

**Institute of Distance and Open Learning  
GAUHATI UNIVERSITY**

**MA in Political Science  
(3<sup>rd</sup> Semester)**

**Paper XI  
Political Sociology**

**Block 1**

**Political Sociology: Historical and Intellectual  
Background of Modern Political Sociology**



**Contents:**

**Block Introduction–**

**Unit 1: Introduction to Political Sociology and  
Relationship of Political Sociology with other  
Social Sciences**

**Unit 2: Contribution of Marx and Max Weber to  
Political Sociology**

**Unit 3: Contribution of V. Pareto, C. Wright Mills and  
G. Mosca to Political Sociology**

---

**Contributors:**

---

Barnalee Choudhury : Assistant Professor in Political Science  
(Units 1 & 3) IDOL, GU

Chayanika Sarma : Guest Faculty in Political Science  
(Unit 2) IDOL, GU

---

**Course Co-ordination:**

---

Dr. Kandarpa Das : Director  
IDOL, GU

Barnalee Choudhury : Assistant Professor in Political Science  
IDOL, GU

---

**Editorial Team:**

---

Content Editing : Jonaki Dutta  
Guest Faculty in Political Science  
IDOL, GU  
Barnalee Choudhury  
Assistant Professor in Political Science  
IDOL, GU  
Dr. Subhrajeet Konwar  
Assistant Professor in Political Science  
Gauhati University

Format Editing : Dipankar Saikia  
Guest Faculty in Political Science  
IDOL, GU

Language Editing : Shanghamitra De  
Guest Faculty in English  
IDOL, GU

---

**Cover Page Designing:**

---

Bhaskar Jyoti Goswami: IDOL, Gauhati University

September, 2011

© Institute of Distance and Open Learning, Gauhati University. All rights reserved. No part of this work may be reproduced in any form, by mimeograph or any other means, without permission in writing from the Institute of Distance and Open Learning, Gauhati University. Further information about the Institute of Distance and Open Learning, Gauhati University courses may be obtained from the University's office at IDOL Building, Gauhati University, Guwahati-14. Published on behalf of the Institute of Distance and Open Learning, Gauhati University by Dr. Kandarpa Das, Director and printed at Maliyata Offset Press, Mirza. Copies printed 1000.

**Acknowledgement**

The Institute of Distance and Open Learning, Gauhati University duly acknowledges the financial assistance from the Distance Education Council, IGNOU, New Delhi for preparation of this material.

**Detail Syllabus**  
**PAPER XI**  
**POLITICAL SOCIOLOGY**

**Block 1: POLITICAL SOCIOLOGY: HISTORICAL AND  
INTELLECTUAL BACKGROUND OF MODERN  
POLITICAL SOCIOLOGY**

**Unit 1: Introduction to Political Sociology and Relationship of Political  
Sociology with other Social Sciences**

- 1.1 Introduction
- 1.2 Objectives
- 1.3 Meaning and Evolution of Political Sociology
- 1.4 Nature and Scope of Political Sociology
  - 1.4.1 Nature of Political Sociology
  - 1.4.2 Scope of Political Sociology
- 1.5 Relationship of Political Sociology with other Social Sciences
  - 1.5.1 Relationship of Political Sociology with Sociology
  - 1.5.2 Relationship of Political Sociology with Political Science
  - 1.5.3 Relationship of Political Sociology with History
  - 1.5.4 Relationship of Political Sociology with Economics
  - 1.5.5 Relationship of Political Sociology with Anthropology
- 1.6 Summing Up
- 1.7 References and Suggested Readings

**Unit 2: Contribution of Marx and Max Weber to Political Sociology**

- 2.1 Introduction
- 2.2 Objectives
- 2.3 Marxian Theory of Class and Class Conflict
- 2.4 Marx's Concept of Alienation
- 2.5 Marx's Theory of Social Change
- 2.6 Marxist Theory of Revolution
- 2.7 Assessment of Marx's Contribution
- 2.8 Max Weber and his Sociology of Religion
- 2.9 Weber's Concept of Bureaucracy
- 2.10 Assessment of Weber's Contribution
- 2.11 Summing Up
- 2.12 References and Suggested Readings

**Unit 3: Contribution of V. Pareto, C. Wright Mills and G. Mosca to  
Political Sociology**

- 3.1 Introduction
- 3.2 Objectives
- 3.3 Pareto's Theory of Circulation of Elites
- 3.4 C.W. Mill's view on 'Power Elite'
- 3.5 Mosca's view on Elitism
- 3.6 Summing Up
- 3.7 References and Suggested Readings

**Block 2: KEY CONCEPTS: IDEOLOGY, POWER, AUTHORITY,  
POLITICAL CULTURE AND POLITICAL  
SOCIALIZATION**

**Unit 1: Power, Authority and Ideology**

- 1.1 Introduction
- 1.2 Objectives
- 1.3 Definition of Power
  - 1.3.1 Theories of Power
- 1.4 Definition of Authority
  - 1.4.1 Relationship between Authority and Leadership
  - 1.4.2 Relationship between Authority and Power
- 1.5 Meaning of Ideology
  - 1.5.1 Role of Ideology
- 1.6 Summing Up
- 1.7 References and Suggested Readings

**Unit 2: Political Culture and Political Socialisation**

- 2.1 Introduction
- 2.2 Objectives
- 2.3 Meaning of Culture
- 2.4 Functions of Culture
- 2.5 Material and Non- Material Culture
- 2.6 Meaning of Political Culture
- 2.7 Types of Political Culture
- 2.8 Meaning of Socialization and Political Socialization
- 2.9 Relationship between Socialization and Political Socialization
- 2.10 Functions of Political Socialization
- 2.11 Summing Up
- 2.12 References and Suggested Readings

**Block Introduction:**

In this block we are going to discuss the nature and scope of Political Sociology along with the historical and intellectual background of Modern Political Sociology. Political Sociology studies the relationship between state and society. It emphasizes studying the impact of the trends of society on the political process. Political Sociology as a different field of study developed in the middle of the 19<sup>th</sup> century. It mainly refers to the dealings between political system and other sub- systems in the society. The importance of the subject is increasing with each passing day. Emergence of this subject has helped in studying the various developments and modernizing processes of the Third World countries more accurately. In this block we are also going to discuss the contributions of Karl Marx, Max Weber, V. Pareto, C. W. Mills and G. Mosca to Political Sociology. Karl Marx has contributed a lot to the subject. Max Weber is considered to be the father of Political Sociology. His contributions made the subject an independent one. Again, Pareto Mosca and Mill contributed the elite theory to the discipline of political sociology.

In the first unit of this block we shall discuss the introduction to Political Sociology along with its relationship with other social sciences. We shall also discuss the meaning, nature and scope of Political Sociology. Political Sociology mainly studies the political institutions in the context of social events. Lewis A. Coser as given a suitable definition of the term Political Sociology in his book *Introduction to Political Sociology*. According to him, "Political Sociology is that branch of Sociology which is concerned with the social causes and consequences of given power distributions within or between the societies, and with the social and political conflicts that lead to changes in the allocation of power." It tries to understand the relationship between government and society. It also emphasises the impact of conflicting social forces on the decision making authorities in the society. Political Sociology is an interdisciplinary subject. Therefore in this unit we shall also discuss its relationships with various other social sciences like Sociology, Political Science, Anthropology, Economics, History etc.

In the second unit of this block we shall study the contributions of Karl Marx and Max Weber to the discipline of Political Sociology. Karl Marx is the most important thinker of the century. He is the interpreter and initiator

of new ideas like class struggle, dictatorship of proletariat, classless society etc. In this unit we shall examine various ideas of Karl Marx which includes his theory of class, class struggle, alienation, revolution, social change etc. Again we shall also discuss the contributions made by another German philosopher Max Weber. He is a thinker who emphasizes studying the sociological aspect of political problems. This unit shall focus on his ideas on sociology of religion, bureaucracy etc.

The third unit of this block deals with the contributions of V. Pareto, C. W. Mills and G. Mosca to the discipline. The views of these three thinkers regarding political elites made an important contribution towards the subject. The uneven and unequal distribution of power and resources led to the emergence of elites in the society. In this unit we shall discuss Pareto's theory of circulation of elites, Mills' views on power elite as well as Mosca's ideas on elitism. According to Pareto, society is divided into elites and non-elites and he also opines that membership of these groups is not permanent. The members of elite group may degenerate into non-elites and vice versa. Mills is of the opinion that the power elites are the most powerful group of people in the society whose decisions can lead to major consequences. Again, Mosca also holds the same view with Pareto and Mills that in a society there is a small minority of people who holds the power and this group is known as elites.

Reading of this unit shall help you in understanding the concept of Political Sociology in a better way.

This block consists of three units:

**Unit 1:** Introduction to Political Sociology and its Relationship with Other Social Sciences

**Unit 2:** Contribution of Marx and Max Weber to Political Sociology

**Unit 3:** Contributions of V. Pareto, C. W. Mills and G. Mosca to Political Sociology

# **Unit 1**

## **Introduction to Political Sociology and Relationship of Political Sociology with other Social Sciences**

### **Contents:**

- 1.1 Introduction
- 1.2 Objectives
- 1.3 Meaning and Evolution of Political Sociology
- 1.4 Nature and Scope of Political Sociology
  - 1.4.1 Nature of Political Sociology
  - 1.4.2 Scope of Political Sociology
- 1.5 Relationship of Political Sociology with other Social Sciences
  - 1.5.1 Relationship of Political Sociology with Sociology
  - 1.5.2 Relationship of Political Sociology with Political Science
  - 1.5.3 Relationship of Political Sociology with History
  - 1.5.4 Relationship of Political Sociology with Economics
  - 1.5.5 Relationship of Political Sociology with Anthropology
- 1.6 Summing Up
- 1.7 References and Suggested Readings

### **1.1 Introduction**

Political sociology is political science redefined. It is also believed that political sociology is a step towards a more integrated social science. It is regarded as a branch of sociology. Sociology stands for studying the society where diverse types of social relations exist. But there is a difference between civil society and political society. Political society is equated with the state.

Political sociology is not only political science redefined, it is also a step towards an integrated social science. Political sociology is described as the mixture of the 'political' and the 'social'. Therefore, its basic concepts, theoretical ideas as well as the methodology are similar to both political science and sociology.

Political sociology considers electoral politics as the major topic/subject matter of politics. This unit will introduce you to the meaning of political sociology as well as its evolution as an academic discipline. From this unit you will also get an idea about the nature and scope of political sociology. Moreover, this unit will help you to understand the relationship of political sociology with different branches of social science like political science, sociology, economics, anthropology and history.

### **1.2 Objectives**

Political sociology has assumed great importance in the present time because of close connection between political science and sociology. After reading this unit you will be able to:

- *discuss* the meaning and evolution of political sociology
- *examine* the nature and scope of political sociology
- *trace* the relationship of political sociology with other major branches of social science.

### **1.3 Meaning and Evolution of Political Sociology**

It is already known to you that in the ancient period, political science was basically concerned with the study of state and government. The Great Greek philosopher Plato and father of political science Aristotle also hold similar view. Aristotle's '*Politics*' may be regarded as a work of political sociology. Ferguson, Montesquieu and Tocqueville were engaged in studies, what today we call as 'Political Sociology'. In the Middle Ages, state was distinguished from Church and was placed under the authority of Church. Political thinkers like Hobbes and Hegel made the state absolute authority. In the later period some other scholars like Weber in his essay on *Politics as a Vocation* and Pareto in his work *The Mind and Society* discussed the relationship between politics and society and thus contributed towards this discipline. However, the phrase 'political sociology' came into general use after 1945 only.



We all know that political science is concerned with the study of state and government. Aristotle considered political science as the 'master science' by widening its scope to the study of all socio-political institutions. However, a distinction is always made between the state and society. And therefore study of political scientists mainly centred on state and government. Moreover, there are other social sciences like history, economics etc to deal with the other aspects of society. Hence political science became to be known as 'science of the state'.

