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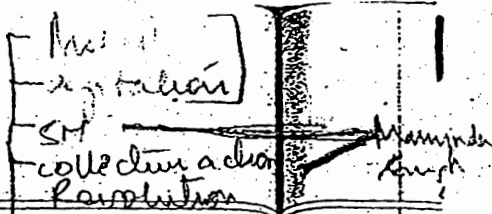
POLITICS

AND

SOCIETY

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C

POLITICS & SOCIETY



Protest & Revolution

Protest means an expression of opposition, dissent, disapproval or objection to any idea, law, institution or policy.

Protest can be either individual or collective. When protest occurs as a collective action, it is called a protest movement.

Protests are a form of collective opposition to some aspect of social status quo. The prevailing social conditions are seen as unjust or undesirable.

Protest moves form a continuum - on one end they may be localized crowd or groups focusing on some specific short term grievance. On other extreme are mass insurrections that extend beyond localized issues to have a potential to generate sustained social movements seeking a drastic transformation of social order.

Common thread that binds all these protest movements is that they are essentially political in nature i.e. they are directed against the authority. At a general societal level it is directed against the govt. P.Mov. may be sectional but as they make their movement successful, they need to exert sufficient pressure on the govt. They try to forge large alliances - larger the alliance, greater the success in terms of influence on the authority.

When coalitions are sought, those persons who don't represent large groups are ignored. Those who are more representative are sought more in alliances.

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Causes

(4)

People who are likely to join protest movements.

dissent  
or, mobilize

1. those who feel they are relatively deprived - that's why more protest now when things are changing.

E.g. feminist protests,

or collective  
it of d a

2. its contingent upon existing political conditions<sup>democracy</sup> the attitude of the authority. E.g. China - no protest since 1989. too many protests in India.

of protest  
the  
injust or

The authority system & permits articulation of grievances e.g. freedom of expression, freedom of speech. more democratic the nature of political system, greater is the frequency of protests.

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using or

Generally, it's not that participant may be guided by immediate issue, more sense of deprivation, more ppl are likely to enter into protest.

is protest  
a potential  
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E.g. famous protest mov. in Poland "Solidarity" Communist regime was protest by proletarians - their leader H. Gosciniak gained a charismatic image. Roman Catholic Church also came out openly in support of "Solidarity". Top leaders of solid consisted of Kasubians ethnic of city of Danziche who were long deprived (they felt so) it was. This was attributed to mobilization of labourers.

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Eric Hoffer in his book "True believers" studied character of those deprived.

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ke their

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success in

Actually it was a ethnic grievance long accumulated historically taking govt of solidarity. So such ppl protest.

he don't  
one  
cell

(5)

Methods adopted

1. Leaders decide
2. Level / Degree of Frustration → if high → movement violent  
→ if low → use legitimate means  
articles, periodicals

3. Prospects of success

Jendhi - practical idealist - he knew Indians could not fight defense of British. Method adopted depends on feasibility - e.g. No withdrawal of Quit India in 1942; everyone knew freedom is demands of mass around.

A study by William Gamson - 53 movements over 1830 - 1930 - he found out 53, 22 were collapse failures. He divided movements in 4 types

- Pre-empted
- Co-opted - when mov. is there neither dying nor successful
- Fully successful - only 20 were successful.
- Collapse failures

(6)

Prospect of Movements in Future [Future Trends]

In wake of globalization it is universally accepted that protest movements are going to ↑. Globalization has inequalities, more kind of justice mov. are going to develop & there may be localized events will think globally, act locally - World Social Forum

1. Ineq. may overlap gender & ethnicity. It may be against poverty but take grasp of ethnicity - environmental problems.

shortage of fossil fuels → developed countries desperate about protests in

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No to Saddam, No to America - Yes to democracy

Yes to Islam

Violent  
immediate  
demands

→ internet communication — on 1 hand has created <sup>ability</sup> to mobilize ppl but so are <sup>govt's</sup> ability to contain them thus leading to <sup>fringe</sup> conflicts.

he has  
withdrawn  
demands

Eventually, if the protest movements succeed, either fully or partly, this may lead to adoption of new policies or laws & confer legitimacy on the demands of movements & this may lead to changes

movements  
were  
types

### REVOLUTIONS

Refer or find dic pg 552

successful

↳ is imp: Socio itself is a product of <sup>unstable</sup> ~~mechanisms~~ in wake of turmoil starting in French Revolution. It was in French revolution that word "Revolution" acquired a place in sociology.

#### Definitions:

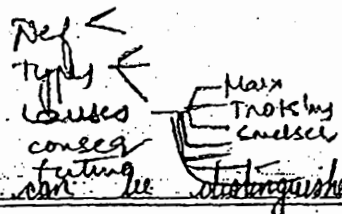
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✓ Samuel Huntington: Revolutions are rapid & fundamental transformation of a society's social, eco, & political structure. Transformations are thorough going, that they change socio-eco & political structures & ~~of~~ two are mutually re-inforcing. Socio-eco reinforces changes in political structure.

Journal  
It  
ultimately  
nationalists

✓ Shida Skocpol - her work mainly centres in social revolutions. "Social Revolutions are rapid & basic transformation of a society's state & class structure & they are accompanied & carried by class-based revolt from below. [In 2nd part - "class based revolt" - a Marxist effect. She means class - grp having shared interests].

Later says Sometimes revolutions are from above too.



In this sense revolutions are distinguished from other rebellions, coup-de-etat; says rebellion involves a revolt by society's alternate classes as workers, farmers but doesn't pd a thoroughgoing transformation. Coup-de-etat forcibly change leadership but don't drastically alter constitutional or political structure.

It distinguishes b/w various kinds of revolutions. Most comprehensive change is achieved by social revolts - Chinese, Russian, Cuban, Iranian.

Types

a) limited revolutions on other hand pd by him as political where state structure is changed but socio-economic aspects are not drastically altered - e.g. in Cuba it will remain limited to a political one as far as indications so far.

only political Revolution

overthrow of dictatorship in Philippines  
of dualism in Haiti  
apartheid in Africa - but land of whites has not been redistributed among blacks.

b) Revolutions from above where a group of elite captures power but drastic social transformation is brought. Meiji restoration in Japan. Most revolutions in past. Kemal Ataturk in Turkey never create democracy. Mustafa Kamal in Egypt.

Some such cases of revolts are not considered as revolutions by many sociologists - e.g. Meiji capturing power. (never pd as revolution - no respect)

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Der from below

c) In the 3<sup>rd</sup> World societies another type of change is

ref. to a revolution → Anticolonial revolution.

Sometimes these are fighting colonial rule bringing about social transformation.

eg Zimbabwe, Angola, India, Vietnam,

Failed revolutions: Sandenistas in Nicaragua, El Salvador,

③ Causes of Revolution

① Karl Marx presented the first theory of revolution in social sciences. Later Turgill's analysis - French revolution. Marx → class divisions → exploitation → conflict → entrenched to newly emergent classes → capitalist society is solid - now no emergent ... is needed → class in itself → class for itself → conflict → drastic revolution → classless society. Marx believed that such a revolution "transform" will come in indus societies & leaders will be proletarians.

But looking at history, none of revolutions was led by proletarians, Lenin s/d a party of ideologist seize power & represents proletarians but peasantry won't a revolutionary force as they were primitive. Mao revolutioned peasantry as revolu<sup>n</sup> force.

Leon Trotsky commenting on why revol<sup>n</sup> could in Russia not England s/d certain conditions existed only in Russia. Heida later in context s/d "Revol<sup>n</sup> are not made, they actually come". They are rare events. Many sociol<sup>ists</sup> tried to find out those factors.

expl<sup>n</sup> by Trotsky in this context -

1) 1<sup>st</sup> uneven development - an "unary niche" of old & new



Judalism & factory pollution

2. state apparatus in Russia & France → become weak

Czar foolishly decided to join 1st World War

3. action of other states: international relations

of country undergoing change

E.g. in Afghanistan Russia & U.S. - Russia pumped in billions of dollars, itself broke & U.S. geared Pak into

E.g. Iran - Shah of Iran was ally of U.S. but America didn't try to stop or intervene & so

Iranian communist revol<sup>n</sup> succeeded as UK supported.

∴ there developed a viewpoint that Marxist theory doesn't explain

Brain Brinton, John Dower, H.P. Richards - "Natural history of revolutions"  
A.S. Pettee - "Process of Revolution"

studies were conducted by studying history & they developed a consensus of - the historical history of revolutions & identified factors involved

1. Assertion of ruling elite by intelligentsia

2. Corruption & inefficiency of autho.

3. Emergence of a pol crisis to which state responds in

form of reform but cannot do it. Their attempt to reform ↑ ppl's expectations & this failure to do so shatters E & as a result a revolutionary

coalition is formed → an internal conflict among this coalition

E.g. Afghanistan, India's freedom struggle after winning fought for share in power.

Most radical grp captures power. E.g. Hojari & Tudeh (young students) murdered & put in jail en masse

Every revolution → Dictatorial rule → seek change after sometime replaced by Moderate leaders who are pragmatic in view.

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Neil J. Smelser - Theory of Collective Behaviour

Chalmers Johnson - Revolutionary Change

Both tend to agree at one point. Smelser s/d structural strain is a necessary condition. Incompatibility b/w parts - when compatibility is lost ∴ of uneven changes, an imbalance develops among political, economic, social & cultural system. This may give rise to a revolution if certain others as follows are ⊕

1. ideology for mobilization of discontent.
2. conducive social & political changes.

④ T.R. Gurr developed & improved on theory of R.D & s/d esp in cases of progressive revolution. This theory was developed.

In recent times Shida Shopol says other theories don't give adequate importance to -

① state  
② international relations  
except for natural history theory others didn't give imp to state. She on basis of her study of various rebellions gave variables to be taken

- ① IR
- ② relations b/w state & economy
- ③ " " social classes

Says one ⊙ pattern dat can be found in revolution is political crisis - e.g. France in America

England in Canada  
Resources exhausted in war → imposed taxes on elite → they revolted → peasant aligned c. them

Similarly  
In Russia Nicholas unnecessarily pushed it into war. He was unpopular. Soldiers were poor. so PLT in cities (villages) led. dimitri got a wind of it. was hiding in Switzerland.

5

even if Bolshevik comes to power we will withdraw

In China also.

Japanese attack on China in Chen Chi Pan Regime.

So, if state encounters a crisis revolution occurs.

3 if a coalition develops b/w social classes due to some crisis → revolution.

⑤ After Hede's study Ch. G. J. G. J. studied state & s/d oppressive dictatorships } are vulnerable to revolts. colonial regimes

Democracies are able to successfully avoid rev. changes.

→ Prachanda has got power early so need tend to settle for moderate means.

→ Similarly when Congress and got a peace by moderate means even public opinion is changing in Kashmir.

Revol. may show cause of proletariat but its always led by marginal men - the elite who and not have power. So even in democracies, things can be better without revolution.

e.g. Amartya Sen - every draft of Huxley is better than

Those who suppress peaceful exp<sup>n</sup> of grievances make a violent expression of grievances inevitable.

They have talked of Latin American countries - "Najia crises" - Batista Regime - are most vulnerable to revolt. In Cuba - a secret police - inhuman after revolution its head was the 1<sup>st</sup> to be killed.

In 3<sup>rd</sup> W. countries, they s/d, beside crisis of the late ideology is also very imp. along with this uneven economic growth, sudden rev. downturn → revolution.

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will withdraw

even a well meaning effort is reversed → revolu<sup>n</sup> E.g. when Shah liberalized → Islamic ideology became a factor

time

occurs

All these are structural factors. Recently scholars have identified ideology, emotion etc.

to some

A study of 36 3rd World Revolution in 2005 to identify

state is

①

the recurrent pattern by John Joran

revolu

1. Development pattern follows a dependency pattern.
2. Some countries are still successful in avoiding revolu<sup>n</sup> because they are powerful, repressive & exclusionary. [India is a inclusionary democracy] Exclusionary regimes sow seeds of revolution.

w. changes

5 settle

3. Political culture of opposition (if absent e.g. Spain - no revolu<sup>n</sup> should also be there for leading to revolu<sup>n</sup>).

state means

4. Breakdown of ties of 1st World → revolu<sup>n</sup>

its

5. Crisis (political)

and not

can be

this is the latest model of factors of revolu<sup>n</sup> by John Joran

bitter

Revolution: Participation & issues of participants

make

In some societies, sometimes totally urban people led revolu<sup>n</sup> peasants only join or support leadership comes from among marginal men.

a Mafia

- revolu<sup>n</sup>

its

Consequences of Revolution:

to state

Many bring drastic transformation in social structure. Most Marxist revolu<sup>n</sup> occur in traditional agrarian societies having a feudal struc. Revolu<sup>n</sup> were means of modernisation edu, healthcare, E.g. China, Cuba, Botswana's time.

revolu<sup>n</sup>

In a study they show that from 1970/1000 IMR fell to 6.2 after Cuban Revolution.

6

life expectancy rose from 57 to 77 yrs. Unemployment  
 wiped out, income distribution became fairer in  
 whole American continent. High quality medical care  
 & edu upto Univ level was free to all.  
 Revolution was successful.

Even in China agrarian society transformed to indus. socy.  
 Also in Russia → indus → world power  
 though -ve effects 2.

∴ of totalitarian China though social develop was  
 remarkable, capital & technology cud not adequately  
 develop, that's why they later resorted to capitalism.

→ Revolutions often leads to totalitarian regimes.

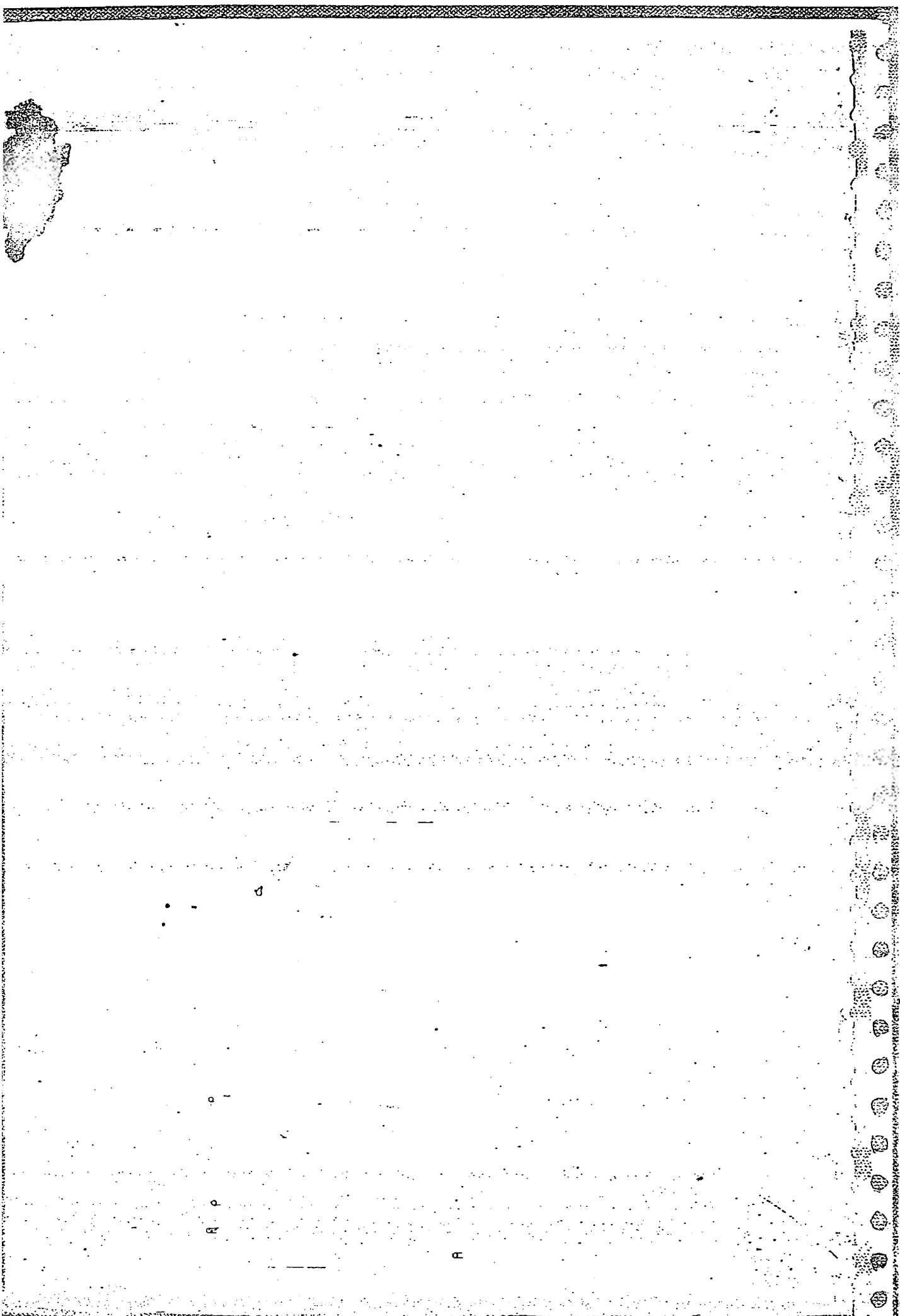
Democracies cannot be restored ∴ so many of reforms  
 are to be brought. So absolute power to state  
 & absolute power corrupts.

Nepal Revolution  
 Bak

### ⑤ Future of Revolutions:

presently grievances are accumulating → structural strain  
 is resulting. World Forum etc. but need this  
 lead to protest. So much is fear of disruptive power  
 that after 9/11 everyone China, Russia agreed to military  
 brass in Central Asia. A global coalition is emerging  
 against disruptive forces. Today only possible reason  
 for a revolutionary change can be religious fundamental  
 but it isn't that strong, & including a reason  
 for revolution to occur.

[Russia is poor in technology only defence is strong]  
 China is good at both



8

these societies that class interests are mutually diabolical & bourgeoisie want to legitimize their interests. This ideology is hampered to proletaria by various means & of this ideology those interests of bourgeoisie look natural & rightful. ∴ ideology is false consciousness. Marx says his viewpoint is scientific not a ideology. help in conscientizing the workers. As that except for his own ideas all other perpetuate injustice, intolerance. ∴ ideology belongs to superstructure & its shaped by the econo. struc. thus legitimizing bourgeoisie interest.

A similar theme is ⊕ in writings of Gramsci when he says ideology helps in establishing hegemony — partly by coercion & partly by consent & ideology is a way of nurturing that consent. Though ideology is very powerful its not altogether successful. People within ideology see it in their particular experiences. ∴ hegemony is not always complete.

Some of marxist later that that ideology can also exist for workers — articulating their interests. Lenin talked of proletarian ideology connected to idea that every ideology is sectional & so is Marx's. labelled as proletarian ideology.

"Ideology & Modern Culture"

More recently J.B. Thompson has argued that ideology is not fixed rather a process. View is supp. by M. Billig — "Ideology & Opinion". He pointed ideology is a process of opinion making & its always ambivalent particular arrangements of power & acc. by affects life chances.

It is a framework of consciousness in which the meanings given by ppl to world become patterned, stable & objectified & once they are estbld they become constraining.

Thompson argues that ideology pd legitimacy authority sustaining & reproducing existing soc. relations & organisation. And ideologies also draw boundaries on basis of interests they are opp. to some both unify & fragment society. It is not only reify social relations but also deceive & mobilize to achieve co-operation. So that how capitalism is institutionalized.

There can be various kinds of ideologies :-

Religious or Secular  
 Religious - Millenarian ideology  
               - Fundamentalist "

Secular - Liberalism - ideology & emerged in rest of ind capital  
               Classical liberals                Neo-liberal.

Conservatism - emphasis more on authority, pragmatism, hierarchy.

Socialist idea

Socialist democratic - Fabian ideology.

Liberalism - Jansenism.

Anarchism - rejects all types of authority.



adv. countries to take care of the poor countries  
universally applicable human rights should be made  
applicable to even poor c. This has already  
started in EU where there is European citizenship  
along with national citizenship.

With glob<sup>n</sup> migration of SW countries world to  
developed countries to rights of migrants should  
also be acknowledged. <sup>concern</sup> <sup>revolutionary</sup> <sup>practise in question</sup> <sup>communism in 1848</sup>

Ideology is a particular type of  
understanding of  
reality

What's an ideology? Term was coined by a French philosopher Destutt-de  
Tracy for ideas & logos - science of ideas.

In practices however it means a coherent body  
of ideas, often speculated & is a part of social  
philosophy & define the world view & may  
include a vision of future - desirable goals.

H. defines rela<sup>n</sup> of a community or a group to its  
environment & suggest the means of attaining those  
goals.

Every ideology tends to be sectional - concerned & a  
group or defines their self identity. It also serves  
as a guide to action - how the desired future is to  
be pursued.

Among early sociologists who addressed to role of  
ideology in society - Karl Marx, Karl Mannheim

"Ideology & Utopia"

ideology as sectional is nature & that its a  
of legitimising socio-pol or any other interests  
classes. Marx further points that ideologies are  
one of bourgeoisie societies & its only in

popularly  
accepted ideas  
about the  
structure of  
international  
processes  
in the world  
(100)

Hegelian



equality before law, speech, freedom to own property, make contracts. After another century of struggle political rights also came to be added - i.e. to participate in elections, hold offices.

In 20C mid social rights were also added. Right to eco. & social welfare; i.e. to free edu, healthcare.

This content of citizenship is still changing, new concepts - feminists movements, gender equality. A general consensus has emerged in west esp w.r.t sexual rights i.e. right to make choices about sexual behavior, & freedom to have alternate sexual expressions - gay & lesbian. Green citizenship: i.e. duties w.r.t environment protection & preservation of ecology.

Ecological citizenship up to both i.e. & responsibilities of citizens to nature.

Citizenship should be based on multiculturalism. i.e. the process should conserve & acknowledge cultural distinctiveness & on such basis minorities shd not be discriminated.

Will Kymlicka's book "Multicultural citizenship" 1995. aborigines & other vulnerable minorities shd have a right to represent financial support & represent.

✓ Benjamin Miller Oelind in 1998 also argued in favour of multi.

In 21C another dimensions had been added - rights enjoyed just not in context of nations but in world of global.

Derrick Heater wrote "World Citizenship in 2003" has argued that we have to redefine citizenship in global context & favoured global citizenship - i.e. globally accepted human rights & scope of citi rights need to

be widened & focus must be on responsibility of

## Democracy

Def: Rule by ppl

The origin of 'D' as an idea & practice go back to the city states of Greece in the 5th c. B.C. & simply was meant rule of the citizens (the demos). However, it was a ltd democracy - wherein only slaves & women were excluded from it.

Broadly 'D' is of 2 types - Direct & Representative  
 → Direct Democracy is one where all citizens exercise their voice in the decision making.

Kirkpatrick Sale in Human Scale, building on the imperial work of Robert Dahl, <sup>has</sup> suggested that the dem. way is difficult in groups larger than 10,000 and impossible in <sup>pop</sup> groups above 50,000.

Thus DD is only useful in small settings.

Eg: Gram Sabhas of India; Swiss Cantons etc.

— Initiative, Referendum, Recall etc are used as a means of DD.

→ Representative D: Contemporary D's are RD's as this form is feasible for complex, large scale, modern societies.

The essential elements of this system are  
 Governance acc to the will of the people  
 elections

Rationality

Emergence of pol parties etc.

free & fair elections

civil etc for all citizens

Rule of law

This form of govt was adopted by mostly many nation states (post worldwar-II) in the 20th c. However, it has not taken different forms & led to diff types of democracies based on the way it is practiced. (Bernard Crick)

Despite democracies the voice → Political maps may

1) Radical Democracy marked by distinct decentralisation

→ Abo J presents

2) Peoples democracy where there is considered to be social & economic equality i.e equitable distribution. Eg: China.

→ Robert argued demo

They call totalitarian communist systems as democracies

3) Religious Islamic democracy :: Eg Iran where ppl can participate only if they adhere to Islam

coalition → C.W.

4) Guided democracy : which needs to be guided by someone (father figure). Eg: Subarto of Philippines.

democracy of the the ex

5) Liberal Democracy which is the most accepted form of D. whereas, the which has the features of secularism, socialism, development, reduction of inequality etc. Eg: India, USA;

in Wite

6) Constitutional Dem : Dem is enshrined in the const. Eg. France

/10

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able  
participate  
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country

Despite Steward, the stated advantages, modern democracies have little consensus about just how strong the voice of the ppl can or should be.

→ Politicians routinely ignore massive public opinion surveys. Eg: capital punishment in US & health privatization in UK etc.

→ Also the complexity of pol & eco decision making today presents a formidable barrier to real public participation.

→ Robert A. Dahl - in his preface to a democratic theory argued that the modern industrial states were not democracies so much as polyarchies - shifting coalitions of powerful interest groups.

→ C. W. Mills in the 'power elite' claims that in the US democracy has been obliterated by a power elite consisting of the institutional leaders of big business, military & the executive. Citizens had become docile & powerless in this mass society.

Criticism of D : C.W. Mills

7th Jan '17

largest democracy

socialist + constitutional

73 & 74<sup>th</sup> - D - democracy intensifying acts

Democracy - booth capturing

cash for vote question

CP & PC

all the electoral ills - (Section 77 of PPA 1951)

Cont

Indian nation

Earlier small kingdoms  
now a nation - based on freedom struggle etc.

- Threats:
- Rel. minorities
  - Internal disturbance
  - Emergency
  - secessionist tendencies
  - Regionalism
  - Communalism
  - Terrorism
  - Napaliam

RPA 1991

Conclu: Multiculturalism

## Nation

Def: Max Weber defines nation as a community of sentiment. A nation is thus a ppl's consciousness of unity and it could be based on either race, ethnicity, lang, religion, custom, pol memory or the shared experience of the other

def

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Historically and contemporarily, nation have been formed for securing political coherence & autonomy by glorifying either rel, eth or ethnicity or lang.

PSGP

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PTGP  
STGP

GPST

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∴ ∴ A community of sentiment

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## State

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→ State (in the modern sense) ~~can~~ can be defined as a community of persons, permanently occupying a fixed portion of territory, independent of ~~all~~ <sup>all</sup> ~~other~~ <sup>other</sup> ~~countries~~ <sup>countries</sup> and possessing an organised govt to which the vast majority of ppl render obedience.

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essential properties of the state to emerge.  
 [ pop, terr, govt, sovereignty ]

→ State has been conceptualised differently by different scholars.

1) ✓ Greek philosophers <sup>in their</sup> have viewed <sup>the</sup> state as a natural and necessary institution coming out of the needs of human beings as a pre-animal being.

2) ✓ Marxists have viewed the state as an instrument of exploitation in the hands of the ruling class.

