UK, there are two main parties, the Conservative Party and the Labour Party. In the USA, the two main parties are the Republican Party and the Democratic Party. Japan, France, Germany and Switzerland on the other hand have multi-party systems.



CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

9. What is Maurice Duverger classification of party system?

10. La Palombara and Weiner have classified party systems into two broad categories-_____and_____.

11. Gabriel A. Almond has developed a classification scheme of party systems on the basis of function _____ in the political process.

12.6 POLITICAL PARTIES IN INDIA

The Indian party system can aptly be called a phase of coalition politics. The evolution of Indian party system can be linked to the formation of the Congress as a political platform in 1885.The other parties and groups originated later. The Indian National Congress was formed as a response to colonial rule with the aim of achieving independence. After independence and with the adoption of a democratic Constitution, a new party system emerged in the wake of the first general elections based on universal adult franchise in 1952.

The post-independence period saw that the party system pass through various phases. The first phase is known as the phase of *one-*

party dominance because with the exception of Kerala during 1956–59, the ruling parties both at the Centre and in the states were of the Congress. The second phase (1967–1975) saw the emergence of *a multi-party system* in India. In the Assembly elections in 1967, the Congress was defeated in eight States. For the first time, non-Congress parties formed governments in these states and these parties formed coalition governments. Then came the split in the Congress into Congress (O) and Congress (N). However, the Congress again became a dominant force at the Centre after winning the 1971 mid-term polls. The emergency period (1975–77) saw the end of the dominance of the Congress.

In the general elections of 1977, the Congress was defeated by the Janata Party. Janata Party came into existence as a result of the merger of many opposition parties. However in the 1980 general elections, the Congress came back to power and remained in power till 1989. The Janata Party emerged out of the merger of the Congress (O) led by Morarji Desai, the Bharatiya Lok Dal led by Ch. Charan Singh, the Congress for Democracy (CFD) led by Jagjivan Ram and H.N. Bahuguna and the socialists led by George Fernandes and the Jana Sangh led by L.K. Advani.

In the 1989 elections, the National Front joined the government with the support of the BJP and the Left Front. However, this formation could not last long and the tenth Lok Sabha elections were held in May-June, 1991 where the Congress again formed the government at the Centre.

In the 1996 general elections, the BJP emerged as the single largest party and was asked to form government at the Centre. However, it could not prove its majority within the given time and had to resign. It was then that the United Front which was a combination of thirteen parties formed the government at the Centre with the external support of the Congress and the CPI(M). But this government too could not last its full term. Although the coalition government formed under the leadership of the BJP after the 1998 elections was defeated in the Lok Sabha, the 1999 elections again provided them the opportunity to form government which lasted its full term

under a multi-party coalition, known as the National Democratic Alliance (NDA). In the 14th general elections held in 2004, the Congress emerged as the single largest party. It formed an alliance with likeminded parties and formed government at the Centre.



CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

12. Indian Party system can aptly be termed as _____.

13. The phase 1952–1967 in the Indian Party System is known as _____.

14. From 1975 to 1977 was known as the _____ period.

15. The United Front government was a combination of _____ parties.

12.7 TYPOLOGY OF POLITICAL PARTIES IN INDIA

India has two types of political parties – national parties and regional parties. National parties are those which generally have an influence all over the country. However, national parties need not have equal strength in all states and their concentration varies from state to state. A party in order to be classified as a national party has to secure not less than four percent of the total valid votes in the previous general elections at least in four states. The number of national parties has been changing. In the year 2006, Indian National Congress, Bharatiya Janata Party, Communist Party of India (Marxist) [CPI (M)], Communist Party of India (CPI), Bahujan Samaj Party, and the Nationalist Congress Party were national parties. At present, India has seven recognised national parties- All India Trinamool Congress (AITC), Bahujan Samaj Party (BSP), Bharatiya Jananta Party (BJP), Communist Party of India (CPI), Communist Party of India Marxist (CPI M) Indian National Congress (INC) and Nationalist Congress Party (NCP)

Name of the party	Year of formation	Current Leader	Symbol of Party
Indian National Congress (INC)	1885	Rahul Gandhi	Hand
Communist Party of India (Marxist) CPI (M)	1964	Sitaram Yechury	Hammer sickle and star
Communist Party of India (CPI)	1925	Suravaram Sudhakar Reddy	Earns of Corn and sickle
All India Trinamool Congress (AITC)	1998	Mamata Banerjee	Flowers
Bahujan Samaj Party (BSP)	1984	Mayawati	Elephant
Bharatiya Jananta Party (BJP)	1980	Amit Shah	Lotus
Nationalist Congress Party (NCP)	1999	Sharad Pawar	Sharad Pawar Clock
Party (NCP)			

There are other parties in India which do not enjoy national influence and their operations are restricted to particular states or regions. These parties are formed to voice the demands of a specific region and are known as regional parties.Some regional parties are AIADMK and DMK in Tamil Nadu, Telugu Desam in Andhra Pradesh, Akali Dal in Punjab, National Conference in Jammu and Kashmir, Jharkhand Mukti Morcha in Jharkhand, Asom Gana Parishad in Assam and Nationalist Congress Party and Shiv Sena in Maharashtra.



CHECK YOUR PROGRES

16. National Party should have secured four percent valid votes in at least

_____ states.

17.CPI is a _____ party (national/regional).

18.DMK is a _____ party (national/regional).



12.8 LET US SUM UP

1. The term 'Party' has been derived from the old French word *'Partir'.*
2. Political Parties are animated by the desire to capture power while formulating issues in terms of ideology.
3. Political Parties are a connecting bridge between the government and society and enforce two-way communication between them
4. Political Parties unite, simplify and stabilise the political process.
5. Parties perform the function of political mobilization, secularization and recruitment.
6. Political Parties recruit political leaders
7. Political parties also aid in the process of political modernization.
8. The classification of party systems is governed by various factors such as the nature of social composition, economic divisions, religious and ethnic affiliations, cultural diversities and political differences over matters of internal and external policy of the state.
9. Classification of party system can be many and varied.
10. Indian party system can aptly be called a phase of coalition politics.

11. India has two types of political parties – national parties and regional parties.

12. The parties that are formed to voice the demands of a specific region and are known as regional parties.

13. A party that has secured not less than four percent of the total valid votes in the previous general elections at least in four states is termed as national party.