However, human motives and activities influence power and decision-making process and also the institutional apparatus. Therefore, in the present time political scientists emphasizes on the study of political system as a whole not restricting it to the study of state and government only. On the other hand, sociology deals with a variety of subject matters that covers every aspects of the society. Therefore, a new discipline called as 'political sociology' has emerged which covers the subject matters that have political implications in sociological studies. According to Smelser N. J, 'political sociology can be defined as the study of the inter-relationship between society and polity, between social structures and political institutions'.

After industrial revolution various changes took place in the field of political science. The socio-economic changes brought about by industrialization have expanded the scope of sociology. It also brought society and politics closer. German political thinker Karl Marx through his various theories had started 'sociology of politics'. After Marx, another German sociologist, Max Weber made significant contribution to the growth of political sociology by making power the major criterion of social analysis. He had widened the field of political sociology by giving his ideas on types of authority, bureaucracy etc.

The growth of Behavioural Revolution in America and its focus on interdisciplinary approach further contributed towards the growth of political sociology. Behavioural revolution emphasized 'political process' and 'political behaviour'. This has helped in the growth of political sociology as a discipline. Thus, American social scientists like Arthur Bentley, Charles Merriam, Franz Neumann, Paul Lazarsfeld, S. Lipset, and R. Bendix made an interdisciplinary approach to the study of socio-political problems and thereby established a linkage between society and politics.

The scholars have made the following four reasons mainly responsible for the growth and development of political sociology——

- In the changing socio-political environment in the post Second World War era, the political thinkers have faced challenges in the field of knowledge. In such circumstances, they did not want to continue their studies with value-oriented approaches in the field of political science. In the new environment the scholars instead of adopting traditional, formal and value oriented approaches of study and analysis, began to concentrate on modern, informal, behavioural and fact-oriented empirical research. Moreover, in the post Second World War period, many sociologists tried to study war and its impact on the societies. This has brought political science and sociology closer and led to the growth of the discipline called political sociology.
- It is realized by the political thinkers and philosophers that all political phenomena actually operate in a large social environment. Sociologists in different countries like France, U.S.A, England started studying political phenomena including political institutions, political processes and political ideas. As a result of it, studies relating to voting behaviour and political behaviour of different groups were also taken up.
- Because of the close connection between the socio-cultural and economic environment with that of the state, political philosophers emphasized more the study of the 'political system' rather than the state, where state forms only a part of the larger political system. American political scientists like David Easton, Gabriel Almond and Bingham Powell used the concept of 'political system' to analyse both formal and informal aspects of politics. According to Easton, there is scarcity of goods and services in the society while demands for those are limitless. Therefore, there is a need to develop a mechanism in the society which can authoritatively distribute those goods and services to all concerned. It results in the establishment of a political system in a society. Thus the emergence of the concept of political system contributes towards the growth of political sociology.

- The advent and adoption of inter-disciplinary approaches in the study and research in the field of political science has proved that there is a closer connection between political science and sociology. To make a meaningful study of political phenomena and processes, the political scientists started to use sociological tools and techniques. This process of study and research led to the development of political sociology.

Thus, the above mentioned factors have significantly contributed to the growth of political sociology. Political sociology drew its inspiration from sociology of politics. Though it started as a sub-field of political science, later it got its independent status. In the recent years it developed rapidly and scope has also increased manifold. In India this subject has gained popularity over the years and people have come to realize its importance. Many universities have included it in their curriculum and a wide range of research is being carried out in the topics covered under this discipline. Development of a wide range of research designs for studying socio-political factors has contributed to the growth and development of political sociology.

#### **1.4 Nature and Scope of Political Sociology**

We have already learnt the meaning and evolution of political sociology as a discipline. To have a comprehensive idea about the discipline called 'political sociology' let us now discuss its nature and scope in this section.

##### **1.4.1 Nature of Political Sociology**

So far we have learnt that political sociology tries to examine the connection between the government and society and their interaction. It also takes into account the study of decision-making authority and various social forces with different interests influencing the decision-making process. Thus, political sociology studies a political system situating it in the social, economic and cultural environment. Its main thrust lies on interdisciplinary approach. Political sociology as an academic discipline is basically concerned with the socio-political perspective of the political problems and issues. In the process, political sociology gives new meaning and orientations to the sociological and political factors. Hence, studies like electoral process, voting behaviour got new meaning and impetus under the discipline of political sociology.

While discussing the nature of political sociology, it should be pointed out here that it is closely associated with many issues discussed earlier by great political thinkers. We already know that from ancient period political science have been enriched by Greek political thinkers like Plato and Aristotle. Many scholars have contributed to this field in the medieval period and in the period of Renaissance. However, German thinker Karl Marx made significant contribution to political sociology by focusing on issues relating to the nature of political power and its relationship with social or economic organization. In fact it can be said that Marxian theory of economic determinism of political power laid the foundation for the sociology of politics. In the words of Marx and Engels:

*.....the economic structure of society always furnishes the real basis, starting from which alone we can work out the ultimate explanation of the whole superstructure of juridical and political institutions as well as of the religious, philosophical, and other ideas of a given historical period.*

(Marx and Engels, *Selected Works*, Vol 2, Moscow, 1962.p.134)

Karl Marx through his theory of historical materialism and class struggle has emphasized the role of economy shaping the politics in the society. According to him, economic power is the handmaid of political power. Marx's ideas are challenged by another tradition composed of political thinkers like Machiavelli and elite theorists like Pareto, Mosca etc.

Though there are differences in the ideas of these traditions, both emphasized one point that the study of political science does not restrict to the study of structure only. Thus, both Marxist and Machiavellian tradition believing in the primacy of society and politics respectively have attempted at realistic study of politics. They have also discussed the value and function of politics in society. With the emergence of political realism, it was realized that it is important to have a system of political management of conflict through compromise and adjustment among various social forces and interests. Political sociology as an academic discipline seeks to understand the sources and the social bases of conflict. It aims at the management of conflict.

**SAQ:**

Distinguish between the nature of political sociology and the nature of political science. (60 words)

.....  
.....  
.....  
.....  
.....

**1.4. 2 Scope of Political Sociology**

From the discussions in this unit we have learnt that the chief aim of political sociology is to study and examine the interaction between social and political structures. Sometimes it becomes difficult to draw a line between the scope of political science, sociology and political sociology. Scholars give different opinions regarding the scope of political sociology as there are different opinions regarding the kinds of groups under the study of political sociology. To some, since the state as a political organization creates order in the society, it is the main subject matter of political sociology and not the other groups. On the other hand according to Bernard Crick, small groups are part of the order created by the state. They may help to create politics, but their internal behaviour is not political because their function is different from that of the state (Crick, B. *In Defense of Politics*, London, Penguin, 1964, p-30). While Crick included small groups in the study of political sociology, many scholars even exclude different groups of the society like trade unions, the church, the business firm and other non-state organizations as they are not wholly political. This view may be termed as the narrow view regarding the scope of political sociology.

Contrary to this view point, another school of thought believes that politics is present in all social relations as all relations involve the exercise of power. Merriam and Lasswell have pointed out the use of force and power, especially in the struggle and conflict among groups or classes, as an inherent aspect of political relationship. Robert Dahl also agrees to this view and considers any persistent pattern of human relationships which involves power, rule and authority as political. Thus, this view widens the scope of political sociology.

Thus from the above discussion regarding the scope of political sociology, we can infer that one group holds a narrow perspective of political sociology while the other holds a broader perspective. According to scholars like Greer and Orleans who belong to the narrow school of thought, political sociology is basically concerned with the structure of the state; the nature and conditions of legitimacy; the nature of the monopoly of force and its use by the state; and the nature of the sub-units and their relation with the state. (Greer, S. and Orleans, P. *Political Sociology* in Ali Ashraf and L.N Sharma, *Political Sociology* University Press Private Limited, Hyderabad, India, 1983) . Hence, according to this school of thought the main subject matter of political sociology is consensus and legitimacy, participation and representation, and the relationship between economic development and political change.

The broader view besides including the above mentioned areas has also included the exercise and distribution of power and authority in all social system that may include small groups and families, educational and religious groups and larger institutions like government and other political institutions. Thus, the broader view includes study of the pattern of voting behaviour, decision-making process, ideologies of political movements, the issues and organizations of pressure groups and interest groups, political parties and operation of bureaucracy.

In the present time, political sociology deals with a number of subjects like the problems of ethnicity, gender issues, cultural pluralism, and representation of different groups so far as it involves interaction with the political affairs. Regarding the scope of political sociology, the scholars have concluded that it is concerned with the relationship between and among

- The social origins of politics
- The structure of politics or the political process
- Effects of politics in the surrounding society and culture ( Braungart, Richard G. (ed) *Society and Politics: Readings in Political Sociology*, New Jersey, Prentice Hall, 1976)

Hence, it can be concluded that political sociology covers the following areas that include a large number of issues. These are —————

- Political structures: social class, caste, elite, political parties, interest groups, and bureaucracy
- Political life: electoral process, political communication and opinion formation
- Political leadership: types, power structure, base
- Political development

Therefore, we can conclude here that, in the present time political sociology covers a wide variety of subjects, including the socio-political processes, influence, power, authority, legitimacy, elites, social stratification, political culture, political socialization, political development, political modernization, political participation and electoral process, social change, role of ideology, social movements etc. By adopting the methods of sociological research political sociologists try to investigate political behaviour of different political institutions that include both constitutional and informal institutions of our society. Hence, study of political sociologists includes study of political parties and pressure groups as social institutions too.

### **Stop to Consider:**

#### **New Political Sociology:**

With the changing circumstances nature of political sociology is also changing and the scope of the disciplines is widening. As a result of it we can say that the new political sociology has emerged in new environment. One of the biggest issues in new political sociology can be termed as globalization. It has challenged the old-political sociology model that centers on state-centric politics. In the post-globalization era, state power has been declining in terms of domestic and international policy-making since nation's control over trading of goods and services, technology, information etc are reduced. Therefore, in the context of globalization there is a need to rethink issues like power and politics. Here lies the importance of new political sociology. Moreover, in the post-globalized era, new situations have emerged where there is loosening of borders as well as disintegration of economic, political and social processes bounded within the borders of a nation-state. Therefore, there is a need to study social life in terms of multiple social structures and identities. Moreover, with the emergence of new social movements like feminism, environmental movements, anti-racism, movements against nuclear armaments and war, lesbian and gay rights etc have necessitated the emergence of new political sociology that includes these issues.

## **1.5 Relationship of Political Sociology with other Social Sciences**

We have already learnt that political sociology as an academic discipline belongs to the broad category of social sciences. We are also aware of the fact that all social sciences have certain common characteristics since their study involve different aspects of human societies. Many times it is difficult to draw boundaries between two social sciences as their subject matters overlap each other. Political sociology, being a branch of social science is also concerned with various aspects of the society. Therefore, some similarities and linkages of political sociology with other social sciences can easily be drawn. In this section we are going to discuss the relationship of political sociology with different social sciences like sociology, political science, history, economics and anthropology.

### **1.5.1 Relationship of Political Sociology with Sociology**

Political sociology and sociology both belong to the broader field of social science and both can be described as normative and positive social science. We all know sociology deals with study of all aspects of society. Individuals are the members of the society and sociology studies the behaviour and actions of the individuals in the society. Moreover, sociology also studies, the norms, culture, rules of the society as well as social problems. Sociology as a discipline also deals with the duties and responsibilities of the individuals as members of the society, as citizens and neighbours. Thus, in sociology we study every aspect of society which includes social, economical as well as political issues.

Again, as we have already mentioned, political sociology deals with the political aspect of the society. Political sociology as a discipline does not deal with political and social problems in isolation, rather makes an attempt to study the problems considering their linkage with different issues having social and political aspects. In the modern time, politics is no longer restricted to the state and government and therefore, political problems cannot be studied in isolation to the societal problems. There is more integration of politics in the society and with the adoption of democratic model by most of the states of the world, politics is becoming more closer to the society. Therefore, political sociology has come to the prominence which studies political problem from a sociological point of view and vice-versa.



There are many areas of common concern of both sociology and political sociology. Lipset has drawn the relationship between sociology and political sociology by saying that the stability of the society is a central issue of sociology as a whole while stability of specific institutional structure or political regime is the prime concern of political sociology.