3) ✓ Weber in his 'politics as a vocation' defines state as a special kind of institution which claims the 'monopoly of legitimate violence' within a given territory. He considers <sup>the</sup> state as the most powerful institution in modern soc. He gives 4 defining characteristics of modern state.

First - it has a legal & admin order which is subject to change by legislation only, not by the whim & of a lord or the dictate of a charismatic leader  
 secondly :- it has an admin which works in accordance with legislation

Thirdly the state has binding authority on all its members and over the acts carried out in its territory.

Finally : state can use force if that is legally prescribed & per permitted.

7) An developed state

indivisible to the

4) for Durheim the f<sup>n</sup> of state was to protect individuals and balance group interests.

8) Elite

5) The liberal theory of state adv that state is a neutral arbiter amongst competing groups and indiv, in the society; acting in the interest of a and representing what is public good common good or public interest. It has its roots in the social contract theory of Hobbes, Locke & Rousseau.

9) Neom

adv

theory.

source of

6) This liberal th. has been elaborated by modern writers into a pluralist theory of state

This theory argues that pol power is dispersed amongst a wide variety of social groups rather than an elite of ruling class. It is decentralised, widely shared, diffused & fragmented deriving from many sources.

Arnold Rose, Peter Bunting, Robert Dahl, T. Parson, Neil Smelser are some of the key pluralist theorists.

[Rule by many = polyarchy = R. Dahl]

They view the state itself as a set of competing and conflicting institutions rather than a monolithic entity which exerts its power over the rest of the society.

7) An alternative neo pluralist theory of the state developed by writers such as J.K. Galbraith and Charles Lindbloom agree that the modern individual state is more complex and less responsive to the popular pressures than the classical pluralist ~~model~~ model suggests.

8) Elite theory: State is formed by elites.

9) Neomarxists like Antonio Gramsci & Louis Althusser advocate the arbiter theory of state. i.e they took a/c of the apparent legitimacy of the bourgeoisie state particularly in the light of the act of universal suffrage and the development of the welfare state.

## CITIZENSHIP

1) Def → T.H. Marshall in his book 'Citizenship & Social Class' has defined citizenship as a status which is enjoyed by a person who is a full member of a community.

2) → Earlier societies marked by monarchies & dictatorships had only subjects treated as 'subjects' whereby ppl who had only duties and few or ltd/no rights.

→ <sup>origin</sup> Evolution of citizenship can be traced to ancient Greek city states where it was a rare privilege of a few.

→ The concept was revived in the context of the modern state (with the creation of the modern state) notably during French & industrial rev where (later) citizenship came to signify certain equality with regard to the rights & duties of membership in the community.

3) → Marshall identifies 3 components of citizenship  
civil, political & social

1) → Civil rights are necessary for indiv. freedom and are institutionalised in the law courts.

2) → pol. citizenship guarantees the rt to participate in the exercise of pol. power in the community either by voting or by holding pol. office.

3) → social citizenship is the rt to participate in an appropriate std of living. This rt is embodied in the welfare & edu<sup>n</sup> sys of modern societies.

4) → There are very different traditions of citizenship in different societies. Active citizenship is based on the act of its through social struggle

Eg: women citizenship in the US.

Passive citizenship is handed down from above by the state Eg: Indian citizenship

5) → While some sociologists regard it as a fundamental plank of democracy (as a feature of radical democratic politics), others dismiss it as a mere reform of capitalism (viewed as an aspect of bourgeois liberalism)

T. Parsons subscribes to the former & considers the growth of citizenship as a measure of modernization of society because it is based on the values of universalism & achievement

⑥ Global citizenship

7) Recently sociologists have gone beyond these trad<sup>n</sup> theories in a globalized world where technology & trade are creating transnational communities, a new concept of global citizenship is emerging

The global citizenship tries to expand our consciousness as citizens of the world. It allows ppl to be stake holders in the future of more than one country & culture and in the process tries to obliterate boxed identities defined by blood & soil.

It thus takes us closer to the apamishadic vision of vasudaiava kuttimbakam

trip in the	<p><u>Indian</u></p>
one by	<p>1) Marshall's def &amp; his 3 pts.  2) <u>Passive citizenship</u>  <u>Ramchandra Guba</u></p>
unintentional	<p>2) history: Earlier during the British rule, citizenship was partial pol + social citizenship was granted to a few privileged sections in the form of right to vote, etc. Certain pol offices were held by Indians etc.</p>
ical	<p>3) <u>After independence</u> <u>passive citizenship</u>.  <u>Ramchandra Guba</u></p>
were	<p>4) <u>Dual citizenship</u></p>
out of	<p>India has recently granted Dual citizenship to PIOs + NRIs living in some countries for enhancing economic &amp; socio-political ties with the global Indian</p>
consider	<p>(It confers the right &amp; ability to NRIs to travel, study, work and buy property anywhere in India)</p>
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15

### Multiculturalism

Contemporary society is a multicultural one characterised by diverse cultural, ethnic, religious & linguistic groups. It aims at accommodating diverse identity groups into a homogeneous one without eroding their distinct identity.

Multiculturalism promotes unity in diversity and is opposed to assimilation of distinct identity groups. There exists a link between culture, identity & group membership. This is the

### Revolution

What is rev ← Samuel Huntington  
Theda Skocpol

Types ← top down  
from above  
from below

Causes

- ① Marx
- Trotsky - uneven dev, state apparatus, action of other states
- Enrich - theory of structural strain
- Guise - PD
- Theda Skocpol - State & Intl. Relations
- Chief Godwinch - oppressive - need for democracies
- John Foran - powerful, repressive, ex. mechanism, avoid rev.

Conseq. → change transf<sup>m</sup> in Gov. structure  
institutional regimes

Future



① Themes

Max → constant sum

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Functional Approach to Politics

Variable sum

① Talcott Parsons is the most distinguished functionalist explicitly talking about power and politics in America. His theory of politics can also be applicable to societies all over the world. He advocates that power is analogous to money. Power does not have any intrinsic values but it is definitely having use value. The people in political position use their influence and authority to obtain various types of favours. Furthermore, people concentrate their power on the leaders because they do not have capability to rule. Furthermore, by using their contact with leadership, people obtain political benefits and non-political benefits. Hence, differential of power among the individuals in society addresses to the collective interests.

differential of power

② Secondly, contradicting to Mandan proposition of power, parsons advocates that power is not constant sum, rather it is variable sum. Being variable sum, if power is unequally distributed among the people in society it never makes some people power less and other powerful. That never gives rise to a situation in which on the basis of political domination and subordination the classes are divided into two major groups such as Haves and Have-nots. More the people grant their power to others more they remain powerful. This indicates that in modern democracies by electing people into the positions of authority the subjects do not exclusively grant their powers to their leaders. However, despite granting their power to others they too have control over the leadership as they are sufficiently equipped to pose a threat to the political authorities through the mobilization of public union, threat to vote, etc. Therefore, the rulers after being elected into the positions of authority primarily channelize their effort and energy together for the furtherance of collective goals. Therefore, more is the unequal distribution of power in society, highly it addresses to the collective interests.

apply to meaning of democracy

variable sum

③ Thirdly, he asserts that power difference is an essential prerequisite for the continuity of social order. He advocates that like money, the subjects invest their power on the leadership what they can withdraw like deposits in the bank any time they require it. Therefore, it is illogical to conclude that once power is concentrated in the hands of the leaders, it gives rise to the polarization of society on the basis of a class.

essential

④ Finally, he asserts that power stems from collective goals shared by the members of the society. Collective goals primarily refers to the goals of the individuals, the subjects and the rulers. The people in power not only address to their own interest and the interest of their supporters only. They too address to the interest of the whole nation and society. Therefore, democracy though a rule of majority, in actuality democratic rulers are concerned with the societal interest. Logically speaking, democracy is the rule of all what guarantees effective redressal to everybody's problems. People, in order to gratify most of their interest and knowing that they cannot take effective decisions to address to their self interest, elect individuals to the positions of authority and power. Therefore, unequal distribution of power in society is essentially required for the redressal of collective interest and for the continuation of the social system of the society.

essential

In his subsequent analysis, Parsons advocates that law and government address to integration and goal attainment needs of the society. Hence, political system is governed by functional universality.

Structure functional Approach

Structure functional approach to power developed by R.K. Merton contradicts to the view-point of Talcott Parsons partially and partially too it supports his functional standpoint. When functionalist advocate that law, power and political systems are equipped with potential mechanisms what essentially contributes for the continuance of the political system on the one hand and political system being a part of the total society always address to the functional problems of that larger social system. Structure functionalist advocates that it is hypothetical to admit that political institutions or political system is a functional entity for the larger social organization. Merton advocates that unequal distribution of power in society is not always having a functional orientation. If one looks into the political system, it will be found out that different political institutions being structured together make political system possible. The structure of executive, legislature, bureaucracy and judiciary are responsible for the structuration of the political system. Though they have cohesive identity, it cannot always be advocated that they play a functional role for the continuity of the political system. Likewise too it cannot logically be concluded that political system is exclusively functional to the larger social system. Had it been so, then confrontation and contradiction between executive and legislature, executive and judiciary and bureaucracy and executive could not have been possible. In actuality the opposition parties at times may bring forward no confidence motion against the party in

power what explains the contradictory linkage between executive and legislature. Furthermore the ministers and public officers may be implicated by the court of law for misconduct; explaining a contradictory linkage possible between judiciary and executive. Likewise too, it is uncommon to find out a modern democracy where executive and bureaucracy do not even temporarily stand opposite to each other. If the internal mechanism within the political system cannot exclusively be functional then it is not possible on the pretext of the political system to be functional for the sake of the social system. To what extent the internal mechanisms are functional to the political system and political system is functional to the social system is greatly subjected to empirical variation.

Secondly, Merton explains the power relationship in society on the basis of two distinct criteria. Firstly, he asserts that the internal mechanisms within the political system may be functional, dysfunctional or even non-functional to the political system. And secondly, even though it is functional, it may functionally latent or functionally manifest. It may also be functionally positive or functionally negative which is to be understood in the light of empirical jurisdiction. The same principles can also be used to examine the inter-linkage between political system and social system. Some institutions within the political system when successfully work for the continuance of political system, their roles should be identified as functional. But simultaneously there may be some other mechanisms present within the political system who may be dysfunctional for the political system at a given point of time. These mechanisms do have less degrees of adaptation to the needs of the political system. Side by side too, there may be few mechanisms present within the political system who are neither functional nor are they dysfunctional. Being cool and neutral to the needs of the political system, their roles should be understood as non-functional ones. So functional analysis should be considered as a (net balance analysis) concerned with the identification of the institutions playing functional, dysfunctional and non-functional roles for the political systems at a given point of time.

Political activities not only take place within the political system itself, rather it may take place outside too. Therefore, functional alternatives and functional variables are greatly possible. For example, it is not only executive, legislature and judiciary which performs functional roles greatly for the sake of continuity of the society but informal set-ups like family, peer group, etc. may also influence to the voting behavior and the political activities of the individual persons. Therefore, it is important to identify the institutions which play political roles effectively in a very manifest direction. There may be political and non-political institutions which may perform political roles in a latent way. For example, machine politics and Boss politics in America is example of latent political functions of various non-political bodies. In bureaucracy the subordinate staff are often influenced by the political decisions of their boss what may influence to their voting behaviors. Likewise too in shop-floor level, the workers while informally chatting with each other may discuss politics, what obviously affects to one's political actions. Bureaucracy or enterprise though greatly concerned with non-political activities they exhibit political functions at one point of time or the other.

Furthermore, what is law to modern society that being customs and conventions to primitive communities both may be different in terms of their structural design but functionally they being identical; they should be considered as functional alternatives. According to Merton, the study of power and politics is a comprehensive phenomenon which is to be examined in the light of empirical situations evaluating the functional, dysfunctional and non-functional roles of the political institutions and their latent and manifest orientations. Hence, political system is not an abstract system rather it is a concrete reality. Mertonian analysis of power and politics is sociologically more appealing in comparison to Parsonian discourse because of its empirical tone and simplistic explanation. Therefore, his view-points are appropriately incorporated in the analysis of the system theorists who advocates that equilibrium of political system or continuity of the political system is a possibility but not a must. Therefore, despite continuity, the political systems are greatly vulnerable to change, because of the elements of threat coming from within environment and from outside.

Marxian Approach to Power → constant sum

Marx primarily provides a unidimensional explanation to power and politics. In his economic and philosophical manuscript and historical materialism, Marx advocates that power is not crucial for the class division of the society. In his study of Asiatic mode of production with specific reference to village communities in India, Marx finds out that despite the presence of a centralized administration, the lack of private property in land, occupational specialization on hereditary basis and strong kinship bonds among the individuals and lack of chance for spatial mobility, village communities in India exhibited the potential elements of Primitive Communism. In primitive Communism, every person was a producer and consumer and exclusively self-

Economic & Philosophical manuscript

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reliant. At his point Marx considers political inequality is a matter of secondary importance on the basis of class formation in society is not possible. For Marx, it is economy that holds the key to the explanation of domination and subordination in societies and cultures. In slave society, feudalism and capitalism, different degrees of control over the means of production invariably gives rise to man's different degrees of equality with matter (force of production) and with other individuals (relations of production). This material control over matter and unequal social relationships combine together germinate the elements of class divide in society. People holding control over the means of production become dominant and people relying on labour become subordinate. So domination and subordination in society is having an economy genesis which subsequently takes a political tone. However, in the analysis of Marx in his analysis of Proletarian Revolution, considers the basic objective of the proletariats involved in the class struggle is to seize the state power than simply controlling the enterprise. Here, he considers that by capturing power, the proletariats will be in a position to bring an end to the class character of the society or to put an end to the existential economic disparities between the Haves and the Have-nots. Therefore, it is not quite clear in the analysis of Marx whether economic power is predominant over political power or vice-versa. From a broader perspective it should be advocated that Marx in his base and superstructure analysis, concedes that economic base determines the nature, structure and the form of domination in the super structure of the society. Hence, Marx considers economic domination and subordination, for which his approach to power is to be considered as unidimensional. Marx further asserts that in every historical epoch the people dominant in power structure control the government. Except communism, in every other society political power is used to protect the interest of the dominants at the cost of the subjects. Power being a constant sum, once concentrated in the hands of a few, it reduces the masses into an effectively powerless position. The people belonging to ruling class gain political power by using coercion or naked violence. They further make illegitimate use of power for the furtherance of their selfish greeds. Legal court being not affordable by the Have-nots, it is law which ensures a class divide in society polarizing people into two distinct categories. Marxan explanation of power can be criticized on the basis of the following grounds.

Proletariats

Proletariats

Firstly, his unidimensional approach to power is contradicted by Max Weber, who advocates that political differences among the individuals in society may be having definite correspondence with class and status difference. Therefore, economic difference is not the exclusive cause for the political domination and subordination.

Weber

NeoMarxist

Elite theories

Secondly, in case of communist society, specifically in case of erstwhile Soviet Russia, it was found out that class difference was not absolutely non-existent. On the basis of their political position, the leaders in communist party availed exclusive political benefits and manifesting exclusive life style. This indicated the continuance of the Stratificational order.

Thirdly, modern sociologists like Ralf Dahrendorf, Raymond Aron, C. Wright Mills in their respective studies found out that it is not always true that economic difference and power differences independently and combine to define the empirical nature of inequality in societies. It is found out that caste, race, ethnicity and estate are many other dimensions of inequality in society. Hence, societies are not regulated by class or power-based inequalities.

Finally, elite theorists advocates that there is no society possible without ruling elites. Members of the ruling class being elites, privileges, benefits and facilities endowed with them are different in comparison to what is granted to the others. A group of elites can be replaced by another group of elites but political domination and subordination is an universal phenomenon. In communism or in utopia, despite the abolishment of economic inequality, political inequality will strongly be existent. Looking into this, Pareto concludes that "History is a graveyard of aristocracy"; what concludes that it is not possible to find out a society where political domination and subordination is not successfully existent.

circulation of elites

#### Weberian Approach to Power

Weberian approach to power is greatly linked up with Weber's study of social stratification. According to Max Weber, power, domination and authority are greatly inter-linked. Combine together they explain the political situations. Power, he defines "refers to a situation in which a group of people exercise their authority and control over the others even against the resistance of others". Meaning, in a power situation, leaders and the followers are mutually coexistent and the leaders impose their will over the subjects, even though subjects resist to it initially. When the role of the ruler is accepted by the subjects, it gives legitimacy to the rule of the rulers. Legitimacy is primarily the property of the subjects, what they grant to the leaders, providing legitimate authority or rights to the rulers to rule over the masses. So legitimate

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 authority is legitimate because it is accepted by the people. To Max Weber, party refers to an organized group action to capture power in society. Every party is having a set of leaders and a set of followers. It is followers who grant legitimate right to the leaders to take policy decisions and to frame laws and rules what are binding on them all. Party actions is a communal action because every party primarily intends to gratify the objectives of the rulers and the subjects as well. Every party will be having a common implicit goal though their explicit goals may be highly variant. For instance, in case of society of India, explicit goals of Janata Party may be social justice, of BJP, it may be the establishment of Raj Rajya and for Congress it may be liberalization and development. But all the parties adopt various strategies to capture power in society. That implicit goal of every political party is identical.

✓ *legi vs illegi*  
 According to Max Weber, the prime concern of sociology is to study the legitimate authority. Legitimate authority is exclusively a temporal phenomenon, which never comes under the purview of academic sociology. For instance, the tyrant or a monarch may use naked violence to capture power but slowly and strategically he obtains support from military force, feudal gentries, caste and ethnic groups, etc. That obviously provides the illegitimate ruler a support base and his rule into legitimate one. So legitimacy holds the key to the explanation of power according to Max Weber.

According to him, legitimate authority can broadly be divided into three major types such as (1) Traditional Domination of authority, (2) Charismatic Domination of authority, and (3) Legal-rational Domination of authority. These three types of authority structures being considered as ideal types can be existent in combination and in separation. According to Weber, these three types of authority structures are potentially inter-linked with three different types of social actions such as traditional, emotional and effectual and legal-rational.

- (1) **Traditional Domination** : Traditional authority is based upon traditional support which is governed by reflexes and habits in relation to traditional values, customs and beliefs. Traditional authority is based upon the ground that "you have to obey me because it is your people who have always done so". Traditional authority can be existent in three different forms identified as patrilinealism, patriarchalism and patrimonization.

*age*  
 Patrilinealism is based on age old traditional values and no specialized official staffs are appointed here. It is exclusively age which operates as the basic service of domination. The rule of the elderly members in the village community of India and rule by age-set and age-grade in tribal societies are the classic examples of patrilineal form of domination.

*age & kinship*  
 Patriarchalism is otherwise known as gerontocracy and here authority of the rulers is determined by two specific criteria ; one is age and the second is kinship. The authority of ruler is greatly subjected to hereditary transmission. Subordinate staff are appointed on the basis of kinship linkage. The boundary between the rulers and the subjects is no explicitly defined. The classic example of patriarchal domination is found out in early Roman society where patriarchal families were existent and they were operative under the exclusive control of the male heads.

Patrimonization is the developed form of the early types of traditional rule. In this situation traditional bureaucracy and traditional government are existent. The officials appointed into public positions are not exclusively selected on the basis of their efficiency ; rather loyalty factor plays a significant role for the political appointment. The distinction between the rulers and the subjects are neatly defined here. Along with the expansion of patrimonial rule, more and more number of official staffs will be appointed. Patrimonial rule is essentially governed by three distinct features meaning political positions are granted to the individuals considering the factors like fear, favour and pressure. Since there is a great probability that large number of official staffs will be appointed here, there is a potential scope for conflict between the rulers and the officials in case of patrimonial domination.

- (2) **Charismatic authority** is greatly governed by emotional and effectual action. The supporters primarily consider that their leader is someone unique and he possesses supreme virtues what is absent in others. Charismatic authority being based upon the personal virtues of leaders, the leader is considered as an extraordinary being. The leader may be a religious prophet like Mohammed or a political leader like Gandhi. The followers always have an emotional attachment with the leader. They may not be having any personal inter-linkage with the leader but at the same time they consider their leaders as extraordinary and all powerful. To obtain charismatic authority, the charismatic leaders prove their qualities by performing miracles what cannot be obtained.

be done by commoners. Charismatic qualities being associated with specific leaders, the probability of transmitting this charisma on hereditary basis though not extremely impossible is obviously difficult. According to Max Weber, when there is a routinization of charisma, it gives rise to this upcoming of traditional authority or legal-rational authority. For example, the charismatic virtues of Pandit Nehru were transmitted to Indira Gandhi, what were substantially transmitted to Rajiv Gandhi giving rise to the political domination of Nehru-Gandhi family in Indian context. This clearly explains that lineage rule in a democratic setting is the obvious outcome of Routinization of Charisma. However, the rule of Nehru-Gandhi family too has legal-rational elements associated with it. The leaders belonging to this lineage being democratically elected, it can be said that Routinization of Charisma has given rise to the mutual, co-existent traditional and legal-rational political domination in this context.

- (3) Legal-Rational authority is based upon legal-rational actions governed by the principle of effective use of means and for the gratification of goals. Legal-rational authority is based upon impersonal laws. Hence, there is no personal inter-linkage between the rulers and the subjects. The command issued by higher officials and accepted by the lower ones is greatly restricted to the office. Hierarchy of office is existent here and people in the hierarchies are paid on the basis of their services. According to Weber, legal-rational authority is synonymous to bureaucracy or bureaucracy is the heart of legal-rational domination.

#### Criticism

- ① Weber primarily defines state as a coercive mechanism because it is state or the people in power who always use coercion to obtain legitimacy. Though this is potentially true but the coercive elements associated with different political set-ups are not exclusively identical. For example, Fascism, Nazism, dictatorship are different from democracy because the elements of coercion associated with these forms of governance are distinctly different.

- ② Secondly, Weber considers legitimate authority as the universal phenomenon and illegitimate authority is exclusively temporal. In actuality legitimate authority is primarily existent in many forms in different social situations. For example, in case of society of India on the basis of caste considerations people are elected into parliament and they being elected by people are considered as the legal-rational rulers. At this context whether legal-rational authority rule is legitimate or the traditional support base (caste) is legitimate is highly difficult to define. So legitimate authority itself is subjected to various types of permutations and combinations.

- ③ Finally, Weber's definition of power is greatly elastic which cannot appropriately be used as a starting point for the explanation of power and politics. Weber later relates power with legitimacy and authority making his explanation of power and politics highly broad and idealistic.

#### Neo-Marxist Approach to Power and Politics

Ralph Dahrendorf  
Louis Althusser

Ralph Dahrendorf and Louis Althusser are considered as two distinguished Neo-Marxists contributing to the study of politics and power. Ralph Dahrendorf on the one hand criticises the orthodox Marxism and on the other he is critical to conservative functional analysis developed by Talcott Parsons. But yet his contribution to the study of power is much more significant. Contradicting to the theory of Marx that property is the major determinant of class in modern society, Dahrendorf asserts that it is power which holds the key to the explanation of class structure in modern society. It is legitimate power which holds the key for the explanation of structure and dynamics of social life. Redefining class, he states "Class is a category of purposes, to analyze social conflict, social dynamics, and its structural roots". He asserts that class formation in society is not exclusively having an economic basis. To prove his point, he advocates, that in modern society it is not the businessman rather the politicians who hold considerable degree of influence, because law-making capacity is endowed with the people in power. Competition for power is more significant in modern society than competition for wealth. Every society approves unequal distribution of power among the people. Therefore, it never gives rise to class conflict and social change. People in higher positions being endowed with sovereignty, they lay down rules and laws for the subjects and enforce obedience from the subjects. By controlling over valued goods, privileges and power they tend to retain their domination in the society. The rulers obviously rule by constraint by using coercion to regulate the behaviours of the subjects. People in power consolidate positions not by always antagonizing their subjects rather they incur legitimacy from the subject class. Meaning the relationship between the rulers and the subjects is none of cooperation and also this relationship is governed

Not property  
power  
Class

pm

by the coercive elements. Therefore, the rulers may at times use naked violence to obtain mass support. They may also use the violent means to work on opposition but at the same time through mass mobilization, campaign and negotiation they obtain legitimacy from their supporters and dominate in the power hierarchy of the society. Dahrendorf though considered as a Neo-Marxist, in actuality he synthesizes the elements of Marxism and functionalism and proves that both the approaches do have appropriate relevance to explain power from an empirical perspective.

Lodges Althusser though considered as a great critic of Marx but in his own merit he stands as the greatest disciple of Marx. His thesis, Ideological State Apparatus and Repressive State Apparatus. Althusser advocates that dominant groups in society primarily use the persuasive mechanisms like ideology, beliefs, values and customs to obtain legitimacy from the masses. The people in power not only influence the political structure of the society, rather ideological state apparatus being controlled by them, education, religion and family, sufficiently inculcate the values of subordination and conformity to the rules of the land in the mind of the subordinates. That helps for the continuance of the domination of the dominants. At this point he is close to Marx who advocates that domination and subordination in society is exclusively determined by the domination of a given group in every sector of social life. But unlike Marx, Althusser argues that the essence of power difference in society never lies in the economic base. To him, when Ideological State Apparatus fails to regulate the behaviour of the individual for the continuance of the social order than Repressive State Apparatus like law, army and police are used by the rulers to obtain legitimacy to their rule. Therefore, every ruler is a rule persuasively and then is converted into a ruler coercive. Both the mechanisms being used by the rulers to establish their domination in the society, it is inappropriate to say that rule is exclusively coercive.

Ruler persuasive  
Ruler coercive

Elite Theory

Pareto, the founder of elite theory, taking up Machavillian dichotomy, advocates that people in society are broadly divided into two distinct groups such as ruling class and masses or the subjects. The ruling class is further compartmentalized into two distinct divisions such as the lions and the foxes. When the lions capture power by their virtues and abilities or they rule by force, foxes on their own merit rule by tact and cunning. European democracies are greatly governed by the foxes. According to him, when a group of elites becomes soft, submissive and ineffective, they lose their qualities to rule, thus replaced by another category of elites. This is how the elites are always involved in the process of circulation. Criticizing to Marxian theory he advocates that history of society does not stop its movement with utopia. In every society whether it is fascist, dictatorship or democracy, it is obviously ruled by elites. Therefore, history of human society is the "graveyard of aristocracy".