14. At present, India has seven recognised national parties- All India Trinamool Congress (AITC), Bahujan Samaj Party (BSP), Bharatiya Jananta Party (BJP), Communist Party of India (CPI), Communist Party of India Marxist (CPI M) Indian National Congress (INC) and Nationalist Congress Party (NCP).



12. 9 FURTHER READINGS

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12. 10 ANSWER TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

1. The modern day political parties have their origin in the 19th century Europe and the United States.

2. The term 'Party' has been derived from the old French word *'Partir'* which means "to divide".

3. Burke considers parties as ideological entities

4. Philip Friese defines parties as common union of citizens agreed in opinion and design concerning government, and organised for the double purpose of propagating those opinions and designs by discussion, and of personifying them by the election and appointment of persons strongly entertaining them to fill the leading positions of the state.

5. Political parties are the primary and the intermediary structures between society and government.

6. Political Parties necessarily function depending upon the nature of the political system and the society in which they operate.

7. Parties take up mediums such as mass media to politically educate the masses and mobilize them.

8. Political parties also aid in the process of political modernization.

9. Maurice Duverger formulated a simplistic classification of political parties into- one, two and Multi party system.

10. La Palombara and Weiner have classified party systems into two broad categories-competitive systems and non-competitive systems.

11. Gabriel A. Almond has developed a classification scheme of party systems on the basis of function significance of the parties in the political process.

12. Indian Party system can aptly be termed as coalition politics.

13. The phase 1952–1967 in the Indian Party System is known as one-party system.

14. From 1975 to 1977 was known as the _____ period.

15. The United Front government was a combination of _____ parties.

16. National Party should have secured four percent valid votes in at least four states.

17. CPI is a national party (national/regional).

18. DMK is a regional party (national/regional).

12.11 POSIBLE QUESTIONS

1. Describe J.LaPalombara and Myron Weiner's broad description on Parties?
2. Underline the functions of political parties.
3. Explain Satori's classification of Party Sytem on the basisi of numerical criterion?
4. What is the classification party system put forth By Duverger?
5. Write a note on political parties in India?
6. What is the typology of political party in India?

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Unit 13: PRESSURE GROUPS, INTEREST GROUPS AND LOBBYING

UNIT STRUCTURE:

13.1. Learning Objectives

13.2. Introduction

13.3 Meaning of pressure group

1233.1. Elements of a pressure group

13.3.2. Features of Pressure Groups

13.3.3. Methods used by Pressure Groups for fulfilling their demands

13.4. Pressure groups in India

13.5. Merits and demerits of Pressure Groups

13.6. Functions of Pressure Groups

13.7 Meaning of Interest group

13.7.1. Functions of Interest Groups

13.8. Meaning of Lobbying

13.9. Difference between Pressure Group and Interest Groups

13.10. Let Us Sum Up

13.11. Further Reading

13.12. Answers to check your Progress

13.13. Model Questions

13.1. LEARNING OBJECTIVES:

After going through this chapter you will be able to:

- understand the concept of pressure groups
- learn about the elements and features of pressure groups
- understand the various methods adopted by pressure groups
- know about the merits and demerits of pressure groups
- understand the various functions of pressure groups
- understand the concept of interest groups
- know about the functions of interest groups
- understand the concept of lobbying

- know the difference between interest groups and pressure groups

13.2 INTRODUCTION

In the previous chapter we have discussed about political parties. But in modern societies along with political parties, pressure groups, interest groups and the lobbies too play an important role in decision making process. In this unit we will discuss about pressure group, interest group and lobbying in detail.

13.3 MEANING OF PRESSURE GROUP:

Pressure groups are organizations that exert pressure on the political or administrative system of a country to fulfill their own interests. In other words, pressure groups are organized groups which directly or indirectly influence politics as well as governments. The members of these groups are united on the basis of certain common interests. For example, a worker's trade union can be considered a pressure group. A pressure group is one of the most important parts of any administrative system of a particular country. They exert pressure on the political system in order to promote their interests. The members of a pressure group have common attributes and claims and play a very important role in influencing the governmental policies of a country and ensuring that the policies favor their interests too. Richard D. Lambert views a pressure group as an "unofficial government" which means that a particular government needs their consent too while taking any decision. Sometimes pressure groups are also called "anonymous empires."

Pressure groups emerged after the coming of the industrial revolution which saw the emergence of various groups and organizations with their own set of demands and interests. Gradually, with the passage of time, the role of the State increased in handling the welfare activities of a particular country which gave it considerable power and authority. As a result, each and every section of society became dependent on the State apparatus for fulfilling their interests and demands. This called for the emergence of

pressure groups in order to ensure public participation and the organizing of the masses to exert influence on the State to fulfill their interests. Thus, pressure groups also help in maintaining the social and political order of a society.



CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Q.1: What do you mean by pressure groups?

13.3.1. ELEMENTS OF A PRESSURE GROUP:

- Organized group of people.
- Common aims, interests and demands.
- Exert influence on the decision of the governing bodies.

13.3.2. FEATURES OF PRESSURE GROUPS:

- Every pressure group has certain demands and interests.
- Pressure groups use both traditional as well as modern means to exert pressure on the governing bodies.
- Pressure groups represent the issues and problems of the masses.
- Pressure groups try to exert their influence on governmental policies without any intention of having direct control over them.
- Pressure groups influence governmental policies to fulfill their own specific interests.
- Pressure groups take part in political activities indirectly.



CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Q.2: What are the elements of a pressure group?

13.3.3. METHODS USED BY PRESSURE GROUPS FOR FULFILLING THEIR DEMANDS:

Pressure groups use a variety of traditional as well as modern methods in order to ensure that their demands and interests are fulfilled. Some of the methods used by pressure groups are:

- They organize strikes, demonstrations, signature campaigns, etc. which help in mobilizing the masses and pressurizing the authorities to fulfill their demands.
- Sometimes they may take judicial action in order to exert influence on the government to fulfill their demands.
- They organize national campaigns and promote peaceful international activities. For example, movements against terrorism, AIDS, etc.
- They also adopt the policy of persuasion to make the governing bodies adopt and exert policies in their interest.
- Nowadays, pressure groups also use modern methods such as social media for mobilizing masses to exert pressure on the government.

