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POLITICAL SOCIOLOGY

SEMESTER III

POLITICAL SCIENCE

BLOCK : 1

KRISHNA KANTA HANDIQUI STATE OPEN UNIVERSITY

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MASTER OF ARTS
POLITICAL SCIENCE
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COURSE INTRODUCTION

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

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

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

domestic violence. Here, the causes and factors responsible for domestic violence are analysed elaborately. Besides, various legal provisions to check domestic violence are also explained here. The fourteenth unit focusses the issue of child labour in India. It is related with the nature and forms of child labour in India and the constitutional provisions to combat child labour. Finally, the fifteenth unit deals with another important aspect of political sociology i.e. women empowerment in India. Status of women in Indian society, obstacles in the way of women empowerment in India, constitutional and legislative provisions for women empowerment in India and future of women empowerment in India are analysed in this unit.

The course "Political Sociology" is divided into two blocks- Block 1 and Block 2. Block 1 contains eight units (Unit 1 - 8) and Block 2 contains seven units (Unit 9 - 15).

INTRODUCTION TO BLOCK- 1

This is the first block of the fourth course or paper of Krishna Kanta Handiqui State Open University's M. A. Third Semester Programme in Political Science. The fourth course or paper of the MA Third Semester Programme in Political Science is titled as "Political Sociology". The first block of this course contains eight units- (Units 1-8).

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

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

While going through the units of the block, you will find that the units are further divided into certain sections and sub-sections, wherever necessary, for your better understanding. Besides, in order to give you additional information on certain relevant topics, you will find a category called "LET US KNOW" after the sections in each unit. Another category that has been included at the end of each section of a particular unit is "CHECK YOUR PROGRESS". The purpose of this category is to help you to assess for yourself as to how thoroughly you have understood a particular section. You may then

match your answers with "ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS" given at the end of each unit. The section "FURTHER READING" in each unit contains the names of a few books which you might want to consult if you are interested in learning more elaborately about the concepts discussed in a particular unit. Furthermore, the category called "POSSIBLE QUESTIONS" is intended to give you a hint of the type of questions you are likely to get in the examination.

UNIT 1: POLITICAL SOCIOLOGY

UNIT STRUCTURE

1.1 Learning Objectives

1.2 Introduction

1.3 Meaning of Political Sociology

1.4 Nature of Political Sociology

1.5 Scope of Political Sociology

1.6 Relationship between Political Sociology and Political Science

1.7 Political Sociology: Marxian and Weberian Approach

1.8 Let Us Sum Up

1.9 Further Reading

1.10 Answers to Check Your Progress

1.11 Possible Questions

1.1 LEARNING OBJECTIVES

After going through this unit you will be able to-

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

1.2 INTRODUCTION

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

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

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

1.3 MEANING OF POLITICAL SOCIOLOGY

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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



CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

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

.....

.....

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

.....

.....

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

.....

.....

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

.....

.....

1.4 NATURE OF POLITICAL SOCIOLOGY

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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



CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

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

.....

.....

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

.....

.....

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

.....

.....

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

.....

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1.5 SCOPE OF POLITICAL SOCIOLOGY

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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



CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

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

.....

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

.....

.....

Q.11: Discuss four scope of political sociology.

.....

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1.6 RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN POLITICAL SOCIOLOGY AND POLITICAL SCIENCE

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

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

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

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

1.7 POLITICAL SOCIOLOGY: MARXIAN AND WEBERIAN APPROACH

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

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

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

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

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

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

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



CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

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

.....

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

.....

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

.....

.....

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

.....

.....



1.8 LET US SUM UP

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

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

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



1.9 FURTHER READING

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

1.10 ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

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

Ans. to Q. No. 2: True.

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

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

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

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

Ans. to Q. No. 6: True.

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

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

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

Ans. to Q. No. 9: True.

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

include studies on elites and their leadership styles.

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

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

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

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

4) It studies political culture.

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

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

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

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



1.11 POSSIBLE QUESTIONS

A) Very Short Questions

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

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

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

Q. 4: Mention one scope of political sociology.

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

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

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

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

Q. 4: Explain major scope of Political Sociology.

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

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

Q. 2: Discuss the scope of Political Sociology.

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UNIT 2: EVOLUTION OF POLITICAL SOCIOLOGY AS A DISCIPLINE

UNIT STRUCTURE

2.1 Learning Objectives

2.2 Introduction

2.3 Origin and Development of Political Sociology as a Discipline

2.3.1 Factors Responsible for the Growth of the Discipline

2.4 Contribution of Karl Marx

2.5 Contribution of Max Weber

2.6 Let Us Sum Up

2.7 Further Reading

2.8 Answers to Check Your Progress

2.9 Possible Questions

2.1 LEARNING OBJECTIVES

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

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

2.2 INTRODUCTION

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

2.3 ORIGIN AND DEVELOPMENT OF POLITICAL SOCIOLOGY AS A DISCIPLINE

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

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

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

2.3.1 Factors Responsible for the Growth of the Discipline

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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



CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

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

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Q.2: Define Political Sociology.

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

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

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.....