History of human soc  
managed by  
aristocracy

lions & foxes

Following the footsteps of Pareto, Mosca advocates that elites are different from masses on the basis of their qualities. The elites are adhering to unique value system; they too possess the most requisite skills to control the society. Elites can be divided into two major types such as governing elites and non-governing elites. (Governing elites) can be identified as lions or foxes who rule either by might or by tact. Elite rule in democracy is not a class rule rather elites are the representative of the masses. Criticizing to Marxian thesis he says that capitalism or democracy is not governed by the elements of exploitation. In case of democracy when the leaders have a mass base and they are elected by popular mandate; in case of socialism the rulers are self imposed on the subjects and society. Elite rule is not an arbitrary affair, because elite rule, as the commoners cannot rule over themselves. Hence, elite rule is legitimized by the rulers, the subjects and the society as well.

governing elites  
non governing elites

C. Wright Mills in his book, Power Elite, advocates that in case of America it is not the people dominating in the economic base exhibit their domination in the political structure of the society. The elites endowed with the capability to rule come from different social categories. In case of U.S. the professional politicians, along with military chiefs and entrepreneurs, combine together are represented in the political directorate of the society and combine they constitute power elite. Power Elites are endowed with the power and privileges to determine the destiny of American society and the destiny of whole world. American capitalism being greatly dependent upon defence products is otherwise known as military capitalism; and democracy being present here, it is political capitalism and too it is also economic capitalism. Capitalism in America having three distinct dominations, ruling class is primarily elected from these three broad categories of society. The conception of ruling class as used by Mills is different from that of Marxian conception of ruling class. According to C. Wright Mills, power elites in America maintain an exclusive life-style. They constitute a semi-closed group and they have very little or no relationship outside their own group. They are educated in exclusive institutions. They are the

Trails of  
prof politicians  
military chiefs  
entrepreneur  
power elite

9  
power elite  
members of exclusive clubs. Their life-style, manner of speech are exclusive. Therefore they constitute a status group than constituting a class. Contradicting to Marx, he advocates that class rule is not inevitable in capitalism. And criticizing to Weber he concludes that when economy becomes progressive and bureaucracy becomes structured, the rule of status group does not lose its significance and prominence. Therefore, C. Wright Mills theory is considered as greatly classic and applicable to different empirical situations to understand political discourses in the power hierarchy.

elite  
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### Pluralist Approach

Scholars belonging to this school on the one hand contradict elite theory and on the other they are critical to orthodox Marxism. They believe that in modern society power is not concentrated in the hands of a few. It is evenly dispersed among various groups and categories. In case of modern society plural elites are present. Political elites, business elites and educational elites are not greatly concerned with the satisfaction of their self-seeking interest. One group of elites cannot predominate over the other categories of elites. Therefore, all the elites primarily put checks and balances on each other. That gives rise to a situation in which all the elites independently and combine work for the satisfaction of collective interest. In case of modern societies, the individuals becoming the members of various pressure groups articulate their interests for their effective gratification. Different occupational groups, articulating their interest put pressure on the political system to obtain a favorable decision. Furthermore, professional political bodies in modern society, mediate between various interest groups to mitigate the differences among them and pursue them to contribute for the continuance of the political order. Political parties mediate between the interest of elites and the interest groups. Politicians competing with each other to capture power greatly take people into confidence than antagonizing them.

relate to  
Democracy

Robert Dahl in his book, Who Governs? advocates that in modern society plural elites rule, obtaining support from the masses. Arnold Rose concludes that decision-making is widely dispersed in modern society than it is being concentrated in the hands of a few. Samoyer Lipset advocates that public opinion, political parties being endowed with rule making capacity in democracy, democracy is a plural rule. Furthermore, public opinion, pressure groups, greatly regulate the policies made by different political parties. They further put pressure on the government compelling it to take favorable decisions for the gratification of collective interest. At times too they threaten government to vote it out from power. Hence, in democracy it is not the rule of a few prevalent, rather democratic rule is representative rule or it is a plural rule.

relate to  
pol. part

Power : Authority : Legitimacy : Elitism

The study of power in sociology began with Weber. He defined 'power' as the chance of a man or a group of men to realize their own will in a communal action. It is an aspect of social relationships. Neither an individual, nor a group, except a mad man, desires to hold power in isolation. It is always held in relation to others. Power is therefore, power over others.

In terms of Weber's definition, 'power' is the degree to which an individual can get his own way in social relationship. As a matter of fact, such power enters into every aspect of social life, as for example, family, classroom, club, sports, forum, etc.

Many sociologists are of the view that political sociology is a study of power in its broadest sense. Politics occurs when there are differentials in power. In other words any social relationship which involves power differentials is political. This approach to power makes the State to be no longer the only institutions to be studied in the subject of political power. Thus, although the study of state and its branches remains important in political sociology, they are examined in relation to society as a whole rather than in isolation.

Sociologists, in this context, distinguish between two forms of power, authority and coercion. 'Authority' is that form of power which is accepted as legitimate and is obeyed. 'Coercion' is that form of power which is not regarded as legitimate by those subjected to it. This distinction cannot remain clear-cut in practice. Both forms of power are based ultimately on physical force, and even those who enforce law do at times resort to physical force, or force remains contingent.

An analytical view of the exercise of power shows that it has been always the fortune, birthright or morality of a few but not all. From the very beginning of man's story, a handful of individuals dominated the rest of members in society. In ancient times, birthright was the criterion. In medieval times, religious sanction was sought for this birthright. In modern times, political

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processes provide justification for a few ruling over the rest. It is this small group of people in the story of man that has come to be treated as the rule of elites.

According to different writers, different criteria justify this dominance. In the thinking as it is today, the meaning of the word 'elite' has been widened. Elite meaning the cream of society is treated to be pluralistic but not monistic in nature. Hence it is normal to treat professional elites, political elites, military elites and journalistic elites as specific centres of power. Although today's society has got a cluster of elites determining the nature and functioning of political power, the ultimate control is that of the political elite. The political elite is not necessarily drawn from the basic political elite; it can be drawn from the various elites that go to make a society.

#### Political System

#### Influence and power

To measure influence one has to take note of its weight, its domain and its scope. The weight of influence is the degree to which policies are affected, the domain of influence is the persons whose policies are affected, the scope of influence, the value implicated in the policies. In other words, in order to determine the influence of an actor one has, first to take note of the amount of change in the position of the actor influenced. But a more objective assessment of the amount of change is not always a true indicator of the weight of influence. To get the educated people living in the urban areas of India strictly follow the family planning measures in much easier than influencing the illiterate rural folk of India to practice family planning.

Again in estimating the weight of influence the probability of compliance in a situation prior to the exercise of influence is also a consideration one can hardly neglect. The domain of influence refers to the number of persons influenced. To assess influence, certainly it is useful to know how many actually respond to the influence.

But too much emphasis on the domain influence alone may sometimes give us a deceptive picture. 'A' may have influence over ten thousand persons while 'B' may exert influence over a thousand persons only. But 'B' influence may cover a range issues much wider than the under the influence of A, making thus B more influential than A.

(Power thus, is a special kind of influence. It is the use or a threat of the use of sanctions that differentiates power from influence in general. The sanctions involved in power need not always have to be an actual or threatened deprivation, inflicting penalties and losses on others. They may also be applied in the form of giving or promising to give rewards like wealth or honour. The former is an instance of negative sanctions while the latter is a case of the use of positive sanctions.

(Power, thus, is the capacity to affect other's behavior by the use or the threat of the use of positive or negative sanctions. Positive sanction in the form of a promise reward, however may in some cases get transformed into a negative sanction.

Since power is capacity to affect other's behavior it is basically relational and not a simple personal property. One can have power only over others. Thus the very sound of the word power prompts one ask: Power over whom? Sometimes we tend to understand power as such without trying to place it in the context of its use against others.

Thus we take a nation as powerful just because it has enormous military strength or a family as powerful since it has great wealth. Here we seem to take power as identical with military strength or wealth, but the fact that it is our experiences that military strength: wealth enables a nation or a family to acquire power over others. Thus in such cases the relational aspect is implicit in our very understanding.

The nature of political power can't be fully known unless the pattern of its distribution is thoroughly studied. The way the political power is distributed determines who are the most powerful in a political community and also who thus play a decisive role in the reconciliation of conflicts that constitutes of content of politics.

#### Nature of Social Power

In general, Power may refer to any kind of influence exercised by objects, individuals or groups upon each other. Robert Dahl defines it as 'subject of relations among social units such that the behaviour of one or more units depend in some circumstances on the behaviour



of other units. "A has power over B". We can substitute the assertion "A's behaviour causes B's behaviour". Max Weber is one of the most influential definitions of "power" states that power is the probability that one actor within a social relationship will be in a position to carry out his own will, despite resistance and regardless of the basis on which this probability rests. Power is therefore an aspect of social relationships. It is a product of the structural aspects and the distribution of dominance in a society that leads to the fact that in every society there are some who exercise power over others while there is a majority submitting to the dominance. Max Weber's Dauberger states that every society can be dichotomized into the "governors" and the "governed" — the former exercise political power while the latter accept the will of the former. Power, in addition to its distribution in political institutions, is present in every social relationship. In family, the parents exercise power over their children; in schools, the teacher enforces discipline by resorting to power, the traffic policeman fines a deviant driver, and a political party enforces legislation. All these are the myriad expressions of power. Therefore, power and its expressions are ubiquitous in every society.

The centrality of the concept of power in sociology is comparable to that of energy in physics. But there are four other related terms, frequently used in the sociology of power. These are compliance, coercion, authority and influence. "Compliance" refers to the attitudes and behavior caused by power. Etzioni defines it as referring both to a relation in which an actor behaves in accordance with a directive supported by another actor's power, and to the orientation of the subordinated actor to the power applied. In simple terms, submissions by an actor to the power of the other may be called "compliance".

"Coercion" comprises "the application, on the threat of application, of physical sanctions such as infliction of pain, deformity or death; generation of frustration through restriction of movement; or controlling through force the satisfaction of needs such as those for food, sex, and the like. Some sociologists hold that "Coercion" is that form of power which is not regarded as legitimate by those subject to it. But it has also been argued that power is ultimately based on physical force and those who enforce the law are able to resort to physical force whether their power is regarded as legitimate or not.

An essential element in the concept of "Authority" is "legitimacy". It is said to be in the right to expect and command obedience. Talcott Parsons defines it as that type of superiority which involves the legitimized right (and/or obligation) to control the actions of others in a social relationship systems. It must be remembered that this legitimation does not necessarily extend to the whole relationship, but only to certain aspects of it, whether specified precisely or not.

Hence, under the historic stage of "later feudalism" the vassal's legitimation of the lord's superior status did not involve acceptance of the lord's right to exact more than customary labour dues. A legitimate domination in contrast with coercive domination, is non-governed. The right of the superordinate to exact compliance is based on the consent of the subordinate.

In addition to these factors, influence may also be involved in the exercise of power. An actor may comply not out of legitimacy as accorded to power, but because of the consequence that would entail from non-compliance. Those who have power — coercive or legitimate — can always influence others to behave in specified ways.

Although "power" is a central concept, it is related with "compliance", "coercion", "authority" and "influence". These have been isolated as analytical concepts, but in reality, they are interrelated and govern the direction and nature of social behavior.

Power of Elites

Pg: 112, chronicle

Unlike Marxism, elite theory claims that the personal qualities of individuals separate rulers from the ruled. The later day theory of elitism lays emphasis not on personal qualities, but more on the institutional framework of society. The later elitists argue that hierarchical organization of social institutions allows a minority to monopolize power.

Since elite theory owes its origin to the reaction against Marxism, it rejects the idea of a Communist utopia. Arguing that an egalitarian society is an illusion, it sees Marxism as an ideology rather than an objective analysis of society. Major decisions are always taken by the elite. Even in democracies, the Governments' decisions reflect the thinking of the elite rather than the wishes of the people. The majority of people are apathetic and unconcerned with the major issues of the day. The masses are largely controlled and manipulated by the elite and the masses passively accept the propaganda which subtly justifies an elite rule.

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Classical elite theory was propounded by Pareto and Mosca. Pareto argues that there are two main types of governing elites because of their different psychic make-up. One group is the lions, and the other the foxes. The former achieve power because of their ability to take direct and decisive action, and they tend to rule by force. In comparison, foxes rule by cunning and guile and by diplomatic manipulation. Pareto gave the example of European monarchies to substantiate his point of view.

(Europe)

Lions &amp; foxes

circulation of elites

Moreover, changes in society occur when one elite replaces another. It is this process Pareto calls as the "Circulation of elite". All elites in course of time tend to become decrepit, losing their vigour. They may either become too soft and ineffective or too inflexible to respond to changing circumstances. Moreover, each type of elite lacks in some qualities. An elite of "lions" lacks in imagination and cunning necessary to maintain its rule. To make up for this deficiency, they admit "foxes" from the masses gradually. As the elite of lions grows complacent, foxes infiltrate the entire elite and so transform its character. In turn, after some time, the elite of "foxes" shows its weaknesses, lack of ability to take forceful and decisive steps. At this juncture, an organized minority of lions committed to restoration of strong government eventually overthrows the elite of "foxes". History to Pareto is the never ending circulation of elites; nothing ever really changes, and history is, and will always be, a grave-yard, aristocracies.

criticism to Pareto (Brahmins)

This view of Pareto has certain weaknesses. He fails to provide a method to measure and distinguish between the supposed superior qualities of elites. He simply assumes that the qualities of the elite are superior to those of the masses. Nor does he provide a way of measuring the process of elite decadence. As commented by a writer, the brahmins, the elitist stratum in the Indian caste system are a closed group that have survived for many hundreds of years.

The second exponent, Mosca, argues that rule by minority is an inevitable feature of social life. He bases his belief on the evidence of history — a class that rules and a class that is ruled. He too assumes like Pareto that the ruling minority is superior to the masses of population. Mosca provides a psychological extension saying that the superiority of the elite rests on the social background of the elite. The qualities needed for the elite, Mosca argues, vary from society to society, as for example in some societies they are courage and bravery; in other, skill and capacities for acquiring wealth.

Democracy

Talking of democracies, Mosca maintains that the ruling elite is open unlike those in the closed systems such as caste and feudal societies. It is, therefore, possible that in a democracy elite is drawn from a wide range of social background. The interests of various social groups get represented in the decisions taken by the elite, and thus the majority in a democracy may have some control over the government or society. After this approval of democracy, Mosca did not change his views on the masses. He argues that the masses lack the capacity for self-government, and, therefore, require the leadership and guidance of an elite. Mosca berates the extension of franchise to all members of society, believing that it should be limited to the middle class.

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In modern times, the elite theory has been developed by C. Wright Mills and Floyd Hunter in the context of the USA. Mills explains elite rule in institutional rather than psychological terms. He disagrees with the view that the elites have superior qualities to distinguish themselves from the rest of the population. Rather, he argues that the structure of institutions is such that those at the top of the institutional hierarchy largely manipulate power. The elite consists of those people who hold command posts in the pivotal positions of society. He identifies three key institutions: the major corporations, the military, and the federal government. Thus the USA has three elites. In practices, the interests and activities of the elites are seen as similar and inter-connected to form a single ruling minority which Mills terms the "power elite". In other world, the "Power elite" involves the overlap of economic, military and political power. He claims that American capitalism is now in considerable part military capitalism.

The "power elite" of the USA owes its dominance to a change in the institutional landscape. Nineteenth century economic power was controlled by a multitude of small businessmen. By the fifties of this century, it has come to be concentrated in the hands of a few hundred giant corporations. In a similar manner, 19th century political power was fragmented and localized. But in the 20th century the federal government eroded the autonomy of the States, and political power has become centralized.

This "power elite" of the USA is drawn largely from the upper strata of society. They are mainly Protestants, native born Americans, drawn from urban areas in the Eastern USA. They share similar education backgrounds and mix in high prestige clubs. Within the "power elite", there is frequent inter-change of personnel between the three elites.

Mills argues that American society is dominated by a "power elite" of unprecedented power and unaccountability. He claims that the momentous decision such as the American entry into the Second World War and the dropping of the atom bomb on Hiroshima were made by the "Power elite", with little or no reference to the people. The rise of the elite power has led to the decline of politics as a genuine and public debate of alternative decisions. However, the bulk of the population is treated as an inert mass which is controlled by the elite through various instruments of psychic management and manipulation. The masses being unconcerned with the major issues are pre-occupied with their personal worlds of work, leisure, family and neighborhood.

This view of elitism has been found fault with by Robert A. Dahl. He contends that potential for control is not equivalent to actual control and Mills has failed to establish where actual control lies. In other words, Dahl argues that the case for "power elite" remains unproved.

Mills' views, however, are investigated by Floyd Hunter in his book Community Power Structure. It is about his capital of Georgia, Atlanta. Hunter claims that the business community of Atlanta declines everything. They rule by persuasion, intimidation, coercion and, if necessary, force. They also control the media which has a major influence on the formation of local opinion.

This research of Hunter has been criticized on two grounds; his method is questioned. Hunter collected the data by asking questions from the local people. The response of the local people might not be true and the reality may be entirely different. Secondly, although Hunter did study actual decisions, he limited his investigations to those issues in which the economic elite claimed their interests, but not all the other issues.

Although the elite theory has been attacked on various grounds, this theory has found greater support in the context of the analyses of communist societies. T.B. Bottomore and Raymond Aron came interesting conclusions. The former says that the political system of communist countries is the pure type of "Power elite". The latter also maintains that power in communist societies can best be represented in terms of elite model. He argues that the Russian political, economic and military power are concentrated in the hands of a unified elite which has absolute and unbounded power. The mass of the population is left without any means of defence against the elite. This view is shared by Milovan Djilas.

But this view on the communist societies was criticized by David Lane. He claims that the principal aim of Soviet elite has been industrialization and economic development of country, and centralized State control has been a means to this end rather than simply a disguise to further the interests of the political elites. So, elite rule has not been predominantly exploitive.

Although every theory of the elite has been found fault with, there is some element of truth in its analysis of political sociology. It appears to be almost universal. In India too the decision-making authority is under the influence and pressure of the business elite, the landlord elite, the journalist elite, and the intelligentsia elite. At the base of these elites is the small English educated community. Almost all the decisions of the political centres in India are passed in favour of the urban areas, and that too those who have a finger in the pie. The concept of elite is thus an interesting analytical tool for understanding the realities of political sociology.

Elite theorists analyse society in dichotomous terms, with a nearly cohesive, homogeneous minority dominating an amorphous majority. This domination may be achieved either -

- a) by possessing a monopoly of the means of violence; or
- b) by monopolising the means of subsistence; or
- c) through the control of 'middle-men' with specific authority in limited areas; or
- d) through 'hegemonic' control over the formulation of social values. Various means of control can be collectively employed in order to gain compliance.

The members of an elite group have a lot of homogeneity. They are bound to each other by ties of family, class origin, occupational experience, education and institutional interest. Because of common interests, they develop a 'consciousness of kind' (to use Franklin Giddings's phrase) and thus, are able to rule. The ruled ones are dispersed. The majority possesses neither the knowledge, nor the resources to transcend its limited horizons and to get the awareness of its common interests in opposing elite domination.

Two Italian sociologists, Vilfredo Pareto and Gaetano Mosca developed the 'elite theory'. Whereas Marxian theory argued that relationships to the means of production divide society into ruling class and one or more subject classes, 'elite theory' claims that the personal qualities of individuals separate rulers from the ruled. The 'elite owe their position to the superiority of their personal characteristics or attributes'. The meaning of the term 'elite' is 'to excel'. Therefore, there are some people who excel in certain domains and because of their excellent qualities, they are set apart from a large mass of people. Pareto divided the elite as falling into two categories, viz. 'governing elite' and 'non-governing elite'. The governing elite controls the political processes and takes decisions about the community as a whole. On the other hand, the 'non-governing elite' include all those people who are excellent in non-political arenas. Poets, musicians, eminent professors and other artists can be included in the second category. But in both these divisions, the personal characteristics or attributes are of utmost importance.

The elites may possess considerable organizational ability, a talent which Mosca believed to be the basis of leadership or they may possess qualities like cunningness and intelligence which Pareto regarded as the basic prerequisites of power. Later versions of 'elite theory' place less emphasis on the personal qualities of the powerful, but more on the institutional framework of society. According to them the hierarchical organization of social institution allows a minority to monopolize power. It may derive its power from private property according to Miliband, or from organizational position, according to C. Wright Mills, but the power would result from the institutional structure.

'Elite theory' developed in part as a reaction to Marxism. It rejected the Marxian idea that a classless society having an egalitarian structure would be the culminating point of class struggle in a capitalist society. It regarded Marxism as ideology rather than an objective analysis of social system. Man can never be liberated from the subjugation of an 'elite structure'. Elite theory believes that all societies are divided into two main groups a ruling minority and a governed majority. This is ubiquitous. The dictatorship of proletariat, if it were to be established, would mean the replacement of one 'elite' by another. Against the Marxian premise that economic and political powers go together, the elite theorists believe that a considerable separation between the two has occurred. The economic power does not always lead to the control of political power, and political power is not directly contingent upon the ownership of the means of production. [C. Wright Mills] in his famous work 'The Power Elite', explains his preference for the term 'power elite' rather than 'ruling class'. He holds: "Ruling class" is a badly loaded phrase. "Class" is an economic term, "rule", a political one. The phrase "ruling class", thus contains the theory that an economic class rules politically. That short-cut theory may or may not at times be true... Specifically, the phrase "ruling class", in its common political connotation, does not allow enough autonomy to the political orders and its agents, and it says nothing about the military as such... We hold that such a simple view of "economic determinism" must be elaborated by "political determinism" and "military determinism"; that the higher agents of each of these three domains now often have a noticeable degree of autonomy; and that only in the often intricate ways of coalition do they make up and carry through the most important decisions. Mills defines "power elite" in terms of the means of power — as those who occupy the command posts. Concepts of elite become of sufficient relevance in the case of modern society where political organization has acquired a considerable degree of autonomy. Hence, the 'power elite' may or may not be dependent on economic power and means of production.

Elite theorists pay probing attention to the social background and personal attributes of members of the 'Elite' because they believe that such factors contribute significantly to the distribution of powers. [R. Merton] says that 'leadership groups in both industrial and political organizational are recruited from only a limited range of occupational backgrounds, educated at a limited number of schools, and exposed to only a limited work and cultural environment. He examines the proposition in the light of a lot of empirical data. "At the apex of society the links between the members of elite are genealogical; lower down, the initial links are provided by parental acquaintance, residential proximity and shared education. Such education — at the Clarendon public schools and Oxford in Britain, at elite private schools like Groton and St. Paul's and the Ivy League university of Toronto in Canada, the nine 'prestige' private schools and universities of Sydney, Melbourne and Adelaide in Australia — reinforces information that socialization within the family furnishes peer group contacts, and facilitates the acquisition of generally legitimated educational qualifications. In Britain, both leading businessmen and top civil servants, as well as party-political leaders, are drawn from a limited social group and educated at a small number of schools. Only one per cent of company Chairmen over the period 1900-92 were from working class backgrounds, three per cent from small businessmen, and 66 per cent from the 'upper class' (industrialists, land-owners, significant wealth holders). As in business, the highest-ranking personnel have been drawn from the wealthiest backgrounds."

This analysis shows that 'elites in any society come from a specific socio-cultural background because of sharing such a background, they are able to maintain some sort of a homogeneity'.

### Class Power

Class is an economic referent. In the Marxian analysis, the classes are divided with reference to the axis of property. Therefore, in a society one can distinguish between the class which legally owns the means of production and the one which does not have the rights of ownership, but earns its livelihood by selling its labour. For Marx, class is not an income or an occupational category. In order to substantiate this argument, Marx gives the example of two bricklayers - one who owns the business and the other who works as an employee of a large firm. Both of them might earn the same amount of money. Although both of them belong to the same income and occupational group, yet in the class analysis one is the owner of means of production whereas the other is simply a worker. The interests of the owner are diametrically opposed to that of the worker. Hence, people may earn the same income and belong to the same occupation, but the deciding factor is the relations they have in the system of production.

In every type of society, beyond the most primitive stage, two categories of people can be distinguished. Property relations constitute the axis of this dichotomous system. The first category could be called 'ruling class'. It is constituted of a minority of 'non-producers' who de jure control the means of production and extract from the majority the surplus product. The second class is constituted of those who de facto produce, and the products of their labour are acquired by those who control the means of production. It could be called 'subject class'.

The dominant position of the 'ruling class' is explained by the possession of the major instruments of economic production. The economic dominance is tied to political dominance. Those who control the means of economic production also control the instruments of political dominance. Law is a product of the ruling class which makes laws in order to consolidate their position and thus exploits the working class. Thus, law is an instrument of exploitation. The political dominance is further consolidated by the hold the 'ruling class', establishes over the military force. The 'ruling class', primarily because of ownership of means of production, controls both the state and bureaucracy. Therefore, law, state, military and bureaucracy are the instruments of exploitation firmly in the control of the 'ruling class'.

In the Marxian analysis, 'Power' is not a societal resource held in trust and directed by those in authority for the benefit and welfare of all. 'Power' is examined as held by a particular group in society at the expense of the rest of society. The dominant group uses power to further its own interests. These interests are in direct conflict with the interests of those subject to its power.

The dominant class, which owns both economic and political power, stabilizes its position by advancing, not usually in a consciously directed fashion, a legitimizing ideology. Through this ideology, it rationalizes its dominant position in economic and political areas and explains to the 'subordinate' class why it should accept its subordination. Therefore, the 'ruling class' also controls the production of ideas. In German Ideology, Marx points out that the ideas of ruling class are the ruling ideas in a society. A class having means of material production has control over the means of mental production.

There is a perpetual conflict between the 'ruling class' and the 'subject class or classes' and the nature of this conflict is influenced primarily by the development of productive forces, i.e. changes in technology. Every historic epoch beyond primitive communism is marked by the presence of class-struggle, since the interests of various classes come into conflict. The dominant class uses its political power to suppress these kinds of conflicts. The lines of class conflicts are most sharply drawn in modern capitalist society the paternalistic relations, which characterized both slave and feudal societies, come to an end. The worker is free to sell his labour. He is not morally bound to any particular capitalist. The development of capitalism brings about a more radical polarization of classes than has existed in any other society. Another characteristic of capitalism which would give rise to the accentuation of contradiction is the unrivalled concentration of wealth at one extreme of society and poverty at the other. Because of polarization of classes, the intermediate and transitional social strata would be gradually eliminated.

Class struggle in the case of capitalist society will end with the victory of the working class. Class struggle would lead to the dictatorship of the proletariat. The political power will

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now pass to the proletariat. In capitalist society, bourgeois exercise their political power, while in a socialist society the power would be exercised by the working class. A number of reasons are advanced for expecting the advent of a classless society. First, the tendency of capitalism is to create a homogeneous working class. The workers would come under the same roof and get a chance to generate class consciousness and the sentiment of brotherhood. Secondly, the sentiments emerging from homogeneity would be cemented by the moral and social doctrines which the revolutionary movement produces. Thirdly, capitalism creates the material and cultural preconditions for a classless society — the material conditions by its immense productivity which renders possible the satisfaction of the basic needs of all men and cultural conditions by overcoming the 'ideology of rural life', promoting literacy, diffusing scientific knowledge and drawing people in the orbit of political life.