13.4. PRESSURE GROUPS IN INDIA:

There are different types of pressure groups in India some of which are discussed below:

- **Business groups:**

These groups are independent of political parties and they mainly influence the financial ministers and licensing bodies. Basically, they help

in the formulation of budgets of a particular country. Examples of such groups in India include Federation of Indian Chamber of Commerce (FICCI), Conference of Indian Industries (CII), etc.

- **Student organizations:**

These groups mainly focus on various critical and educational issues. They pressurize the government to improve the condition of the educational institutions and their students, provide equal facilities to students, etc. Examples can be given of the All India Student Federation (AISF), Akhil Bharatiya Vidyarthi Parishad, etc.

- **Peasant organizations:**

These pressure groups mainly focus on the welfare and fulfillment of demands of the farmers and peasants of India. These groups emerged from the 1960s onwards and are still active in many parts of India. Examples of such groups include Bharatiya Kisan Party (BKP), Akhil Bharatiya Kisan Sangh, etc.

- **Linguistic groups:**

The main aim of these pressure groups is to promote a particular language and to pressurize the government to take various measures for its promotion. Hindi Protection Parishad and Tamil Sangh are some of the linguistic pressure groups in India.

- **Community Association:**

The main aim of such groups is to promote and safeguard their respective community or religion. Prominent examples can be given of Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh (RSS), Bishwa Hindu Parishad (BHP), etc.

- **Tribal groups:**

These groups are basically tribal interest groups which seek to promote the regional interests of specific tribes and communities. Examples

of such groups include The Tribal League of Assam, United Mizo Federal Organization, etc.

- **Professional groups:**

The All India Medical Council (AIMC), Indian Bar Association, etc. are some of the examples of such groups in India.

13. 5. MERITS AND DEMERITS OF PRESSURE GROUPS:

Merits:

- Pressure group represent the interests and demands of the masses and draw the interest of the government towards these vital issues.
- They encourage the masses to participate in political issues and processes.
- They help in bringing positive changes to the society.
- They help in making governing bodies and authorities aware about certain public issues and problems.
- They ensure that each and every individual is treated as equal by the authorities.

Demerits:

- Sometimes they make take illegal and undemocratic actions.
- These groups are unaccountable to the public as they are not elected by the public.
- Certain pressure groups exert too much pressure over the government which may sometimes prove to be detrimental for others.
- Some groups also use violent means to fulfill their interests and demands.

- Pressure groups sometimes hold the country at ransom.

13.6. FUNCTIONS OF PRESSURE GROUPS:

- **Functional representation:** Pressure groups act as the functional representatives of the demands and interests which are not being put forward by the political parties or through the process of elections.

- **Political participation:** Pressure groups act as informal political groups which exert influence by mobilizing support from the masses through various activities like demonstrations, petitions, marches, etc.

- **Formulation of policies:** Though pressure groups are not actively involved in policy making decisions but they have a significant role to play in providing important information and advice in the process of policy formulation by the governments.

13. 7. MEANING OF INTEREST GROUPS:

Interest groups are non – state entities which endeavor to influence government policies of a particular country. This group is an organization of people who have certain common goals. Interest groups are also known as special interest groups. These groups are involved not only in domestic politics but they are influential in international politics too. They seek to influence not only public policies but public opinions too. These groups seek to attain and promote their interests on a wider political platform and they may be both formal and informal. Interest groups can be of various types such as agricultural groups, professional groups, religious groups, government – interest groups, etc. Some examples of interest groups are U.S. Chamber of Commerce, National Association of Manufacturers (NAM), etc.



CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Q.3: What do you mean by interest groups?

13.7.1. FUNCTIONS OF INTEREST GROUPS:

- Interest groups represent constituents in front of the government authorities and give strength to individual voices.
- They provide different methods and techniques for political participation.
- They serve as the watchdogs of government policies who keep a check on the working of the governments to ensure the welfare of the masses.
- They educate the public and make them aware of the various political issues, demands and problems related to their welfare and well – being.
- They build various agendas in order to influence the government policies of a particular country.

13. 8. LOBBYING:

Lobbying usually refers to the process of political persuasion. It is also known as persuasion or interest representation. Lobbying is mostly done by interest groups, government officials, the corporate and private sectors and associations. Lobbying is very influential in regulating authorial decisions. Those who are involved in lobbying are called lobbyists. They are actually professionals who are hired by a special interest group to represent their interests in front of a particular government or authority. The term lobbyist was first coined by Ulysses S. Grant in the 1800s.

Lobbying encourages the masses to play an active role in the decision making process of the government. Lobbying is an integral part of the wider political process which is not normally understood by the general population. Lobbyists can either be paid professionals or may be volunteers. Anyone who petitions the government on someone's behalf is termed a lobbyist. Lobbyists mostly work to change the public opinion of the masses.



CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Q.4: What do you mean by lobbying?

Q.5: Who coined the term lobbyist?

13. 9. DIFFERENCE BETWEEN PRESSURE GROUPS AND INTEREST GROUPS:

Generally, the terms pressure group and interest group are considered synonymous to each other but there are certain distinctions between these two political terms. Interest groups are well organized groups of people which seek to promote their specific interests. They have a common set of interests which unite the members who seek to promote and attain their interests. On the other hand, a pressure group is an interest group which exerts pressure on the government or the decision-makers for the fulfillment of their interests. All interest groups may not exert pressure on the governments to fulfill their interest and such interest groups are not pressure groups. An interest group that exerts pressure on the government to fulfill its interests is called a pressure group. Thus, all pressure groups are interest groups but all interest groups may not be pressure groups. The following significant distinctions can be made between the two groups:

INTEREST GROUP	PRESSURE GROUP
1. These groups are formally organized.	1. These groups are strictly structured.
2. These groups are mostly interest- oriented.	2. They are more focused on exerting pressure.
3. They may or may not influence the government policies.	3. They mostly influence the policies of the governments.
4. These groups have a softer outlook.	4. These groups have a harsh attitude.
5. They are more or less protective.	5. They are both protective and promotional.



13. 10. LET US SUM UP:

- Pressure groups are organized groups which directly or indirectly influence politics as well as governments.
- Elements of a pressure group are - organized group of people, common aims, interests and demands and the exertion of influence on the decisions of the governing bodies.
- Pressure groups in India include business groups, student organizations, peasant organizations, linguistic groups, community associations, tribal groups and professional groups.
- Interest groups are non – state entities which endeavor to influence government policies of a particular country.
- Interest groups are also known as special interest groups.
- Lobbying refers to political persuasion or interest representation.
- Lobbying encourages the masses to play an active role in the decision making process of the government.