Political sociologists study political problems from sociological point of view and therefore while studying the problems they study sociological background. Again, we all know that political problems have sociological implications. Therefore, both the disciplines complement each-other. Again, both the disciplines use similar methods and techniques like interview, questionnaire, observation etc. while studying problems in their respective areas.

However, political sociology drifts away from the broader discipline of sociology because it focuses on the political issues within social environment. Therefore, political sociology may be regarded a part of sociology dealing with socio-political processes and interactions in human society.

**SAQ:**

Bring out the similarities as well as dissimilarities between political sociology and sociology. (80 words)

.....  
.....  
.....  
.....  
.....

**1.5.2 Relationship of Political sociology with Political science**

Now let us discuss the relationship of political sociology with political science. As a student of political science we all have studied the growth and evolution of political science as an academic discipline. We have also known that it has a long history which can be traced back to ancient Greek tradition. Earlier political science strictly dealt with the political aspects and issues of the society. However, in the later period it was realized that political issues and problems cannot be wholly separated from the societal issues and

problems. Therefore, many scholars brought political science closer to sociology and attributed social factors responsible for political events or upheavals. As a result political sociology emerged. Therefore, there is always a very close connection between political science and political sociology. In fact, sometimes it becomes difficult to draw the boundary line between the two. The relationship between these two disciplines can be seen from the following points.

- Political system operates within a social environment. To eradicate or solve the political problems social factors must be taken into account. Hence, it is important to have a social perspective of all political problems.
- Again, there are many problems in the society which need political solution. For example, problems like divorce, family disintegration, exploitation of one class by another need political solution. Again, issues like voting pattern and behaviour need to be studied from both political as well as social perspective.
- A political system adopting democratic form of government necessitates a close relationship of politics and society as the government depends on the will of the common people. It shows the close relationship between political sociology and political science.
- The relationship between political sociology and political science can be seen in the context of democratic decentralization too. Under this system, power is divided in different layers and at the bottom level the common people take-part in the decision-making process. The state is required to enact laws for the purpose and must see that these are satisfactorily working. Moreover, state should also study the impact of decentralization as well. Thus, political sociology is closely linked with political science.
- The bureaucracy which forms an important part of the study of political science. However, bureaucracy needs to take into account social conditions and social necessities. Max Weber has dealt with the concept of bureaucracy at length which is an important contribution to the study of political sociology.

- The study of political science covers various aspects of society which are also the subject matter of political sociology. Both are dependent on each other. Political sociology enriches political science through its study and research on various subjects. On the other hand political science strengthens the base of political sociology by providing analysis of political events. Thus, one's existence depends upon another.
- Since there are common topics of study, both these disciplines adopt similar methods and techniques of research. They usually adopt techniques like observation, survey, interview and questionnaire.
- Both political science and political sociology are normative in character.
- Political thinker Gabriel Almond has also traced the similarities between these two disciplines when he says that classical political theory is more a political sociology and a normative political theory than it is a theory of political process. From the observations of various scholars from the time of Plato it is found that political issues cannot ignore the underlying social factors.
- Political science has become more realistic because of the emergence of political sociology. Ignoring the social forces and social realities political science would have become more utopian and brought it closer to the mundane life of the common people.

Despite having so many similarities and close connections between political science and political sociology, we must not forget the fact that both these are two separate disciplines. They differ in scope as the scope of political science is much broader than political sociology. While political science mainly deals with the political problems, political sociology deals with both social and political problems. Thus, it is observed that a political sociologist is concerned more with social and political problems. On the other hand, in political science more emphasis is put on the study of political institutions.

### **1.5.3 Relationship between Political Sociology and History**

We all know that history mainly deals with past events. It studies past social, economic and political institutions as well as the society. Therefore, history

provides us information regarding the life style of the people and the relationship between the rulers and masses in the past. Moreover, history also gives us information regarding the evolutions of various socio-political institutions, their periods of glory and also the reasons for their decay and downfall. By now you have learnt the main subject matter of political sociology. Therefore, now we will try to draw the similarities as well as the linkages between history and political sociology.

As has been mentioned earlier, history tells us about the past social and political institution which is also the subject matter of political sociology. History tells us about past socio-political institutions which help us to understand the present socio-political systems and institutions studied under the realm of political sociology. Moreover, we cannot study present socio-political institutions without knowing their past. Hence, we can say that both these subjects are inter-dependent. Both have common subjects of study. Political sociologists study past history for investigating the present, while political sociology as a discipline contributes to history by studying the socio-political institutions in different periods of history. Thus, we can say that both these disciplines study power politics, rise and decay of various socio-political institutions, leadership, relationship between the authority and the common people. They also focuses on culture in general and political culture in particular of a society.

Again, both these disciplines use similar methods and techniques for studying different issues and problems in their respective fields. Both these disciplines are regarded as normative as well as positive. Hence, we find that there are various similarities between political sociology and history.

However, there are various differences between history and political sociology. The major difference between the two disciplines is that while history is only concerned with the past, political sociology is mainly concerned with the present. Again, the main subject matter of history is dynasties, and rulers of the past, wars fought at different times, the life-style and behaviour of the rulers etc. Thus, history ignores the history of the common people. On the other hand, political sociology basically deals with the political behaviour of the members of a society and therefore, cannot ignore the behaviour and life-style of the common people. However, both the disciplines complement each other. History provides material to political sociology while political sociology enriches history.

### **1.5.4 Relationship between Political Sociology and Economics**

You all are aware of the basic areas in Economics. As an academic discipline, economics studies economic problems of people of both in rural and urban areas. Moreover, it also studies budget of the country as well as the entire economic plans and programmes of the country, trade and commerce at the national and international levels.

Though the major areas of political sociology and economics are different, there are various similarities between these two disciplines. It is because economic problems or the economic condition of the society influences the political environment of the society. The political behaviour of the people changes with the changes in the economy. Economic disturbances may lead to political turmoil in the society. Moreover, the basic issues in economics are means of production and distribution which largely affect the political community. Thus the whole process of production and distribution influences political as well as social institutions. On the other hand, with the changes in the political environment, pattern of production and distribution also changes.

Again, economy of a country while dealing with the production and distribution system always has to take into account the needs of the larger society. A political sociologist while studying a political society or its political institutions cannot ignore the industrial development or underdevelopment of the society as well as its trade and commerce.

The close relationship between political sociology and economics can also be observed from the fact that an economic planner or the government while planning the economy of the country must take into consideration the cultural and political systems under which social system is operating. Hence, every economic programme has to take into consideration the socio-political environment.

Both economists and political sociologists are concerned with various issues like exploitation of one class by another, widening gap between the rich and the poor, trade and commerce in the society etc. Regarding the use of methods and techniques also we find that both these two disciplines use similar methods and techniques like case-study method, techniques of interview and questionnaire. Hence, we can say that both economics and political sociology are interdependent and share a close relationship.

However, as separate fields of study the concerns of both the disciplines are different. Economics put more emphasis on economic life of the society and economic activities of the members of the society. Political sociology is concerned with socio-political as well as economic life of the people.

### **1.5.5 Relationship between Political Sociology and Anthropology**

Political sociology is also related to another important branch of social science, viz. anthropology. Here, we must mention that anthropology has two main branches—— physical and cultural. Between these two branches of anthropology, political sociology is more closely related to cultural anthropology.

Political sociology and anthropology have contributed to the analysis of societies and both are concerned with the cultural aspect of the society. They try to focus on the ways of living in the society and thereby contribute towards the cultural growth of societies. Culture does not only include shared values but also shared institutional arrangements.

Political sociology also deals with socio-cultural aspects of political sociology. Therefore political sociology deals with subjects like political socialization, political culture etc. these are also the subject matters of cultural anthropology. Besides, all information and data relating to ethnicity which is required in the study of political sociology is provided by anthropology. Thus, both the subjects supplement each other and have contributed towards each others fields.

However, there are many differences between them too. The focus of both these disciplines is different. While anthropology, and specifically cultural anthropology is primarily concerned with ethnicity, political sociology mainly deals with political aspect of the society.

#### **Check Your Progress:**

1. Define political sociology. Discuss briefly the meaning and evolution of political sociology.
2. Write a note on the nature and scope of political sociology.
3. Discuss briefly the relationship between political sociology and political science.

4. Is there any similarity between political sociology and history? Discuss.
5. Trace the relationship between political sociology and sociology, economics and anthropology.

## **1.6 Summing Up**

After reading this unit it is now clear to you that political sociology is a mixture of political and social aspects of the society. Though for a long time main focus of political science has been state and government, the scholars always find it difficult to study state and government in isolation from the society. As a result of it the concept of political sociology has emerged, reading of this unit has helped you in understanding the meaning as well as evolution of political sociology as an academic discipline. You have also learnt that American sociologists as well as political scientists have significantly contributed towards the growth of this discipline. Again, after going through this unit you are now in a position to discuss the nature and scope of political sociology. You have also learnt that political sociology is a branch of social science and therefore there is a very close relationship of political sociology with other social sciences like sociology, political science, history, economics and anthropology.

## **1.7 Reference and Suggested Readings**

Nash Kate 2000 *Contemporary Political Sociology*, Blackwell Publishers, Oxford, U.K

Ashraf Ali and L.N. Sharma 2008 *Political Sociology: A new Grammar of Politics*, Universities Press Private Limited, Hyderabad

Pathi Srinibas and Madhusmita Mishra 1998 *Political Sociology: Ideas and Issues*, Kalyani publishers, New Delhi

Shankar Rao, C. N 1998 *Sociology*, S.Chand and Company Limited, New Delhi.

\* \* \*

## **Unit 2**

### **Contribution Of Marx And Max Weber to The Discipline of Political Sociology**

#### **Contents:**

- 2.1 Introduction
- 2.2 Objectives
- 2.3 Marxian Theory of Class and Class Conflict
- 2.4 Marx's Concept of Alienation
- 2.5 Marx's Theory of Social Change
- 2.6 Marxist Theory of Revolution
- 2.7 Assessment of Marx's Contribution
- 2.8 Max Weber and his Sociology of Religion
- 2.9 Weber's Concept of Bureaucracy
- 2.10 Assessment of Weber's Contribution
- 2.11 Summing Up
- 2.12 References and Suggested Readings

#### **2.1 Introduction**

Karl Marx and Max Weber are the two prominent philosophers of political sociology. The contributions of these two thinkers cover a large part of the discipline of Political Sociology. Karl Marx was a German philosopher. He was a sociologist, historian, political economist, political theorist and a revolutionary socialist. The theories of Marx about society, economics and politics are collectively known as Marxism. He is critical of the present form of society where the means of production are owned by the capitalist class. Karl Marx has contributed to Political Sociology in various ways. His concepts like alienation, class, class struggle etc. form a basic part of political sociology. His theory of class struggle is a well known theory of political sociology. The writings of Marx laid the foundations of political sociology. Again, the writings of Max Weber also form an important part of political sociology. He was also a German sociologist and a political economist. Unlike Marx who has given importance to economic factor in



the rise of capitalism, Max Weber opines that religion plays an important role in the growth of capitalism. He has influenced the discipline of sociology through his concepts like bureaucracy, authority, religion, social action etc.

In this unit, we are going to discuss the contributions of Karl Marx as well as Max Weber to the discipline of political sociology. This unit shall focus on Marxian concepts like alienation, class, class conflict, social change, revolution etc. Moreover, it shall also focus on the contributions of Max Weber which mainly includes his concepts of sociology of religion and bureaucracy. We shall also assess the contributions of these two prominent thinkers.