Hence, the concept of class power states that 'power' is always identified with a particular class having a place in the system of production.

Ralf Dahrendorf has given a somewhat different view of power. According to him, modern capitalism has been transformed, not through a process of revolution and not in the direction Marx had anticipated. He introduces the concept of 'industrial society' for describing the modern system. The contemporary 'industrial society' is based on various types of organization and has an economic-cum-political structure very different from what existed in the nineteenth-century capitalism.

In the Marxian analysis of capitalism, the big guides are owned by the bourgeoisie who at the same time control their functioning. The ownership of the means of production is accompanied by the actual control. Dahrendorf feels that in the modern industrial society, those who legally own the means of production are not always those who exercise influence and actual control. The actual control of the means of production has passed into the hands of a group of entrepreneurs, technocrats and bureaucrats. The category does not possess the rights of ownership, but is endowed with power to look after and manage the organizations. The power of these groups results from a mastery of skills needed for running big organizations. (Jam Burnham) in the analysis of 'managerial revolution' states that between the two classes of capitalism, viz. bourgeoisie and proletariat, a new class, devoid of possessing any control over the capital, or 'functionaries without capital' has been added. The authority of new class does not rest with the legal rights or ownership. The modern organizations cannot function without the authority of the managerial class. Separation of 'ownership' from 'control' indicates that power may result independently of the facts of ownership.

The interests of the managers — those who actually control — are not wholly convergent with that of share — holders or the owners of capital. Therefore, a fragmentation of the unity of capitalist class may occur. At the same time, the labour class has also been differentiated. Trade unions and other informal organizations work as interest groups and exert a lot of pressure on the working of organizations. The distinction between management and workers in these organizations is based on, using Dahrendorf's usage, those with and those without organizationally legitimate authority. The conflict in most of the modern organizations is not between two classes, but between people occupying authoritative positions demanding obedience and those without this authority. The latter have to obey.

Therefore, organizational power deals with the distribution of power in organizational structure, like industries, big factories and other bureaucracies. Here individuals have power not because of the ownership of the means of production but because of the skills, qualities and meritorious performances regarded as indispensable in the working of organizations.

### Community Power Structure

Robert Prethus in his book *Men At the Top*, talks about community power structure or the nature of power structure in a community. For him, men are powerful in relation to other men and the power of any individual is in large measure result of his ability to manipulate the social system. For Floyd Hunter, the power of an individual must be structured into associational cliques and institutional pattern to be effective.

Various empirical studies have been done on the power structure of communities by Dahl, Polsby, Hunter, Robert and Helen Lynd and others. From these analyses two major perspectives have emerged. Hunter and the Lynds have given the stratificational or the elitist theory of community power structure, while Robert Dahl, Polsby and Raymond Wolfinger adhere to the pluralist theory of community power structure.

Stratification or the elitist theory makes the following assertions about the distribution of power in communities:

- (a) The upper class rules in local communities. These theories derive stratification from all other criteria except power. Other criteria used are education, income, occupation, consumption, patterns, social participation, etc. These indices of socio-economic standing are taken and the 'upper class' is referred to as a group of highest socio-economic standing.
- (b) Political and civil leaders are subordinate to the upper class. In reality, they enjoy less power and take orders from the upper classes.
- (c) A single power elite rules in the community. They assume that 'power elite' is in minority and is also homogeneous, in terms of its background and style of life. Most of the decisions affecting the community are taken by the 'power elite'.
- (d) The upper-class power elite rules in its own interest. It also has the power to safeguard its interests.
- (e) Conflict takes place between the upper and the lower classes because the upper class uses power to attain its own interests.

Many studies of community power were greatly influenced by the stratification theory. The main interest of the theorists lay in social structure rather than the structure of power. Power is thus a secondary entity derived from the predominant system of stratification. On the contrary, the interest of Nelson Polsby, Dahl and Wolfinger is mainly in power structure but they arrive at a different set of conclusions.

Polsby and Dahl give an alternative perspective called the 'pluralist' approach. The basic assumption of this approach is that nothing categorical can be assumed about power in any community. They study the specific events which influence decision-making processes. Therefore, they select more than one important 'issue-areas'. They examine decision-making in 'issue-areas' like urban re-development, public education, and political nominations. Concentrating on the power structure, they think that the distribution of power in a community may or may not be a permanent nature.

According to the pluralists, one must make a distinction between class membership and class-consciousness. The former is universal, the latter may not be so. Pluralists also stress leadership roles. By examining who the leaders are and the roles they play, they try to arrive at the community power structure. The pluralists think that various political resources like Wealth, knowledge, skill, ethnic identity, etc. help in attaining political power. The stratification theorists have emphasized only status and wealth.

Polsby and Dahl formulate certain conditions for the existence of pluralism. They are:

- (a) dispersal of power among many;
- (b) conflict for power by groups;
- (c) bargaining among political leaders;
- (d) elections based on wide-spread suffrage; and
- (e) decisions to be influenced by a large number of groups or individuals.

But these conditions are so general that one can find them in every community. Some critics think that it is easy to identify pluralism, but is difficult to identify, on the other hand, the stratification or elitist theory as it has not been put forward in a systematic way.

#### Power of the Unorganized Masses

Marx believed that class consciousness would characterize the proletariat in a capitalist society. The transformation of the class from 'class-in-itself' to 'class-for-itself' would lead to the organization of proletariat who would fight for their own interests. The power of the organized masses would be unrivalled. This will culminate in the victory of the proletariat class (dictatorship)

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of the proletariat). Thus, in the Marxian analysis, class, the organization of class around certain interests, and class-conflicts are the basic characteristics of a capitalist society.

Later authors who examined the transformation of capitalism felt that because of diversification of occupation and the decomposition of capital, class itself has become diversified. New classes have been added to the existing class structure. The fragmentation of the capitalist class is accompanied by the decomposition of labour. Labour class, contrary to the expectations of Marx, has not become homogeneous leading to its organization around certain common interests, but has been divided into unskilled labour force, semi-skilled and skilled labour. Each of these road divisions have their own respective interests. Therefore, the entire working class cannot become a subjectively aware community because of non-community of interests. The trade unions only represent the interests of a section of workers. Different organizations in the form of interest groups catering to specific sections of society have come up. The masses as a whole have not achieved an organized structure primarily because of the diversification of interests. In the case of modern society, class has become an objective category or to quote Raymond Aron, a statistical aggregate. (A.S.)

The unorganized masses (who cannot achieve an organized structure primarily because of divisiveness of interests) achieve their interest either through individual representations, backed by organizational power or through interest and pressure groups built to acquire respective interests. A formal or an informal structure is essential for interest articulation. The unorganized masses may resort to illegitimate means to achieve ends, but it should be remembered that considerable differentiation of interests exists at this level. An organized structure, may be of local importance, is indispensable.

#### Political Culture

The concept of political culture is taken to be a unique contribution of political sociology. It would be fair to admit that the subjective aspect of politics which is what constitutes the core of political culture has far long been a matter of great interest to political scientists.

Political culture is composed of attitudes and orientation which people in a give society develop toward objects within their political system. These orientations may have three distinct dimensions which are:

- (1) Cognitive
- (2) Affective and
- (3) Evaluative

The cognitive orientations imply the knowledge people have about objects within their political system, the affective orientations refer to their feelings about them—feelings either of attachment and involvement or of rejection and the evaluative orientation indicate their judgment on them involving the use of values, information and feelings.

It is by taking into account the three dimensional orientations Cognitive, affective and evaluative with regard to these four objects that one may know the political culture of a society. The nature and extent of these orientations, however, may vary from society to society and this is what leads Almond and Verba to classify political culture into parochial, subject and participant.

The central characteristics of parochial subject political culture that differentiates it from the subject and the participant types is that in it individuals have no cognition of the political system as such and as a result, they don't also have any affective and evaluative orientations toward the political system.

Accordingly Almond and verba list out the following mixed types of political culture:

1. The parochial - subject political culture
2. The subject - Participant political culture
3. The parochial participant political culture and
4. The civic culture. In parochial subject culture an individual has knowledge about a variety of governmental roles although he is mostly unaware of the ways in which they can influence the political system.

To say that a society's political culture will invariably be of a mixed type is perhaps not to give enough indication of the possibility that in a society different groups of people may have different types of orientations towards the political objects. When these different group orientations, which may not give rise to an integrated and coherent culture are clearly distinguishable



from one another, we call them political sub-cultures. Political sub cultures may grow on the basis of religion, social class, caste, language generation, occupation and the like. These sub cultures sometimes play a very significant role and in case of some nations it is impossible to understand the character of a political system without a thorough knowledge of these sub cultures.

#### Political socialization

Political socialization shapes and transmits a nation's political culture, or perhaps, it would be more appropriate to say that it maintains, transforms and sometimes creates the political culture of a people. If maintains a political culture by successfully transmitting it from an old generation to a new one. This task of this maintenance naturally receives much importance under stable conditions. But stable conditions are rather an infrequent phenomenon in the modern world where many nations are often found to be struggling for transforming the old order and erecting new political structures with new social arrangements.

And this is where we come across the transforming role of political socialization. Again, sometimes, a nation and this applies specially to the newly independent nations of Asia and Africa, may try to found a completely new political order for which a new political culture has to be created. The creating task of political socialisation from large in such a case. Which of these three roles of political socialization - Maintaining transforming and creating political culture would receive greater importance would however depend on a number of factors like a country's historical development, the type of social and international environment, the character of the existing traditional outlook towards the political life and also the goals and means of leaders and citizens.

In any case, these three tasks of political socialisation are, by no means mutually exclusive, they rather represent a continuum. Actually, the process of political socialisation in every society involves combination of these three tasks of maintaining, transforming and creating political culture.

Political socialisation, however, is not a process confined to the early years of one's life, but one that is continued throughout the life span of an individual. Political beliefs and attitudes developed in the early part of life may undergo continuous changes as an individual goes through his varied social experiences.

Political socialisation may assume either of these two forms; direct or manifest and indirect or latent. Direct or manifest political socialisation refers to the process in which the content of the transmitted information, values or feeling is clearly political. Thus an individual under the influence of his family teachers or some other agencies learns explicitly about the patterns and function of the government, the views of a political party or gets convinced of the superiority of a particular political ideology, the objects of his orientation being specifically political these are instances of direct or manifest political socialisation. Thus, latent or indirect political socialisation is the transmission of non-political orientation that ultimately affect political objects.

It would, however, be wrong, to think that manifest socialisation is intentional and latent socialisation may both be intentional as well as unintentional. Manifest political socialisation may operate through limitation and compulsory behavior, political education or political experiences. Latent socialisation being an important way of learning naturally, is a vital component of political socialisation.

Latent political socialisation may take place through inter personal reference, apprenticeship and generalization. Indirect Political Socialisation, to a large extent, occurs through inter personal transference which means the transmission to an individual of values and ideas through the influence of other persons. Thus a child growing within an authoritarian family is likely to learn to submit to authority without questions and from this he may develop a docile attitude to government authority.

Political socialisation is effected through a variety of agents like the family peer group, educational institutions, secondary groups, the mass media and government and party agencies. Among these agents the family stands pre-eminent it plays a key role in transmitting political culture from one generation to the next. Much of the individual's political personality is shaped at home in the first ten or fifteen years of his life and generally a substantial part of it is found to out last the influence flowing from other socializing agents in the subsequent years of his life.

Political parties and pressure groups  
With regard to political parties the political sociologists focus is however, different from that of a

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political scientist. While the political scientist views the political party as nothing but a political institution having immense relevance to the question about the formation and working of government in a modern state, the political sociologist, in addition, looks upon the party as essentially a social group, as what Max Weber has called "an associative type of social relationship, membership in which rest on formally free recruitment". It is a social group because firstly, it embodies a system of independent activity and inter personal relationships. Secondly, it operates inter goal-oriented coordinate actions in as far as it demands from its members a rational direction of their behavior towards commonly acknowledged goals.

The distinctiveness of the political party as a social group, however, will be more evident when we take note of its important functions. A political party performs a wide range of functions as important among which is what is known as aggregation of interest. A political party, as we have seen, is a multi-interest group that represent diverse interest of the society. But what is more important it harmonises these interests with each other. Different groups of society and thereby seeks to produce a consensus among as many groups as possible.

Political recruitment is another important function of the political party. In a democracy political elites are recruited namely through political parties; leaders of government are normally the leaders of political parties. In a one party system assumes greater dimensions since in such a system political party happens to provide the only avenue to political power.

If the political party is a significant social group having a great deal of relevance to the functioning of the Modern political process, so is indeed the pressure group. The emergence of pressure groups is to be explained by almost the same social conditions that account for the growth of political parties. A mature society with its increasing specialisation and differentiation give rise to a host of needs and interest that for their effective channelling to the political process, necessitate the growth of a great number of secondary associations.

Political parties and pressure groups are the two most important types of these much needed secondary structures. Hence the pressure group is not a novel political phenomenon currently evident in the political process of modern societies. It is indeed, as old as the political party and in certain instance must have been older than the political party since in some countries at least political parties have originated as pressure group which in course of time, have got converted into political parties.

Yet pressure group has only recently been a nature of academic enquiry. Indeed, political scientists much as they were over occupied with the study of political parties, presently ignored pressure groups until political sociology emerged with its shift in emphasis and brought pressure groups within the scope of its enquiry.

Thus the study of pressure groups is only a twentieth century development. It was, perhaps used for the first time by Peter Odgaard in his book 'pressure politics: the story of the anti-aircraft league' published in 1928.

The term pressure group, however, was detested for long for its pejorative connotation. Only very recently one watches a tendency among some political sociologists to hear with the 'had flavour of the word 'pressure'. This has been possible mainly because to the recent academic discovery that in modern society there are different types of groups, quite distinct from political parties, that continue enhancing the political pressure and the only convenient ways of studying these groups together is to bring them all under pressure group as the umbrella term.

A pressure group is an organised local group where members share common attitudes belief or interest and which seeks to influence public policies in the light of these attitudes or interest without ever trying to move over any responsibility for government. This formal definition indicates not only what a pressure group is but also what it is not.

### Political Parties

The Nature and Origin of Political Parties : Etymologically the word 'party' has been derived from the word 'part'. It refers to a situation in which there exists either a controversy or competition between two or more groups of people within a particular society or political order. The political parties are determinants of political power in all societies irrespective of their open or closed nature. They are quite firmly established as basic instruments for controlling governmental activities and there is practically no chance of their disappearance from either democracies or totalitarian societies. In pluralist political systems the parties attempt to influence the actions of political decision-makers and organize themselves to compete for political power

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The party system in a democratic country is of greater significance than the nature of the government, viz. parliamentary or presidential. The party to a great extent determines the personnel and politics of government and it is perhaps most important among political groups other than the government. Political parties perform a definite social function. The party in power rarely initiates new programs after having been in authority for any length of time. It generally has more than it can do in fulfilling pre-election promises. The party not in control renders a service in prodding up the party in power, and in insisting that the latter live up to its promises. The party out of power usually stands for new measures in order to bid successfully for the suffrage of the people.

Political parties have assumed special interest during our contemporary period because in our age successful social action depends essentially upon large scale organizations. The individuals in comparison to the organized group is a non-entity. The parties, therefore, act as the key agents of political power in open as well as in closed societies. Party system organizes workable political choices and seek the support of the voters from them. The parties are voluntary organizations and the members are attracted to them because membership does not involve much of burden and at the same time there are expectation of getting rewards. A political party displays political goods and also tries to produce an assured market for itself.

*Origins*

Political parties, in true sense of the term, came into existence about a century back. It was preceded by cliques, gangs, factions, lobbies, popular clubs, philosophical societies, parliamentary groups, and trends of opinion. The United States of America was the only country in the world, in the year 1850, where political parties in the modern sense originated. After that within one hundred years political parties came into being in most of the civilized countries of the world. Political parties, therefore, can be described as comparatively a recent phenomenon which differ markedly in forms and development from the organizations that preceded them.

The origins of the political party system can be attributed to several causes. One of the important factors which can be named in connection with the origin of party system is the expansion of suffrage and beginning of representative government during the nineteenth century in America and Europe. A political party at that period was conceived as group of persons entering into an electoral contest with one or other such groups in order to capture public office. In due course those organizations which were not directly involved in political contests, such as, the revolutionary parties, which did not believe in the effectiveness of the electoral framework, the ruling party in the dictatorial of totalitarian States, and also the small organizations which could not probably create any direct impact on the results of electoral contests were also regarded as political parties.

A political party, therefore, can be taken as the outcome of a complex political system which needs the growth of appropriate political forms. When the political system becomes so complex as to require the support of the larger public for those who want to capture power and to retain it, the situation becomes quite vulnerable for the origin of political parties. Such a complexity appears to a great extent due to the social crises, such as the crises of legitimacy, participation, and integration. Some of the earliest parties in Europe were the outcome of crises of legitimacy which followed the increasing demands for participation and attack against the centralized authority and the legitimacy of the existing structure of authority.

Legitimacy crises often gives rise to the nationalist movements sponsored by small groups of persons demanding participation of the people of indigenous origin in the politics of the country. These people also attempt to increase their influence on the alien rulers to concede to their demands. In case of refusal of the alien rulers to meet their demands the nationalist group seek the support of the people and thus develop a political organization. The small coterie of men forming the nationalist group, however, cannot work as an effective decision-making organization when the problem of political recruitment and participation of new sections of people in political process increase after the evolution of parliament and also when the volume of the electorate becomes larger. In such a situation the necessity for new modes of political organizations is felt in order to organize the new electorate. In India the Indian National Congress, the oldest political party of the land, was started as a nationalist group consisting of the elites of the 19th century Indian society. They intended at the first stage to put pressure upon the British government in India for major political reforms and also for increasing participation of the Indians in the matters of administration. But in course of time the nationalist group took the shape of a political party in the process mentioned above. After achievement of independent in 1947 a number of political parties have grown in this manner; and some of them are of mass character while many others can be called cadre parties or local organizations.

Nationalist movements cause the development of political parties outside the framework

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of government and they are often of the nature of mass parties which try to unite the different elements of the society for the achievement of self rule. Forces of dissension, viz. the traditional cleavages based on tribal, ethnic or religious background, make their appearance after the achievement of independence. The traditional grouping of the Hindus and the Muslims in India, for instance, led to the partition of the country. The Muslims considered the Indian National Congress, in spite of its secular bias, a party mostly of the Hindus and developed a mistrust towards it.

It can also be pointed out that political parties emerge as a result of crises of integration. In some cases the process of the integration of separate ethnic groups and also the question of territorial integrity give rise to political parties. The Jharkhand Party of our country is an example of such a political party. Secondly, political parties are also organized in opposition to the party in power by the religious, linguistic, and tribal groups. The Muslim League, Anand Marg, D.M.K., Mill Jharkhand can be cited as examples of such political parties. Thus the occurrence of political parties is related to the crises experienced by extensively developed parties, although, of course, the particular historical situation in each society continues to condition the pattern of relationship between the party and society.

Political parties often claim to be working upon some guiding theme. They may be representing a cadre or a class or a cause. Their actual working may not, however, be congenial to the guiding theme. In many cases the members are more interested in their personal gains than the interest of the class or promotion of the cause which they profess to be their guiding motives.

### Political Participation

People living in a particular society participate in the political system which they develop.

There are many forms of participation and democracy is the form of government which encourages maximum participation in governmental processes. Participation does not mean more exercise of political right like franchise, by the people. It means their active involvement which in a real manner influences the decision-making activity of the government. Democratic theory considers citizens as rational, independent, and interested political persons capable of expressing their opinion regarding the persons aspiring for holding offices and also competent in electing some person who deal with the policies of government in a way conducive to the interest of the mass. Perhaps the most pervasive participation is simply living in a democratic community and where all government action and policy are publicized in press, radio, and television. In this situation those in position of authority must pre-force conduct themselves in such a fashion as to appear to sensible people. Thus the great public in a democracy serves a sort of sounding board for public policy deliberations and discussion. Thus even a passive participation is a constructive part of democratic process.

The most obvious way of political participation in democracy is voting. Other ways include such behaviours as reading or listening or watching the mass media of communications, taking part in political discussions, listening to political speeches, attending party meetings, giving contribution to political parties, writing petitions or letters to public officials or newspaper editors, trying to influence the voters, contesting the election for office etc. Lipset has pointed out that high level participation cannot always be treated as good for democracy. It may indicate the decline of social cohesion and breakdown of democratic process. "A principle problem for a theory of democratic system is under what conditions can a society have 'sufficient' participation to maintain the democratic system without introducing sources of cleavage which will determine cohesion." Some other political theorists are of the opinion that when majority of the people in a society are contented, participation is small. This should be taken as a favourable rather than unfavourable sign because it indicates stability and consensus within the society and also absence of broad cleavages.

### ECONOMIC SYSTEM

Societies have structural and functional sub-systems. Kinship is a structural sub-system, and economy a functional sub-system.

Economic activity deals with goods and services needed for the satisfaction of the human wants. It involves the four factors - land, capital, labour and entrepreneurship. How these four factors are organized depends on the nature of economy, that is the stage that has been

## POLITICAL SYSTEM

nature of power -  
personal power  
community  
elite  
crises  
organisational  
ways means.

Authority & the  
pol. sys & pol. sys  
voting behavior  
modes of pol. p  
Dem &  
authorities  
for

### Personal Power

When sociologists look into the pol. system they look into the pol. forces present within a socy & how these forces influence ~~in the~~ pol. system the larger society.

### Personal Power

Weber → power is concentrated in the hands of institutional bodies i.e. bureaucracy.

Power is derived by rules of law which will be conforming to the needs of ~~the~~ masses.

∴ Politics in case of modern socy will be emerging as a vocation & not as a past time.

Also, with the rise of modernity, it is seen that personal power is becoming more imp than institutional power.

Alderson - 'Authoritarian Personality' (book)

(With the collapse of democracy, authoritarian rule is becoming dominant which gives rise to personal power.)

GOULDNER → bureaucracy offers a personal cult & patrimonial values.

( this is done by proximity / association ~~depen~~ with the powerful or who are in top positions of ~~within bureaucratic system~~ within pol. system )

Personal power is more glorified wherein -

- ✓ ideology of leader is respected <sup>more</sup> on a continuous basis
- ✓ where dynastic rule ~~is~~ exists
- ✓ non-const<sup>n</sup>al authorities are more respected

PLATO → first one to talk abt personal power in sociology. He talked of philosopher king rule having the qualities of wisdom & nobocracy & democracy shd be denounced & personal power shd be glorified.

ARISTOTLE → In his cyclic theory of govt he talked abt 3 kinds of power -

1. Personal Power (balanced view abt it)  
- Monarchy & Tyranny.

2. Cyclic Power

3. mass power.

MACHIAVELLI

↳ man by nature is ignorant, self seeking, etc  
 personal power must be denounced & collective power is glorified.

Hobbes, Locke & Rousseau (Social Contract Theory)

State is coming out of contract b/w man & society. Rules of law will be determining who'll rule over whom. (State is a product of rules of law coming out of contract b/w man & society)  
~~Cost~~ Institutionalised power will be coming out as a result of collective efforts / contract b/w man & society.

Rousseau → rise of democratic society driven by gen. will will give opp<sup>n</sup> to the ppl through representation to participate in rules of law.

Hobbes → man should comply to rules of law. ~~How~~ man should enslave to rules of law made by society.

Bentham & Laske - believes in power of state. denouncing to personal power.

Marx - dist<sup>n</sup> b/w class & mass power

Soc<sup>y</sup> driven by class power must be transformed into mass power.

Durkheim → power of conscience collective & regulate the behaviour of man.

Weber — 2 diff forms of personal power:-

1. legitimate personal power

2. illegitimate " "

(wherein one person considers himself as ruler without getting acceptance from the masses to rule over them. It is a rule by coercion)

But over a pd of time every illegitimate rule becomes a legitimate rule. where ppl identifies that ruler as a charismatic ruler.  
- legitimate personal power — Charismatic leadership.

In case of trad<sup>n</sup> authority ppl gave acknowledgement to the ruler not ~~only~~ on the basis of persona but on the basis of in which family the ruler has been.

It is generally perceived that personal power will decline with the rise of modern Socy - MONTESQUIEU in his book 'Separation of Power' advocated:-



- ① power would be allocated to legitimate pol. inst<sup>n</sup>s in a democracy.
- ② ppl. holding this pol. position must be conscious about the fact that they are the representatives of collectivity, hence they can't undertake arbitrary rules for the gratification of self seeking interests.
- ③ he advocates that diff. agencies of govt, should be putting a check on each other ensuring that in the signal structure of govt personal power centres aren't glorified.

It was believed that with the advent of pol. maturity, state power & inst<sup>n</sup>al power shd be legitimised & personal power shd be in the verge of decline.

This understanding of romantic scholars championing in favour of modernity is now considered as a 'provincial ideology' bcoz all over the world in the name of inst<sup>n</sup>al / state power, it is personal / class power that is glorified.

ARDON in his book 'Authoritarian Personality' considers that in the history of human socy, ppl. are so carried away by charismatic personalities that they voluntarily surrender their legitimacy to him giving rise to the decline of institutional power & glorification of personal power.

In case of Germany, ppl. felt that an authoritarian ruler can unify the socy together to give nationalism & accelerate development.

SCHUMPETER finds out that in case of Socialist societies, state power is greatly seized by ambitious leaders who consider themselves as more efficient, more committed to pol. stability & collective happiness.

GOULDNER finds out that even in bureaucracy there is present sufficient space for the concentration of power in the hands of indiv. those who systematically look into the grey areas of law, manipulate laws into their own advantage, go for innovation, stay visible &

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emerge as an epicentre of power in formal organisation

FRANK PARKIN finds out that in diff. pol. parties, in democratic socys when the leaders continue for a longer pd. of time, stay more visible, fail to understand that they are first among equals. As a result these indiv. leaders concentrate all power in their hands & internal democracy is systematically demolished.

CHOMSKY advocates that the great democracy of America glorifies personal power than rules of law & this is evident from the pol. discourses of the Prez of USA.

In case of India, diff. pol. parties are formulated in the name of the indiv. explaining & how ideologies are compromised & personality cult is greatly glorified in the pol. culture of India.

## Community Power

Community → small body of ppl. who are meeting with each other & are developing emotional ties & they share common culture, identity & preferences

Ppl. of one community necessarily sink & swim together — FE TONNIES

Both Tonnies & Gurkheim advocates that when community decline, ~~state~~ <sup>state</sup> appears. They make a distinction b/w community & society power. Tribal & village communities, ~~every~~ anyone can be controller power. So institutionalised power ~~is~~ <sup>is</sup> not developed in these communities. Everybody has equitable power. Pot-hierarchy is absent.