13. 11. FURTHER READING:

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13. 12. ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Answer to Q.1: Pressure groups are organizations that exert pressure on the political or administrative system of a country to fulfill their own interests. In other words, pressure groups are organized groups which directly or indirectly influence politics as well as the governments.

Answer to Q.2: Following are the elements of a pressure group:

1. Organized group of people.
2. Common aims, interests and demands.
3. Exert influence on the decision of the governing bodies.

Answer to Q.3: Interest groups are non – state entities which endeavor to influence government policies of a particular country.

Answer to Q.4: Lobbying usually refers to the process of political persuasion. It is also known as persuasion or interest representation.

Answer to Q.5: The term lobbyist was first coined by Ulysses S. Grant in the 1800s.

13. 13. MODEL QUESTIONS

A. Answer in one or two words.

Q.1: What is the other name for interest groups?

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

Q.1: Explain the methods used by pressure groups in fulfilling their demands.

Q.2: What are the functions of pressure groups?

Q.3: What are the functions of interest groups?

Q.4: Write a short note on lobbying.

Q.5: What is the difference between interest groups and pressure groups?

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

Q.1: What are the merits and demerits of pressure groups?

Q.2: Explain in detail about the various pressure groups in India.

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Unit 14: SOCIAL ISSUES IN INDIA: REGIONALISM; COMMUNALISM; ETHNICITY; MULTICULTURALISM

UNIT STRUCTURE

14.1 Learning Objectives

14.2 Introduction

14.3 Regionalism

14.3.1 Definition of Regionalism

14.3.2 Regionalism in India

14.3.3 Cause for regionalism

14.3.4 Dealing with Challenges of regionalism.

14.4 Communalism

14.4.1 Definition of communalism

14.4.2 Causes of communalism in India

14.4.3 Suggestions to Combat Communalism

14.5 Ethnicity

14.5.1 Classifying Ethnicity: Primordialist and Instrumentalist

14.6 Mutliculturalism

14.6.1 Defining Multiculturalism.

14.6.2 Multiculturalism in India

14.6.3 Advantages and Disadvantages of Multiculturalism

14.7 Let us sum up

14.8 Further Reading

14.9 Answer to check your progress

14.10 Possible questions

14.1 LEARNING OBJECTIVES

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

- understand a few social issues prevalent in India
- understand regionalism, communalism, ethnicity and multiculturalism

14.2 INTRODUCTION

Society is a complex of diverse cultures, people, beliefs and language. The complexity and richness gives the society a rich and vibrant character. As a result of this varied characteristics, the society also undergo changes. Social issues can be said to be a product of these changes in the society. India faces large number of social issues out of which few of them are discussed in detail.

14.3 REGIONALISM

The origin of the term regionalism can be said to have emerged from the word *region*. To define region in a political sense assumes an explicit significance as it incorporates a linkage to the issue of identity. Regional identity can be defined as the sense of identity given to a particular culture or a region, related to the way of lifestyle of the individuals of the region. Language forms another important feature for medium of expression of regional identity. Thus, regionalism, language and ethnicity can be termed to come together.

14.3.1 Definition of Regionalism

Regionalism is an ideology and political movement that seeks to advance the causes of regions. As a process it plays role within the nation as well as outside the nation i.e. at international level. Both in the national and international level, the types of regionalism have different meaning and have positive as well as negative impact on society, polity, diplomacy, economy, security, culture, development, negotiations, etc. At the international level, regionalism refers to transnational cooperation to meet a common goal or to resolve a shared problem or it refers to a group of countries such as-Western Europe, or Southeast Asia, linked by geography, history or economic features. Another meaning of the term regionalism in terms of the national level, refers to a process in which sub-state actors become increasingly powerful, power devolves from central level to regional governments.



CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

1. What is regional identity?

2. _____forms an important medium for expression of regional identity

3. The origin of the term regionalism can be said to have emerged from the word _____.

4. Regionalism is an _____and_____ that seeks to advance the causes of regions.

5. Defined in terms of international level, regionalism refers to _____ to meet a common goal or to resolve a shared problem.

6. Regionalism defined in national level refers to a process in which _____ become increasingly powerful.

14.3.2 Regionalism in India

Regionalism has remained a potent factor in Indian politics ever since independence (1947), if not before. Regionalism acted as the main basis for many regional political parties which have governed many states since the late 1960s.

In the post-independence period, India saw three clear patterns of accommodation of regional identity which culminated in granting of statehood. First, in the 1950s and 1960s, intense (ethnic) mass mobilisation, often taking on a violent character, was the main force behind the state's response with an institutional package for statehood. Andhra Pradesh in India's south showed the way. The fast unto death in 1952 of the legendary (Telugu) leader Potti Sriramulu for a state for the Telegu-speakers out of the composite Madras Presidency moved an otherwise reluctant Jawaharlal Nehru, a top nationalist leader and it was followed by State reorganisation commission under Fazal Ali paving way for State Reorganization Act, 1956.

Second, in the 1970s and 1980s, the main focus of reorganization was India's North-east. The basis of reorganization was tribal insurgency for separation and statehood. The main institutional response of the Union government was the North-eastern States Reorganisation Act, 1971 which upgraded the Union Territories of Manipur and Tripura, and the Sub-State of Meghalaya to full statehood, and Mizoram and Arunachal Pradesh (then Tribal Districts) to Union Territories. The latter became states in 1986. Goa (based on Konkani language (8th Schedule), became a state in 1987, was the sole exception. Third, the movements for the three new states (created in 2000)—Chhattisgarh out of Madhya Pradesh, Jharkhand out of Bihar and Uttaranchal out of Uttar Pradesh— were long-drawn but became vigorous in the 1990s. And the most recent one, we can see with the division of Andhra Pradesh, giving a separate Telangana, which started in 1950s.

14.3.3 Cause for regionalism

Regionalism could have flourished in India, when any region had felt that it was being culturally dominated or discriminated against. Few of the causes of regionalism are as follows- .