2.4 CONTRIBUTION OF KARL MARX

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

The contribution of Karl Marx falls into three categories -

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

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

c) Methodology - Scientific Socialism

- **Dialectical Materialism**

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

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

- **Historical Materialism/ Economic Determinism**

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

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

- **Class Struggle**

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

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

- **Class Alienation and consciousness**

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

- **Surplus Value**

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

- **Methodology**

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

2.5 CONTRIBUTION OF MAX WEBER

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

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

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

- **Social Order and Social Class**

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

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

- **Authority**

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

  a) Traditional Authority

  b) Rational Legal Authority

  c) Charismatic Authority

- **Traditional Authority**

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

- **Rational Legal Authority**

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

- **Charismatic Authority**

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

- **Bureaucracy**

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

Max Weber identified the following features of bureaucracy-

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

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

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

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

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

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

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



CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Q.5: What do you mean by Dialectic?

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

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

.....

.....

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

.....

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

.....

.....

Q.10: What do you mean by bureaucracy?

.....



2.6 LET US SUM UP

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

- The contribution of Karl Marx falls into three headings -
  a) General Theory- Dialectical Materialism, Historical Materialism/ Economic Determinism
  b) Special Theory- Class Struggle, Class alienation and consciousness, Surplus Value
  c) Methodology - Scientific Socialism
- Max Weber, a German Sociologist, was another significant contributor to Political Sociology. In his 'Protestant Ethics and the Spirit of Capitalism', Weber was of the opinion that it is the sociological factors that shape the political analysis. According to him, human history has been shaped by non-material and non-political factors. He made a modification in the Marxist philosophy of historical materialism.
- Max Weber laid the foundation of Political Sociology by offering his views on social order and social class, authority and bureaucracy.



2.7 FURTHER READING

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

2.8 ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Ans. to Q. No. 1: Max Weber

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

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

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

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

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

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

d) Inter relationship between state and society : With the realization of the limitations of legalistic and institutional approaches that at the advent of the 20th century, a silent revolution

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Class Struggle

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

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

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

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

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

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



2.9 POSSIBLE QUESTIONS

A) Very Short Questions

Q. 1: State the meaning of political sociology.

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

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

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

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

Q. 2: Briefly explain the characteristics of bureaucracy.

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

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

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

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

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

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UNIT 3: POLITICAL SOCIALIZATION

UNIT STRUCTURE

3.1 Learning Objectives

3.2 Introduction

3.3 Meaning and Nature of Political Socialisation

3.4 Agents of Political Socialisation

3.5 Forms of Political Socialisation

3.6 Importance of Political Socialisation

3.7 Let Us Sum Up

3.8 Further Reading

3.9 Answers to Check Your Progress

3.10 Possible questions

3.1 LEARNING OBJECTIVES

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

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

3.2 INTRODUCTION

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

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

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

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

3.3 MEANING AND NATURE OF POLITICAL SOCIALISATION

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

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

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

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

3.4 AGENTS OF POLITICAL SOCIALISATION

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

- **Family:**

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

- **Educational Institutions:**

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

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

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

- **Peer Groups:**

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

a conspicuous informal way and influence the behaviour of the children and in building their socio political personality in the context of vast political system of which the children will be responsible members.

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

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

- **Political Parties:**

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

- **Role of Mass Media**

Mass media is also another major agency of political socialisation which cannot be ignored. It is true that media are the agents of

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

- **Role of Religion:**

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

- **Political Parties:**

  At the same time, it may be stated that the political parties disseminate political knowledge and values, mobilize political action and train political leaders. Individuals come directly into contact with the governmental functionaries. They come to know for what purpose the government stands for and what the government is doing. If the

government does something good, then the idea of obedience is reinforced amongst the individuals. If the government develops vested interests and it ignores the interests of the labour class, then the individuals is bound to resent such action.

- **Role of Symbols:**

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



CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Q.1: What is meant by political Socialisation?

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.....

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

.....

.....

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

.....

.....

3.5 FORMS OF POLITICAL SOCIALIZATION

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

Direct or Manifest political socialization : It is the process in which the content of the transmitted information, values or feelings is political. An individual, under the influence of family, teachers or other some agencies

learns explicitly about the patterns and functions of the government and ideology of political parties. The experiences with government institutions, civics course in schools giving information about democracy, rights to citizens, fundamental duties and directive principles of state policy also result in direct political socialization.

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



CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

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

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.....

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

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.....

3.6 IMPORTANCE OF POLITICAL SOCIALISATION

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

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



3.7 LET US SUM UP

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

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

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



3.8 FURTHER READING

1. Akinchan, Sita Ram (1982). *Urban Growth and Political Socialization in India. Patna*: Janki Prakashan.
2. Almond, G.A. and Verba, Sidney (1972). *The Civic Culture: Political Attitudes and Democracy in Five Nations*, Boston: Little Brown and Company.

3. Almond, G.A. and Powell, B. (1966). *Comparative Politics: A Developmental Approach*, Boston: Little Brown and Co.
4. Apter, David (ed.) (1964). *Ideology and Discontent*. New York: The Free Press of Glencoe.
5. Brown, F. (1939). *The Sociology of Childhood*. New York: Prentice Hall.
6. Buckley, C.J. (1948). *The Use of Schools as Direct Instrument of Democracy*. London: University of London Press.

3.9 ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

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

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



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

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

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

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

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



3.10 POSSIBLE QUESTIONS

A) Very Short Questions

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Q. 4: Explain the scope of Political Socialisation.