Community's power is egalitarian in character & doesn't talk abt haves & have nots.

Marx has given a diff. view of community power. He says 'classes constitute power' so ~~they~~ class power is synonymous to communal power. Community power ~~goes in~~ will only be present in matured capitalism & would be defining rules & law in societies.

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- Community power is instrumental for starting a revolution & proletariat will be seizing community power in socialism.
- Community power can transform a society at large by organising proletariat, declination of capitalism & rise in socialism.

### Weber

- Class power can never be community power.
- Status group exhibit a class character but they don't exercise power.
- ... Some communities don't enjoy power, they only live in their world of dignity & prestige.
- Party action is bound to be communal in character as party constitute a community.

Another dimension to community power is further extended by Pluralists like Robert Lynd, Robert Dahl & David Glass (the idea of community power is original to the pluralists)

Robert Dahl - Book "Who Governs"

Acc<sup>n</sup> to ~~Pluralists~~ Pluralists, everybody has a power to rule. Power is not concentrated in the hands, of class, party or govt. rather it is diffusive in modern society.

Methods / ways to exhibit power — voting, writing articles, media, public opinion, pressure groups.

They talk abt diffusive distribution of community power in modern socy.

They advocate that community power is not present in tribal socy & inst<sup>n</sup>alised power is not present in modern socy.

Community power can be largely present in modern socy.

Montesquieu & Rousseau — with the rise of modern socy inst<sup>n</sup>alised power would come into prominence. Inst<sup>n</sup>s would not be extending ~~power to indiv~~ <sup>power to indiv</sup> in modern socy. Personal power & distribution of power on the basis of heredity would be dissappear.

Pluralists reject the modernist view <sup>31</sup> that about distribution of power among inst<sup>s</sup>. i.e. one has to be a part of inst<sup>s</sup> to enjoy power. But pluralists advocate through media, forming public opinion, writing articles one can ~~not~~ exhibit power, ~~even~~ <sup>even</sup> ~~being~~ <sup>being</sup> ~~combining~~ outside the domain of inst<sup>m</sup>.

Modernists → power vests in the 3 branches of govt i.e. leg. Exec & Judiciary driven by formal to rules of law. ∴ power vests in pol. inst<sup>s</sup>. Pp: legitimize the rules of power holders present in pol. system by electing their leaders.

Pluralists → power is distributed among all ~~inst<sup>s</sup>~~. ∴, community power make appearance in modern socy in a big way. i.e. Teachers, technocrats, students communities are seen with the rise of modern socy. These communities are not assoc. as they are not driven by formal rules. ~~to~~ These communities meet each other through mass media i.e. by way of seminar, lectures, etc. & they share strong emotional ties with each other.

Interest of communities are imp in a democracy. ~~So as to~~ to have a stable govt. i.e. to sustain democracy community interests have to be looked upon.

For eg In America, lobbying is an imp. technique to sustain democracy. there

Rise of community power in a democratic set up.

Community leaders in a democracy first meet to their community needs.

C.W. Mills - from 3 areas / set up leadership chosen: military; industrial & political.

democracy would see its death knell where community leadership is on rise.

If communities leadership choose their own leaders in govt. so their community needs will be more highlighted than the national or mass needs.

In modern say,

- community leadership / power act as interest group, highlight nat. policies. — constructive & they contribute for maturity role of democracy.



When communities ~~can~~ choose their own leader in the govt set up, ~~then~~ they ~~will~~ highlight their own needs

— : destructive role of community power

Community identity differs from one socy to another in modern socy. It is flexible.

When Pluralists talk abt comm power they don't regard them as trad<sup>n</sup> communities / groups rather <sup>as</sup> modern communities like teachers, intellectuals, industrialists comm<sup>n</sup>, etc.

Trad<sup>n</sup> comm<sup>n</sup> are making their presence felt in Indian democratic set up & outsidng the modern communities.

(In case of India, those who highlight their trad<sup>n</sup> al linkage win elections.)

Despite vocatn, urbanism, one's trad<sup>n</sup> is pre dominant in case of India. So ~~there~~ community leadership is highlighted in political set up & by glorifying their trad<sup>n</sup> identities they gain legitimacy to rule.

In case of India skeletal democracy prevails as trad<sup>n</sup> community leadership is highlighted.

The <sup>same</sup> theoretical form of democracy may be present in societies diff but their <sup>fundamental</sup> outcome varies from socy to socy in modern socy.

Rise of <sup>lead</sup> community leadership takes abt maturity of democracy in contemporary modern socy in case of India.

Partho Mukherjee → Rise of community power in case of India makes democratic set up strong & mature

Modernists like VEDYUT CHAKRVARTHY ~~take~~ <sup>advocate</sup> that community power in case of India weakens democracy & democratic set up. It'll make ~~the~~ Indian democracy skeletal.

FRANK FRANKINEL, RUDOLPH & RUDOLPH

↳ India's democracy is a weak democracy as it relies more on <sup>lead</sup> community leadership instead of modernising itself. It cannot be equated to with European democracy.

ANDRE BERTRAND

↳ (balanced stand point)

↳ though one takes support of community to win elections but once he gets elected he doesn't favour <sup>rise in</sup> ~~benefit~~ community policies rather national policies.

Satish Deshpande

↳ when subaltern groups in case of India seize power ~~they~~ <sup>as</sup> this gives them confidence. Thus he favours <sup>lead<sup>w</sup></sup> communities in a democratic set up in case of India.

CLASS POWER

Class Power - Marx

Class & Power - Weber

↳ status group & pol. parties.

Marx → class power is replaced by mass power in case of socialism (ie classless socy).

Althusser → ideological & <sup>repressive</sup> ~~representative~~ state apparatus one controls power.

Gramsci → source of domination is ideology & wealth & power.

Ralph Dahrendorf → Pol. class a dominant  
 over the masses through election & parties  
~~getting a paper~~ by way of becoming a  
 member of party. They ~~seek~~ seize power  
 through legitimacy gained by the masses by  
 way of elections, etc.

Bourdieu

↳ pol. membership is dynamic in case of  
 modern socy.

Adorno

↳ Charismatic leaders constitute a pol. class  
 other name of democracy / <sup>communism</sup> in modern socy  
 is Figarchy.

Pol. class in case of India is transitory in  
 character. Pol. from ~~diff~~ <sup>same</sup> groups & communities  
 are ~~not~~ donot control power always rather  
 diff groups & communities seize power in  
 case of India.

(Politics in case of India is not considered as  
 a vocation)

Politics in ~~case~~ India is nurtured considered  
 as a vocation by few ppl. & some take it  
 as a pass time.

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## Power of unorganised masses

During riots, power of unorganised masses becomes dominant & this will destroy the organised power of inst<sup>n</sup> & groups.

Power is in the hands of organised groups & inst<sup>n</sup>

↳ then regularised rule would be seen so power should always be in the hands of organised groups as power in the hands of unorganised groups would lead to social chaos, (mob, riots), etc.

Unorganised power of the masses in the course of time becomes an organised ~~power~~ power of the masses. (This makes various mass movts as organised which were earlier unorganised.)

Weber - sociology subject matter of sociology is to study legitimate power.

<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- leadership</li> <li>- organisation</li> <li>- organised power</li> </ul>	→	these things come into prominence when unorganised power is replaced by organised power.
---	---	--

1. When unorganised masses capture power, it poses a challenge to institutionalised power of the state.
2. If such power cannot be controlled, then state & govt lose their legitimate right to regulate the behaviour of the masses.
3. Pol. crisis in most of the situation is the product of mass discontent manifested in terms of use of power by the unorganised masses but subsequently gets transformed into various forms of organised protest.

T.K. DOMMEN in his book 'Social Movement' advocates that non-institutionalised power of the masses when exercised that gives rise to a contest b/w state power & the mass power & that is foundation to protest movt.

WEBER considers that unorganised power of the masses is the manifestation of mass hysteria. It is temporal in character. Hence not subjected to sociological analysis.

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 However, Pareto get into the study of power of the unorganised masses looking into mob behaviour, riots, driven by reflexive action of large body of ppl in a given situation.

### Power of the Elites

Elite theory in sociology offers a critique to Marxian theory of Power & Politics.

This theory started in Italy.

Marx → socy can be divided into 2 types

1. Class control & power - class based socy
2. state " power - classless socy.  
i.e. Socialism

But this view pt is contradicted by Elite theory. They say that elite rule is universal. Marx & class rule are potential myths.

WILFRED PARETO (first person to propagate Elite theory)

Elites are exclusive body of ppl. those who've achieved big heights in diff areas of human life. In every socy multiple body of elites are present.

In modern socy - business elites, academic elites, administrative elites, etc.

All these elites, who are universally present can be divided into 2 types:- Governing & Non Governing elites

### 1. Governing elites

↳ those who exhibit control over masses in a legitimate manner.

They are further divided into 2 types:-

- Rulers & Speculators

- Rulers are ~~aka~~ lions & Speculators aka Foxes

↓  
they rule by their  
might & strength  
ie they rule by force.

↓  
they rule by  
their cunningness &  
tricks.

### 2. Non Governing elites

↳ industrialists, intellectuals, professional bureaucrats, many experts.

The<sup>o</sup> progression of modern socy is ~~stability~~ possible due to vitality & specialisation of uniqueness of non-governing elites

Pareto talks abt diff. residue - Residue for of power acts as a stimulant in politics.

Residue - psychic disposition present in all of us stimulating to go for non rational behaviours to achieve goals.



③ Thus residue of power stimulates ppl. to go for non rational activities like bribe, corruption, murder to capture become dominant in politics

Derivation → means employed to justify irrational action

man manifests irrational behaviour as he's driven by diff. kinds of residue like residue for power, money, sexual residue, etc.

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By 1930's in W. <sup>Europe</sup> ~~Europe~~, 2-types of pol. system made appearance

1. Democracy - European countries
2. Socialism - China, etc.

Earlier there was present aristocracy, tyranny, monarchy, oligarchy.

Many books were written highlighting the +ve pts of democracy & socialism & it was concluded that there is no significant difference b/w democracy, soc., monarchy, oligarchy, etc. as in all these systems elite control was present.

Elite theory also challenged Marxian theory of power. Marx conceptualised that power in a <sup>be part</sup> society is fixed ~~(there)~~ i.e. there will only those who have power & those who are powerless (Pluralists - power is diffused)

Marx says ~~is~~ that it is only in classbased socy that there is seen powerful & powerless. It is hierarchical & in classless socy all will have power. ∴ Socialism will be driven by pol. equality.

Marx also says that pol. inequality is determined by eco. inequality.

Cempirical studies concluded that pol. ineq. is neutral to eco. inequality. Even if there is eco. ineq. pol. eq. ineq. would sustain (which was contrary to Marxian views)

∴ This view was also supported by Raymond Alton

Acc<sup>d</sup> to elite theory social strat system is universal ~~is~~ i.e. pol. ineq. is found everywhere be it tribal to <sup>post</sup> modern socy. i.e. foundation to ineq. is political ineq. & not eco. ineq.

Elite theory was challenged by contemporary liberal elastic theory. i.e. one deterministic theory is challenged by another deterministic theory.

### Elite theory

Classical elite theory

(Vilfredo Pareto  
G. Mosca  
Roberto Michels)

Contemporary elite theory

(Schumpeter  
C. Wright Mills)

Bryan Miller  
- new found  
elitism in  
post ~~global~~  
socy (he  
studied  
knowledge  
socio)

### VILFREDO PARETO

↳ judicious mixture of Eco., Pol. Sc & Sociology.

#### Pareto as Economist

↳ distin<sup>n</sup> b/w logical & non-logical actions

logical actions → means are connected to goals.

non-logical " " → when means don't correspond to goals targeted.

Rational mind evaluates the merits of means & when these means don't correspond the target they are eliminated or discarded.

Mostly, elites manifest logical action.

Rational actions manifested by elites are time specific & content specific & differs from socy to socy.  $\therefore$  the outcomes of logical action differ from socy to socy

(Gandhi in India, Hitler in Germany)

Pareto as Pol. Scientist

↳ elites have the capacity to rule. They aren't fixed entity. He looks into the structure of elites & divide them into 2 types:

1. Governing elites

lions & foxes

2. Non Governing elites

(intellectuals, technocrats, etc)

Thus he used reductional analysis in his study of elites.

He ~~studies~~ dev. interlinkage b/w gov. & non gov elites & elites & masses.

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Pareto as a Sociologist

↳ he studied the impact of elites on society.

"History is the graveyard of aristocracy"  
(i.e. aristocracy as a system is universal)  
old aristocrats are replaced by new aristocrats

Pareto as a Psychologist

↳ dist<sup>n</sup> b/w residues & derivation.

He doesn't look into the theory of deprivation, heredity.

He says in order to get into the pol-system one shd have the appropriate residue for power. Thus on the basis of residues one goes into politics or in any other field.

When one enters into politics, <sup>a person</sup> ~~one~~ manifests ~~it~~ illegitimate / illegal means to seize power & gives justification to his action.

This is k.a. derivation i.e. giving justification to illegitimate action to seize power.

(He talks abt psychic temperament ~~behaviour~~ of ppl. to reach / attend their goals.)

Elites are exclusive few those who've achieved big heights in their respective fields.

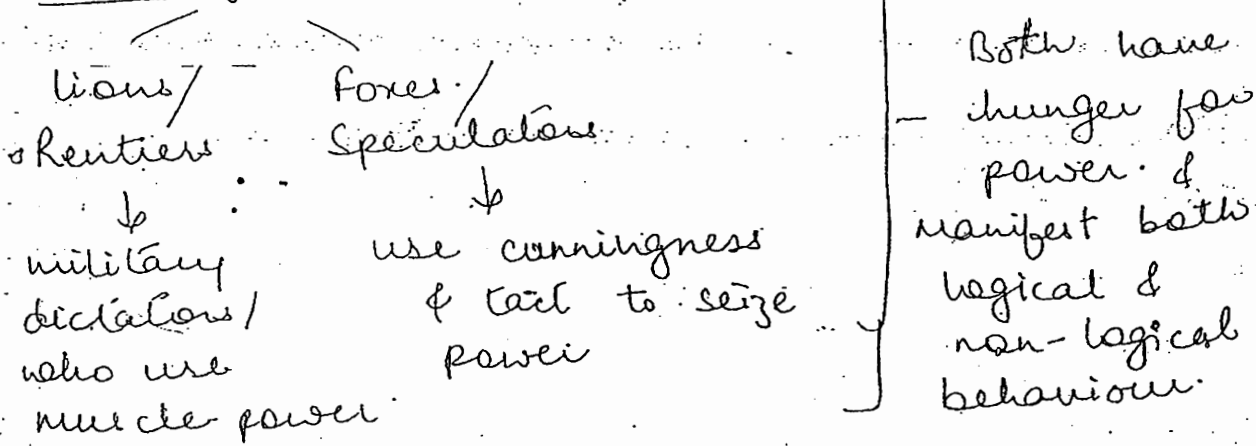
2 elites

1. Gov elites → <sup>have</sup> pt. to rule.
2. Non gov elites → offer ideological, intellectual dev. support, etc to gov elites.

It is bcoz of the productivity & creativity of non gov elites that social stability is being maintained in a socy.

∴, to understand the continuity in socy, roles of non gov elites should be given importance.

Governing Elites



## Circulation of Elites - 3 Types

1st Type :  $\text{Lions} \rightarrow \text{Foxes} \rightarrow \text{Lions}$

↓

when there appear bankruptcy in their tact & ideology they become over a pd of time lions themselves

2nd Type : ~~Masses~~ <sup>Non-gov.</sup>  $\rightarrow \text{Foxes} \rightarrow \text{Lions}$

They also appear circulation / recruitment from non-governing elites i.e. masses as from ~~they also~~ among them some may have pol. aspirations. <sup>in politics</sup> They go for public mobilisation & to institutionalise their mobilisation they form their own pol. parties & they become part of the elites group.

Elite theory is so dynamic that one can understand dynamics of <sup>both</sup> microscopic & macroscopic politics / systems in every socy.

Pol. change through revolution, democracy, or trad<sup>n</sup> considerations can be explained through elite theory. even (in cross cultural studies)

3rd Type -  $\text{Masses} \rightarrow \text{Lions} \rightarrow \text{Foxes}$

Mosca

↳ ~~not~~ criticised Aristotle's theory of cyclic governance. (rule of one or many <sup>or few</sup> can be good or bad)

Mosca - masses cannot rule themselves as they are engaged in self love, peace, they don't put hardwork. They don't have politicians to rule. So some ppl. take lead to seize power leaving others behind them. Thus elites ~~are~~ <sup>themselves</sup> sustained in the socy as masses donot have the capacity to rule themselves.

He gives more imp to circulation of elites but Pareto gives more imp on circulation of governing elites into non gov. & circulation of non gov. elites into gov. elites & circulation of masses into gov. elites.

Mosca theory of elites is a reflection of Pareto's theory. as like Pareto he speaks about governing elites, non gov. elites & masses

Unlike Pareto, he is focusing his attention on circulation of gov. elites advocating that when one body of gov. elites becomes ineffective,



sterile & non productive, they lose out public sympathy, hence replaced by the other group of gov. elites.

∴, both categories of gov. elites when stay out of power they go for innovative methods, speculations, inculcate new ideas inducing freshness in their approach essential for public mobilisation.

∴, circulation of elites is universal in character & for that old rulers are replaced by new rulers & rule of all is glorified by democracy & socialism is a potential myth.

### ROBERTO MICHÉLS

↳ Imp on rise of elitism in socialist socy & how rule of all is impossible in every socy. Elite ~~the~~ rule is universal. He advocates that desire to seize power is present in every indiv. & group (contrary to Pareto's view). To have access to power, indiv. or groups should develop organ' al character.

Once the signal character is developed, then ideology gets crystallised & ppl are recruited in this sign. In the name of sign or through sign one manifest diff. pol. actions.

(like Gandhi through his association with Congress he became a mass leader of India)

Also, in an sign, core group / <sup>polity bureau</sup> appears which forms & make policies on imp. matters. They become powerful in the course of time & attain absolute powerful position which makes them irreversible & unchangeable. — This core group is k.a. ELITES

Thus elites are present in a socy bcoz there are signs in a socy & these signs are k.a. Pol. parties. Thus where there are parties elites ~~are~~ make their presence felt in a socy.

∴ "Human History is the iron rule of oligarchy"

(Elites rule not through persuasion but through coercion; they rule bcoz they know the limitations of masses.)

Classical theory of elite talks abt consolidation of elites & dist<sup>n</sup> b/w elites & masses.

Contemporary Elite TheorySCHUMPETER

↳ he talks abt plurality of elites present in a socy. He rejects consolidation of elites & distinction b/w elites & masses.

In America

- ↳ Pol. stability is instrumental for eco. growth & development.
- ↳ economically speaking, in America capitalism / industrialisation led to eco. growth & dev.

∴ elites in America would come from 2 sources — Pol. elites & eco. elites

He says that there ~~are~~ <sup>is</sup> no such dist<sup>n</sup> of gov & non gov elites only pol- elites & eco elites are present in America.

Pol. elites → capture power	} both have diff. goals but methods used by them are diff.
Eco. elites → " " wealth	

Pol. elites

↳ persuade voters  
Before election they develop strategies

Eco. elites

↳ persuade workers, investors, prospective buyers in other countries. They also go for strategies & planning before hand.

Both pol. & eco. elite ~~are~~ <sup>use</sup> ~~influenced~~ by mass media to achieve their goals. Both these elites go for self perpetuation & influence masses to ~~obtain~~ <sup>gain</sup> support.

∴ in modern socy, elites are not integrated <sup>rather</sup> they are diffused & plural/multiple. ~~Elites are present~~ ~~present~~ in modern socy.

Each elite is putting checks & balances over excesses done by other elites. (~~Industrial~~ <sup>intellectual</sup> elites are scared of eco. elites, pol. elites bcoz they might not be given money for their research or pol. elites might curb their freedom of press, etc.) ∴ that nobody is going for autocratic action or add ~~more~~ misery over masses.

C. W. Mills

↳ he also talked abt Power Elites in case of America.

Power elites are recruited from

- ↳ military
- ↳ industry
- ↳ politics / admr.

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Power elites constitute a status group. They sink & swim together (~~contradiction to~~)

CW. Mills in his theory of Power elites advocates that elites in America are recruited from 3 diff. spheres of public life such as military, industry & politics & combining together they constitute a consolidated group that can be equated to a status group rather than class.

Power elites of America are educated in exclusive inst<sup>ns</sup>. They are the members of exclusive clubs. They meet each other on television screen & newspaper columns & many from within. Hence, manifest extreme solidarity amongst themselves.

Power elites of America not only determine the destiny of the country rather they determine the destiny of whole world. Developing an integrative view abt the rise of elites in America, he advocates that America may proclaim to be a society driven by egalitarian values but in reality, hierarchy, inequality, restrictive mobility are

found out in public life. In a so-called open society, upper most position is virtually closed, hence a distinction b/w elites & masses is clearly visible.

### Contemporary Understanding of Elites

BRYAN MILLER looking into the post global world finds out the rise of new elitism & he contradicts to the idea of global unity & integ<sup>n</sup>.

~~THESE~~ MNC's, global leaders, environmental protection groups, anti ~~work~~ <sup>war</sup> groups, professional managers, globally recognised scientists & technocrats & intellectuals are emerging as plural elites in post globalised society.

These elites put a check & balance on each other resulting in sharing of knowledge, technology & ideology on a global scale.

These elites putting a check & balance on each other stand on the way of autocracy accelerate the pace of dev & encourage compatibility b/w nations of the world.

∴ elite theory both classical & contemporary

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offer a new understanding to power & politics  
It advocates the structural appearance of the  
pol. syst<sup>n</sup> may be diff but everywhere  
there are present elites. Hence elite rule  
is universal.

Expanding this theory to the domain of  
stratification one can conclude in the line of  
Elitism that Ineq. is universal, its intensity,  
degree, form & content may be variable.

Read<sup>n</sup> India - elites were integrated & were  
drawn from Brahmins &  
Kshatriyas.

Thus the changing nature of elite rule in  
India talks abt social change in ~~orig~~ India.

### ORGANISATIONAL POWER

Karl Marx

↳ signs are the creation of dominant class  
∴ original power means the ~~the~~ power of  
dominant class.

Ppl. within the sign are bound by the rules  
framed by the dominant class. They operate  
in secrecy.

Modernists

↳ celebrate / glorify equal power.  
 If indiv & groups become powerful then other ppl / masses become powerless. If orgn becomes powerful then :- 1) these orgn would recruit ppl on the basis of merit 2) it would have the implications on the growth of socy & power wouldnot be pocketed in the hands of ~~so att~~ of individual.

Weber (also glorify equal power)

↳ growth of formal orgn in modern socy —  
 is by bureaucracy. Bureaucrats are trained & knowledgeable ppl driven by impersonal rules so they manifest absolute commitment to work. ∴, Bure never empowers ppl it empowers inst<sup>n</sup>. Bureaucrats distribute justice in an equitable manner as they are conformed to the rules of law.



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BIENSTADT in his essay on 'Formal Signs' considers that the rise of formal signs in modern socy has contributed for:-

- (1) effective form. of div. of labour.
- (2) structure decision making process without fear or favour.
- (3) inst<sup>l</sup>al goals are attended with min<sup>m</sup> investment & max<sup>m</sup> efficiency.
- (4) industrial & pol. disputes are greatly minimised.
- (5) rules of law is highly respected.
- (6) competency & efficiency is rewarded at par with rules of law & violation is greatly punished.

He concludes that with the rise of modernity, formal signs are expanding & influencing truly to every sphere of man's life, may that be banks in eco. sector, schools in education sector, industrial bureaucracy within industry & administration " " in civil admin<sup>n</sup>.

His viewpoint is similar to Parsonian understanding of social power. Parsons considers that power is variable sum, it can be differently distributed among diff ppl holding diff occupations.

A person's access to power keeps changing alongwith the change in his position.

∴, unequal access to power is appreciated than being cursed.

Unequal distribution of power within every inst<sup>n</sup> is legitimized by the rules of law & that prohibits an individual holding an official position to overstep his limits.

Thus, right kind of role at the right time is played by the right person making role performance of an individual functional to himself & to the inst<sup>n</sup> & society at large.

∴, growth of social power is a necessity of modern society that stands different from a trad<sup>n</sup> socy where personal & group power is greatly glorified.

This viewpoint is contradicted by COZIER & R.K. MERTON.

In his analysis of dysfunctional role of bureaucracy (formal sign), Merton advocates that bureaucrats follow the letter of law than the spirit of it.

Bureaucracy may not pay respect to the social change, hence old laws in a stereotype manner may be applied to new situations.

Bureaucracy mostly lacks transparency & the bureaucrats may manifest laws to their own advantage giving new interpretation to law.

COZIER considers that bureaucracy is driven by the values of patriarchy. It is non-emotive & never pay respect to humanitarian problems. It is mechanically law bound & bureaucratic

decision making is a time consuming affair.

Bureaucracy glorifies the values that everybody's responsibility is no one's responsibility. ∴, most of the bureaucratic decisions are so delayed that decisions come in the favour of aggrieved party when he's dead.

(Balanced approach)

AMITAI ETZIONI - Book "Formal Organisation"

↳ ppl follow rules not bcoz they appreciate them rather they want to avoid punishment, & to have <sup>control over</sup> ~~access to~~ power wealth & status i.e. to maintain the status-quo one has got.

Others by following those who've got power status & wealth by conforming to rules of law, <sup>seeing</sup> them they also conform to rules of law.

(this, generating false consciousness)

Thus, when everybody conforms to rules of law then ~~also~~ conforming to rules of law becomes a routinised & normative phenomena & it attains legitimacy by every one.

ppt are placed differently in <sup>positions in</sup> formal orgn. & are given diff responsibilities & authority in their work. Thus power given to them make them play their role efficiently & effectively in the orgn. Role playing with appropriate authority is highlighted in orgn.

### (-) Key aspects of formal sign

Pl who hold apex positions in formal sign are considered as charismatic leaders whether they have charisma or not. As a result personality cult automatically develops in case of formal sign.

(Charismatic leaders are regarded as Sun who illuminate the light of others <sup>ie. subordinates</sup> who are regarded as moon.)

Pl violate the rules of law very systematically <sup>in the</sup> interest of their own self. This leads to corruption, nepotism, etc.

In bureaucracy formal sign, every problem is considered as case, every indiv as party & every decision is regarded as judgement.

In bureaucracy, there are present virtues which are considered as virtues.

(In bureaucracy, position is more glorified than discharging responsibility.)

Bureaucracy is more concerned with exhibitionism, egoism & self glory. ~~than~~

Formal sign is changing in time & space & with the rise of Pop<sup>n</sup>, bureaucrats manifest <sup>more</sup> roles which were never thought of.