## **2.2 Objectives**

You have already learnt that Karl Marx and Max Weber are the two prominent thinkers of political sociology who have contributed a lot to the discipline. After reading this unit you will be able to :—

- *discuss* Marxian theory of class and class conflict
- *examine* Marxian concept of alienation
- *describe* Marxian theory of social change and revolution
- *discuss* Weber's sociology of religion
- *analyse* Weber's theory of bureaucracy

## **2.3 Marxian Theory of Class and Class Conflict**

Class is an important unit of the society. It is an economic unit. It is already known to you that in every society there are mainly two classes- the haves and the have nots, the propertied and the property less class, the rich and the poor. According to Marx, one class can be distinguished from another class on the basis of two factors. These are- ownership of the means of production and control of labour powers of others. Marx, on the basis of these two factors in his *Communist Manifesto* talked about three distinct classes in the society. The capitalist class is the owner of the means of production and it also purchases the labour power of others. The worker class neither owns the means of production nor possesses the ability to purchase the labour of others. Rather, they sell their own labour. The third

class known as the petite bourgeoisie class owns sufficient means of production but cannot buy the labour of others. Marx has not defined this class in details. Marx defines a class on the basis of ownership of means of production. He holds that the class is not determined by the occupation but by the ownership of means of production. For eg. If there are two blacksmiths and one owns the shop while the other is a paid labourer in that shop, then both belongs to two different classes in spite of their same occupation.

**Stop to Consider:**

**Marxist Classification of the Stages of Development of Social Class According to Marx-**

- Primitive communism- in this stage there is no private property.
- Slavery- in which one class owns and exploits the members of another
- Feudalism- Here the landowners exploit the mass peasants.
- Capitalism- where the owners of means of production exploit the workers of the industries.
- Socialism- This stage comes when the industrial workers revolt against the capitalist class.

You have already learnt that according to Marx, the labour class earns their income by selling their labours while the capitalist class earns its income by exploiting the labourers. The capitalist class owns the products of the laboureres. Whatever they produce, belongs exclusively to the capitalist class. They need to work in the factories under hard and fast rules. They work in a mechanization process which ultimately alienates them from their respective products and even from their own self as well. They are left with no other options than to work in a mechanical way. Work becomes necessary for their survival. He is of the view that all the classes possess different interest and these differences in interest lead to class struggle in the society.

It has already been mentioned that both the capitalist and the working classes hold opposite views which is the reason behind this class struggle. Marx cited various examples like Roman Revolution, Glorious Revolution, Russian Revolution, Chinese Revolution etc. In the Roman Revolution the slave

class of Rome revolted against their masters under the leadership of Spartacus. Glorious Revolution was led by the bourgeoisie against the feudal class. The Chinese Revolution was a revolution of the working class against the bourgeoisie. He opines that the history of all hitherto existing society is the history of class struggle.

It needs mention here that Marx has attributed various reasons for the emergence of class conflict in the society. The negligence of the capitalist class towards the proletariat is one of them. The capitalist class as the controller of legal and political system makes laws which are not in favour of the working class. This leads to the conflict between the two classes. Again, the exploitation by the capitalist class also induces the conflict. The labour is a perishable commodity and therefore the labourers need to sell their labour at any cost. The capitalists take advantage of this situation and exploit the labourers. This also gives rise to conflict in the society. The capitalist tendency to expand leads to the establishment of big factories consequently leading to the concentration of labourers near the factory area. This has given the labourers a chance to unite and put their demands in front of the capitalist class.

By now, you have learnt that according to Marx, society progress as through class struggle. He criticized the present system of society where the capitalist class dominates the working class. He holds the view that this capitalist domination should be replaced by the socialist system where the means of production shall be owned by the working class. He believes that in course of time the dictatorship of proletariat will be established which will lead to the withering away of states and ultimately a stateless and classless society will be established.

In conclusion, we can sum up the elements in Marx's view of class conflict as follows-

- Classes are authority relationships and it is based on property ownership.
- A class is based on shared life situations and interests.
- There are two classes in the society and all the economic and social relationships revolve round these two classes.
- Class struggle leads to structural change.

**SAQ:**

Do you think in contemporary world the means and modes of production really concentrate in the hands of capitalist class? Give arguments in favour of your answer. (30+ 20 words)

.....  
.....  
.....  
.....  
.....

**2.4 Marx’s Concept of Alienation**

In the previous section you have learnt the concept of class and class struggle put forwarded by Marx. You have also learnt that the labourers work under pressure and they are not free to choose their own action. According to Marx, this loss of control over the products leads to alienation among the workers. In simple terms alienation refers to powerlessness, meaninglessness, isolation and self-estrangement. This concept of alienation is based on human relationship. But this view of human relationship is not based on equality but on the superiority of one man over another as this theory is based on the relationship of master and slave.

The dictionary meaning of the term alienation is “withdrawing or separation of a person or his affections from an object or position of former attachment”. If we see from historical perspective, the concept of alienation has been developed due to the factors like the low level of the productive forces, from human subordination to the land and from the domination of the feudal ruling class. Hegel opines that realization of self or freedom is the main goal of man. Two factors namely necessity and alienation stand in the way of a person in achieving this condition. Here necessity refers to natural as well as physical constraints while alienation implies the dissociation of subject from the object. Though man wants to be a master of himself, most of the time he becomes a slave. Man fails to realize his own self and this is the chief reason of human alienation.

But Marx has given a totally different outlook in his famous book *Economic and Philosophical Manuscripts* (also known as the 1844, or *Paris Manuscripts*). He denied Hegel’s conception that failure to realize one’s

own self is the reason of alienation. Religious superstitions are also not a chief cause of human alienation. According to Marx, it is the work of man which leads to alienation. Division of labour leads to the loss of control of work process which ultimately leads to the loss of control over his product of labour which is dehumanization and depersonalization. The workers cannot buy the end product of their labour. The people who do not work only buy those products.

You have already learnt that according to Marx, alienation refers to loss of control over labour. He did not believe that alienation is rooted in religion or mind. The origin of Marxian theory of alienation can be attributed to Feuerbach, Hegel and English Political Economy. Alienation is that process which makes the workers feel foreign to the products of his/her own labour. Lack of control over work process also leads to alienation. The work process like the condition in which labourers work and how the work is organized and how it affects the labourers physically and mentally is under the control of the capitalist class. The workers cannot use their creativity in the work process which alienates them from the whole process.

**SAQ:**

Do you think that the loss of control over labour is the only cause of alienation among the urban people? Explain. (20+ 40 words).

.....  
.....  
.....  
.....  
.....

According to Marx, there are four forms of alienated labour or four levels of alienation. These are as follows-

Firstly, it is the alienation of the product from the labour. In this level, the worker is alienated from the product. The worker cannot decide what to produce and how to produce. It is the capitalist class which directs the workers to produce different things. The product of the worker does not belong to the worker but someone else. The laboureres are alienated from their own products as it is not owned by them but by the capitalists. They

build houses, in which they can never live; they make cars which they can never buy.

Secondly, worker is also alienated from the process of labour. The labourers cannot purchase the end product. Therefore they cannot feel attached to their products. They also do not feel any achievement in the product. While working in the production process they feel miserable instead of happy. Their work is not voluntary but compelled labour. The labourers cannot work to satisfy themselves. They work according to other's need. He cannot decide anything about his products and his work fail to give him satisfaction as a creative worker. He works like a machine under a monotonous environment.

In the third level, the labourers feel alienated from fellow human beings. This is because everyone takes others as their competitors. They also feel that others are exploiting their labours and control the things they produce. Everyone wants to win at the cost of others. Friendly relations do not develop and they feel alienated from each other.

In the final level, man feels alienated from his own human self. The ability to consciously shape the world around us makes us human. But capitalism does not give any chance for the development of this ability. The labour is forced labour. The worker cannot use his creative mind in the production of labour. Moreover, the worker works under a routine system and leads a monotonous life. There is no room left for the enjoyment of art, literature etc. which makes him equal to an animal. Hence he feels alienated from himself.

**Check Your Progress:**

1. According to Marx what are the two factors that distinguish one class from another?
2. What are the three classes mentioned in Marx's *Communist Manifesto*?
3. Discuss the main reasons behind the class struggle.
4. Explain the Marxian concept of alienation.

## **2.5 Marx's Theory of Social Change**

Reading of the previous sections has familiarized you with the Marxian concepts of class, class struggle and alienation. His concept of social change is related to his concept of class struggle. According to him, the struggle between the two classes brings about changes in the society. Marx explains his theory of social change with the help of two principles- the principle of dialectic materialism and the principle of historical materialism. The principle of dialectic materialism constructs the philosophical basis of his theory of social change. Rejecting Hegel's view that idea or consciousness is the essence of universe, Marx opines that matter is the essence of universe. The principle of historical materialism believes that the ownership of the means of production and the mode of the means of production is the basis of social change.

You have already learnt that Marx has given utmost importance to the economic factor in bringing about change in the society. Marx opines that the economic structure of the society is mainly responsible for social change. Again, the ways of controlling the production and distribution system also influence the social change. Introduction of new means of production leads to new situation and system ultimately bringing changes in the society. He is of the view that it is the economic factor which brings about every kind of changes whether social, economic, political, spiritual etc. in the society. There are always two aspects of a mode of production- the force of power of production and the relationship of the production. The everchanging things like machines, tools and labourers come under the first category. The second includes the super structure like moral, religious, political and constitutional relations. With the changes in the means of production, a new social structure is established and it eventually leads to social change. Marx also holds the view that revolution is another cause of social change. Each class tries to bring about some new changes which are bound to be resisted by the other class.

**SAQ:**

Do you think only economic factor can bring about changes in the society? Give reasons in support of your answer. (20+ 30 words)

.....  
.....  
.....  
.....  
.....

**2.6 Marxist Theory of Revolution**

It has already been mentioned above that revolution is one of the factors which brings changes in the society. According to Marx, revolution is a social, economic, technological, political, legal and ideological phenomenon. His whole theory of revolution is based on his concept of materialistic interpretation of history. Marx opines that class struggle and revolution are the two major driving forces of history. Class struggle will definitely lead to revolution and revolution is necessary as the dominant class will not give up its socio- economic and political power through evolutionary methods. Hence, the oppressed class needs to throw it out forcibly through revolutionary means. Marx holds the view that only revolution can bring changes in the society. Marxian theory of revolution is basically a social revolution which is necessary to overthrow the socio- economic and political domination of the capitalist class in the society. It is a revolution by the majority as it involves the working class. He termed the proletariat revolution as social revolution because the proletariats are capable enough to represent the interest of the society as a whole.

However, Marx opines that revolution cannot come on its own. The people will have to bring revolution for which a revolutionary consciousness among the people is very necessary. Marxian theory does not hold the view that history will bring revolution on its own without doing anything by the human beings. He is of the view that the oppressed proletarian class has to play a major role in bringing about revolution in the society. Marx is a revolutionary in the true sense of the term and he perceives revolution as a meaningful way to change the society. He holds the view that revolution not only brings political changes, but also changes the society as a whole.



You should remember here that according to Marx, when class struggle becomes intensified it can bring revolution. According to him, capturing political power is the immediate aim of any revolution. Though he was not in favour of use of terror yet he did not completely rule out the possibility of using physical forces. He has expressed the view that if the capitalist class uses arms the proletariat will have to take up arms to counter attack. He also opines that in developed liberal democratic countries like Britain and USA peaceful transition of society is possible. Though the immediate aim of his revolution was to capture political power, the ultimate aim was to bring massive socio-economic changes in the society.

The French revolution has greatly influenced Marx in forming his own opinion of revolution. This revolution has established the fact that changes in society come only through revolution. The major reason behind revolution is that the subject class desires to capture the state power from the ruling class through force. As a result of revolution the social, economic and political institutions which hinder the development of the deprived classes will be eliminated.

According to Marx, the proletarian revolution is the revolution of majority against minority. This revolution does not aim at the winning of power for particular class for exploiting another class. The chief aim of this revolution is to end the system of exploitation itself. Marx believes that revolution will break out in most advanced nations like Britain, France or United States. But at the same time he does not deny the possibility of breaking off revolution in underdeveloped countries like Germany.

**Stop to Consider:**

**Marx on State and Democracy-**

Marx considers state as necessary evil. He opines that state has limited authority. It is controlled by the capitalist class. State is created with the sole motive to protect the interest of the capitalist class. He further believes that only a stateless society can be a just society. According to his prophecy, state will wither away in due course of time and a classless and stateless society will be established. He believes that state does not represent the will of the general people. It is the instrument in the hands of the capitalist class. It mainly protects and expresses the will of the small minority that is the ruling class. According to him, the chief

objective behind the maintenance of institutions like army, prison etc by the state is the protection of rights and interest of the capitalist class. He opines that the state will wither away with the end of capitalism. Again he says that the capitalist class retains its power through the device of democracy. According to Marx, in a democratic state everyone does not get equal opportunity. In the name of democracy the ruling capitalist class enjoys their power. Therefore, it is the duty of the working class to carefully watch the institution of democracy so that the capitalist cannot misuse it.