- **Low rate of economic growth:** The economic growth of India has been fluctuating since independence. In regard to the High population growth, the economic growth has been not enough to catch the development with full speed.

- **Socio-economic and political organisation of states:** Absence of adequate land reforms and the persisting feudal mentality acts as a major drawback. Bhoodan and Gramdaan movements, after independence, were not enthusiastically carried and even land under land Banks were not efficiently distributed. The political activities in the backward states were limited to vote bank politics and scams.

- **Lower level of infrastructural facilities in backward states:** The level of infrastructural development, such as- power distribution, irrigation

facilities, roads, modern markets for agricultural produce has been at back stage.

- **Political and administration failure:** This is source of tension and gives birth to sub-regional movements for separate states. Jharkhand, Chattisgarh, Uttrakhand and recently Telangana are result of these failure only. Many such demands are in pipeline such as- Vidarbha, Saurashtra, Darjeeling and Bodoland, etc. These failures also weakens the confidence of private players and do not attract investors in the states.

- **Existence of "Son of the soil" doctrine:** The "Son of the soil" doctrine explains a form of regionalism, which is in discussion since 1950. According to it, a state specifically belongs to the main linguistic group inhabiting it or that the state constitutes the exclusive homeland of its main language speakers, who are the sons of the soil or local residents.

14.3.4 Dealing with Challenges of regionalism.

The challenges to regionalism can be dealt by following the below mentioned provisions-

- Respect the federal character of the constitution
- Adoption of ethos of multiculturalism
- Promoting respect for human rights
- Bringing transparency, accountability, humane governance , sensitivity in governance.
- Reducing regional disparities
- Strengthening local self government



CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

7. Regionalism has remained a potent factor in _____ ever since independence.

8. In regard to the High population growth, the economic growth has been___.

9. _____ is a source of tension and gives birth to sub-regional movements for separate states.

10. What is the Son of the Soil Doctrine?

11. Mention some measures to deal with regionalism.

14.4 COMMUNALISM

Communalism can be said to have risen and grown as one of the major developments during the national movement. This ultimately led to the partition of India. Like nationalism, communalism too was a modern phenomenon and product of the same modern process-the growing economic, political and administrative unity of the country Communalism was generated by the lack of a deeper penetration of nationalist outlook and ideology.

Even after seventy years of independence, communalism continues to divide the Indian people.Jawaharlal Nehru had rightly pointed out that the greatest danger for this country is from communalism and not so much from external aggression. Communalism continues to be a very important problem in the path of national integration.

14.4.1 Definition of communalism

The word ‘communalism’ is used to describe an organisation / ideology they seeks to promote the interests of a section in the name of religion or tradition and opposes social change. Communalism envisages a religious community alone as its base and the universe of its political

ambition and action. Communalism, therefore, is a political orientation that recognises a religious community and not the nation and the nation-state as the terminal community, the final point of political allegiance.



CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

17. Communalism can be said to have risen and grown as one of the major developments during the.....

18. Define communalism?

19. Communalism envisages a ..... alone as its base and the universe of its political ambition and action.

20. What is the final form of political allegiance for communalism?

14.4.2 Causes of communalism in India

Nehru had termed communalism to be the Indian version of fascism. The main factors and forces which have encouraged the growth of communalism in contemporary India have been identified as under:

- **Historical Legacy-** It is a well known fact that the colonial rule found that religion could be profitably exploited in order to keep the larger community divided against itself and ensure the permanence of their own dominion. The British contributed in a very big way in the growth and development of communalism as per their policy of divide and rule.

- **Economic backwardness and illiteracy among muslims-** The Muslims were late in accepting the modern education system which was a major factor for them remaining backward during the British period. Being essentially orthodox in their outlook, the Muslims have by and large neglected the western scientific technological education. As a result of their education backwardness, they have not been able to secure adequate share in the public services, industry, trade etc. This

economic disparity between the two communities is creating a wide gap and many misunderstandings.

- **Separatism and isolationism among muslims-** The separatism and isolationism in Indian Muslims led to the Partition of the country. Unfortunately, this feeling has continued after the worst turmoil of partition. The communal groups among the Muslims are working against the goal of national unity. There is no change in the anti-Hindu bias of the Muslim League. Its consistent opposition to reform the Muslim Personal Law is a sufficient proof to explain its traditional separatist outlook. According to Moin Shakir, such organisations confuse religion with politics and economics and keep the masses ignorant of the realities and opportunities of the modern age.

- **Communal media, literature and textbooks**- The circulation of certain pamphlets such as 'Akali Patrika'. 'Sobat', 'Organiser' and others are no less responsible for the growth of communal forces. They often pass on news which causes communal tensions.The textbooks on history written by different scholars have also led to perpetuating communal cleavage. The historical textbooks instil a communalised interpretation in the minds of the people and students , thereby producing a generation with a distorted version of history and heritage.

- **Communal parties and organisation and electoral politics**- Hindu Mahasabha, Muslim League and the Akali Dal are some well known parties who have operationalised communal politics in India. They not only represent particular communities but also thrive on communal politics. Their leaders often use them to create communal tension so that they can gain benefits from this troubled problems.

- **Role of government**- The government, both the centre and the state are greatly responsible for the growth of communalism in the country. On most of the occasions the government was taken unaware by the sudden outburst of riots and failed to anticipate and take preventive

measures. The major drawback is that very few people who are accused of inciting the riots or participating in the communal riots are aften scott free. The government also failed to take firm action against the communal group.



CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

21. Nehru had termed communalism to be the Indian version of .....

22. The Muslims were late in accepting the _____which was a major factor for them remaining backward during the British period.

23. The separatism and isolationism in Indian Muslims led to the _____of the country.

24. What characteristic of communal groups can prove to be a drawback according to Moin Shakir?

25 Name some communal pamphlets?

26. The textbooks on history written by different scholars have also led to perpetuating _____

27. Name some parties who operationalise communal politics in India?

28. The major drawback is that very few people who are accused of inciting the riots origin the communal riots are actually_____.

14.4.3 Suggestions to Combat Communalism

Some of the measures to reduce communalism are listed below-

- Educational and economic upliftment and an environment of security and trust should be provided by the government to the Muslim community.

- Hindus can take the initiative to change the image of the other community held by them and liberal Muslims can reciprocate. To a considerable extent, it is this image that tend to generate communal tension and thinking. But Hindus and Muslims and other communities will have to generate a sense of trust within themselves.