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

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

Q. 2: Discuss the importance of Political Socialisation.

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UNIT 4: POLITICAL CULTURE

UNIT STRUCTURE

4.1 Learning Objectives

4.2 Introduction

4.3 Meaning and Nature of Political Culture

4.4 Theories of Political Culture

4.5 Types of Political Culture

4.6 Development of Political Culture

4.7 Role and Utility of Political Culture

4.8 Let Us Sum Up

4.9 Further Reading

4.10 Answers to Check Your Progress

4.11 Possible Questions

4.1 LEARNING OBJECTIVES

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

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

4.2 INTRODUCTION

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

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

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

4.3 MEANING AND NATURE OF POLITICAL CULTURE

Meaning:

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

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

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

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

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

According to **Patrick O'Neil**, "Political Culture refers specifically to the basic norms for political activity in a society. It is a determining factor in

what ideologies will dominate a country's political regime, it is unique to a given country or group of people."

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

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

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

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

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

Nature:

- Just as culture is an accumulation of thoughts, values and objects- the social heritage acquired by us from preceding generations

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

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

LET US KNOW



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

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



CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

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

.....

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

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

.....

.....

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

.....

.....

4.4 THEORIES OF POLITICAL CULTURE

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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



ACTIVITY 4.1

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



CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

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

.....

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

.....

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

.....

4.5 TYPES OF POLITICAL CULTURE

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

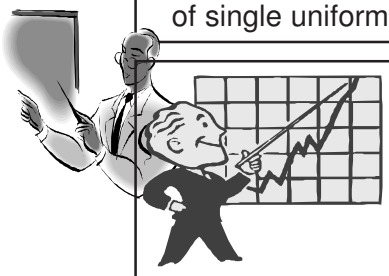


Civic Culture: - is a political culture characterized by "acceptance of the authority of the state" and "a belief in participation in civic duties". The term was first used in Gabriel Almond and Sidney Verba's book, The Civic Culture.

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

LET US KNOW

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



CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

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

.....

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

.....

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

.....

4.6 DEVELOPMENT OF POLITICAL CULTURE

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

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

- **Political Continuity or Discontinuity-** The continuity or discontinuity of a political system determines the nature of its political culture. Continuity of political process helps the evolution of a participant political culture and secures the linkage between the past and the present. In Britain, British Monarch had been merged with Democracy, conservatism stands supplemented by liberalism. In USA too, the continuity of political tradition has helped the evolution of a developed and participant political culture. Pakistan's stints with democracy between two long periods of military dictatorships have hindered the process of development of a uniform and stable political culture.

- **Historical Factors-** History plays an important role in the making and evolution of Political Culture. Historical events always influence the shaping of political culture in a big way. French political culture bears a deep impact of the French Revolution and the Declaration of Rights of Man and Citizens. Likewise, the American Declaration of Independence, the War of Independence and the Civil War of mid 19th Century exercised a big influence upon the American Political Culture. In case of British Political Culture, the signing of Magna Carta 1215, Petition of Rights 1628, the 17th century struggles between the King and the Parliament over the issue of sovereignty, the Glorious Revolution of 1688 etc. have all played a deterministic role. Soviet Political Culture stands determined by the Socialist Revolution of 1917. Indian Political Culture bears the influence of events of the freedom struggle and the contact with western civilization and culture.

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



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

CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

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

.....

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

.....

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

.....

4.7 ROLE AND UTILITY OF POLITICAL CULTURE

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

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

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

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

- The political culture approach cannot be described as a very precise variable for presenting a morphological study of modern political systems. The terms coined by the protagonists of this approach are neither very clear nor very precise as a result of which a student of comparative politics is often confronted with a confusing situation. Thus, it has been pointed out that the concept of political culture is an attempt to find one rubric to include what, in the past, have been variously described as attitudes to politics, political values, ideologies, national character, and cultural ethos, etc. None of these terms are sufficiently broad to provide a basis for classifying political systems, though each one of them separately is relevant to the study of comparative politics, but each one is vague and ambiguous and, as such, serves only as a source of confusion for those attempting to compare political system methodically.

- Being a derivative of the political development approach, it suffers from the stigma of conservatism and reactionary in character. Even Almond and Powell have realized that this approach cannot be taken as a correct barometer of individual behaviour. They affirm that a careful analysis of political culture still provides no sure guide, perhaps at best a probabilistic one, for the prediction of individual behaviour in a given case.

- If political culture is nothing else than a set of beliefs and sentiments about politics as embodied in the verbal and non-verbal behaviour of the people and depending upon the specific content of the notion

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

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



CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

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

.....

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

.....

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

.....



4.8 LET US SUM UP

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



4.9 FURTHER READING

1. Johari, J.C. (2017). *Comparative Politics*. New Delhi: Sterling Publishers (P) Ltd.

2. Kumar, M. (2004). *Comparative Politics and Political Analysis*. New Delhi: Anmol Publications.
3. Ray, S.N. (2006). *Modern Comparative Politics*. New Delhi: Prentice Hall of India Private Limited.

4.10 ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Ans. to Q. No. 1: True

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

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

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

Ans. to Q. No. 5: True

Ans. to Q. No. 6: Orientations

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

Ans. to Q. No. 8: False

Ans. to Q. No. 9: Organized

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

Mature Political Culture- As observed in Britain, America, Australia

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

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

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

Ans. to Q. No. 11: True

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

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

Ans. to Q. No. 14: True

Ans. to Q. No. 15: Modern

Ans. to Q. No. 16: a) Being a derivative of the political development approach, it suffers from the stigma of conservatism and reactionary

in character and b) If political culture is nothing else than a set of beliefs and sentiments about politics as embodied in the verbal and non-verbal behavior of the people and depending upon the specific content of the notion of political development, it is bound to be conducive or antagonistic to it.