## **2.7 Assessment of Marx's Contribution**

After going through the previous sections of this unit, you are now in a position to understand the importance of Karl Marx in political philosophy. Marx has committed himself for the welfare of the working class. Karl Marx is known as the father of scientific socialism. Before Marx there were many political philosophers who discussed socialism at length. But Marx was the first philosopher who gave a scientific analysis of socialism. He is regarded as the most influential political philosopher of modern time. Now let us examine the contributions of Marx in brief.

His idea of dialectical materialism is one of the major contributions towards political philosophy. The whole Marxian philosophy rests on this concept of dialectical materialism. Though he borrowed this concept from Hegel, it should be mentioned that he did not follow the idea blindly. Hegel explained the concept of dialectics with the help of thesis, anti- thesis and synthesis. Unlike Hegel who believes that idea is the essence of universe, Marx opines that matter is the essence of universe. The society progresses through the class struggle.

The idea of historical materialism or materialistic interpretation of history too is Marx's contribution. This theory is the actual application of his theory of dialectical materialism. He believes that production is the main human activity and the ownership of means of production decides the course of history.

The theory of class struggle is another contribution of Karl Marx. He is of the view that in every society there are two classes and one who owns the means of production dominates the other. As a result of this domination and difference of interest between these two classes, class conflict emerged.

His views on capitalism can be considered as another contribution towards political sociology. He declares that capitalism itself contains the seeds of its self destruction. The capitalist exploits the workers and compels them to lead a life full of misery and dependency. The workers are bound to revolt against the capitalist which will lead to the disappearance of capitalism.

He also put forward the theory of surplus value. By surplus value he means the difference between the market price of the manufactured commodity and the actual price paid to the labourers. He believes that as the commodity is the product of the labour of the labourers, the whole price should be paid to the labourers.

Marx believes that the state is the instrument of exploitation in the hands of the rich people. Through state, the capitalist class enjoys and uses political power to oppress the working class. He further believes that with the disappearance of capitalist class, the state will also wither away. And ultimately a stateless and classless society will be established.

Marx's concept of dictatorship of proletariat is another contribution. The proletariat class will not be able to accept the monopoly of the capitalist class and they are bound to revolt against the capitalist. He opines that as a result of the class struggle between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat, capitalism will be overthrown and the dictatorship of the proletariat will be established.

Marx has also put forward the concept of classless society. He is of the view that after establishing the dictatorship of proletariat the means of production will be owned by the society as a whole and this will result in a classless society.

After reading this you must have got a clear idea about the major contributions of Karl Marx towards political philosophy. Though he is regarded as the father of scientific socialism and one of the greatest thinkers of modern time, yet his theories are not free from criticisms. Now let us discuss the various criticisms leveled against him.

His whole theory is over simplified. As a result it becomes more an illusion than a reality.

Marx has laid too much emphasis on the economic factor and neglected the importance of other factors. But in reality, social change is not that a simple

issue and it is a result of multiple factors. Marx has neglected the importance of social, religious and cultural factors in bringing about social change in the society. He opines that economic factor is the only one which moves the whole universe. But it is not correct.

Marx declares that religion is the opium of the people and it has no role to play in the society. He even opines that man has created God. But it is not true. In every society, religion plays its own part. Religion plays a role in developing our spiritual feelings which are the basis of modern life.

Marxian prophecy that state will wither away has not come true. State has assumed the role of welfare state. Modern state has become stronger and more powerful. In contemporary world a society cannot exist without a state.

He gave undue stress on revolution. He believes that revolution is the only method to bring social change. But in reality it is not so. Great changes can be brought about through non- violence. The most important factor to bring changes is the change in the mindset of people.

His prophecy that the society is divided into two classes namely, dictators and capitalists is wrong. The newly emerged middle class plays an important role in society.

Another of his prophecy that the proletariats will fight united also proves to be wrong. During crisis time the workers support their respective countries.

His class theory is criticized on several grounds. This theory is criticized to be an unsound theory because he has discussed the class struggle at length but nowhere has he defined the term class. Therefore the very basis of the theory is not sound.

**Check Your Progress:**

1. What are the two aspects of a mode of production according to Marx?
2. According to Marx, why revolution is necessary?
3. What is proletarian revolution?
4. Discuss the contribution of Marx towards political sociology.

## 2.8 Max Weber and his Sociology of Religion

In the previous sections we have discussed various contributions of Karl Marx towards political sociology. Now let us discuss the contributions of Max Weber. We have already mentioned that Max Weber is a German sociologist who is famous for his theories on bureaucracy and authority. You have also learnt that he regards religion as one of the most important factors which drives the society. In this section we are going to discuss his theory of sociology of religion.

In regard to religion we can mention his four famous texts. These are- *The Protestant Ethic and The Spirit of Capitalism* (1905), *The Religion of China: Confucianism and Taoism* (1915), *The Religion of India: Sociology of Hinduism and Buddhism* (1915) and *Ancient Judaism* (1920). These books convey his belief that religion shapes the image of a person of the world.

According to Weber, religion can be best understood in terms of two concepts namely theodicy and soteriology. Theodicy is related to the questions like why some people get undeserved good fortune and why some people get suffering in the world. The concept of soteriology shows the way of relief from this suffering through salvation. Attaining salvation becomes the main motivation of human beings.

You should also learn here that Weber has extensively defined the relation between society and religion and also the role of religion in socio- economic changes. Weber believes that there is a relationship between the religious beliefs of the people and their economic activities. His extensive views on religion can be found on his famous work *The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism*. In this work he examines the influence of religion on the life of people. He wanted to know the extent of religious influence on the economic behaviour of people. Unlike Marx who wants to explain religion in terms of economic factor, Weber explains economic behaviour in terms of religion. He finds it very fascinating that modern capitalism grows in West. But at the same time he wants to know why modern capitalism fail to develop in countries like China or India.

In this context you should remember here that according to Weber, modern capitalism is a result of Protestant beliefs. The Protestants belief that a small minority of people who are successful in this world and who do not spend

money in getting pleasure will go to heaven. Therefore, that small group of people have to reinvest their money into their business as they cannot spend it for pleasure. This has led to the birth of modern capitalism. But the irony lies in the fact that this religious rejection of material comfort led to the birth of industrial capitalism which does not believe in religion. He observes that capitalism has its growth in protestant societies.

In conclusion we can say that Weber's work on religion establishes two propositions-

- The behaviour of a person can be understood only in context of his world view and religion is an important part of this world view. Hence, it can be said that religion influences the behaviour of a person including his economic behaviour.
- Religious conceptions act as the determinants of economic behaviour. Therefore, it can be the cause of economic changes in the society.

**SAQ:**

Do you agree with Weber that religion determines the economic behaviour of a person? Explain. (30+ 30 words).

.....  
.....  
.....  
.....  
.....

**2.9 Weber's Concept of Bureaucracy**

Weber for the first time analyses the functioning of bureaucracy from the view point of sociology. The term bureaucracy has been originated from the French word '*bureau*' meaning *desk*. A government which runs from table is called a bureaucratic government. Max Weber defines bureaucracy as a type of hierarchical organization which is designed rationally to coordinate the work of many individuals in pursuit of large scale administrative tasks. He also opines that bureaucracies are organized according to rational principles, officials, ranked in a hierarchical order and operations are

characterized by impersonal rules. Weber is of the view that bureaucracy plays an important part in the operation of modern large scale enterprises or organizations in the political, administrative and economic fields. Weber opines that bureaucracy is the most efficient organization of the society and it provides equal opportunity for individuals in the society.

It needs mention here that for Weber the terms bureaucracy and rationality are inseparable and there are some factors which make bureaucracy rational. These includes (1) functional specialization (2) clear lines of hierarchical authority, (3) expert training of managers, and (4) decision making based on rules and tactics developed to guarantee consistent and effective pursuit of organizational goals. For the ensurance of expert management the appointments are based on merit rather than favouratism.

According to Max Weber bureaucracy refers to the division of work and authority. The bureaucrats are required to discharge certain duties and in return they enjoy the security of tenure. According to Weber, bureaucracy is a hierarchical ladder where individuals are placed in different parts of the ladder. The whole set up helps in running the administration and each person in the ladder enjoys some amount of power and authority. Bureaucracy is an inevitable part in a democracy. In democracy, the political heads are not permanent and they come for a limited period of time. Therefore the responsibility of running the state administration lies in the hands of the bureaucrats. Weber opines that bureaucracy is featured by clear division of work. The bureaucrats enjoy legally decided powers and hence they cannot misuse their powers. The bureaucrats are given special trainings so that they can discharge their duties properly and efficiently.

From the above discussion we can sum up the characteristics of bureaucracy put forwarded by Weber as follows-

- 1 Fixed official jurisdiction area- the bureaucrats have their own well defined rules and regulations. Their jurisdiction of power and work is fixed.
2. Hierarchy of authority- bureaucracy can also be termed as a hierarchy ladder. Officers are placed in different parts of the ladder. The subordinate officers have to obey the orders of their seniors.
3. Clear division of labour- the system clearly divides the works of the bureaucrats. In simple terms, there is clear division of work among the bureaucrats.

4. Appointment based on eligibility- the bureaucrats are appointed and promoted on the basis of eligibility. They are elected from a national level test based on merit.
5. Fixed salary, allowance and pension- they are paid salary and allowances as per the written rules.
6. Office and maintenance of files- bureaucrats have office of their own. They work on files which are the written documents.
7. Difference between private matters and official issues- the bureaucrats cannot enjoy their official privileges for their personal needs until it is written in the rules.

Factors contributing to the growth of bureaucracy-

- The development of money economy guarantees constant income which helps in maintaining bureaucracy through a system of taxation.
- The establishment of modern industries and states demands for a big group of administrative officials. This helps in the expansion of bureaucracy.
- The welfare aspect of modern states demands for bureaucracy. Bureaucracy plays an important role in making the modern states welfare one.
- The bureaucrats are trained to be personally detached and objective experts. This is important to maintain the modern culture.

**SAQ:**

Do you think that the legally decided powers of the bureaucrats prevent them from being despotic? Explain. (20+ 30 words)

.....  
.....  
.....  
.....  
.....  
.....  
.....  
.....  
.....  
.....



## **2.10 Assessment of Weber's Contribution**

From the above discussion it must be clear to you that Max Weber is one of the prominent thinkers of political sociology. His contributions form an important part of the discipline. You have already learnt that the concepts of bureaucracy and religion are the two most important contributions of Weber towards political sociology. He is the first thinker to define bureaucracy in terms of sociology. His views on religion also constitute one major part of his contribution. He opines that religion plays an important role in the society in shaping up the views of a person. Let us now discuss his other contributions to the discipline.

The concept of authority is his another contribution. Max Weber has discussed about three types of authority. These are- traditional authority, charismatic authority and legal- rational authority. In traditional authority power is derived from the tradition of the country. In case of charismatic authority the personality of the leader influences the exercise of power. The legal-rational authority is based on some impersonal rules and regulations. In this kind of authority power is associated with the office rather than the power holder.

Another important contribution of Max Weber to the discipline of political sociology is his theory of social action. He opines that social action can never be isolated and it is always related to the actions of others. The struggle and co-ordination among the individuals and the members of the society are the features of a social action. One action cannot be called social action if it does not have any relation with the actions of other members in the society. For eg. praying in a temple cannot be regarded as a social action. It is an individual action.

### **Stop to Consider:**

#### **Types of Social Action**

There are four major types of social action according to Max Weber. These are as follows-

- Traditional social action- it refers to those social actions which are carried out under pressure of customs and traditions. We perform certain actions just because these were performed by our ancestors.