- Generally, the communal tension among various communities is built up by the militant factions and organisations among these communities. Therefore efforts should be taken to curb the growth of such militant organisations.

- Reduction of economic disparities and inequalities is also essential to eliminate a feeling prevailing among the minority community that they are being discriminated against. If disparities are removed, communities shall tend to forget their separate identity.

- It is the politics which acts as the leveller of sectarian differences and not the ideal of Hinduism, Islam, Sikhism or Christianity, therefore development of a scientific outlook is necessary to encourage democracy and humanism.



CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

30. The communal tension among various communities is built up by the _____among these communities.

31. It is the_____ which acts as the leveller of sectarian differences and not the ideals of religion.

14.5 ETHNICITY

Ethnic communities play an important role in the society. The term ethnicity at the very onset appeared in the 1950s in the English language. Conventionally speaking, ethnicity can be defined in terms of shared genetic, racial and also linguistic traits. An individual's identity in terms of ethnicity can be derived from elements such as language, notion of shared descent,

myths and historical narratives, locality, co-residence and religion. Over the years, ethnic group has been defined as a collective of individuals who have a distinctive sense of awareness about their identity and also consider themselves to be different from others. Thus, the members of an ethnic group are held together by the knowledge of and emotional attachment to the collective. According to Schermerhorn , 'an ethnic group is defined here as a collectively within a larger society having real or putative common ancestry, memories of a shared historical past, and a cultural focus on one or more symbolic elements defined as the epitome of their people hood. Examples of such symbolic elements are: kinship patterns, physical contiguity (as in localism or sectionalism), religious affiliation, language or dialect forms, tribal affiliation, nationality, phenotypical features, or any combination of these. A necessary accompaniment is some consciousness of kind among members of the group.'

Moving further, ethnic identity cannot be considered as a static entity. It varies and various factors can be held accountable for the formulation of an ethnic identity, be it migration, ethnic assertion etc. Young Yun Kim argues that ethnic identity is not fixed but variable, and this is what accounts for the possibilities of assimilation or integration on the one hand and of pluralism or separatism on the other in the course of contact and communication across ethnic groups.



CHECK YOUR PROGRESS.

32._____play an important role in the society.

33. The term ethnicity at the very onset appeared in the _____in the English language.

34.Define ethnicity

35. Ethnic group has been defined as a _____ who have a distinctive sense of awareness about their identity and also consider themselves to be different from others.

36. What is Schermenon's definition of ethnicity?

37. Formation of ethnic identity is based on a _____ following a particular tradition, culture and speaking a particular language.

14.5.1 Classifying Ethnicity: Primordialist and Instrumentalist

In terms of defining ethnicity, two contradictory approaches have been presented by different schools; namely, the "Primordialists" and the "Instrumentalist", who have differing viewpoints in terms of defining ethnicity to be –"a given identity" and "a social construct" correspondingly.

According to the primordialist approach, ethnicity is a collective identity which is largely based on historical experience or biological roots. The primordialist view ethnicity to be something which is given and natural and comes from birth. According to primordialists, ethnic identity of a group can never change and remains with it until the group cease to exist. Primordialists assert that identity is summoned by deprived communities when they experience attrition of their existing privileges or when they attempt to overcome enduring denials of privileges. Thus, to draw from the primordialists, ethnic identity is used as a tool by groups and individuals who face downward mobility and also by those who seek to achieve upward mobility.

The instrumentalist view on the other hand, believes that ethnic identity is not fixed and can change in accordance with time and situation. According to this approach, an individual has full liberty to identify oneself with any ethnic identity which he/ she finds to be the most beneficial. Thus, individuals will seek to identify with an ethnic group which will prove to be most advantageous for them. Hence, according to the instrumentalist view, ethnic identities act as a political, social and economic resource.



CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

38. What is primordialist and instrumentalist definition of ethnicity?

39. According to primordialists, ethnic identity is used as a tool by groups and individuals who face _____ and also by those who seek to achieve _____.

40. The instrumentalist view believes that ethnic identity is not_____ and can change in accordance with time and situation.

14.6 MUTLICULTURALISM

14.6.1 Defining Multiculturalism.

Multiculturalism as an idea of contemporary political philosophy deals with understanding and responding to the challenges associated with cultural and religious diversity. The term"multicultural" is often used as a descriptive term to characterize the fact of diversity in a society. Thus, multiculturalism means accepting cultural diversity, and living with the other cultures with co-ordination and collaboration. Multiculturalism exemplifies accepting and encouraging distinctive and different cultural customs. It can range from giving equal rights to all cultures to accommodating cultural minorities.

However, scholars such as Bhiku Parekh present a different view on multiculturalism. According to him, multiculturalism is best understood neither as a political doctrine with a programmatic content nor a philosophical school with a distinct theory of man's place in the world but as a perspective on or a way of viewing human life. Parekh states that, multiculturalism possess three central features, each of which is sometimes misinterpreted by its advocates and needs to be carefully reformulated if it is to carry conviction. Firstly, human beings are culturally embedded in the sense that they grow up and live within a culturally structured world and organize their lives and social relations in terms of a culturally derived system of

meaning and significance. Secondly, different cultures have different systems of meaning and visions of the good life. However, every culture realises a limited range of human capacities and emotions and grasps only a part of the totality of human existence. Thus, other cultures are required for understanding the culture itself better. This mutual understanding among different cultures, will enable to stretch the imagination of the culture, thereby guarding it against the obvious temptation to absolutise itself. Thirdly, every culture is internally plural and reflects a continuing conversation between its different traditions and strands of thought. Thus, according to Bhiku Parekh, multiculturalism would mean a creative interplay among these three perspectives , i.e., the cultural embeddedness of human beings, the inescapability and desirability of cultural plurality, and the plural and multicultural constitution of each culture.



Check your progress.

41. Multiculturalism describes the _____, acceptance, or _____ of multiple cultural traditions within a single jurisdiction.