## PRESSURE GROUPS

- ↳ linkage b/w democracy & pressure groups
- ↳ a body of ppl. <sup>coming together</sup> developing original character regularly imposing pressure on govt to gratify their collective needs:

They can emerge only in case of democracy

Democracy → rule of representative govt (≠ rule of govt.) But ~~this~~ democracy is not representing masses but to specific group w/h own interest by simple majority. Those <sup>bodies</sup> whose ~~are~~ interests are not represented ~~do~~ mobilise together & dev. an original character & form a ~~for~~ pressure group. These are institutionalised by both society & democratic pol. setup. Thus power is diffused in democracy (this concept of pressure group is drawn from pluralist theory.)

Ways adopted by Pressure group to

- ↳ press, demonstrations, rallies, & mobilisation of public opinion in their own favour, etc

In a democracy, ppl's power is more imp which are mobilised with the help of pressure group. ∴ Govt's power is checked by the mobilisation of pressure groups.

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govt rule can not be autocratic & communal due to the presence of pressure group. In a democracy.

Purists → power of the govt must be balanced with the power of ppl. in a democracy.

So in a matured democracy, pressure group would be coming up, who'll be putting check & balance on the power of the govt.

### Interest group

↳ it doesn't have an organisational character i.e. it is not organised. They are only body of ppl. who have ~~some~~ common interests. Once their interests are ~~or~~ gratified they cease to exist. ∴ they are transitory & <sup>have</sup> temporal character.

### Pressure Group (PG)

Protectional

P.G.



protects the interest of body of ppl.

like AITUC

Promotional

P.G.



promote a societal cause.

like PETA, NGO's

This classification is based upon the functions performed by P.G.

Initially P.G. are promotional but when they specialise or ~~say~~ on a continuous basis promote that cause, it attains the status of professional P.G.

GABRIEL ALMOND - 4 types of P.G.

- Institutional P.G.
- Associational P.G.
- Non ~~Institutional~~ <sup>Associational</sup> P.G.
- Anomic P.G.

Institutional P.G.

↳ these are present in every inst<sup>n</sup> but they are seen visible in the inst<sup>n</sup> only when there occur some challenge in the inst<sup>n</sup>.

Associational P.G.

↳ ~~these are those~~ they appear when the needs of the ppl. are crystallised & dev. an organ' character to mobilise the needs of ppl. when the interests are not met they go for mobilisation & demonstrations. They are highly organised.



Non-Associational P.G.

↳ they aren't organised.

↳ they mobilise ppl on the basis of ethnic & caste identities, region & gender.

In a formative socy<sup>democracy</sup> they are highly glorified but when the socy matures they turn into associational P.G.

Anomic P.G.

↳ they are highly violent & put pressure on govt.

like Naxalites.

==  
The sociology of Pressure Group clearly imply that public policy in democracy aren't formulated driven by the ideology of the ruling party or by the electoral promises it has made. In a democracy, diff interest groups make diff demands, want various concessions from the govt. Unless their demand is fulfilled they offer a threat to vote against the ruling party in next general election. ∴ politics in democracy is a story of negotiation, compromise, persuasion & balancing the interests of multiple groups.

P.G. are not interested to capture power, but still they can influence the stability or instability of the govt.

∴ P.G. in democracy make pol. decisions acceptable to the people.

Hence, democratic decision making process is largely driven by balance of interests which is unbound in case of autocracy.

However, the rise of P.G. can compel a govt to take decisions that gratify the provincial needs of the community & classes. Larger developmental goals may be ignored in a democracy with the rise of multiple P.G.

∴ Almond looks into the functions, dysfunctions & new functions of P.G. in modern democracy explaining its dynamic character. He explains that how in a democracy there is a negotiation b/w ppl's needs & govt's actions on a regular basis for which public policies cater to the needs of various sections of society.

## POLITICAL PARTY

↳ they are driven by a clear ideology which influence other members to become a part of this org<sup>n</sup> which then elect a common leader. This leader's role is defined by the ideology & rule of law. After the role of the leader is defined, he contests election & glorify the ideology of his party & dominates the govt.

In Socialism, parties were formed ~~the~~ out of revolution crystallising singular ideology & influenced ppl. to become its member. Thus in Socialism, singular party system developed (in a democracy multiparty / bi party system developed)

This ~~is~~ singular party is driven by autocratic character & manifests autocratic rule.

## WEBER

↳ party is an organised group action intended to capture power.

He considers parties as an ideal type present in every socy in every situation. He doesn't distinguish parties with factions. Parties aren't actual types.

- Weber never looked into the diff. roles played by parties in Nazism, Fascism, Socialism, Communism & in a democracy.

Thus his definition of party is used to define the pol. parties in a way & is good for research but it cannot be used to understand the framework or structure of pol. party.

### ROBERTO MICHELS

↳ every indiv / group to seize power must develop an org'n'l character / set up.

Thus foundation to every pol. party & crystallisation of ideology → ~~election~~ <sup>leader</sup> → define roles → election.

There is a select group / core group / <sup>pol. elite</sup> within a pol. party which defines policies of the govt. They are the intermediaries b/w the party & the ppl. In due course of time, they become so powerful <sup>that</sup> they become irreversible & unchangeable & become autocratic & take autocratic decisions.

Thus, in democracy also autocratic rule is present manifested by pol. elites. ∴, no difference in communism & autocracy, or democracy & autocracy. In every pol. culture autocratic

rule is found.

### PLURALISTS

- firstly one joins a pol. party & engages himself in pol. socialisation which makes him accustomed <sup>to</sup> or adapt to the game of politics & then he takes part in election.
- pol. hunger, pol. chaos looms in everybody's mind & they go ~~for~~ ~~original~~ constitute a party & gains signal character & influence in the democratic set up to gratify their needs.
- ie. ~~the~~ conversion of pol. chaos is done by the pol. discourses by the intervention of & formation of pol. parties.
- parties glorify ideology & ~~influence~~ by their ideologies they influence others who join their party (on the basis of their ideology) & contest elections. After winning elections they influence the democratic set up & ultimately they wait <sup>fill the time</sup> ~~when~~ their ideologies become the guidelines of public policies.
- bcoz of the presence of pol. parties, a legitimate govt. make appearance.
- pol. parties are always engaged in taking note of ppl's needs / reqts & catering out their needs. Public policies are framed.

Pol. parties are interlinkage b/w ppl & govt.  
 Pol. " " through parliamentary debates bring  
 ppl's needs on the platform of the govt's set up.

- diff pol. parties through their membership in various commissions & committees attend to the larger need of the socy, driving to the lane of development & growth.

But ~~the~~ roles of pol. parties are not universal as their formation of pol. parties is based on class<sup>int</sup>, diff ideology, caste, ethnicity & religion, also they may be a result of revolution.

imitations

Forms of Pol. Party

1. Mass based party (China, Cuba etc.)

2. Cadre " " "  
 (in democracy)

} given by  
 Maurice  
 Diverger

→ these are rank based & are hierarchical & there is present division of responsibilities in these type of parties.

MAURICE DIVERGER

Robert Dahl doesn't agree with the above classification of parties & divide pol parties into 2 types :-

## Exterior Party

- ↳ parties emerging out of external influence  
 (like Communist Party of China due to  
 Communist rev<sup>n</sup> in China). like CPI in  
 India due to C.P in China

## 2. Interior Party

like Communist Party of China

## 3. forms of Party System

1. Uni party system
  2. Bi party system
  3. Multi party system
- ↳ Maurice Luviger  
(advantages)  
by Maurice

## Uni party system (present in autocracy) - Advantages

- ↳ Maurice Luviger
- ↳ pol. stability
  - ↳ strict adherence to public policy
  - ↳ gives way to dev. & growth by catering to the needs of masses
  - ↳ glorification of nationalism.
  - ↳ ppl's commitment to work is absolute; ppl's faith towards govt is absolute. No turnout, no pol. chaos. It gives rise to absolute commitment of ppl towards

## David Lane - (disadvantages of uniparty system)

- ↳ voice of the ppl are not heard given due acknowledgement

- ↳ dislinkage b/w ppl's needs & govt's policies.
- ↳ authoritarian govt., chaos, etc.
- ↳ it doesn't glorify dev. in society.

## Bi-party system

Appreciated by LASKI

- ↳ pol. autocracy can be controlled & checked.
- ↳ ppl. will be given ~~two~~ 2 distinctive ideologies.
- ↳ strong opposition which will always put a check on the ruling party. This will give rise to responsible govt.
- ↳ gives way to pol. stability & social development.
- ↳ high degrees of pol. maturity is seen.

Disadvantages - Robert Smith

- ↳ entire nation gets divided into ideological diff. which will make inequality & segmentary nature of society more visible.
- ↳ makes leader unchallengeable.
- ↳ ~~take~~ development in socy take a back seat.



## Multi party System

### Advantages

- ↳ everybody's pol. dream gets cherished. i.e. true democracy is highlighted.
- govt is subjected to checks & balances by other parties which will give way to meticulous planning & arbitrary decision cannot be taken.
- more suitable to multi cultural society. ... multiple cultural groups have an effective say in the party system.
- series of argument, negotiation, etc. grievances give way to formation of public policies.

### Disadvantages

- ↳ pol. confusion, instability & turmoil.
- ↳ death of ideological politics. Opportunistic politics is seen more.
- ↳ contributes for electoral expenses in a big way.
- ↳ leaders give imp. on self ~~self~~ interest than on the dev. of society at large.

ALMOND & COLEMAN in their book "Politics of Developing Areas" divide pol. system into 3 types

1. Traditional Pol. system
2. Transitional " "
3. Modern " "

J.S. MILL categorically pointed out that

democracy is not suitable for every society. Democracy will work well there, where a present character befitting to the demands of democracy.

He believed that democracy will deliver result in those societies where ppl. are knowledgeable, their ideological orientation is clear & they don't have strong empathy towards their primordial groups in comparison to modern groups.

Taking this concept into consideration, it can be advocated that democracy occurs in multiple forms driven by diff challenges & compulsions.

As a result party structures in diff democracies are bound to be variable.

SUDIPTO KAVIRAJ, ZOYA HASAN, consider that multiparty system in a democracy is a true reflection of India's multiculturalism indicating pol. aspirations of diff. sections of the socy. It shouldn't be read as a pol. confusion or pol. turmoil.

In case of India, elite rule or one party domination in politics is seriously challenged by the subaltern groups & India's middle class.

∴, Multiparty democracy in India is a reflection of the progress & maturity of democracy in Indian society.

## Modes of pol. par. Dem & Authoritarian forms

Imp

How is powers used & mobilised in a democracy & autocracy?

Democracy has gone for a sea-change both in terms of <sup>role of</sup> inst<sup>n</sup>s & ppl's actions. i.e.

There ~~has~~ appeared in today's democracy, so-called 'guardians of democracy' who protect or act as policing force to safeguard other democracies of the world.

Also with the rise of welfare state ppl's role, their linkage with family, pol. set up has gone for a drastic change. Also, the ~~the~~ difference b/w the parties on the basis of ideology has also disappeared. Now on the basis of issue some regard them as Conservatives, liberals, part conservatives or partly liberals. This has lead to death of ideology. Parties now are formed on the basis of maintaining good governance. Lot of pol. fluidity is taking place in today's democracy.

Power has also become dynamic with the change of democracy.

In some ways, it is seen that structurally they might be functioning like an autocracy but within their structure they manifest democratic functions. There is one finds it difficult to draw a boundary b/w democracy & autocracy in ~~today's~~ <sup>present</sup> scenario.

### Autocracy

Authoritarianism

Totalitarianism

↓

↓

from dictatorship like Nazism, Fascism etc or from religious fundamentals, etc

one party controls the activities of state i.e. Socialism

Autocracy reduces man into a mindless species. Everything be it his ed<sup>n</sup>, living style, religion etc is decided by the state. — Modernists & Romantic trad<sup>n</sup> scholars (glorify democracy)

(World System Theory) Wallerstein & Sorokin - no diff. b/w socialism & Capitalism. Both are the products of industrialism

Marx → glorifies socialism

Welfare state establishes a juxtaposition b/w socialistic promises & democratic rights. i.e. it bridges a gap b/w socialism & democracy.

So it becomes difficult <sup>to understand</sup> in which state there is pure socialism & pure democracy.

Role of bureaucracy becomes prominent in a democratic state (or so called welfare state)

Bentham - democracy is mass mediocracy

### Power in Democracy & Autocracy

The distinction b/w democracy & autocracy is first developed by American scholars who conceptualised ~~as~~ democracy as best form of govt. They perceived that socialism is a form of autocratic rule. bcoz a selective minority using their coercive power rule over the majority. American sociologists like

Pareto, Raymond Aron, C.W. Mills, T-B. Bottomore (Br. scholar) discussed in detail about the use of power & its exercise in both the societies.

Modernist vs. fascist

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- The glorification of democracy as against authoritarianism is found out as mentioned in classical pol. philosophy. The rule of all is appreciated by Aristotle, Hobbes & Locke in their theory of social contract advocated that state driven by rules of law, respecting to the collective system is a best form of civil society. Rousseau by going a step ahead appreciated democracy, conceptualising that democracy is driven by Gen. Will, Equality & Individual liberty. Montesquieu offered a definite paradigm to democracy advocating that autocracy should not influence a democratic set up. Hence separation of power & balance of power. Romantic & liberal scholars of 19th & 20th C like Laski, Bentham, appreciated democracy advocating :-

- ① democracy is driven by rules of law
- ② separation of power
- ③ planned constitution
- ④ ~~india~~ democracy rules get legitimacy from the ppl to rule over them

∴ democracy is a form of ppl.'s govt.

Democracy is driven by ideology of equality. Hence democratic politics emerged in socy which were subjected to industrial development.

Industrial socy driven by market economy cherished the values of equality that is centially to democracy.

∴ Capitalism & democracy developed a compatible relationship.

In a democracy, regular elections empower ppl. to elect their representative & democracy emphasises on legal rational inst<sup>n</sup>s. (Quote Lipset)

Rule in a democratic socy is legitimate acc<sup>o</sup> to Max Weber. He considers that in a democratic socy, legal rational inst<sup>n</sup>s, make appearance.

Gabriel Almond advocates that in a democracy, govtal roles are 3 distinctive types that includes:-

- ① law making (legislative)
- ② law application (executive & bureaucracy)



of law adjudication (judiciary)

He makes a distinction b/w govt & non govt func<sup>ns</sup> advocating that non govt

agencies play pol. roles conducive for the institutionalisation of democracy. These roles

include :- (1) Political socialisation (family, school & pol. parties)

(2) Interest articulation (student leaders, trade union leaders, members of interest & pressure groups, here group interest is focused)

(3) Interest aggregation (collective interest is brought forward i.e. anti poor or anti terrorism policy)

(4) Political Communication (mass media & communication)

Pluralists advocate (Robert Dahl, Lynd, Robert Glass) that democracy is greatly driven by the ideology of 'power dispersal'.

In case of autocracy, power is concentrated in the hands of govt but in democracy, power brokers, pressure groups, public opinion & press influence to govtal decisions regularly.

∴ in a democracy most of the decisions taken by govt are subjected to public review ∴, democracy is an effective system of governance in comparison to autocracy.

This argument of democracy as responsible, ppl. centric, freedom centric, equalitarian, admin've system is not acceptable to Plato who believed that democracy is the other name of mobocracy.

Machiavelli advocated that man by nature is selfish & hungry for power ∴, once in power he'll try to be there in power always.

∴ the concept of democracy cannot guarantee power to all.

J.S. Mill considered that democracy cannot work effectively in every socy. To make democracy effective one needs character, conviction & knowledge. He categorically stated that in poor countries democracy would not be an effective pol. instrument for development. He believed in <sup>the</sup> name of democracy, mass mediocrity.

would dominate the system & would ultimately lead to rule of class than rule of all.

This theory is valid to analyse the working of democracy in India where a ~~set~~ specific body of ppl. dominate over the masses controlling various <sup>pol.</sup> parties. ✓

D.L. Seth advocates that party politics in India is actually a bourgeois politics or class politics.

It is generally perceived that the classic example of democracy is America, where freedom of press, civil liberties, articulation of public opinion are institutionalised & continuous. Democracy has given ppl. pol. stability & eco. development. Keeping ~~is~~ that in mind, it is glorified all over the world that democracy is the best form of govt.

The critics to democracy in America like C.W. Mills advocates that power elites rule America than the ppl. of America.

Edwards considers that American democracy is controlled by the corporate giants who can invest big money during electoral campaign. American democracy is a skeletal democracy bcoz massive bureaucracy (31 billion pop<sup>n</sup>) are neither responsible to the govt or answerable to ppl & conveniently violate the rules of law for their self advantage. ∴ it is believed that American democracy is not equalitarian & ppl centric.

Despite these limitations, Ralph Dahrendorf, Raymond Aron, Milton Dykas appreciate American democracy advocating :-

- ① democracy is ppl focused.
- ② democracy talks abt distribution of power.
- ③ democracy speaks abt balance of power, empowerment of individuals, enforcement of universal laws, equality & developmental concern of the individuals enforced by the state.

In its contrast, autocracy kills individual freedom, destroys personal liberty, kills independent thinking.

Autocracy reduces man into an animal species.

Darwendoff advocates "utopia is not a house of freedom, it is a house of terror & boredom".

Dijks advocates that minority rules over majority using coercive mechanism of the state in a autocratic system.

David Lane, considers that in case of autocracy specific leaders continue to rule until their death giving no space for a) constructive criticism b) opposition

an autocratic state is engaged in institutionalised coercion for the gratification of pol. interest of the handful

Raymond Aron considers that in the case of autocracy socialisation, edu<sup>n</sup>, employment provisions & ideology are extended to individuals by the state

∴, monopolistic state kills autonomy of man & his independence in case of autocracy

Anthony Giddens finds out that in case of autocratic state, foreign nationals are always looked in contempt. State keeps a vigil over the priv life of individuals, any criticism or objection to state policy is subjected to brutal suppression.

∴, autocracy may lead to dev. as state controls eco-life but cost of eco. dev. is too high when equated with human misery

This analysis of distinction b/w autocracy & democracy is not acceptable today with the rise of welfare state, with the economic success of some totalitarian states like China - soft authoritarian states like

Singapore, intellectual values are slowly changing.

CHOMSKY considers that worst form of autocracy ever known to human history is American democracy.

Keeping this debate in mind, it is too difficult to appreciate democracy as against autocracy. It is true that authoritarian autocracy in sub saharan Africa, Vietnam, Iraq & N. Korea has resulted in mass poverty, violation of human rights & glorification of state excess. To its contrast in case of Cuba despite poverty all its citizens are assured of quality health service, unthinkable in a democratic state like in India in 50 years.

∴ in conclusion it can be advocated that role of state, press, pol. insts., pattern of recruitment of leadership, role of public opinion are different ~~from~~<sup>in</sup> democracy from that of autocracy.

However, these distinctions are slowly getting mitigated in welfare state (Scandinavian countries) where responsibility of the state is

expanding without compromising with ppl's freedom & liberty. Aggressive autocracies of the world are either getting disintegrating or are ~~at~~ in their final stage of collapse.

Totalitarian states like Singapore & China are greatly imbibing capitalist ideology for their affluency & eco. dev. & that tempts us to advocate that distinction b/w democracy & autocracy finds very little merit in emerging post. culture coming out of the impact of globalisation.

... agreeing with World System Theory, one can advocate that autocratic socys are imbibing the values of democracy slowly. & dem. socy. are tempted by values of Socialism in search of human happiness & prosperity.

Fukuyama - death of ideology



## Legitimacy

↳ right of the ruler to rule over the masses  
 Concept of legitimacy was initiated / first propagated by Max Weber.

Various forms of legitimacy <sup>are</sup> found in diff. societies. It varies from one human history to another human history i.e. legitimacy of ~~Nazist~~ rule may be considered as legitimate during that point of time & democracy may be considered as legitimate during this point of time. ∴ legitimacy is fact, changing & chaotic so weber ~~considered~~ constructed an ideal type to study legitimacy & ~~dist~~ distinguished it into 3 types :- Charismatic, Traditional & legal rational.

## Sources: of legitimacy

Caste, region, ethnicity, class, heredity, etc.

In democracy, ideology ~~may~~, oratory skills, integrity, edu. background, financial status may be sources of legitimacy.

Source of legitimacy may be diff. for a lead<sup>n</sup> ruler than a ruler in democratic set up.

It is variable from one PD culture to another PD culture.

Legitimacy is the property of the people. When ppl. withdraw their support from the ruler they'll suffer from crisis of legitimacy. This crisis of legitimacy gives way to change in pol. structure either they quit or conform to ppl's commands & change their public policies. ... melodrama & in pol. structure can be understood through <sup>the</sup> crisis of legitimacy.

### VOTING BEHAVIOUR

In Western countries, pol. parties were formed on the basis of ideology. ~~Also~~ Also universal adult franchise was given in a phased manner.

Goldthrope & Lockwood - Studied the voting behaviour of affluent sections of socy in W. countries & it was found out that these sections favoured conservatives than the labour party in Britain.

Frank Parkin → Ideology didn't correspond to the voting behaviour ~~not~~ expected from the ppl.

Edwards → rural-urban divide in America.  
 Rural ppl. favoured ~~republicans~~ & urban ppl. to  
~~conservatives~~ ∴ this rural-urban divide determines  
 the voting behaviour of ppl. Not only ideology  
 but edu, class, gender, ethnicity, ~~determine~~  
 influence the voting behaviour of the ppl. of  
 America.

Andee Beitlele → ~~the~~ caste is not the sole  
~~determination~~ <sup>criteria</sup> for the success in elections rather  
 one has to go beyond caste to influence  
 voting behaviour of ppl. in India. (caste  
 skills, dev issues alongwith primordial considerations)

D.L. Seth & Andee Beitlele

- ↳ ppl always change their voting pattern  
 as their interests change at diff points of  
 time
- ↳ Voting <sup>pop<sup>n</sup></sup> ~~pattern~~ in India ~~doesn't~~ as vote <sup>not</sup> coz  
 they glorify/appreciate their franchise right  
 rather their interests <sup>have to be</sup> ~~are~~ met by the parties.
- ↳ In India, those who can mobilise ppl/masses  
~~they~~ win, than who mobilise the intellectuals.
- ↳ Ideology doesn't influence voting behaviour of  
 ppl.

Ramachandran Guha

↳ Independence <sup>democracy</sup> was given as a gift to India so they haven't ~~tested~~ the flavour of independence <sup>democracy</sup> per se. They ~~are~~ are oblivious abt the merits & demerits of ~~independence~~ franchise right which came along with independence <sup>democracy</sup> franchise. It has not favoured subaltern group.

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Robert Dahl book: 'Who governs'

Community power: - Read xerox

stat / elitist  
 pluralists

original to

Hobbes, Locke, Rousseau

Hegel: for collective happiness, state should be powerful  
communal control over power

Rousseau: king in soc as there are lawmakers (some comm + law followers)

Marx: community is class; Tec → Dictatorship of proletariat

Weber: party / interest groups form a community

Modernists: power is distributed among institutions - leg, ex, jud  
 one should be a part of it to enjoy powerDahl +  
YassPluralists: power is diffused in a mod. soc  
 lobbying

Community: a small body of ppl who meet each other regularly  
 and develop emotional ties, share common culture  
 identity & preferences

Pluralists: power is diffused in modern soc and is exhibited  
 thro voting, writing articles, media, public opinion, pr. groups.  
 Teachers, intellectuals, industrial com etc are communities

India: Partis kumbhjee: rise of comm power strengthens &  
 makes dem more vibrant

Modernists like Vidya Chaturvedi: opposite

Frank Frankfort, Rudolph & Rudolph: India's dem is weak as it  
 relies more on trad<sup>n</sup> com leadership instead of modernizing  
Andre Beteille: moderate approach

Though one takes the help of community to get power  
 or win elections, after being elected both community & natl  
 policies are given preference

Satish Deshpande: when subaltern groups get elected, it  
 gives them confidence thro trad<sup>n</sup> com are good

Weber- party refer to an organised group action to capture power  
in society.

party action is communal action.

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~~Regionalism~~ →

Regionalism is defined as a phenomena in which people's political loyalties become focused upon a region. It is one of the major forces shaping nature & texture of Indian politics & has been found operating in comb<sup>n</sup> & other political forces.

Regionalism has alloyed itself to Linguism, communalism, casteism. Thus hence an urgent social issue to be addressed.

eg. Regionalism people's love of a part reg and preference for it in enormous amount which is characterised by widely shared sense of togetherness among people. This results from variety of sources like Geog, topography, religion, lang, customs & more, political & economic stages of dev<sup>n</sup>, commonly shared historical experiences etc. Region thus provide basis for emergence of regional identity which gives way to regional politics.

The politics of regionalism has both +ve & -ve aspects in India. The +ve term it implies an intense desire for constructing an identity based on interest such as ethnic, lang, religion etc. So diff<sup>n</sup> reg attempt to protect & promote their socio-economic & political interests.

-ve aspects This brings in an all round dev<sup>n</sup> of diff<sup>n</sup> regions thereby promoting regional dev<sup>n</sup>.

+ve aspect threaten nation building efforts like demand for Khalistan in Punjab & creates violence & unrest. 'Son of soil' in MS, Assam creating insecurity &

custodians basic spirit of democratic ideals of liberty, equality etc as enshrined in our const.

causes → The phenomena is attributed to relative deprivation on part of people of an area. This too could be deliberately inflicted on them by those in power via socio-economic prog which could be uneven and creating disparity among various regions, creating exclusion & deprivation of some reg and creating unrest, agitation, <sup>discontent</sup> among them.

Regionalism is multi-dimensional phenomena. Its bases are varied.

① Geog → People relate regional identity to certain Geog boundaries. Even after merger of princely states loyalties of citizen were torn b/w old territorial bond & new territorial state.

② Historical & social → e.g.: DK & DMK in TN and Shiv Sena in MS.

Lang → most imp. mark of grp identification expresses shared life, thought structure and value pattern of people.

7 states of NE refer themselves as 7 Sisters.

③ Caste → TN regionalism gained ground as a result of non-Brahmin movt.

④ Religion → Eg → Punjab, & J&K

Politics accentuates ② →

Types Regional politics has taken some forms —

① Demand for state autonomy → demand by people in certain state to secede e.g.: Kashmir, Mizo National front, Akali in Punjab



(2) Super state (2) → more than one state is involved in issue of (2).  
South vs North, Grouping of one state for greater access to eco dev<sup>n</sup>.