- Emotional social action- it refers to the social actions which are controlled by our emotions. It is also called effective social action. These social actions are the outcome of love, hatred, anger etc. As it involves emotions; it sometimes may not be rational.
- Evaluative action- sometimes our social actions are influenced by ethical values. It involves responsibility. These are called evaluative social actions.
- Rationalistic performance of action- when the social actions are performed after a very careful consideration i.e. applying rationality then it is called rational social action. This action mainly involves the question of loss and gain.

Social understanding is his another contribution. Social understanding refers to the understanding of a social event. According Max Weber, social understanding tries to scientifically analyse the behaviour of human beings and their intentions. He believes that there are two methods which can be applied to the concept of social understanding. These are- analytical and emotional methods. While analytical method is purely a rational method or rational understanding of social events, the emotional method studies the emotional aspect of a human being. It emphasises the understanding of the role played by emotion in certain social events.

His views on class also make a contribution to political sociology. Like Marx he also believes that there are two classes in the society – one who owns property and the one who offers services in the society. He opines that the group of people who does not own private property cannot be called a class. They should better be called a status group.

Max Weber also criticizes the Marxian view that economic factor is responsible for bringing social change in the society. He put forward his own views on social change by saying that there are multiple factors which are responsible for changes in the society. He further mentions about the importance of religion in bringing social change.

His stress on objectivity also contributes to the discipline of political sociology. By objectivity he holds that while studying a social event one should not be loaded with prior values and judgments. It may lead to faulty results.

In spite of these contributions his theories are not free from criticisms. He is criticized in the following manner-

According to him, capitalism grows in Calvinistic society. But history does not prove it. For eg. capitalism grows in countries like England which is not Calvinist. But the Calvinist countries like Scotland failed to develop early capitalism. But one should remember here that Weber never demands that it is the only sole cause of rise of capitalism and he does not negate the role played by other factors.

Again, he has given too much importance to the understanding of human behaviour. It makes the thinkers criticize him on the ground that the philosophy of Max Weber has blurred the line between sociology and psychology.

**Check Your Progress:**

1. Explain the concepts of theodicy and soteriology.
2. Analyse the Weberian view on relation between modern capitalism and protestant beliefs.
3. What are the characteristics of bureaucracy according to Weber?
4. Explain the contribution of Weber to political sociology.

**2.11 Summing Up**

After reading this unit you are now in a position to discuss various theories put forwarded by Marx and Weber. According to Karl Marx, in every society there are two classes- the haves and the have- nots. The differences in interest of these two classes lead to the struggle between them. You have also learnt his theory of alienation according to which the labourers feel alienated from their products because they do not own the means of production and as a consequence they cannot afford to buy the products which they have made themselves. This alienation ultimately leads to the alienation from self. This unit has also focused on his views on social change and revolution. Marx opines that economic factor plays an important role in bringing changes in the society. According to him, society changes when there is a change in the ownership of means of production. Again, he also opines that revolution is necessary to bring changes. The changes in society

cannot come on its own. It is revolution which can bring about meaningful change in the society. This unit also gave you an idea about the Weberian theory of religion and bureaucracy. According to him, religion plays an important role in the society. He believes that the religious opinion of a person influences his economic activities. He also believes that through the organization of bureaucracy equal opportunity can be provided in the society.

## **2.12 References and Suggested Readings**

*An Introduction to Political Theory* By O. P. Gauba; Macmillan India Ltd; Delhi; 2003, 2004 (Reprint)

*Great Political Thinkers [East and West]* By R. C. Gupta; Lakshmi Narain Agarwal Educational Publisher; Agra; 2001 (Reprint)

*Political Theory (Principles of Political Science)* By V. D. Mahajan; S. Chand & Company Ltd; New Delhi; 2000 (Reprint)

*Political Theory* By Eddy Asirvtham And K. K. Misra; S. Chand & Company Ltd; New Delhi; 2008 (Reprint)

*A History of Political Thought- Plato to Marx* By Subrata Mukherjee and Sushila Ramaswamy; Prentice- Hall of India Private Limited; New Delhi; 1999

### **Website Links-**

<http://struggle.net/mhf/alienation.htm>

[http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Karl\\_Marx](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Karl_Marx)

<http://pubs.socialistreviewindex.org.uk/isj79/cox.htm>

<http://www.hawaii.edu/powerkills/CIP.CHAP5.HTM>

[http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Max\\_Weber](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Max_Weber)

<http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Bureaucracy>

\* \* \*

## **Unit 3**

### **Contribution of V. Pareto, C. Wright Mills and G. Mosca**

#### **Contents:**

- 3.1 Introduction
- 3.2 Objectives
- 3.3 Pareto's Theory of Circulation of Elites
- 3.4 C.W. Mill's view on 'Power Elite'
- 3.5 Mosca's view on Elitism
- 3.6 Summing Up
- 3.7 References and Suggested Readings

#### **3.1 Introduction**

Elite literally means a superior. The Elite theory stands on the classical doctrine of the natural inequality of mankind which implies that men are inherently unequal and thus only a 'few' have a title to rule 'many'. Elite theory usually describes the power relationships in the society. The main contention of this theory is that a small minority having economic, political and social power holds the power. Therefore, it is found that in every society, a small minority group takes decision for majority of the population and majority obeys them. The elite group, a minority group having some special qualifications constitutes a coherent, united and self-conscious group. Vilfredo Pareto, C. Wright Mills, Gaetano Mosca are the prominent elite theorists.

Elite theory can be regarded as a reaction to Marxism. It opposes the Marxian idea that an egalitarian society can be established after a class struggle. Hence, elite theorists are of the view that there can not be egalitarian society. This unit is an attempt to discuss some of the elite theories. Therefore, the unit will focus on Pareto's theory of Circulation of Elites, C.W. Mill's view on 'Power Elite' and Mosca's view on Elitism.

### 3.2 Objectives

According to the elite theory, in every society a small minority section enjoys economic, political as well as social powers in the society. Therefore, this theory believes that all important decisions and policies of the society are made by a small group of people. In this unit we shall discuss the theory of elitism in detail. After reading this unit you will be able to:—

- *explain* the meaning of elite
- *discuss* Pareto's theory of circulation of elites
- *elaborate* C. W. Mill's view on 'Power Elite'
- *examine* Mosca's view on elitism

### 3.3 Pareto's Theory of Circulation of Elites

While examining Pareto's (1848- 1923) major contribution towards the field of sociology, we must focus on his theory of circulation of elites. He explained the theory by referring to certain psychological factors possessed by the elite groups of the society. Pareto's main emphasis was on these psychological traits of the elite which he regards as the basis of power. It must be mentioned here that Pareto's elite theory belongs to the category of classical elite theory. According to the classical elite theory, socially recognizable people of a society takes all the important decisions in the society. It further says that common man who forms the majority or who is numerically strong do not play any active role in the society or in the decision-making process.

Pareto is of the opinion that because of psychological and intellectual superiority a group of minority always yields power in the society. According to him, the elite is the strongest, the most energetic and the most capable for good as well as evil (Madison, 1953). The elites are not made up of group of permanent members or members of same class of ruler. Pareto has strong faith that 'history is the cemetery of aristocracies', which made him to formulate his theory on 'circulation of elites'. Hence, we can say that while theorising on circulation of elites, Pareto holds the belief that composition of elite keeps on changing with the changes in time.

Pareto further believes that there is the necessity of circulation of elites for maintaining the social equilibrium. According to him, “revolutions come about through accumulations in the higher strata of society— either because of slowing down in class circulation, or from other causes of decadent elements no longer possessing the residue suitable for keeping them in power. . . while in the meantime in the lower strata of society elements of superior quality are coming to the force, possessing residues suitable for exercising the functions of governing and willing enough to use force.” He further states that those on the top or the decision-makers of the society often resort to measures of repression to sustain their position in the society for a long period. However, after a period of time the people with capacities and qualifications try to replace the existing elite by demanding upward mobility. If they are not incorporated within the existing elite structure then they may opt for revolution. Thus, we find that according to Pareto, there is every possibility of occurrence of revolutions in the society if people without qualifications continue to be the elite.

Pareto advocated for maximum social mobility through which different categories of people get the opportunity to become elite. Hence, we can say that according to Pareto careers are open to all in a society. Again, it should be mentioned here that though Pareto mainly focuses on political elite, he uses the term in the field of religion, art and ethics too. He makes a distinction between governing and non-governing elites. Those who have power are the governing elite and those who have none are the masses. He also acknowledges the fact that there are differences between ascribed elite position and actual achievement and capacity. Thus, he makes a distinction between the qualities that are inherited by the elites and the qualities that they acquire by learning different traits to become an elite. However, he apprehended that elite positions that were once occupied by men of real talent would in the course of time be replaced by men without those talents. Psychological changes in the characteristics of the elites occur from time to time that lead to the changes in the composition and operation of different elites so much so that some elites are replaced by others that sometimes causes political instability.

In the opening chapter of his work *The Rise and Fall of Elites*, Pareto made the statement that ‘the greater parts of human actions have their origin not in logical reasoning but in sentiment’. He again states that though men

act by non-logical motives, they try to justify their actions as logical. Therefore, he believes that human actions are the combinations of 'residues' and 'derivations'. While 'residues' constitute the direct reflection of the instincts or sentiments or state of mind of the person, 'derivations' stand for external elaboration of human actions. Again, by 'residues' Pareto denotes those qualities of a person that help him to rise in life that includes both 'logical' and 'non-logical' actions of the individuals. Here, logical actions refer to those actions which are directed to attainable goals and appropriate means while non-logical actions refers to the actions directed towards unattainable goals. He has prepared a list of six residues. They are—— combination or a tendency to invent and embark on adventures; persistence or preservation or tendency to consolidate and make secure; expressiveness or manifestation of feelings through symbolization, sociability or tendency to affiliate others, integrity or tendency to maintain a good self image and sex or tendency to see social events in erotic terms. Out of the six residues, residues of 'combinations' and the 'persistence of aggregates' help the governing elite to maintain power and the status-quo. In simple words, residue of 'combination' means cunningness and residue of 'persistent aggregates' means force. Hence, according to Pareto, there are two types of elites, those who rule by cunningness and those who rule by force. Thus, like Machiavelli Pareto also urged the rulers to play the role of both foxes and lions. For justifying the use of force or power, the elite sometimes take recourse to 'derivations' which is another residue. Derivations are mostly expressed through logical actions. Pareto has classified derivations into four categories. They are—— assertion, appeals to authority, appeals to sentiments or principles and verbal proof. They are the ways by which actions are made to assume the appearance of logical actions.

With the passage of time the traits of elites may fade. The softening effects of privileges gradually change the proportion of residues so that 'foxes' among elites outnumber the 'lions'. It results from the changing nature of the elites and partly the result of the recruitment of 'foxes' from the non-elite group. This circulation of foxes into the elite, deprives the masses of intelligent leadership but gradually increases the proportion of the residues of 'persistence of aggregates' among them. At last, the stage is reached where the elite has become totally unwilling to use force, and the 'lions' of



the masses are ready to use force, are convinced of the righteousness of their cause and possess enough residues of 'instinct for communities' or similar qualities, or, alternatively, are able to recruit 'foxes' either from disaffected members of the elite or members of the masses who have not been recruited into the elite so that strategic planning is possible. It results in revolution and a new beginning of the cycle.

Here it is pertinent to remember here that 'circulation of elites' according to Pareto takes place at two levels. *Firstly*, circulation of elites may take place when members of non-elite group acquire qualities of elite and they try for upward social mobility. This is circulation of elites from non-elites and vice-versa as there is both the circulation of individuals between elite and non-elite groups. *Secondly*, there may be circulation of individuals in the same elite group. In this type of circulation of elites, the governing elite may become non-governing elite and vice-versa. Hence, the theory of 'circulation of elite' by Pareto refers to both inter as well as intra-movements in elite groups.

According to Pareto, there are certain factors that lead to the degeneration of the governing elite and destroy the social equilibrium which ultimately give lead to the circulation of elites. He believes that changes take place in the psychological characteristics of different categories of elites. Pareto further believes that after a revolution the residues of 'persistence of aggregates' among the elite are likely to be stronger than the residues of instinct for combinations. This is because lion like strength of conviction and the willingness to use force are necessary conditions for the seizure of power, although there must be some fox-like qualities of intellect and cunning in order to develop the strategy and tactics of seizing power.