4.11 POSSIBLE QUESTIONS

A) Very Short Questions

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

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

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

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

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

Q. 2: Define Political Culture.

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

Q. 4: Explain Almond Classification of Political Culture.

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

Q. 1: Explain the distinctive features of bureaucracy.

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

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UNIT 5: CIVIL SOCIETY

UNIT STRUCTURE

5.1 Learning Objectives

5.2 Introduction

5.3 Meaning and Nature of Civil Society

5.4 State-Civil Society Dichotomy

5.5 Dynamics of Civil Society

5.6 Let Us Sum Up

5.7 Further Reading

5.8 Answers to Check Your Progress

5.9 Possible Questions

5.1 LEARNING OBJECTIVES

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

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

5.2 INTRODUCTION

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

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

5.3 MEANING AND NATURE OF CIVIL SOCIETY

Meaning:

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

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

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

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

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



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

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

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

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

Now, let us look at some of the definitions of civil society which would in turn help us to understand the meaning of the term more clearly.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Nature:

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

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

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

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

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

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

LET US KNOW

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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



CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

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

.....

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

.....

Q.3: What is Civil Society?

.....

.....

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

.....

5.4 STATE-CIVIL SOCIETY DICHOTOMY

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

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

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

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

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



ACTIVITY 5.1

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

CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

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

.....

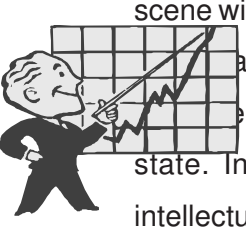
Q.6: For Locke, 'civil society' means a legitimate political order centered on _____. (Fill in the blanks)

.....

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

.....

5.5 DYNAMICS OF CIVIL SOCIETY



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



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

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

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

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



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

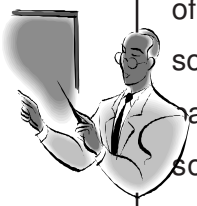
- **For communitarians** of both the left and the right, civil society enabled articulation of their concerns about community life. Communitarians in western societies are critical of the sole emphasis on individual rights in classical liberalism and took for a political philosophy emphasizing personal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

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

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

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

LET US KNOW



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

CHECK YOUR PROGRESS



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

.....

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

.....

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

.....



5.6 LET US SUM UP

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



5.7 FURTHER READING

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

5.8 ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Ans. to Q. No. 1: True

Ans. to Q. No. 2: Government

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

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

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

Ans. to Q. No. 5: John Lock

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

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

Ans. to Q. No. 8: True

Ans. to Q. No. 9: Community Life

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



5.9 POSSIBLE QUESTIONS

A) Very Short Questions

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Q. 4: Define Civil Society.

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

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

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

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UNIT 6: POLITICAL PARTICIPATION

UNIT STRUCTURE

6.1 Learning Objectives

6.2 Introduction

6.3 Political Participation - Its Meaning and Definitions

6.4 Nature of Political Participation

6.5 Stages of Political Participation

6.6 Forms of Political Participation

6.7 Determinants of Political Participation

6.8 Importance of Political Participation

6.9 Let Us Sum Up

6.10 Further Reading

6.11 Answers to Check Your Progress

6.12 Possible Questions

6.1 LEARNING OBJECTIVES

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

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

6.2 INTRODUCTION

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

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

6.3 POLITICAL PARTICIPATION - ITS MEANING AND DEFINITIONS

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

(as cited mukhopadhyay, 2013 P-116)

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

6.4 NATURE OF POLITICAL PARTICIPATION

The Nature of Political participation can be studied as under:

1. Link with Political culture

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

2) Popular Sovereignty

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

3) Political participation and Patriotism

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

4) Political Participation is multifunctional

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

5) Providing inputs to the political system

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

6) Equality

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

7) Liberty

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

8) Political Participation and political Rights

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



CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Q.1: How does McCloskey define political participation?

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.....

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

.....

.....

Q.3: Why political participation is called multifunctional?

.....

.....

6.5 STAGES OF POLITICAL PARTICIPATION

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

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

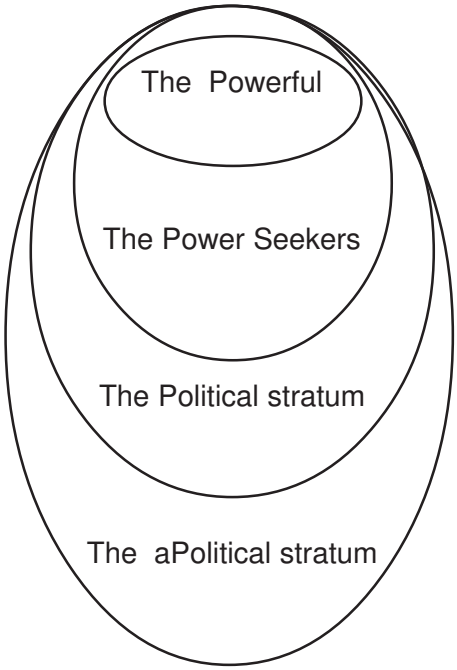
i) The apolitical stratum

ii) The political stratum

iii) The power seekers stage

iv) The powerful stage

These stages can be shown as under-



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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

- If one is able to overcome fewer obstacles.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

The Ladder of Citizen Participation: views of Sherry Arnstein:

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

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

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

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

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

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

6.6 FORMS OF POLITICAL PARTICIPATION

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

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

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

Let us discuss these forms in details-

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

Devices of direct political participation:

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

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

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

D) **Recall:** Recall is one of the most powerful device and most important weapons of direct participation in politics. Through this method people can call back their elected representatives, if they feel that their representatives have failed to serve their

interest. Then in place of him they can elect another person as their representative.