42. Multiculturalism promotes maintenance of _____ of multiple cultures.

43. Define Multiculturalism

14.6.2 Multiculturalism in India

As the 1961 Census of India states, there are 1652 indigenous languages in the country. The culture of India is an amalgamation of these diverse sub-cultures spread all over the Indian subcontinent and traditions that are several millennia old. In terms of religion, Hindus form the majority, followed by Muslims. The statistics are: Hindu (80.5%), Muslim (13.4%), Christian (2.3%), Sikh (2.1%), Buddhist, Bahá'í, Jain, Jew and Parsi populations. Linguistically, the two main language families in India are Indo-Aryan (a branch of Indo-European) and Dravidian. Further , in Northeast

India, people speaking Sino-Tibetan group and Tibeto –Burman languages are commonly found. India (officially) follows a three-language policy. Hindi (spoken in the form of Hindustani) is the official federal language, English has the federal status of associate/subsidiary official language and each state has its own state official language.

14.6.3 Advantages and Disadvantages of Multiculturalism

Multiculturalism has its own benefits and drawbacks. Some of them are discussed below-

ADVANTAGES

- **Tolerance**- Multiculturalism leads to development of a sense of tolerance for other cultures, thereby developing a sense of national harmony. This sense of tolerance leads to development of a sense of non-discrimination towards anyone , be it Religion, language, region etc.

- **Enhances national unity**- Cultural conflicts and hate usually cause a divide within a nation. However, cooperation, inclusion and respect assist in uniting a country. Multiculturalism therefore strengthens a country, especially if there are programs that work towards promoting cultural understanding and eliminating racism.

- **Education**- Multiculturalism brings in changes in the syllabus of subjects, like history, to accommodate a more comprehensive and broader version of the past events. A change in the syllabus gives exposure to children and they learn about different perspectives on a given topic.

- **Professional**- Multiculturalism results in employees coming from various cultures, who can contribute with a wider range of perspectives on an assignment. This mixture of cultural experiences helps in problem-solving, and thereby create a strong team. This diverse group of workers can augment the office environment, improving the work culture.

DISADVANTAGES

- **Education**- Children from ethnic minorities or immigrant families would take time in getting accustomed to a new environment. This may get reflected in their academic performance, when compared with that of the local children..

- **Fear of Influence**- A sense of fear can develop among the individuals residing in a multiculturalist society. As a multiculturalist society leads to development of acceptance of distinctiveness of all cultures, a sense of fear develops among the individuals that they would lose their original ethnic identities or lifestyle. Thus, individuals at times develop a protectionist tendency.

- **Risk of Social Conflict**- Social conflicts mostly take place due to differences in religious beliefs and practices, ethnic rituals, or certain ways of life that may cause a rift between two or more groups. However, in those countries that have adopted multiculturalism as an integrative policy, it has been noticed that conflicts arose mainly during financial crisis and due to lack of social programs.



CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

44. As the 1961 Census of India states, there are _____indigenous languages in the country.

45. Multiculturalism leads to development of a sense of _____for other cultures.

46. How does multiculturalism enhances national unity?

47. Why do people develop a sense of fear in a multiculturalist society?

48. Why does social conflict occur?



14.7 LET US SUM UP

- India faces large number of social issues.
- The origin of the term regionalism can be said to have emerged from the word *region*.
- Regional identity can be defined as the sense of identity given to a particular culture or a region.
- Regionalism is an ideology and political movement that seeks to advance the causes of regions
- Both in the national and international level , the types of regionalism have different meaning and have positive as well as negative impact on society, polity, diplomacy, economy, security, culture, development, negotiations, etc.
- Regionalism in India have emerged due to various reasons such as the -diversity of languages, cultures, ethnic groups, communities, religions and so on.
- India saw three clear patterns of accommodation of regional identity which culminated in granting of statehood.
- Communalism can be said to have risen and grown as one of the major developments during the national movement.
- The word 'communalism' is used to describe an organisation /ideology they seeks to promote the interests of a section of the presumably to the detriment of the society as a whole, or in the name of religion or tradition , opposes a social change
- Communalism envisages a religious community alone as its base and the universe of its political ambition and action.

- Ethnicity means belonging to a particular group or primordial considerations.
- In terms of defining ethnicity, two contradictory approaches have been presented by different schools; namely, the “Primordialists” and the “Instrumentalist”,
- Multiculturalism describes the existence, acceptance, or promotion of multiple cultural traditions within a single jurisdiction, usually considered in terms of the culture associated with an ethnic group



14.8 FURTHER READINGS

Rochana Bajpai, Multiculturalism in India: An Exception?

Mahajan, Gurpreet (1998), *Identities and Rights: Aspects of Liberal Democracy in India*. Delhi: Oxford University Press.

Kymlicka, Will and Baogang He (eds) (2005). *Multiculturalism in Asia*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

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14.9 ANSWER TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

1. Regional identity can be defined as the sense of identity given to a particular culture or a region. It is also related to the way of lifestyle of the individuals of the region
2. A large nation states would relate the origin of regionalism to the concept of subnational identity.
3. Language forms an important medium for expression of regional identity.
4. The origin of the term regionalism can be said to have emerged from the word region.

5. Regionalism is an ideology and political movement that seeks to advance the causes of regions.

6. Defined in terms of international level, regionalism refers to transnational cooperation to meet a common goal or to resolve a shared problem.

7. Regionalism defined in national level refers to a process in which sub-state actors become increasingly powerful.

8. Regionalism has remained a potent factor in Indian politics ever since independence.

9. In regard to the High population growth, the economic growth has been less

10. Political and administration failure is a source of tension and gives birth to sub-regional movements for separate states.

11. The Son of the Soil Doctrine explains a form of regionalism, According to it, a state specifically belongs to the main linguistic group inhabiting it or that the state constitutes the exclusive homeland of its main language speakers, who are the sons of the soil or local residents.

12. Regionalism is an emotive issue and so must be dealt with as more as a crisis of development and issue of participation rather than being an issue of crisis of nation building.

13. Regional recognition in terms of state hood or state autonomy gives self-determination to the people.

14. Measures to deal with are-

    a) Respect the federal character of the constitution
    b) Adoption of ethos of multiculturalism
    c) Promoting respect for human rights
    d) Bringing transparency, accountability, humane governance , sensitivity in governance.

e) Reducing regional disparities
f) Strengthening local self government

15. Communalism can be said to have risen and grown as one of the major developments during the national movement.

16. The word 'communalism' is used to describe an organisation /ideology they seeks to promote the interests of a section of the presumably to the detriment of the society as a whole, or in the name of religion or tradition , opposes a social change . It is thus, an epithet implying anti-social greed and reactionary outlook. It is based on the idea of an inherent antagonism based on irreconcilability of interests between two communities.