Pareto tries to explain the circulation of elites mainly by the changes in the psychological traits of members of the elite on one side and of the lower strata on the other. Aristocracies do not decline only in numbers. They decay in quality, in the sense that they lose their vigour. It is evident from the fact that history is a graveyard of aristocracies. Then governing class is composed by the people coming from other classes. Again, Pareto is of the view that revolutions come about through the accumulation of decadent elements in the higher strata of society, and the increase of elements of superior quality in the lower strata. According to him, rule of governing elite may be of two kinds : it may be maintained either by cunning (predominance

of residues of combinations) or by force (predominance of residues of persistence of aggregates). Pareto's two types of elites are called Residues I and II respectively which is referred to as the 'spectaculators' and the 'rentiers'. His typology bears a close resemblance to Machiavelli's 'foxes' and 'lions'.

**SAQ:**

Bring out the similarities between Pareto's elite and Machiavelli's *Prince*.  
(50 words)

.....  
.....  
.....  
.....  
.....

**Criticism:**

Pareto's analysis of the rise and decline of elites is criticized on various grounds. He did not make any attempt to assemble all the available instances to show that there are regularities in the elite circulation which might be connected with changes in sentiments.

Again, Pareto failed to draw the connection between types of circulation of elites like the ascent and descent of individuals and the rise and fall of social groups.

Pareto is of the view that revolutions come about through accumulations in the higher strata of society —either because of a slowing down of class circulation, or from other causes — the existing elite no longer possessing the residues suitable for keeping them in power, or shrinking from the use of force. He has kept the qualities of the elites vague and has laid much stress on psychological factors for bringing changes in elite groups.

Thus, from the above discussions it is clear to us that Pareto's depiction of elite is similar to Machiavelli's prince. This theory of circulation of elites assumes that all societies are oligarchic in nature where minority plays the major role in the decision-making process. As told earlier, according to Pareto there are two types of elites — governing and non-governing elite. The government elite is characterized by changing proportions of the

residues of ‘persistence of aggregates’ (persistence of aggregates is characterized by the willingness to use force, faith, anti-intellectualism etc) and ‘instinct for combinations’ (characterized by intellectualism and cunning, skepticism, reluctance to use force, enjoyment of the results of leadership rather than belief in right consensus of course).

**Check Your Progress:**

1. ‘History is the cemetery of aristocracies’ — discuss Pareto’s view on circulation of elites in the light of the above statement.
2. Discuss the concepts of ‘residues’ and ‘derivatives’.

### **3.4 C.W. Mill’s view on ‘Power Elite’**

C.W. Mills through his theory on power elite tried to explore the positions the elites hold in different institutions in the society. In the modern period, most of the countries of the world have opted for democracy. However, no democracy is perfect democracy. It is also observed that these countries have mainly adopted indirect or representative democracy. Because of vastness of population and size of a country, it is difficult to practice direct democracy. Certain democracies have even acquired the character of totalitarian regime where one or a small group exercises all the power. Hence, it is clear to us that political powers are not allocated evenly among different members of society. The individuals who exert power in the society or those who exercises governmental power is known as ‘power elite’. Hence, it can be said that according to the theory of power elite, a single elite makes all the major decisions concerning the nation.

While discussing elitism, Mill has mainly concentrated on power elite. Mill studies the American society and argues that a small group of men within the political, military and corporate spheres make the important decisions which affect the American society constitutes the power elite. According to him, within American society, major national power resides in the economic, the political and the military domains. In this society, the economic elite belongs to large corporations, while in the political sphere centralized executive establishments enjoy that status. Again, he believes that military is the largest and most expensive feature of government.

Mills prefers to use the term 'power elite' than 'ruling class'. It is argued that while 'class' is an economic term, 'rule' is a political term. It may, therefore, denote that an economic class is ruling politically. Hence the concept of ruling class may exclude the 'military elite'. The higher members of military, economic and political groups are sympathetic to each other and feel responsible to one another. Thus, there is a close psychological affinity between them. He puts so much emphasis on psychological affinities of elites and their close relationship that he believes that even in a democracy the elites are a cohesive group, united by the ties of homogeneity and the identity of their social origins. He has gone to the extent of saying that nowhere in America is there as great class-consciousness as among the elite. Again, it is the most organized section of the society. Thus, Mills defines power elite as 'those who occupy the command posts'.

Mill argues that a small group of men within the political, military and corporate spheres makes decisions that affect the whole society. He is of the view that within the dominant institutions of modern US society, the means for exercising power are more narrowly concentrated into few hands than at any previous time of history. He also opines that there is close relationship and the frequency of interchange of personnel among three spheres in America. However, at the same time it must be admitted that within the higher circles of elite factions do exist. There may be conflicts of policy as well as conflicts of interests of the members of the society. The members of the power elite many times consider the government as umbrella under which they work.

According to C. W. Mills power has to do with whatever decisions men make about the arrangements under which they live and about the events which make up the history of their times. Membership of power elite is more or less open. However, a section of population enjoys the status of elite in the society by virtue of being born into elite families. However, many people who work hard and enjoys good luck can also enjoy elitist status in the society. He describes American society as mass society in which power elite decides all the major issues concerning their life and keeps the masses quiet by flattery, deception and entertainment. According to him there are different reasons for obedience to power holders. In his own words the reasons can be, "fear, rational calculation of advantage, lack of energy to do otherwise, loyal devotion, indifference or a dozen of other individual motives".

Again, Mills holds the view that ‘the power elites are composed of men whose positions enable them to transcend the ordinary environments of ordinary men and women; they are in positions to make decisions having major consequences’. Mill further states that it is not important to see whether the power elite takes the decision or not because of the fact that they enjoy the power to take all the important decisions of the society. They command the major organizations of the society.

While discussing the power elite in America, Mills presents before us the persons who enjoy the status of power elite in the American society. They are advisers, consultants, spokesman and opinion makers of the government. Below them are professional politicians of middle-levels of power in the Congress as well as in the pressure groups. The chief-executives of private corporations also play a decisive role in American society since they play important role in the national economy.

Hence, According to Mills, the inner core of power elite consists of those who interchange commanding roles at the top of one dominant institutional order with those in another. He further states that the governing elite in the United States draws its members from three areas.

- i) the highest political leaders including the president and a handful of key cabinet members and close advisers.
- ii) major corporate owners and directors
- iii) high-ranking military officers.

The elite cannot be truly thought of as men who are merely doing their duty. They determine their own duty as well as duty for the people of the lower rung of the society. They are not the followers of others orders, rather they order other people of the society. It will be wrong to consider them as bureaucrats, because they control the bureaucracies. C. W. Mills also pointed out that the men of the power elite now occupy strategic places in the structure of American society; that they command the dominant institutions of a dominant nation. They are also in a position to make decisions with terrible consequences for the underlying populations of the world. Thus in conclusion it could be stated that the major contention of this theory is that the elites are a product of the institutional landscape of society, power is an attribute not of classes but of institutions, all elites cannot be of equal significance as few may have access to the seats of power.

**Stop to consider:****Elitism and Democracy:**

There is a contradiction between the meanings of democracy and elitism. Classical elitists like Mosca and Pareto discard the myths of democracy. According to the elite theorists whatever may be the form of government, a small elite group rules over the larger section. This happens even in a democratic country which is considered to be peoples' own government. In this case it may be stated here that "however much one may try to be democratic in one's political system, there is a strong element of oligarchy in every organisation, so it is argued, the greater is the tendency towards oligarchy. However, advocates of democracy believe that the elites do not belong to a particular group only and in that sense open to all and therefore, they can be recruited from other sections of the society on the basis of merit. Hence, the non-elite or the mass population also get the opportunity to participate in the administration of the society. From this point of view it can be said that an attempt has been made to stretch the meaning of democracy to incorporate it within the framework of elitism.

It must be remembered that in a democracy the common people can force the rulers to take a particular decision in their interests. Again, the common people also have the capacity to change the rulers. Thus, democratic elite has a mass background. In the twentieth century there is a reconciliation between the ideas of democracy and elitism. Even classical elitist like Mosca changed his opinion and in the later part of his celebrated work '*The Ruling Class*' he describes society as composed of many social forces and interests whose leading personnel have to be assimilated by the ruling class.

Joseph A. Schumpeter's work "*Capitalism, Socialism and Democracy*", published in 1942 contributed towards redefining democracy to accommodate an elitist situation. He has pointed out certain conditions for the success of the democratic method, which he classifies under following headings ——— a). The human material of politics (i.e, the elites) should be of high quality. b). effective range of political decision should not be extended too far. c). the government should be able to command the services of a well-trained bureaucracy of good standing and tradition and d). There should be democratic self-control which means the competing elites should tolerate each other's rule.

**Major characteristics of power elite:**

Mills is of the view that the 'power elite' is composed of political, economic and military men. However, these groups of elites come together only on the condition of crisis. Of the three types of circle that compose power elite

today, it is the military that has benefited the most in its enhanced power. Now let us discuss the major features of power elite as has been pointed out by C.W. Mills.

- The power elite is described as consisting of members of the corporate community, academician, politicians, media editors, military service personnel, high-profile journalists etc.
- Mills argues in his book '*The Power Elite*' (1956) that the US power elites have historically dominated the three major sectors of US society — economy, government, military. Elites circulate from one sector to another consolidating their power as they move on.
- Another distinctive feature of power elite is that single elite, not a multiplicity of competing groups decides all the important decisions of the nation including war and peace. Hence, the elite leaves only the minor issues for the middle level and almost no issue for the bottom level of the society.
- A substantial proportion of power elite is drawn from the upper classes, both new and old. In almost every society it is found that the people belonging to the very rich section, the corporate executives, the political leaders, the high military etc holds the upper section of income and occupational pyramids. Generally, the members of the power elite have common educational background too.
- According to Mills, the power elite is not an aristocracy. It means that it is not a political ruling group based on nobility of hereditary origin. It neither belongs to a small circle of great families whose members can consistently and hereditarily occupy the top positions in the several higher circles in administration or in the decision-making process.
- Mills argues that though the members of elite come from the top levels, they do not represent only the top class or upper strata of the society. They may represent the cross-sections of society though not selected democratically.

- The notion of the power elite does not rest solely upon the institutional mechanics that leads to its formation. Neither has it solely rested upon the facts of the origin and career of its personnel.
- The elites form a homogeneous group. There are similarities of social origin, religious affiliation, nativity and education that play important role for establishing psychological and social affinities of the members of the power elite. However, it must be remembered that even when their recruitment and formal training are not similar, this group will form a homogeneous group.
- The power elites are the managerial reorganization of the propertied classes into the more or less unified stratum of the corporate rich. Mills is of the opinion that power elite refers to those political, economic and military circles, an intricate set of overlapping small but dominant groups sharing decisions having at least national consequences.
- Again, though the members of the power elite have similar social background and psychological affinities, they do not have permanent membership to a club with fixed and formal boundaries. It is in the nature of power elite that there are shifting of elites and it does not consist of one small group enjoying the same positions and in the same hierarchies. Again, there is no certainty that there is unity of policy. It also implies that the concept of power elite does not rest primarily on personal friendship.
- The inner core of the power elite consists of those who interchange commanding roles at the top of one dominant institutional order with those in another. It also consists of men of the higher legal and financial type from the great law factories and investment firms. On the other hand, the outermost fringes of the power elite, which change more than its core consist of 'those who count' even though they may not be 'in' on given decisions of consequences nor in their career more between the hierarchies.
- Every member of power elite does not personally decide every decision on behalf of the power elite. Each member while taking decision takes other seriously into account.



- Though the power elites form a homogeneous group, the members of power elites are not organized. However, most of the times, its members often know each other and work together.
- The concept of power elite and unity among its members rests upon the corresponding developments among economic, political and military organizations. As pointed out earlier, the relationship among the power elites depends on similarity of origin and outlook. According to Mills, power elite also rests upon the similarity of its personal, and their personal and official relations with one another, upon their social and psychological affinities. Moreover, it also depends on the social and economic intermingling of the members from each of the hierarchies.
- Because of their common and similar social-economic background and psychological affinities, a kind of understanding developed amongst the members of the power elite and they are trusted by one another. Therefore, the elites belonging to different structures like military, economic and political orders readily accept one another's decisions and point of view.