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

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

2) **Indirect political participation:**

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

3) **Active political participation:**

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

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

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

5) **Parochial participation:**

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

6) **Instrumental political participation:**

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

7) **Expressive political participation:**

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

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

8) **Legitimate political participation:**

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

9) **Illegitimate political participation:**

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

10) **Coercive political participation:**

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

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



CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Q.4: What is a Political Stratum?

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Q.5: Who is power seeker?

.....

Q.6: What is landsgemeinde?

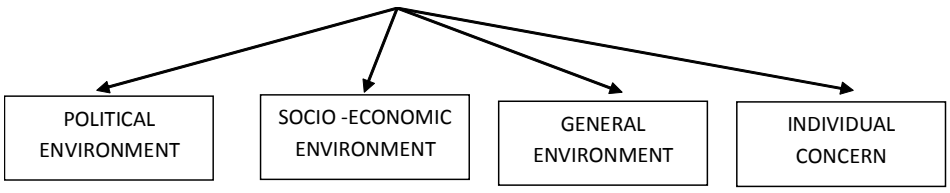
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6.7 DETERMINANTS OF POLITICAL PARTICIPATION

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

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

Factors of political participation



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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

C) GENERAL ENVIRONMENT:

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

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

produced an increased political participation as a reaction against repressive policies of that era.

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

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

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

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

6.8 IMPORTANCE OF POLITICAL PARTICIPATION

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

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

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

- **Lesser chance of revolution**

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

- **Idea of common good**

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

- **Spirit of equality and liberty**

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

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

- **Imparting Political education**

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

- **Promotion of Moral Value**

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

- **Obedience to laws**

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

- **Peace and security**

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

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

- **Spirit of patriotism**

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

- **Execution of public policy**

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



CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

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

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

.....

.....



6.9 LET US SUM UP

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

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



6.10 FURTHER READING

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Web Links:

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

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

6.11 ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

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

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

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

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

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

Ans. to Q. No. 6: Landsgemeinde is the oldest form of direct political participation of the masses and it is still operating in two cantons of Swiss political system. Under this system all the adult citizens of cantons can assemble together once in a year and held open air meeting to discuss and take decisions about the problems and issues faced by them.

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

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



6.12 POSSIBLE QUESTIONS

A) Very Short Questions

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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UNIT 7: SOCIAL CHANGE

UNIT STRUCTURE

7.1 Learning Objectives

7.2 Introduction

7.3 Meaning and Definition of Social Change

7.4 Nature of Social Change

7.5 Theories of Social Change.

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

7.6 Agents of Social Change

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

7.7 Resistance to Social Change

7.8 Let Us Sum Up

7.9 Further Reading

7.10 Answers to Check Your Progress

7.11 Possible Questions

7.1 LEARNING OBJECTIVES

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

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

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

7.2 INTRODUCTION

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

7.3 MEANING AND DEFINITION OF SOCIAI CHANGE

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

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

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

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

7.4 NATURE OF SOCIAL CHANGE

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

- **A Universal Phenomenon**

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

- **A Continuous Process**

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

- **Social change is not individual**

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

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

- **Law of the nature**

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

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

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

- **Social change depends on time factor**

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

- **Interaction of multiple factors**

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

- **Man-made and natural change**

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

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

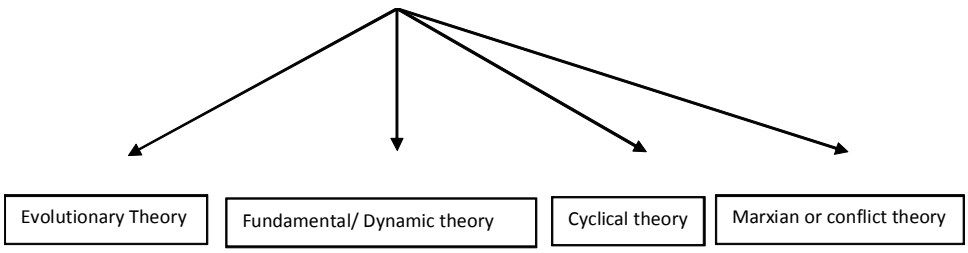
- **Chain system effect**

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

These are the some common features of social change.

7.5 THEORIES OF SOCIAL CHANGE

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



7.5.1 Evolutionary Theory

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

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

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

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

7.5.2 Cyclical Theories

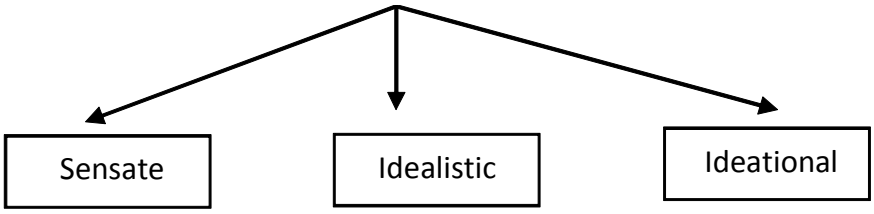
The main exponents of cyclical theory of social change were Oswald Spengler, Arnold Toynbee and P. A. Sorokin In addition to them the name of Vilfredo Pareto is also associated with this theory. How social change occur? They answered in the following ways.

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

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

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

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



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

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

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

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

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

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

7.5.3 Functionalist/Equilibrium Theory

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

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

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

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

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

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

7.5.4 Conflict Theory or Marxian Theory of Social Change

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

➢ **Drawbacks of conflict theory**

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

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

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

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

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

CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

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

.....