17. Communalism envisages a religious community alone as its base and the universe of its political ambition and action.

18. According to Communalism, the final point of political allegiance is a, religious community and not the nation and the nation-state as the terminal community.

19. Nehru had termed communalism to be the Indian version of fascism.

20. Minority communalism is born out of fear and majority communalism takes the form of political reaction

21. .The Muslims were late in accepting the modern education system which was a major factor for them remaining backward during the British period

22. The separatism and isolationism in Indian Muslims led to the Partition of the country.

23. According to Moin Shakir, communal groups confuse religion with politics and economics and keep the masses ignorant of the realities and opportunities of the modern age.

24. Akali Patrika, Sobat and Organiser.

25. The textbooks on history written by different scholars have also led to perpetuating communal cleavage.

26. Hindu Mahasabha, Muslim League and the Akali Dal are some well known parties who have operationalised communal politics in India.

27. The major drawback is that very few people who are accused of inciting the riots orin the communal riots are actually convicted .

28. The communal tension among various communities is built up by the militant organisations among these communities.

29. It is the politics which acts as the leveller of sectarian differences and not the ideals of religion.

30. Ethnic communities play an important role in the society.

31. The term ethnicity at the very onset appeared in the 1950s in the English language.

32. Ethnicity can be defined in terms of shared genetic, racial and also linguistic traits. An individual's identity in terms of ethnicity can be derived from elements such as language, notion of shared descent, myths and historical narratives, locality, co-residence and religion.

33. Ethnic group has been defined as a collective of individuals who have a distinctive sense of awareness about their identity and also consider themselves to be different from others.

34. Schermerhorn defines ethnicity as , 'an ethnic group is defined here as a collectively within a larger society having real or putative common ancestry, memories of a shared historical past, and a cultural focus on one or more symbolic elements defined as the epitome of their people hood. Examples of such symbolic elements are: kinship patterns, physical contiguity (as in localism or sectionalism), religious affiliation, language or dialect forms, tribal affiliation, nationality, phenotypical

features, or any combination of these. A necessary accompaniment is some consciousness of kind among members of the group.

35. Formation of ethnic identity is based on a shared ancestry, following a particular tradition, culture and speaking a particular language.

36. According to the primordialist approach, ethnicity is a collective identity which is largely based on historical experience or biological roots. Thus, identity formation, according to this perspective will be premised on fraternity or ancestry; and are therefore, based on human history and experience. The instrumentalist view on the other hand, believes that ethnic identity is not fixed and can change in accordance with time and situation. According to this approach, an individual has full liberty to identify oneself with any ethnic identity which acts to her/ him to be the most beneficial.

37. According to primordialist, ethnicity is something which is given and natural and comes from birth.

38. The instrumentalist view believes that ethnic identity is not fixed and can change in accordance with time and situation.

39. Multiculturalism describes the existence, acceptance, or promotion of multiple cultural traditions within a single jurisdiction.

40. Multiculturalism promotes maintenance of distinctiveness of multiple cultures.

41. Multiculturalism as an idea of contemporary political philosophy deals with understanding and responding to the challenges associated with cultural and religious diversity. Thus, multiculturalism means accepting cultural diversity, and living with the other cultures with co-ordination and collaboration. Multiculturalism exemplifies accepting and encouraging distinctive and different cultural customs. It can range

from giving equal rights to all cultures to accommodating cultural minorities.

42. As the 1961 Census of India states, there are 1652 indigenous languages in the country.

43. Multiculturalism leads to development of a sense of tolerance for other cultures

44. Multiculturalism enhances national unity because it increases cooperation, inclusion and respect assist in uniting a country. Multiculturalism therefore strengthens a country, especially if there are programs that work towards promoting cultural understanding and eliminating racism.

45. A multiculturalist society leads to development of acceptance of distinctiveness of all cultures, a sense of fear develops among the individuals that they would lose their original ethnic identities or lifestyle.

46. Social conflicts mostly take place due to differences in religious beliefs and practices, ethnic rituals, or certain ways of life that may cause a rift between two or more groups.

14.10 POSIBLE QUESTIONS

1. Define regionalism in terms of international level and national level.
2. What are the three clear patterns of accommodation of regional identity that India saw in the post-independence period?
3. Enlist some causes of regionalism.
4. What are the causes of communalism?
5. Enlist some measures to curb communalism
6. Describe the Primordialist and Instrumentalist classifications of Ethnicity?

7. How does Bhiku Parekh define Multiculturalism?

8. Enlist some advantages of multiculturalism and dis- advantages of multiculturalism?

*** ***** ***



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- https://www.tripsavvy.com/faqs-about-lobbying-1039165

- https://represent.us/action/is-lobbying-good-or-bad/
- https://www.tripsavvy.com/faqs-about-lobbying-1039165

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Learner's Feedback on Course

Dear Learner,

Regarding the course as mentioned above, we would like to know your opinions and comments so as to improve the quality of self learning materials in future. Please respond to the following statements by ticking the number you feel most reflect your opinion. After completion of the additional comments, please detach the page and send/mail the same to us at the address given below.

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1. Approximately how many hours did you spend for studying the units in the course?

2. Please give your opinions (by √ mark) to the following items based on your reading of the block:

Sl. No.	Statements	Strongly Agree	Agree	Neither Agree nor Disagree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
I.	The SLMs of the course fulfil the learning objectives set out in the beginning of each unit					
II.	The units of the SLM could satisfy my academic needs and expectations					
III.	The Unit writers have excellent knowledge about the course contents					
IV.	Language and contents of the units were presented at a level which I could readily understand					
V.	Ample opportunity for participation in the activities provided in the units					
VI.	Used enough Illustrations (Diagrams, tables etc.) for conceptual clarity					
VII.	Quality of content is engaging, relevant, and up-to-date					
VIII.	The self check questions are very helpful					
IX.	The Possible/model questions and the answers to check my progress have benefited me a lot					

Additional Comments: *(Please feel free to provide your open comments)*

1. Which aspects of the SLM, according to you, worked well?

---

2. What sort of changes/improvements do you feel KKHSOU could implement to improve the overall quality of the SLM?

Thank you for taking the time to complete this form.

******

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