(3) Inter state (2) → related to state boundaries and involves overlapping of one or more state identity & threaten their interest.  
River water dispute → N-K border dispute, Kaveri water dispute

(4) Intra state (2) or sub regionalism → Exist within a state of Indian Union. Embodies desire of a part of a state for identity and self dev<sup>n</sup>. Also reflect notion of deprivation or exploitation.  
e.g:- Vidharba in MS, Telangana in AP, Samastha in Guj, etc

(2) is not significantly a disintegrating force. It is not opposed to national dev<sup>n</sup>. Both can exist together in creative partnership. Both are in favour of dev<sup>n</sup>. (2) stress on dev<sup>n</sup> of region & NI for dev<sup>n</sup> of nation as a whole. In order to reconcile competing claims of (2) & NI the political system of country should remain federal & democratic. (2) can make federalism a success.

(2) should be able to hold diff<sup>n</sup> types of regional sub nationalities together i.e healthy reconciliation b/w Nationalism & regionalism. Regionalism & sub regionalism are unavoidable in country as vast and diverse as India.

## A Nation →

Nation refers to a group of people who have developed solidarity on the basis of common identity of any grp, which defines which may be based on any no of criteria such as place of residence, ethnic origin, culture, religion, language.

Nation is governed by state i.e. political act which leads to creation of nation-state.

The emergence of Indian nation state is attributed to numerous historical experience which can be traced prior to advent of Britain. During this period India as nation state did not exist.

Rather there were small & large political units that waged constant struggle to maintain authority & domination. Despite numerous rulers like

Mauyas, Gujars, Cholas India was never politically united. However, <sup>his doesn't mean that there were no</sup> national identity <sup>did</sup> existed

as villages were not self contained isolated units rather people moved for message, pilgrim, trade which provided purifying force (Kosai).

e.g. setting of 4 seats of religious authority in 4 corners by Adi Shankaracharya.

This national identity was not in the sense it is perceived today and can be best expressed as cultural identity.

Estt of British rule and enslavement & exploitation created spirit of nationalism in an attempt to overthrow British. Although divided in numerous ways in terms of lang, religion, ethnic composition 2 factors facilitated emergence of Indian nation state.

① Presence of common enemy  
 ② Existence of common cultural identity

After independence most was not only to overthrow British but to establish a modern nation state. The main political org<sup>s</sup> indulged in nation building was Congress Party.

The 1<sup>st</sup> attempt at nation building was adop<sup>n</sup> of const<sup>n</sup> in 1950, another was adoption of Socialist pattern of society, economic ~~dev~~ by formulation of Planning Commission, FYP, following path of distributive justice.

However numerous forces usurped & challenge nation building efforts. —

- ① Diversity of Groups & constitute Indian society
- ② Regional & cultural identity
- ③ Casteism (subnational identities)

Plurality, regionalism (Gorkhaland, Thakurbar, Bodoland) Lang conflict (North & south conflict), inter caste conflict.

However nation building & integration through a difficult exercise demands integration of different parts of national social system into an integrated whole.

To solve Linguism issue Govt adopted 3 lang formula, for communalism → Secularism enshrined in const<sup>n</sup>.

Process of change → democratisation, west<sup>n</sup> modernisation have broaden access to ~~privilege~~ privileges to wide range of people. Today caste & politics are closely associated.

(Rajani Kothari) Govt have utilised strategies like planned socio-economic dev<sup>n</sup>, expansion of edu<sup>n</sup>, access coun<sup>n</sup>, poverty erad<sup>n</sup> prog, rural & urban dev<sup>n</sup>, PRA, etc to strengthen & promote national integration.

AB  
 Kishor  
 Prakash

Democracy →

An attempt to set up an equalitarian society. In its most restricted sense it denotes opportunity of citizens of a state to participate freely in political decisions.

Though a concrete democratic political system India had no tradition of democratic polity, democratic consciousness did exist in traditional Indian society. The reflection of democratic principle & ideals is found in Rigveda which uses term 'Sanjmana' & means collective consciousness of people. Similarly there were 'Sabhas' & 'Sanitis' which are precursor to modern parliament. In Mahabharata one finds reference to Garaj.

However, it was GOI Act 1935 that laid the found<sup>n</sup> stone of democracy in India & was subsequently adopted after independence.

(Appendix 67)

Contemporary →

India is the largest democracy in the world but hardly anybody certifies it to be a successful democracy. Acc to T.K. Oomen it is the obstacle in flowering of democracy in India is perishing totalitarianism of Indian society. "Democracy cannot really flourish as long as exclusionary structures still exist in society".

Externalisation of Totalitarianism is due to diversity, social externalisation & hierarchy.

### \* Secularization :-

Sec<sup>n</sup> is a dominant social process commonly associated to modern technologically advanced societies. It signifies decline in political and social importance of any single religion in society.

Society has <sup>course of numerous</sup> ~~numerous~~ social system which facilitated its functioning. One of the powerful force of group identity & maintaining integrity and cooperation in society is religion. Religion is not just restricted to supernatural realm but has wide social significance, it provides moral, ethical, vision and guides people and communities.

However, the process of modernisation leads to "differentiation" i.e. <sup>diff<sup>n</sup></sup> social institutions emerge to perform diff<sup>n</sup> functions which in traditional society was performed by same inst<sup>n</sup>. This process results in distinction b/w 'sacred' and 'secular' realm of social life. Religion is broadly included in sacred and politics and political processes are in secular. This phenomena though considered as universal by modernisation theorist finds exception in pluralist democratic countries like India.

In India, the process of secularization began to the adoption of secularism as an ideology during freedom struggle, it implied that state shall not identify to any one religion but is tolerant of all religious practices as later enshrined in our constitution. By including

Religion in fundamental its state provided it to freedom of religion & worship to all citizens but itself maintains neutrality and impartiality. - This reflects that political system in India has completely detached from religious system acknowledging sec<sup>a</sup>.

However this is not evident in practical life. Mobilisation of one own's community on religious lines is commonly practiced. The state/political parties address communities to gain support. Thus, we find numerous parties in India based on religion like Akali Dal, Avarni League etc. Even caste which is an offshoot of religion is strongly entrenched in our political system. As Rajani Kothari puts - one who is looking for a politics without caste is really looking for politics & has no basis in society. Religion thus determines vote base and both religion & politics go together.

This influence of religion in politics even in modern society is attributed to factors like heterogeneity of society where religion forms basis of group identity, nature of religion and historical process. In India independence concluded division of country on basis of religion which on one hand made Indian society conscious of mod<sup>a</sup> to adopt secularism while on other hand religious divisions keep reappearing on Indian political scene at diff<sup>n</sup> level, at times posing threat to social harmony & political stability. Another factor is years economic dur<sup>n</sup> which causes feeling of injustice & deprivation thereby breeding ground for political mob<sup>a</sup> by parties.

Thus, instead of religion getting secularized it is politics which is getting traditionalised.

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## NATION, STATE, CITIZENSHIP AND CIVIL SOCIETY

- CITIZENSHIP - Citizenship is a political phenomenon. Talks abt franchise rights
- we talk abt citizenship in terms of equality and inequality
  - Whether right to citizenship is a practice or pol right. Citizenship as a right are extended to all who are born in a particular territory. But it is not consumed by all equally.
  - Some enjoy citizenship right equally & some do not. On the basis of gender, religion, or so. people have not enjoying equal citizenship right. We have to look citizenship right different from political
  - C is not glorifying equality - It is a means to exploit others by pigeonhole.
  - modern tripod - state is giving equal rights to all hence it is duty of every citizen to respect state & form a vibrant society
  - ppl who are born in a country but live in other country (mobile - non in post-modern society) Role of state in such situation is very limited. Thus realize that C is not a very big concept
  - If one has a strong sense that he can live without state - i.e. state is not benefiting to interest of oneself → ppl are living in a





Unsubstantiated claims, when they are given citizenship when they do not want it. Citizens are going for global citizenship.

- Search for a unified ppl. (T.K. Oommen)  
When no citizenship, you strive for it, but when you get it, you say damn to it & go far away from it.

- Part culture of society is changing. Caste is not equally consumed by all. Some ppl do not enjoy it. Therefore turmoil - ppl going for global citizenship.

- Habermas - Two spheres  $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{Public sphere} \\ \text{Intimate sphere} \end{array} \right.$   
In public sphere, person is a citizen, whereas in intimate sphere one doesn't consider himself as citizen. In public sphere some are supra citizen (like exclusive intellectual, writers, those who might write in newspaper) and some are sub-citizen (those who consume the ideas of supra citizen).  $\therefore$  India is extending equal citizenship right through constitution, but this right is not equally consumed by all. Bureaucrats are controlling the fate of all other citizens of the country.  $\therefore$  Citizenship right is mirage rather reality. State is emerging as a supra citizen organisation.

→ 73rd & 74th CAA → This act ensures that women should be.

In education sphere, tribal areas, globalisation (ppl's participation), gender status, in any sphere one talk abt citizenship right is not equally extended to all.

- In Russia, America, & in India citizenship as a right is equally given to all but it is not consummated by all equally. ∴ the diffce b/w autoeracy & democracy is the diffce b/w vanilla & strawberry.

- If ~~right~~ Through the extension of right, effort is made to inculcate the nationalism among ppl.

- Const<sup>n</sup> makes a clear cut dem<sup>n</sup>tion abt right of ppl & duties of state ∴ among connectivity b/w citizens & nationalism. Do you find, that those enjoying right glorify nationalism. When a person enjoys right they feel that they are equal in the eyes of state.

### CITIZENSHIP

The concept of C has always been central to the treaty of piracy. However C as a form of practice was largely found out in the city states of Greece & Rome. During ancient times ppl living in urban centres had a kind of privilege to participate in the decision making activities of state. ∴ selected bodies of ppl not suffering from eco. worries spending time largely in activities like organisation of work, maintaining law & order in city state, deciding taxation policy, were enjoying C right. Reflecting on that Plato wrote that ppl who bear with 3 diff qualities hence they should be given distinctive responsibilities. Justifying to diff-erential C Aristotle indicated that C right should not be extended to slaves, women & children. Hence in ancient time C was a matter of privilege & respect. ∴ differential C was respecting to social character of society.

The practice of exclusion from city right was institutionalised during medieval period in Europe. During this period the exercise of state's planning, law making, &

declaration of war) were prerogatives of specific bodies of ppl. Hence a vertical integration btw church, feudal lords, & monarchs & autocrats legitimised. respective rights to specific bodies of ppl on the basis of their origins & identity.

With the rise of mod<sup>y</sup> the concept of c become inclusive. Most specifically french rev<sup>n</sup> gave importance on equality & liberty endorsing the values of common c. Rousseau indicated that to promote general will, integration btw society & indiv is essential. The state must have to guarantee liberty to indiv & indiv must have to reciprocate their affiliation with society by discharging their obligations & rights. ∴ c is not just a form of right extended to indiv by state rather it is also form of duty that indiv must have to exhibit in rfd to state. After french rev<sup>n</sup> in diff<sup>t</sup> parts of Europe search for common c gave way to popular mobilisation, protest & organized revolts. ∴ All over Europe constitutions guaranteed equal c rights to different sections

of indiv, some differential ©  
↓  
common ©  
(Fr rev)

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of society emphasising that in a pluralistic state equality of groups can promote harmony & integration among ppl indicating ppl's exposure to pol. mobilisation & modernity & democracy: - - - - -

Bentham indicates that  $\underline{c}$  in Europe during early 19th c was form of civic ideology -

is that guaranteed equality of pol. participation, removal of traditional barriers among ppl on the basis of race & ethnicity.

3) It guaranteed ppl a sense of freedom in resp to selection of occupation, participation in public discussion, freedom of speech making traditional Europe diff from modern Europe.

James S. Mills advocates that  $\underline{c}$  & creation of modern state are complementary to each other. He indicates that  $\underline{c}$  is driven by rational values of equality & then challenges to preferential form of pol. participation & referring to values of freedom & equality. Weber explains that  $\underline{c}$  is a pol. concept but state is a social & pol. org. He considers that state been an ideal type it nurtures  $\underline{c}$  ought differently at diff. points of time.

giving eq. of China. Roman empire  
 a German society to find out how  
 state legitimize its rule by  
 coercion. ∴ C right is then  
 extended to ppl don't necessarily  
 get adequate space -----  
 for its effective articulation.  
 sociological understanding of C  
 is largely emphasized by  
 T.H. Marshall & Christopher Jencks  
 belonging to modern school they  
 estab an interlinkage b/w capit<sup>m</sup>  
 divacy & C. In a capit<sup>m</sup> society  
 complex form of DoL provide  
 adequate respect to principle of  
 indi. merit. As a result irrespective  
 of their origin ppl belonging  
 to diff<sup>t</sup> groups & community make  
 meaningful contrib<sup>n</sup> to eco progress  
 of society. ∴ capit<sup>m</sup> glorifying  
 principle of equality as a form  
 of necessity directs pol. shes  
 to also pursue equalitarian  
 principles. Hence divacy ∴  
 divatic pol. stem capit<sup>m</sup> eco,  
 cherishing values of equality &  
 guarantee common eq. C to the  
 ppl belonging to diff<sup>t</sup> race,  
 ethnic group as a form of  
 necessity. ∴ equality of C

CHRISTOPHER  
 JENCKS

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right is hallmark of modern  
 democracy that explains ~~transformation~~  
 a shift from tradition ~~model~~  
 model theory indicates that C is  
 not just a pol. right. Being the  
 citizen of a state or incl.  
 is entitled to a series of benefits  
 & privileges that includes  
 1) equality of occup<sup>ra</sup>l selection  
 & equality of rewards.

2) equal access to edu & equality  
to articulation of speech, freedom  
of movt, etc

3) equality & equal access to justice,  
equal access to universal of  
grievance right to live with  
dignity & self respect ∴ C takes  
 abt a transformation from a  
 society to an inclusive & equalit-  
 arian society. This viewpoint is  
 criticised by Habermas who makes  
 distinction by public & intimate  
 sphere indicating that nature &  
 form of C consummated by ppl consent  
 be understood ~~is~~ is thru their participation in  
 public sphere. He finds out in all  
 modern societies public sphere  
life mass media comm<sup>n</sup>ty govt &  
bu<sup>ro</sup>cracy, science, art & edu is  
greatly restricted to educated  
middle class ∴ visible citizens as

hyper-citizens & supra-citizens  
stand diff't from sub-citizens :-  
E & equality are potential myths.

Kohler a marxist sociologist  
indicates that E is a bourgeois  
concept that affords a sense of  
gratification to ignorant masses.  
When masses celebrate E they have  
no time to organize themselves  
to stand against dom't class  
enjoying state power. In mass  
legitim. to dom't of dom't by  
enjoying E might :- divacy  
glorifying E might compromise  
values of equality. Thought in  
reality nature & form of pol.  
dom't still ruled by dom't  
class. This is the history of  
divacy in European society.

Rogey Cox considers that the  
concept of E has gone thru a  
series of transformations in contem-  
porary times. Calob<sup>n</sup> has modified  
the concept of E by accelerating  
migration of ppl from out of the  
territorial boundaries of state;  
acceleration of global E has  
questioned its significance of  
state sponsored E today.



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Appadurai indicates that  $\xi$  is not strength to an indi, citing the case of America to find out whether citizens or non-citizens, workers in post-modern society have also been victims of trans-national companies working conditions, remuneration job security are neither determined by indi nor by state.  $\xi$  indi right, equalitarian  $\xi$  have least their merit in post globalised society. In conclusion it can be advocated that concept of  $\xi$  was glorified during post industrial revolution period. However in contemporary times the concept of  $\xi$  is now subjected to intellectual scrutiny as it is perceived that more than  $\xi$  as a form of political right one must have to sleep in to global integration, trans-national migration & ~~capital market~~ ~~appearance~~ ~~front~~ out of these changes.

## CITIZENSHIP IN INDIA

In search of C freedom struggle in India got a momentum. Right to power, ought to rule was greatly a caste & gender phenomenon in India to transform feudal society into a egalitarian society. Nationalist movement in India gave importance on equality, inclusion & common C. Keeping these objectives in mind Constituent Assembly indicated "We need a free India but where ppl have freedom to think, they have freedom to practice to create own sights & culture & we need a India where ppl are free but from internal & external constraints". What he meant was freedom from caste & freedom from colonialism. external freedom without inter- nal freedom cannot guarantee equality for all in Indian society. Thus C in India is not just a political  slogan matter it carries larger social, eco & cultural significance. Dr. B. R. Ambedkar influence on principles of inclusion & equality realising that guaranteeing freedom.

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common & one cannot ensure that deprived sections of society are enjoying the benefits of democracy. He insisted that state must be providing to deprived sections of society so that equality in terms of 'participatory', expression, 'participatory' in various modes of 'participatory' is realized by not in absolute sense of term. The vision of Gandhi's 'Sarvodaya' to develop an inclusive 'model' a 'inclusive' 'model' to what extent is translated in to reality is being debated by 'participatory'.

1. Reflecting on 'participatory' 'participatory' 'participatory' indicate that during 'participatory' general election it is found out that there are 'participatory' belonging to 'participatory' class developing 'participatory' in matter of 'participatory', lower 'participatory' class do not have 'participatory' & conviction to consume & 'participatory' extended to them. As a result 'participatory' is emerging as belonging to specific caste, 'participatory' community, 'participatory' 'participatory' of India & 'participatory' as 'participatory' corresponding to principle of liberty & equality. Indicating to what

Beberle -- talks abt cultural  
 superior & social superior in  
 Indian culture implying that  
 rights can be source of disas-  
 ter for many & a source of secu-  
 rity for others. Reflecting on  
 electoral violence parties  
Chatterjee indicates that many  
 in Indian democracy that many  
 have right to vote prefer not  
 to vote & many ppl do not know  
 whom to vote are swayed or  
 forced to vote in favour of some  
 one & hence politically speaking  
 it is as a <sup>matter</sup> right is translated in  
 to commodity in mkt of corrupt  
 politics. He is using idea of  
 democratizing democracy originally  
 framed by Anthony Alderson  
 indicating that unless <sup>cratic</sup> democratic  
 institutions & democratic rights  
 are going thru appropriate  
 reforms than perhaps in India  
 it would be considered as  
 matter of theoretical right that  
 cannot have independent ex-  
 pression on the basis of free state  
 of india. private sen considers  
 that it is not just a pol. agenda



Gender edu. sep. machinas are left out. ∴ islamic edu. is traditional. ∴ least muslim part<sup>n</sup> in modern employment & and pub. sphere.

she further asserts that uniform civil code must be articulated by muslim women. than by state or govt dominated by a particular community. she indicates that muslims of India suffered from psychas of inferior valuation sense of distinction. they lack confidence, inferior actual support to experience equal part<sup>n</sup> in public sphere.

Rom chandra leha indicates that ♀ in India is distinguished from ♀ in west. In west ♀ was extended th to the ppl in a phased manner. diff. groups acquiring potential capabilities essential for exercising ♀ right without any fears, prejudices went for aig protest. ∴ struggle conflict & contradiction ultimately gave them access to ♀ right. ∴ realizing the values of ♀ not they only respect

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it but also they use it in a judicious manner for satisfaction of India's societal interest. In contrast to that in India, the right was extended to ppl who were rashly illiterate, caste bound, believing in principle of 'divine right'. Their right was thoughtfully exploited by self-seeking politicians giving rise to continuity of dynastic, cult based, caste centric pol parties in India.

However in contemporary times a paradigm shift has been noticed. Right subaltern groups those who were marginalised earlier are taking interest in politics when ppl's right are violated they are organising people protest ppl's protest in Kalinganagar, Singur are manifestation of articulation of ppl's desire to live on their own terms & conditions even scumming to power of coercive state & non scumming, <sup>to politics of capitalist state</sup> newspaper reports are largely carrying messages abt resistance to atrocities either by lower caste or women or by tribal communities.

Walter Fernandes advocates that  
pol. cons<sup>n</sup> has gone for a vertical &  
horizontal expansion in pol. India  
∴ pretexts & in out are symbolic  
manifestation of it ✓ D.C. Prasad  
indicates that in 13<sup>th</sup> & 14<sup>th</sup> parli-  
amentary election, it is noticed  
around 80% of lower caste & lower  
class exercised franchise right  
as against 43% of voters coming  
from middle class & upper class.  
∴ C as an instrument of pol.  
assertions as a symbol of self  
expression not been selected by  
sub altern groups in India.  
∴ Manojanjan Prasad rightly  
points that C of India is reach-  
ing at great speed making  
Indian society a diff<sup>t</sup> experience  
than diversity of during 1947.



## NATION AND STATE

Hegel makes a distinction b/w Civil society & state. Civil society is a disciplined society, where rules of law are etc fixed, etc. Whereas in state happiness is all prevailing. What is state to Hegel, i.e. communism to Marx.

How Weber is sleeping in to state — is armed body of men women capturing power over masses by coercive means. State is having legitimate power. ∴ it has power to coerce over others. It comes out of masses. Three types of authority:

Modernisation Theory of state —  
LASZL, BENTHAM, CHRISTOPHER JEFF

'Traditional society & Modern state'  
state is reflection of mod<sup>y</sup> of politics;  
modern state is not outcome of coercion rather judicious, conscious formation of ppl in search of max. gratification of their own interest. Modern state cannot be autocratic, it is legitimate because ppl have given it legitimacy. In modern state there is balance b/w ind<sup>l</sup> & power of state. In modern state govt is responsible & ppl are sensible to their duties towards state.

— modern state's affairs are open to all the citizens of society.  
modern state is all inclusive.

- modern state is driven by equality, liberty & freedom.

- Once state comes into prominence do we need nationalism as we are happy with modern approach of state → Nat<sup>m</sup> gave rise to creation of India as a ppl. state

From Nation<sup>m</sup> → state (state glorifying Nation<sup>m</sup>)

→ When state is sponsoring nation<sup>m</sup>, its national, <sup>exclusive</sup> inclusive character will not be glorified. State will be more concerned abt formation of Ram temple rather going for poverty alleviation. ∴ Every state should be converted into nation so that ppl will be living happily forgetting all other ties. When a state is uni-cultural,

there is no problem in converting state into a nation.

But in multi-cultural state, state has to go for the destruction of multi-cultural identity. (In Russia, multi-cultural identities were ~~are~~ coercively destroyed ∴ state collapsed.) No state should try to establish a nation out of state by respecting ~~multi~~ cultural differences.

- Hitler contributed to his nation by glorifying nationalism. Ppl. can criticize his rule, but his rule brought nationalism.

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- We need nationalism for diff<sup>n</sup> reasons  
 one can go for nationalism acc  
 to his needs. But this nationalism  
 should not be grossly used to stimulate  
 & war against other nations.

Marxists - Dominant class wants  
 there should not be any rebellion,  
 rejection, dominant class make  
 ppl to believe that they should be  
 brought in to power, to save them,  
 country's sover<sup>n</sup> people etc. Nation<sup>m</sup>  
 is class making for vested interest.  
 ∴ should we go for nationalism or  
 should go for self-secting &  
 individualism.

Nationalism whether borrowed or  
 original concept for India ∴

Concept evolved by Dayanand Saras-  
 wati. The Indian culture is great  
 coz European scholars said that  
 India is great (Max Muller etc.)  
 Why this consciousness not evolved  
 before Dayananda Saraswati - because  
 before him there were no  
 Max Muller (European scholars)

- When Britishers endorsed the  
 greatness of Indian culture, Indian<sup>s</sup>  
 were forced to endorse that  
 Indian culture is great.

- Some scholars believe that Indian  
 nationalism is from outside.

- Impact of western education -

Why British could sustain for so long time - coz they were driven by nationalism. Far away from home they glorified nation. i.e they were driven by strong sense of nationalism.

Indians during British rule - Diff<sup>t</sup> leaders got warped against from each other & supported British. Never ever in the mind of ppl of India feeling of nation<sup>m</sup> was present. Nationalism ∴ Nationalistic leaders glorified Hindu values to generate nation<sup>m</sup> among ppl. ∴ <sup>minority</sup> ~~minority~~ could not participate in national freedom struggle. ∴ minority wanted India to emerge as a state not as a nation.

Why they <sup>not</sup> wanted India to emerge as majority state → They didn't want to see vulnerability to be subdued by majority.

Clarified  
Hindu  
consciousness  
→ not acceptable to Muslims, tribal, Dalits

### Nation state & Nationalism

Nation refers to a body of ppl coming together sharing --- common identity, common territory, common language & common emotions. Nation is a feeling of unity among the ppl sharing any of this commonalities either in combination or separation. Nation gives rise to the growth of nation. However a nation cannot guarantee equal form of articulation of all its members to the cause of nation. Hence the way nation appears in the same way it disappears. Nation & national identity are temporal phenomenon.

Search for nation has always been on human endeavor from most ancient times to contemporary context. Abner Smith indicates that search for nation is driven by pluralistic modes of behaviour. He indicates that using coercion, glorifying shared identity, using the method of persuasion, nation spirit may be inculcated among ppl & he considers that territory, language, culture or foundation

its use of nationalistic views  
 He makes a distinction b/w state  
 sponsored nation & nation contrib-  
 uted for creation of state.  
 indicating that nation & state  
 or mutually negotiating with  
 each other. This viewpoint is  
 contradicted by Kellner who  
 explains nation from an evolu-  
 tionary & historical perspective.  
 He indicates that in Roman,  
 Greek & Chinese civilisation etc  
 ppl living together sharing  
 common culture keep pride  
 of their identity & distinguish  
 themselves from other cultural  
 communities. They elected or  
 selected their own leaders who  
 symbolised the integration &  
 harmony among entire popul-  
 ation. ∴ in ancient civilisation  
nation promoted pol. consolidation  
unquestionable integration of  
the members of cultural comm<sup>ty</sup>  
facilitate in them to manifest  
fidelity & intolerance towards  
other. ∴ declaration of war  
expansions vice of multi-cultural  
state ruled by autocratic



on the  
case of  
religion  
nationalism  
can be glor-  
ified like  
terrorism,  
Hinduism  
leaders  
Islamic  
consciousness

elements belonging to dominant  
culture ∴ marginal cultural  
groups were forced to share spirit  
of nat<sup>m</sup> entrusted by majority  
that ultimately gave rise to  
the origin of nation-state driven  
by coercive unity. During medieval  
period vertical integration b/w  
Church, monarchy & <sup>vassalage</sup> <sub>system</sub>  
(lord lord-ship) contributed for  
the growth of nationalist spirit.  
∴ British nat<sup>m</sup>, French & Dutch  
nat<sup>m</sup> contributed for the expansion  
of colonialism.