.....

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



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.....

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

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7.6 AGENTS OF SOCIAL CHANGE

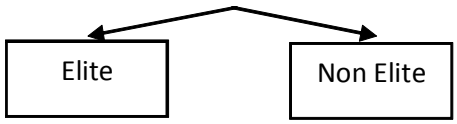
There are some agents of social change namely elites, masses, social movements, political parties, pressure groups, bureaucracy, civil society etc. These can be studied as follows:

7.6.1 Elites

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

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

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



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

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

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

7.6.2 Masses

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

7.6.3 Social Movements

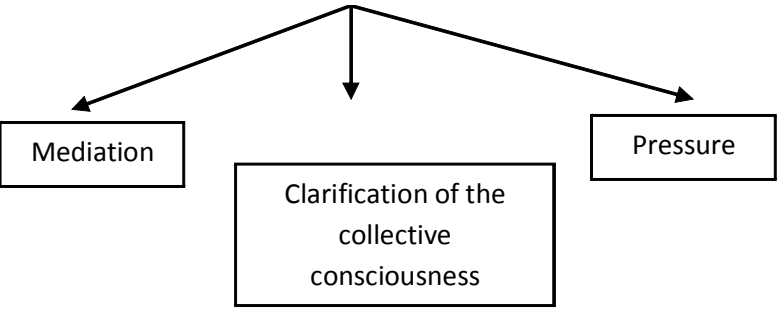
Social movement as an agent of social change means a form of collective behaviour and a type of group action of people to bring about a change or to combat any change in society. In Social movement rather remaining silent Spectators or meek Participants in social occurring, people come out actively to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

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

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

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

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



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

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

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

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

Clarification of the collective consciousness:

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

Pressure:

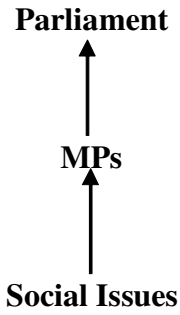
Thirdly, as an agent of social change, social movement exerts pressure on individuals in authority and on elite in power. As a result of which social movements are able to change the course of history. In the age of modern science and technology, it becomes very easy to put pressure upon the authority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

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

7.6.4 Political Parties

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

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



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

7.6.5 Pressure Groups

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

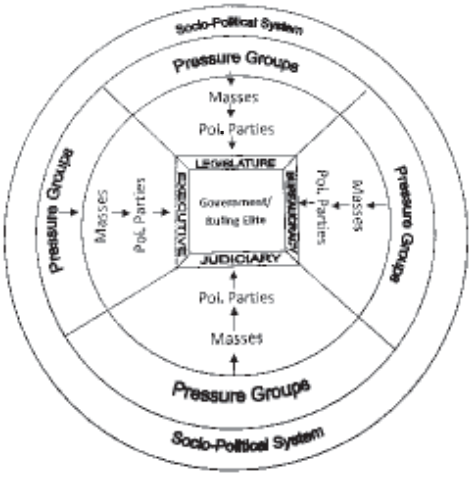
which want to capture political power or form a government, the aim of pressure groups are not to capture political power but to influence or put pressure upon the government to meet their needs. Different thinkers have defined pressure groups in different ways-

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

H. Zeigler, defines pressure group as "an organized aggregate which seeks to influence the context of governmental decisions without attempting to place its members in formal governmental capacities." Scholars, like V. O. Key has defined it as - "Pressure groups are private associations formed to influence public policy.

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

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



Pressure /influence of pressure groups on Government.

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

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

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

7.6.6 Bureaucracy

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

7.6.7 CIVIL SOCIETY

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

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

(as cited in Laxmikanth2011, pg 227)

Thus it is seen -

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

Some of the examples of civil society organizations.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

7.7 RESISTANCE TO SOCIAL CHANGE

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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



CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

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

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

.....

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

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7.8 LET US SUM UP

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

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



7.9 FURTHER READING

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

7.10 ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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



7.11 POSSIBLE QUESTIONS

A) Very Short Questions

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Q. 6: Mention four features of civil society.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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UNIT 8: VIOLENCE

UNIT STRUCTURE

8.1 Learning Objectives

8.2 Introduction

8.3 Meaning and Nature of Violence

8.3.1 Forms of Violence

8.4 Theories of Violence

8.5 Impact of Violence in the Society

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-

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

8.2 INTRODUCTION

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

express it- Violently or non-violently. Gandhi, Dalai Lama and many others choose to express conflicts non-violently.

8.3 MEANING AND NATURE OF VIOLENCE

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

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

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

Galtung, who had significantly defined structural violence as the systematic ways in which a given regime prevents individuals from achieving their full potential. The term 'structural violence' was for the first time,

commonly used by Johan Galtung in 1970. Structural violence is a systematic way of violence in which a particular social structure or institutional mechanism kills individuals by depriving them from minimum needs. We can categorize institutionalized elitism, ethnocentrism, classism, racism, sexism, adultism, nationalism, heterosexism etc as the notable examples of structural violence. Due to the socio-political and economic exploitation and domination, life spans of the individuals are reduced. In different occasions, structural violence often culminate into violent conflict or direct form of violence including family violence, racial violence, hate crimes, terrorism, genocide and war.

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

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

An encyclopaedia article provides an explanation to the much-discussed term of 'Structural violence', "Violence is built into the social system and expresses itself in the unequal distribution of power and, as a result, unequal opportunities (i.e inequality in the distribution of income, education, opportunities etc). So far as Galtung is concerned, structural violence is synonymous with 'Social Injustices'.

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

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

8.3.1 Forms of Violence

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

1. **Direct or Physical Violence:** This form of violence is based entirely on physical assault or direct attack like hurting someone, slap on the face etc. Direct or physical violence is the last result of a violent activity conducted by human being against others after developing a violent mind. Cultural and structural violence causes direct violence which was also elaborated by Johan Galtung as well.
2. **Psychological Violence:** This type of violence basically arose in pre-conflict and post-conflict situation. Any sorts of conduct which injects the individual's psychological integrity through coercion are known as psychological violence. Fear psychosis, deep traumatic stress, domestic violence etc are some of the stances of psychological violence. Post traumatic disorder also a part of psychological violence. Prolonged human rights abuse, torture etc in the long run result in the form of psychological abuse which increases vulnerability on the part of the victims.
3. **Structural Violence:** Structural violence refers to a form of violence where the institutional mechanism or the social and political structure deprived certain categories of people from getting privilege from different schemes and developmental model. The very idea of Structural Violence was very well elaborated for the first time by Johan Galtung in the year 1969 in his article 'Violence, Peace and Peace Research'. Galtung argued that structural violence explained the negative power of social institutions among marginalized communities. Casteism, capitalism, neo-colonialism, communalism, untouchability, religious intolerance, discriminatory attitude of the institutional mechanism are some of the instances of structural violence.
4. **Cultural Violence:** Johan Galtung defines cultural violence as any aspect of a culture that can be used to legitimize violence in its direct or structural form. When attempts are made to

legitimize in terms of culture and enforce laws, principles, language upon others forcefully, it then takes the form of cultural violence. It is a form of violence which carries lots of invisible effects where the actors revolt against the structure by using the culture to legitimize their use of violence as instruments.

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



CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

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

.....

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

.....

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

.....

.....

8.4 THEORIES OF VIOLENCE

Johan Galtung developed a theoretical model popularly known as 'Galtung conflict triangle' or 'the violence triangle'. He analysed the causes

of violence in three phases: before violence, during violence and after violence. Johan Galtung's classifications of violence can roughly be categorised into three categories: direct violence, cultural violence and structural violence. In the words of Galtung, "The visible effects of direct violence are known: the killed, the wounded, the displaced, the material damage, all increasingly hitting the civilians. But the invisible effects may be even more vicious: direct violence reinforces structural and cultural violence. According to Johan Galtung, "cultural and structural violence cause direct violence, using violent actors who revolt against the structures and using the culture to legitimize their use of violence as instruments... The direct violence may be the lesser evil, at least in the longer term, than the structural and cultural damage brought." In a structural violence there is less possibility of win-win situation and always the underdog loses the game in competing with the top one.

If we analyse the concept of non-violence it can be helpful to clarify the concept of violence. Because it offers an opportunity to analyse the first two dimensions of Galtung's framework, his distinctions between physical and psychological violence, and between positive and negative means of influence. Non-violence was never considered as a purely negative concept in true sense of the term. It is not something which is not violence, or pure passivity, but rather a kind of action which, without being violent, can be used instead of violence. Non-violence is a short formula used for nonviolent action, or nonviolent strategy, or nonviolent ways of dealing with conflicts, or even nonviolent fight. If the definition of violence as being accepted as 'the cause of the difference between the potential and the actual', a large amount of what is usually called nonviolence is in fact a particular form of violence.

Non-violence, defined as non-biological violence because it includes civil disobedience, passive resistance, strike, etc in its domain. It can purposefully limit the possibilities of action of the opponent, and so it can be considered as one form of violence according to the working definition. But despite that we cannot consider them as nonviolent, but at least they are less violent than active form of violence. On a scale of decreasing

violence, civil disobedience is less violent than biological violence, as deterrence is less violent than actual fighting.

There are lots of problem of fear raises in analyzing violence as a discourse. For example, Galtung opposes death from tuberculosis which can be analysed in terms of violence, to death from earthquakes which cannot, as long as earthquakes are technically unavoidable and as far as the probability to be killed by them is not related to social inequality. It is so because according to him, dying in an earthquake is a 'violent death' and dying from tuberculosis is not as violent death as considered to be a 'sudden or unexpected death' where problem of fear is minimum in comparison to the kind death due to disease like tuberculosis. According to Wolff, 'Violence is the illegitimate or unauthorized use of force to effect decisions against the will or desire of others'. The concept of political violence depends upon the concept of de jure, or legitimate authority.

8.5 IMPACT OF VIOLENCE IN THE SOCIETY

If we develop a hypothesis that human beings have a violent brain, it is considered to be scientifically incorrect because violence is neither in our colonial legacy nor in our genes. All the human values have been continuously eroded in the society and in the long run human categories culminated the kind of structural and other forms of violence in the societal perspectives. Since human species invented war which begins in their mind so also they are capable enough to ensure peace since the later also begins in the human mind as well. These are nothing but certain aspects of biological pessimism and we need to focus upon societal aspect of human being so that individuals can develop optimistic bond of mind which is very much conducive for human security. Violent conflict especially armed violence completely undermines the issue of human security for which security dilemma arise in large part of the world. The gap between the increasing aspirations, expectations and capabilities lead to violence followed by frustration.