In contemporary context,  
Kellner advocates that there is  
possibility of-

- 1) One nation one state (Israel)
  - 2) Coercive nat<sup>m</sup>, or ideologically  
stimulated nat<sup>m</sup> in common  
countries.
  - 3) Multiple nations constituting a  
state (Mexico)
  - 4) Multiple states nations challenging  
to the power of the state (India)
- ∴ nat<sup>m</sup> and its adven largely  
speak abt the pol. dynamics experi-  
enced by societies. Cohen and H  
indicate that nat<sup>m</sup> has always  
been a bourgeois construct.  
Dominant class glorify nat<sup>m</sup> as

that the subordinate class  
 they fail to realise that they  
 have been subjected to ex-  
 & marginalisation. Acceleration  
of nat<sup>o</sup> cons<sup>t</sup> consider that  
poverty is destined by God, it is  
temporal when being a mani-  
festations of class based exploitati-  
on. Nat<sup>m</sup> indicates that pol-  
 inequality should not be carrying  
 significance as who is in power,  
 they are in power to pursue  
 collective goals efficiently. They  
 consider that the client class  
 always take the issue of nation  
 in danger to get support from  
 mass hence nat<sup>m</sup> is bourgeoisie  
 construct for qualification of  
 their own self interest.

Nat<sup>m</sup> is not a common man's need.

This viewpoint of nat<sup>m</sup>  
 is contradicted by Allen, Christopher  
Jebb & T.H. Marshall. They develop  
 a modernisation approach to  
 nat<sup>m</sup> indicating that mod<sup>y</sup>  
 provides varied opportunities  
 in diff<sup>t</sup> spheres of society. In  
 order to access even these  
 opportunities one should not  
 only follow the rules of class



Walter  
Fernandez

but one must have to appreciate  
-ate his society that is offering  
him access to these exclusive  
benefits. ∴ every movement is  
a nationalist & if every Japanese  
is nat<sup>t</sup> they are so coz their  
societies are emerging as no  
poverty societies. ∴ their heavy  
indicates that nat<sup>m</sup> is bound  
to be glorified in modern society  
but that nat<sup>m</sup> will be respecting  
to pluralism, diversity, freedom  
& wide liberty. ∴ in past we  
had one culture, one ppl, one  
nation, one state. But in contem.  
times we are having thousands  
many ppl, divergent cultures,  
one state & unorganised nat<sup>m</sup>  
shared by all.

Contemporary social  
life Habermas, considers that  
past glorified societies are  
going beyond nat<sup>c</sup> consciousness.  
However liberation from nat<sup>m</sup>  
or glorification of pluralistic  
state do not necessarily guaran-  
tee equality & human happiness.  
he considers that in past modern  
society whether state is more  
active ppl centric & respecting

its diversity or state is formulated integrating ppl in terms of their culture & identity. In both the spheres are firmly out public sphere of civil society and state is dominated by specific class  
∴ neither nation nor state nor even nation state is all inclusive.  
We consider state driven by any ideology nation driven by any core cannot ever promote <sup>unity</sup> plurality among ppl.  
∴ inequality in terms of pol. part<sup>n</sup> & inequalitarian access to benefits is hallmark of every society from tradition to post modern context.

T.K.ommen is worried abt the contest of power b/w state & ppl.

- Theoretical empowerment without economic empowerment is useless.
- Amard Chappavarty - decisions taken by panchayats are ex-parte. Ppl. women are silent members. Active members are from dominant class and caste. ∴ theoretically speaking collective decision making power is given to subaltern group. The voice of subaltern group is unheard.
- PRI is new old wine in new bottle.
- PRI life is being <sup>in</sup> violated. Panchayat election caste & caste conflict is becoming violent. Instead of making powerless powerful, it is making social condition of society volatile.
- T.K.ommen says that it atleast being political mobilisation.
- Atleast ppl are feeling that power exists with them when contestant come to them for votes.
- The success of PRI depends on society's cultural-pol. history. In such societies, because of literacy, women empowerment or devel. PRI are flourishing. One must not say PRI as a institution is failure.

Democracy should not just be considered as pol. ideology rather it must be transformed in to practice. To translate diactic ideology in to a real life experience, two conditions are also required - (1) Institutional support, (2) Ppl's preparedness.

S.N. Shah advocates that new PPI's endowed with legitimate legal & eco support is thereby introducing institutional support to pol. modernisation in India. However, Ppl's preparedness for this diactic experience is variable from one region to another for which PPI's in India is not experiencing

identical success or failure.

T.K.ommen considers that functioning of PPI in itself talking abt the struggle of power b/w Ppl's govt, men & women, higher caste & lower caste. That in itself talk abt acceleration of mod<sup>n</sup> in pol. & sphere of country. Gail Omn considers that subaltern groups were always considered as vote bank or dominant caste or dominant class.

exercising steel over micro & macro. New PRT's has given them sufficient power to go for self assertion. ∴ violence against women supporters, Tribal leaders is a manifestation of contradiction appearing in microscopic pol.

of India speaking abt pol. change making appearance in local & regional pol. sphere. Prasad Chaturvedi conclude by saying that despite diversification of pol. stem hegemonistic dom<sup>n</sup> is present both in micro & macro sphere of Indian society. ∴ it is diff<sup>c</sup> to consider that PRT has ever brought the element of new & in pol. culture of India. World Bank report 2001 indicates that India is the best example of pol. decentralisation along with centralisation of admn. ∴ PRT are theoretically emerging as more powerful but for all pol. purposes guided, centralized, reviewed by govt plans & programme. Hence a search for opt's strategy thru pol. decentralisation in Indian situation is feeling halfway thru ∴ per prog<sup>n</sup>.

of us Indians directly for given  
social level complete structural  
transformation is necessary.

- manifestation of contradictions: class, caste, regional, etc.
- Women, dalit class
- to have more participating in process of mod'y.
- result in rejection, conflict
- secular ~~values~~ dominating over ritual ~~values~~ when Brahmins are going to abdicate from dalit what other ~~values~~ could not do. Pats in charge
- for women bridging the ~~the~~ social class & regional sphere.
- Changes do not happen overnight. evolve in trad' values & historical process to fit in to mod'y.

## DEMOCRACY

### Working of Democracy in Indian Context

- Socialistic democracy - social talks abt social responsibility. Pol. leaders had believe in both socialism & democracy. Our society was tribal society, caste based society, fragmented society. reservation, various programmes. Developed a synthesis b/w democracy & socialism.

Type of Democracy - Diff from west. they are practising since centuries. Plato - nobocracy (oligarchy)

Aristotle - Democracy may be good or bad. Polity's perfected form is known as democracy.

Machiavelli - man by nature is self centric. whether Democracy or autocracy, it is used by person for self centric rule. You cannot say whether Democracy is good or autocracy is bad or cor in every person there is hunger of power.

Hobbes & Locke -

- Democracy is celebrated by liberals. Tocqueville is one such scholar. He refused to accept Democracy as a pol. instit<sup>n</sup> rather it is civatio culture. Freedom in pol, eco sphere & free thinking are hall mark of civatio culture. From centuries America has been a land of free features. So equality persists

pol parties provide legitimate way to capture power.

↳ pol social introdn of pol parties is pol. socialisation.

politicians becoming responsible.

↳ supports transit<sup>n</sup> MA & go & ask for devel prog & schemes. They are more pol. active, authoritative.

- Diviacy is a form of <sup>total social</sup> experience present in case of American society.

→ Diviatic behaviour, diviatic  
Montesquie - 'Separation of power'.  
 • Chances of misuse of power, if power is concentrated in few hands, so separation of power.  
 • Uniform citizenship might then two chances - either to elect a leader or emerge as a leader.

Bentham, J.S. Mill - started celebrating diviacy.

- Agencies of state enjoying <sup>Features of Diviacy</sup> restricted power.

- In Diviacy the partition of duties is not exclusive. Anyone.

- freedom is extended to all (instat & ppl. Equality & liberty). These 3 are not found in any other form of rule.

Liberty - unregulated freedom.

Liberation - freedom from bondage. Liberty is French concept. Slave to be liberated from intervention from state.

- To live like a potential human being (Liberty)

- Freedom - various forms of freedom.

Beauregard - Poverty of culture.

- ppl living in slums are considered as vote banks. (as they don't have educ.) - poverty



Indian  
divacy →  
Americans  
were asked  
whether they  
are liberal  
or  
radical.  
60% of them  
said they  
are at  
middle  
path.

- Every  
divacy.

- What doops  
beautiful  
from distance  
is not so.  
Divacy is  
not best  
form of  
Instat<sup>n</sup>.

If American  
go for Amer  
con d'oper,  
why they  
cannot go  
for Indian  
divacy

American  
divacy is  
class divacy.  
The divacy  
is there  
divacy.  
It operates  
in space.

- If caste leaders are making policies, it for nation not for particular caste.
- Indian divacy <sup>should be</sup> is <sup>thoughtful</sup> to regionalism.
- Indian divacy is dealing with various types of structural challenges.
- Divacy of India should be studied as experience rather in comparison to western societies.
- Let us decide whether we need an inclusive divacy of which constitution talks abt it. (VHP call for ~~freedom~~ divacy is not Indian divacy. Divacy lives with mass sentiments not with class values (dominant caste).)

Regionalism → Ppl glorify their identity. It is not a challenge to nat<sup>n</sup> capitalism when it challenge to nat<sup>n</sup> capitalism, it is a threat to national integration.

- Whether it talks abt maturity or failure of divacy - Regionalism, militonitism, anti-society, anti-development.

Why Regionalism - Historically, culturally India was never a state. India lived in regions. Tribals, tribals etc. were living in diff<sup>t</sup> parts, speaking diff<sup>t</sup> language, culture etc. Communication (cultural) was minimum. So various mini-societies formed. Due to centralised legal rule somehow ppl come close to each other giving rise of a nation.

Cultural consciousness comes from region. Person considers that their culture is great, behaviour of ppl of their culture is great.

- On the basis of culture, exclusive nations are created. (like Khamti in North India, Vijayanagar in South.) Emergence of pol. state is a persuasive, coercive experience. Pol. coming classes are driven by regional feeling. This perception was very strong in mind of ppl. Creation of nation state a gradual consistent effort.
- Self-respect movement started as a nationalistic movement got reduced into regional movement.
- Creation of state on the basis of language, tribalism & culture. When in some region over-development takes place. They feel they are feeder of whole country. They should separate themselves. Like Khalistan movement, Sikhism a result of under development.
- Regionalism can give rise to regionalism. If there is underdevelopment we can't have
- Hunger for power, prosperity.
- Articulation of regionalism -  
 p denying sharing of water, various types of protest & movements. More we go for regional parties, we talk about nativity of diversity.

∴ we can say regionalism is good or bad.

- Regionalism is talking abt ppl's aspiration to participate in pol process.

- ∴ regionalism is

- The perception that regionalism weakens nationalism is wrong. Regionalism is not always has a negative affect.

- When regionalism become valent

- Ordinarily something is considered as negative, is not always so.

- After operation Blue star started putting on turban. This is an example of revivalism of cultural consciousness.

- movement - Any social movement is initiated by mobilization of ppl, formation of ideology, formation of party, mobilization of resources etc. If it becomes valent, or it is temporal then it is acceptable but when it persists for a long time it is not acceptable.

movement stages → initiation  
→ excitement stage  
→

→ productive participative force

→ revival of cultural consciousness

- devt forces are soon joined in its integrative force.

Why ppl are asking for tiny state.

→ better exercise or articulation of pol aspirations



(8)

pol affiliation not driven by -  
ideologist. Future not known.  
∴ opportunistic politics.

- ppl not interested in getting  
status of political elites, rather  
interested in becoming political  
leaders.

→ Crisis of leaders, leaders suffering  
from crisis of legitimacy.

→ Indian democracy is Indian democracy

### Pressure Group

✓ a group that is conveying capacity  
to exert pressure on decision making  
power of the govt.

Diff b/w Pressure group & Interest  
group →

✓ Pressure group & Interest groups  
greatly emerge in democratic  
culture not in autocratic &  
rule.

→ Success of democracy can be understood  
not in terms of functioning of  
govt rather questioning to the  
functions of govt.

✓ Pressure groups are not directly  
involved in politics rather they  
support its pol parties

- All India
- ~~State~~ ~~Level~~
- Kisan Sabha
- pressure group
- student
- Union of
- a college
- Interest group
- but making
- charter of
- demands
- go for strike
- Pressure group
- Congress
- during free-
- dom struggle
- I. group
- feel going for
- protest is per-
- sone group

## Pressure groups

### Pressure Groups In India

The concept of P.G is introduced in pol sociology by pluralists who consider that the agencies of power are multiple in modern society. They consider that trade unions, peasant associations, women org<sup>s</sup> operate as major P.G's in modern democracies. The members of P.G articulate its exclusive interest.

1. A P.G is having well defined distinct & org<sup>l</sup> goals.....

2. P.G's are least interested in pursuing national goals however P.G's are largely found in democratic societies. Democracy guarantees freedom of expression, freedom to articulate ideas & interest to every section of society. P.G's & their scales largely speak abt an inclusive, dynamic, diversity present in a given context.

Almond divide P.G's into 2 types

1) Protective P.G.

Protective P.G's refer to such group committed to protection of its members. For eg. All India class & govt officers association.

To its contrast promotional PGs are taking up diff't issues carrying significance for larger society. For instance society for prohibition of cruelty against animals is a pressure group i.e taking up cause of speechless animal & trying to protect their rights.

Llewellyn Almond concludes that PGs can go for horizontal mobilisation & vertical mobilisation. For eg. when the teachers of diff't unis. combine together putting pressure on govt for pay revision is horizontal mobilisation. But when cause of teachers is supported by peasants bodies, trade unions operating in industry that gives way to vertical mobilisation. Vertical mobilisation of PGs seriously challenge the functioning of govt whereas horizontal integration is structure mobilisation that contribute for efficient governance of good governance of the govt.

Broadly speaking PGs can be divided into 4 major types such as -

Gabriel Almond

1) Institutional P.G. what includes  
 the PG present within instit<sup>n</sup> catering to needs & diff<sup>t</sup> bases of members of instit. For eg. in a college teachers union, students union, employees union are articulating the interest of diff<sup>t</sup> stakeholders of instit.

2) Associational P.G. are aged bodies like T.U's, where the members are holding elected offices, they go for regular meetings, publish lit. & they do not always take up diff<sup>t</sup> issues but their presence & power is greatly weakened by the govt.

3) Non-associational P.G. - Caste councils, tribal councils, religious councils which are automatically formulated on the basis of common identity of ppl, articulate specific demands on the basis of demands of sit<sup>n</sup>. In case of 'Andhra All India Agrawal Mahasabha', 'Tanjati Ummati Sangathan', fit in to this category.

4) Domestic P.G. → are mostly formulated by diff<sup>t</sup> groups of ppl who use coercion, violence, as mechanisms to accomplish

Pressure groups are not P.G. rather involving working of civility in a society. Give a...

if more  
 civility is  
 efficient

• civility is  
 to cater to  
 needs of  
 few

if more  
 civility  
 is  
 weak.



supra-govt  
agencies -  
P.G.'s are  
emerging  
as supra-  
govt agencies

- non-issue  
become  
issues (like  
autonia  
support to  
a cause  
PITUC)

° development  
of over dev  
Japan

° development  
of under dev  
- India

° level of  
development  
achieve what  
is targeted

their goals; Anomic P.G.'s never  
respect to rules of law & largely  
emerge as challenge to unity of  
society & power of the state & govt  
mostly anomic P.G.'s emerge as  
supra-state ag's taking govt  
in to ransom. For eg. militants  
student unions of N. East, funda-  
mentalists, religious outfits, &  
rightists, cultural organizations  
fit into this category. The

The nature of operation of  
P.G. largely reflect on structure of  
divacy & its maturity in a given  
society. In American society Smelser  
finds out that diff. areas  
P.G. take up issues like human  
rights, environmental questions  
gender issue, child rights & put  
pressure on govt to formulate  
policies to make an inclusive  
society possible. That he calls as  
symbol of participatory divacy  
Rudolph -  
Rudolph & Rudolph,  
Fronzirel, Roshini Singh ---  
articulate their concern abt the  
acceleration of anomic P.G.'s non-  
anomic P.G.'s in India indicating  
how in Indian divacy money  
power, muscle power, self-  
centered interest are greatly

glorified :- politics of opportunism  
in India is distinctive from politics  
of responsibility in European societies  
indicating how P.A's are not just  
inbuilt present in democracy rather  
than the P.A's one can largely  
look into variations in diff<sup>t</sup>  
democratic societies in time & space.

(Ref different conceptions of class in strat<sup>n</sup>)

class power

Marx, Althusser, Gramsci, Dahrendorf

Weber - mob situation

Dahrendorf

Eisenstadt - org theory

Elite theory

Pluralistic theory

Ind. Pol class in India is transitory as one class does not hold power always

Nicos Poulantzas  $\pm$  agreed with K<sub>1</sub> that the cap class would further their own interests but this would happen only if ruling class i.e. the cap class is not the politically governing class as this would lead to internal conflicts

Westergaard & Pridel also support this view

In conclusion it can be advocated that class power sufficiently explains the myopic deterministic app of K<sub>1</sub> which considers that only class determines power. But in reality class is dynamic & is studied by other traditions helping political sociology understand the various sources of legitimate power to which class may be only one criteria <sup>but</sup> and not the only deterministic indicator

Class to Ralf D is a category of purposes to analyse social conflict, s. dynamics and its structural roots

organ

— KM: - org

— Weber: - ~~org~~

— Parsons: -

— Eisenstad

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## Organisational power

- KM: - Org are the creation of DC cater to their needs.
- Weber: - formal org in mod. soc. - 'B'
- Parsons: - variable sum
- Eisenstadt: .. in his essay on formal org considers that rise of modern <sup>formal</sup> org in MS has contributed for
  - 1) effective form of pol
  - 2) structured DM process.
  - 3) Institutional goals are attained with min investment & max of surplus are minimised

competency and more rewarded at par with rules of law and violation is punished.

He concludes that with the rise of modernity, formal org are expanding & influencing every sphere of man's life may it be banks in economic sector, school in edu sector, industry, admin etc.

His view is similar to Parsonian understanding of org power. Parsons considers that power is variable sum. It can be differently distributed among ppl holding diff occ positions.

∴ Growth of org power is a necessity for modern society as against the trad<sup>n</sup> society where personal power & group power were glorified.

- Dyef<sup>n</sup> of B - Michael Crozier, Robert Merton.
- Amitai Etzioni - coercive, symbolic normative rewards.

mob

Negative aspect of formal org:-

Eisenstadt : within every org are present reasons and sense

one emerges as the charismatic leader

reasons praise of follow him

In formal org, every problem is treated as a case, every indiv  
a party & every decision a judgement

power of

KM -

MW -

In mod. soc,

Ar

J.K. Coonre

u

q

weber

Pluralists

me

ky

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mob has no mind

power of the unorganised masses (Chronicle Pg 105)

KM - CIT → CFI ; but this dint happen coz of diverg<sup>n</sup> of interests

HW - Party is the basis of soc power

← BCM in India

Agricultural labourers (Kisan Sabhas...)  
elections

In mod. soc, class has become an obj category, or to quote Raymond  
Aron "A Statistical aggregate"

T.K. Jomnen - in his book social moths advocates that the non  
institutionalised power of the masses when exercised

gives rise to a contest b/w state power and mass power  
which is a foundation to protest moths.

weber considers that unorganised power of the masses is the  
manifestation of mass hysteria.

It is temporal in character & hence not a  
subject of sociological analysis

Pluralists however look into the study of power of unorg  
masses like considering mob behaviour, riots driven  
by reflexive action of a large body of ppl in a  
given situation

# Pressure groups & pol parties X 100

Robert Michels 'pol parties' Iron law of Oligarchy

2 times Press gr used by Peter Odegard in the book  
Pressure Politics: The Story of the anti saloon league

def: A P.G. is an organized local group whose members  
share common attitudes beliefs or interests  
which seek to influence govt public policies

Pol. Parties : Come from word 'Party'  
Max Weber - Party

In groups : Gabriel Almond : 4 types : Institutional IANA  
Associational  
non-org associational  
Anomic (charities)  
↳ M. diff. trans of P.G.s

Uniparty  
bi party  
multiparty

Durand - Mass based P.P & Cadre based P.P

Robert Dahl - External P.P & Internal P.P  
↳ no one is happy  
entirely internal influence  
CPI reaction to caste D.K., J.H.H.

Maurice - positive aspects of uniparty sys.

David Lane - uniparty leads to authoritarianism

Laski - Biparty system

Robert Smith - disadv. of biparty sys.

Weber - party - IT



Price of welfare state bluey line distance 82

Read his notes class

Mode of pol. participation - Dem & Auth forms.

↓  
Hipset (XCON)

Modernists (glorify democracy) vs Hipset - high level of participation cannot always be treated as good for dem

World system theory - Wallerstein : Soc. & Cap as both are products of 9th

There are many forms of participation - broadly can be divided into democracy & authoritarianism (autocracy, military, totalitarian, dictatorship etc).

Aristotle

Pol. Plato (Dem = mobocracy)

Hobbes & Locke

Machiavelli (man is hungry for power)

Rousseau

J.S. Mill (dem works under some conditions)

Montesquieu

D.L. Ceter - India - Bourgeois: not for

9th 10th

Joshi Bentham

Max Weber

Gabriel Almond

3 roles (LFS)

1940s - interest articulation

interest aggregation

pol. communication

Pluralists : power dispersal

Democracy in America : critics :- Cronenberg  
C.W. Mills (power elite)

Edwards (corporate grants)

(against autocracy) for :- Dahl, Easton, Arrow, Dye, Milnor  
as Anthony Giddens

But the analysis of W.P.A isn't all today with the rise of welfare state, esp. success of some totalitarian states like China soft authoritarian like Singapore world system theory.

## Voting behaviour

In W. countries pol parties were given found an ideology  
universal adult franchise was given in a phased manner

Goldthorpe & Lockwood : Voting Behaviour in Britain

Conserv preferred to Labour

Frank Parkin ideology did not correspond to voting beh

Edwards : R-U divide in America determines voting beh

Andre Beville : caste & str more

D. L. Seltz & Andre S : ppl change their voting b depending  
on their interests

Ideology does not influence behaviour

Ramchandra Guha : franchise given without edu<sup>n</sup>

J. B. Kiplani

# POT SYSTEM (PI x PII)

The nature of power:

Power - capacity of a person to affect the behaviour of others

Characteristics of power (Churchelas notes)

It is relational

behavioural (Robert Dahl)

situational

Asymmetric (Webers constant or zero sum approach)  
(Parsons variable sum approach)

Weber: power is fixed/constant

Parsons: power is held by the society as a whole to pursue its goals  
It is neither fixed nor constant but is variable

Parsons power is derived from the shared values of the society  
while Webers results from the interaction of multiplicity of groups with conflicting interests

①

Approaches to power

constant sum Marxian approach ← society centred  
state centred

U.S. - Weberian approach power don't matter we greatly interested

Neo Marxists approach ← power not wealth  
Alltussen - ideological & represent strategy

variable sum functional approach TP

structure for approach PH

Elite theory ← classical - VP, GM, C.S. Miller  
contemporary - Elman Miller  
Pluralistic approach, LP & AS

State centred theories of power - Eric Nordlinger ← state 1, state 2, state 3  
- Theda Skocpol

② Globalization & the power of the nation state - Heideichman

↓  
pooled sovereignty  
port states  
Anthony Giddens - high modernity  
Michael Mann - sources of power - Eco, ideol, pol, military

## POL. SYSTEM.

### Personalized Power

#### Personal power :

Plato

Aristotle

Machiavelli

J. Steward Mills, Machi, Tocqueville

Montesquieu

Max Weber (Charismatic)

W. Mills (power elite)

David Easton & Schumpeter - Socialist countries

Chomsky - America

Gouldner - 'B'

Pantelis Kerkhrye - 3<sup>rd</sup> world countries

Rajni Kothari

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History is and always will be the graveyard of aristocracies - V.P.

Classical Elitist theory: - V. Pareto; S. Mosca; P. Michels  
 Contemp. Elitist theory: - C.W. Mills; Floyd Hunter  
 Power of the elite  
 as a reaction to Marxist theory - rejects the idea of a communist utopia, Egalitarian soc is an illusion, it sees Marxism as an ideology rather than an obj analysis of society

Classical Elitist theory: - claims that the personal qualities of indiv separate rulers from ruled. The later Elitist theory: - lays emphasis not on personal qualities but more on the institutional framework of the society.  
 The later elitists argue that the hierarchical org of soc. institutions allows a minority to monopolize power

Classical - psychological terms (elites have superior qualities)  
 Contemp. - institutional terms (rejects ↑)

3 major inst are the military, govt; <sup>major</sup> corporations - C.W. Mills  
 Power elite in USA involves the overlap of military, eco & pol. power

Pareto:-

- Governing elites: - fiances & lions (Re speculators & Rentiers)
- non gov. elites: - intellectuals, teachers
- Residue (power); Derivatives (justification)

Mosca = to Pareto - soc - 2 groups rulers & ruled

different social backgrounds are the reason for elite form  
 with democracy - they differ - Pareto - even D has elites  
 Mosca - says no sep elite class from diff. soc. backgrounds

American society: - C.W. Mills = 3 groups / institutions  
 Floyd Hunter - book community power (Business community in Atlanta cont. etc)

Robert Michels: - Pol. parties from law of oligarchy) - elite rule is inevitable

people desiring to capture power use organisations

Schumpeter: - plurality of elites & rejects the distinction of v. elites & masses

Socialist soc. - battonmore; Raymond Aron, H. L. van Tijsil

applied power elite model to explain d. soc in communist soc.

### Contemporary understanding of elites :-

Bryan Kitter looking into the post global world finds out the rise of new elites and compares it to the idea of global unity and integration. MNCs, global leaders, emerging, anti emerging, etc groups + intellectuals have emerged as plural elites in post industrialised soc. These elites check & balance each other resulting in <sup>sharing of</sup> knowledge, technology, and ideology on a global scale. The oppose autocracy, dictatorship and encourage dem & harmony b/w nations.

∴ Both contemporary & classical offers a new understanding of power & politics.

Expanding this theory to the domain of stat, one can conclude that in line of Taine that Ineq is universal, its intensity, degree form & content though variable.

### Critique

Robert Dahl (bitter critic of CW Mills) - potential control diff from actual control, where does actual control lie? 'power elite' not yet <sup>proved</sup>

### Communist soc

- Dalton Ross :- pol system in some countries is the pure type of power elite
- Raymond Aron - power in com. soc can best be kept in <sup>terms of</sup> elite model
- The Russian pol, eco, & mil power are conc. in the hands of a unified elite which has absolute & unbounded power. Masses are left without any defence against <sup>the elite</sup>
- Milovan Djilas shares these views
- David Lane criticises the above in says conc of power as a means to an end & elite rule has not been pred. exploitative

### Concl

Elites are universal. In India too. DH authority is under the infl of business elite, landlord elite, jannas elite & intelligent elite. Thus the concept of elite is an interesting analytical tool for understanding the realities of pol sociology.



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