In violent armed conflict situation innocent civilians lose their lives without any crime of their own. People living in conflict zones have to cope

up with an environment of fear as widespread fear usually accompanies armed violence. People in conflict prone areas witness fear for life and physical well-being as well as fear to freely exercise religious, cultural, political, economic rights and entitlements. They have to live in an atmosphere of fear, anxiety, suspicion and insecurity. People in conflict areas are seen to be in constant anticipation of trouble, be it threats from the militants or harassment by security forces. They have the fear of being caught in the crossfire. Fear of being targeted or becoming incidental victims of armed violence is very much prevalent among the people living in conflict zones . The insecurity perpetrated by prolonged period of violent conflicts leaves adverse effect on the psychology of the people. They have to often suffer from deep psychological trauma. This psychological trauma causes serious health problems and disturbs mental peace. In violent conflict situation displacement is triggered by armed violence and ensuing heightened insecurity. Displacement from one's home and habitat is very pathetic because when the displaces move from their original habitats, they incur immense losses in life sustaining resources including social networks, neighbours and access to common property resources . Displacement leads to specific vulnerabilities to women and children. Because of displacement normal social life and productive activities come to a halt. Displacement stigmatises people as camp dwellers. It leads people to a situation where they have lost their land- which was not only their source of income but also their cultural attachment to heritage, lost the status associated with land ownership and become labourers on others' land and have shifted from being self-sufficient to dependency on government's welfare assistance . In this way violence affects the social and financial status of the people living in conflict prone areas. The displaced people who stay at the camps often express their unwillingness to return to their homes for the fear of further violence. Education of child is also affected because of armed violence. As in violent conflict zones, schools are often converted into relief camps, education of children gets adversely affected. Again a significant numbers of parents in conflict areas hesitate to send their children to school because of insecurity associated with travelling long distances to attend schools. Thus

education which is assumed as a key component of human efficiency and human development has been denied to the children of the societies which are prone to armed violence. Health care facilities are also negatively affected by armed violence. Many a time due to the fear of armed groups, medical personnel don't want to go and do their jobs in conflict prone rural areas. Because of such lack of medical staff common people have to suffer severely. Children, women and girls have to face particular difficulties in such situation. More particularly absence of reproductive health care facilities results in negative consequences for women and their children. In conflict areas people themselves impose restrictions on their mobility due to the fear of violence both from the state security force and armed groups. Restriction on mobility has adverse effect on financial condition of people. Development activities are also severely hampered in such situation as the state invests more and more fund to counter the armed groups.



CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Q.4: What are the three classifications of violence as provided by Johan Galtung.

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.....

Q.5: Write briefly about the impact of violence in conflict prone areas.

.....

.....



8.6 LET US SUM UP

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

- Johan Galtung, a Norwegian sociologist and a principal founder of the discipline of Peace and Conflict Studies developed a theoretical school which speaks of four levels at which conflict can emerge: Internal conflicts in a person or between persons i.e inter-personal and intra-personal; Conflicts between races, sexes, generations or classes; conflicts between the states; and conflicts between different civilizations of the world.
- Considering the magnitude of violence it can be categorized in different categories. Violence can be physical or direct, psychological, structural, cultural and political in nature.
- Johan Galtung developed a theoretical model popularly known as 'Galtung conflict triangle' or 'the violence triangle'. He analysed the causes of violence in three phases: before violence, during violence and after violence.
- Violence has adverse impact on the society. Violent conflict especially armed violence completely undermines the issue of human security for which security dilemma arises in large part of the world.
- Development activities are also severely hampered in violent situation as the state invests more and more fund to counter the armed groups.



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8.8 ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Ans. to Q. No. 1: Johan Galtung

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

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

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

(iii) conflicts between the states; and

(iv) conflicts between different civilizations of the world.

Ans. to Q. No. 4: direct violence, cultural violence and structural violence.

Ans. to Q. No. 5: In violent armed conflict situation innocent civilians lose their lives without any crime of their own. People living in conflict zones have to cope up with an environment of fear as widespread fear usually accompanies armed violence. They have to live in an atmosphere of fear, anxiety, suspicion and insecurity. People in conflict areas are seen to be in constant anticipation of trouble, be it threats from the militants or harassment by security forces. The insecurity perpetrated by prolonged period of violent conflicts leaves adverse effect on the psychology of the people. Violence affects the social and financial status of the people living in conflict prone areas. The displaced people who stay at the camps often express their unwillingness to return to their homes for the fear of further violence. Education of child is also affected because of armed

violence. As in violent conflict zones, schools are often converted into relief camps, education of children gets adversely affected. Again a significant numbers of parents in conflict areas hesitate to send their children to school because of insecurity associated with travelling long distances to attend schools. Thus education which is assumed as a key component of human efficiency and human development has been denied to the children of the societies which are prone to armed violence. Health care facilities are also negatively affected by armed violence. Many a time due to the fear of armed groups, medical personnel don't want to go and do their jobs in conflict prone rural areas.



8.9 POSSIBLE QUESTIONS

A) Very Short Questions

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

Q. 2: State the meaning of psychological violence.

Q. 3: Mention one impact of violence in the society.

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

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

Q. 2: Explain the different forms of violence.

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

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

Q. 1: Explain the meaning of violence.

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

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

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Name of the Paper: .....
Course Code: .....

Centre for Internal Quality Assurance (CIQA)
Krishna Kanta Handiqui State Open University
City Office: Housefed Complex, Guwahati-781006

Learner's Feedback on Course

Dear Learner,

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

The Director, Centre for Internal Quality Assurance, KKHandiqui State Open University
Housefed Complex, Dispur, Guwahati-781006
(E-mail id: ciqa@kkhsou.in)

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

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

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

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

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

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

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Thank you for taking the time to complete this form.