**Stop to Consider:**

**Roberto Michels's Iron Law of Oligarchy:**

The concept of iron law of oligarchy was first developed by Roberto Michels in 1911 in his book *Political Parties*. Michels considers the laws of oligarchy as one of the 'iron laws of history, from which the most democratic modern societies and within those societies, the most advanced parties, have been unable to escape.' The major element supporting this law is organization. Organization plays vital role in the success of a movement or a party. However, according to Michels organizations are other forms of oligarchy. In his words, 'Immanent oligarchical tendencies exist in every kind of human organizations which strive for the attainment of definite ends'. According to him, the formal organization of bureaucracies inevitably leads to oligarchy. During the time of inception, an organization may be idealistic and democratic but with the passage of time, it is dominated by a small group of people who exercises power and responsibilities. This is very common in large organizations where it is difficult to have a get-together of all members. As a result a minority group enjoys the power of making decisions. According to Michels this group enjoys this power

so much that with the passage of time it forgets its role of representing the other members. At one point of time they become more arrogant and come to believe that they are indispensable. Michels has also given certain suggestions to take certain precautionary steps to avoid oligarchy. Firstly, the organization should make sure that the rank and file remain active in the organization and that the leaders not be granted absolute control of an organization.

### **3.5 Mosca's view on Elitism**

Another important contributor to the field of elite theory of politics is Gaetano Mosca (1858-1941). In this unit, we have already discussed the theory of circulation of elites as put forwarded by V. Pareto. While discussing the elite theory Mosca also developed the concept of circulation of elites. He rejected the concept of classification of government in different forms like monarchy, aristocracy or democracy as according to him in every society there exists only one form of government, i.e. oligarchy.

Mosca is of the view that, 'in all societies — from societies that are very meagerly developed and have barely attained the dawnings of civilization, down to the most advanced and powerful societies — two classes of people appear — a class that rules and a class that is ruled'. According to him, the first class is less in number but performs all political functions and enjoys all the advantages associated with the exercise of power. On the other hand, the second class is numerically very strong but is always directed and controlled by the first. Moreover, their powers become legitimized and arbitrariness is also reduced at least in appearance. He further adds that the 'larger is the political community, the smaller will be the proportion of the governing minority.....and the more difficult will be for the majority to organize for reaction against the minority'.

From his statement it is clear that like other thinkers of elite theory, Mosca believes that in all societies there are two classes of people. Societies are always divided into two classes — one class that rules and another class that is ruled. The first class is the microscopic minority which performs the political functions. They enjoy all the advantages associated. The second class is the more numerous sections which is directed and controlled by the first. According to Mosca, rule by a minority of elite is a characteristic feature of every society.

Like Pareto, Mosca argues that the ruling minority is superior to most of the population since they possess certain qualities that give them material, intellectual and moral superiority. In some societies, on the otherhand, qualities like bravery and skills, economic conditions may determine the elite. Both Pareto and Mosca are of the view that democracies are another form of elite rule.

From the discussions in this unit it is clear to us that the main contention of elite theory is that the minority possesses a disproportionate share of resources of power within a group or society. It is also based on the idea that the existence of elite is either desirable or inevitable. Even Plato advocated for the rule of few with distinct qualities when he advocated the rule of philosophers and guardians. Pareto advocated for maximum social mobility and careers open to all. He also acknowledged the fact that there were differences between ascribed elite position and actual achievement and capacity. He apprehended that elite positions that were once occupied by men of real talent would in the course of time be replaced by men without those talents.

Mosca is of the opinion that whenever the existing elite or the ruling class loses the aptitude to command and to exercise political control, people outside the ruling class may cultivate it to a great extent. In such a situation, there is a tendency that a new ruling class may emerge replacing the old one. According to him, when a ruling class fails to provide necessary services to the masses, or a new religion arises or some similar changes take place in the social forces pervading the society, then changes become inevitable.

According to Mosca, circulation of elite is caused by economic and cultural change. While discussing the concept of circulation of elite Pareto provided psychological reasons, Mosca pointed out the sociological reasons too. He tried to trace the relationship between the changes in social circumstances and individual characteristics. With the changes in social circumstances, new ideals and interests are formulated, new problems also arise and the process of circulation of elites is accelerated. However, he does not put much emphasis on the use of force for continuation of power by the elite. He preferred changes brought through persuasion rather by force. Again, he does not favour major changes in the society within a short span of time. Therefore, he advised the elite to bring about gradual changes in the society taking into consideration the public opinion.

Mosca provides justification for the rule of the minority over the majority on the basis of the fact that minority group is organized with superior qualities. He has also presented before us a different concept called 'sub-elite' which means the group consists of civil servants, managers of industries, scientists and scholars. According to him, the sub-elite plays very vital role in the administration of the government. He further states that, 'stability of any political organism depends on the level of morality, intelligence and activity' of the sub-elite.

Like Pareto, Mosca also believes that in every society the governing elite tries to justify their position from moral and legal point of view. The process by which the elites justify their position is called 'political formula' by Mosca. Thus, this concept of 'political formula' of Mosca can be compared to the concept of 'derivations' as introduced by Pareto. While justifying the rules and actions of the elite, 'political formula' does not provide the absolute truth, rather it may be a myth which is presented before the society as truth and which is also accepted by the people.

Mosca thus believes that there should be democratic atmosphere for the change of the ruling class but at the same time there should be an aristocratic restrictiveness to ensure stability. Therefore, he advocated liberal system of elective authority, but the electorate should be confined to the middle class led by the elites and sub-elites.

**Check Your Progress:**

1. Discuss critically C.W.Mill's view on Power elite.
2. Explain the major features of Power elite.
3. Discuss Mosca's view on Elitism.

**3.6 Summing Up**

After reading this unit, you have understood that the elite theorists are concerned with a minority group in the society who takes the major decisions in the society. From this unit you have also learnt different elite theories like Pareto's theory of circulation of elites, C. W. Mill's view on 'Power elite' as well as Mosca's view on elitism. Pareto believes that though elite always enjoy dominant position in the society, members of society keep on changing.

This phenomenon is termed as ‘circulation of elites’ by Pareto. This unit has also helped you in learnt that C. W. Mills is of the view that elitism of US in 20<sup>th</sup> century is an obstacle in the way of democracy. He points out that power of the country is mainly concentrated in three institutions—— the military, the corporate and the political. He further holds that the ‘power elite’ theory claims that a single elite, not a multiplicity of competing groups decide the life and death issues for eh nation as a whole leaving the minor matters for the middle and bottom level. Reading of this unit has also helped in understanding Gaetano Mosca’ s concept of circulation of elites. Like Pareto, Mosca believes that whenever the existing elite loses the aptitude to command and to exercise political control, people outside the ruling class may cultivate it in large numbers. As a result, this new group may take over the position of elites in the society. Thus from this unit it is clear to you that the main contention of elite theory is that a small minority section always enjoys economic, social and political powers in the society.

### **3.7 Reference and Suggested Readings**

Ashraf Ali and L.N. Sharma 2008 *Political Sociology: A new Grammar of Politics*, Universities Press Private Limited, Hyderabad

Pathi Srinibas and Madhusmita Mishra 1998 *Political Sociology: Ideas and Issues*, Kalyani publishers, New Delhi

\* \* \*

**Institute of Distance and Open Learning  
GAUHATI UNIVERSITY**

**MA in Political Science  
(3<sup>rd</sup> Semester)**

**Paper XI  
Political Sociology**

**Block 2  
Key Concepts of Political Sociology: Power,  
Authority, Ideology, Political Culture  
and Political Socialisation**



**Contents:**

**Block Introduction–**

**Unit 1 : Concepts of Power, Authority and Ideology**

**Unit 2 : Political Culture and Political Socialisation**

---

**Contributors:**

---

Dipankar Saikia (Unit 1)	:	Guest Lecturer in Political Science IDOL, GU
Chayanika Sarma (Unit 2)	:	Guest Lecturer in Political Science IDOL, GU

---

**Course Co-ordination:**

---

Dr. Kandarpa Das	:	Director IDOL, GU
Barnalee Choudhury	:	Assistant Professor in Political Science IDOL, GU

---

**Editorial Team:**

---

Content Editing	:	Barnalee Choudhury Assistant Professor in Political Science IDOL, GU
Format Editing	:	Dipankar Saikia Guest Lecturer in Political Science IDOL, GU
Language Editing	:	Shanghamitra De Guest Lecturer in English IDOL, GU

---

**Cover Page Designing:**

---

Kaushik Sarma	:	Graphic Designer CET, IITG
---------------	---	-------------------------------

August, 2011

© Institute of Distance and Open Learning, Gauhati University. All rights reserved. No part of this work may be reproduced in any form, by mimeograph or any other means, without permission in writing from the Institute of Distance and Open Learning, Gauhati University. Further information about the Institute of Distance and Open Learning, Gauhati University courses may be obtained from the University's office at IDOL Building, Gauhati University, Guwahati-14. Published on behalf of the Institute of Distance and Open Learning, Gauhati University by Dr. Kandarpa Das, Director and printed at Maliyata Offset Press, Mirza. Copies printed 1000.

**Acknowledgement**

The Institute of Distance and Open Learning, Gauhati University duly acknowledges the financial assistance from the Distance Education Council, IGNOU, New Delhi for preparation of this material.

**Block Introduction:**

In this block we are going to discuss some of the key concepts of Political Sociology- ideology, power, authority, political culture and political socialization. As we know, power is a key concept of Political Sociology as all relations are power relations. Power is the capability of a person to control the minds and actions of others. In contemporary world power is not a concept to be found in international politics alone. Power relations exist throughout the society. The concept of power is related to other two concepts i.e. authority and ideology. While legitimized power is known as authority, ideology provides the basis to exercise power. Ideology is a set of beliefs which forms the basis of all political, economic and social system. Political culture is that part of culture which deals with political values, beliefs and ideas. Political socialization is the process through which this political culture is transmitted from one generation to another.

In the first unit of this block, we are going to discuss three important concepts- power, authority and ideology. Power is the ability of a person to fulfill his desires. In this unit, various theories of power have been discussed. According to the Marxist theory, power is used by one class to dominate the other. The elitist theory of power opines that power is exercised by a small group of privileged minority. On the other hand, the pluralist theory of power believes that power lies in the hands of the majority people in the society. And feminist theory refers to power as an instrument of male members to dominate the females. Power can be legitimate or illegitimate. Illegitimate power is exercised through force. Legitimized power is known as authority. Authority provides the moral as well as legal basis to the concept power. In this unit we shall also discuss the relationships between authority and power. Moreover, the concept of ideology will also be discussed in this unit. Ideology refers to the set of ideas. It is a system of thought. This unit shall provide you an idea about the role of ideology in our society and political system.

The second unit of this block deals with the concepts of political culture and political socialization. This unit also highlights the concepts of culture and socialization. Culture is a learned behaviour. It is the values, beliefs, attitudes of the society. Through the process of socialization, culture is transmitted from one generation to another. Again political culture is that part of culture which deals with the political values and beliefs of the society. Political



socialization helps in transferring these political values from generation to generation. This unit shall also deal with various types of political culture and functions of political socialization. Emphasis will also be given on analyzing the relationship between socialization and political socialization.

Reading of this block will help you to understand the major concepts related to Political Sociology.

This bloc consists of two units-

**Unit 1:** Concepts of Power, Authority and Ideology

**Unit 2:** Political Culture and Political Socialisation

# **Unit 1**

## **Power, Authority and Ideology**

### **Contents:**

- 1.1 Introduction
- 1.2 Objectives
- 1.3 Definition of Power
  - 1.3.1 Theories of Power
- 1.4 Definition of Authority
  - 1.4.1 Relationship between Authority and Leadership
  - 1.4.2 Relationship between Authority and Power
- 1.5 Meaning of Ideology
  - 1.5.1 Role of Ideology
- 1.6 Summing Up
- 1.7 References and Suggested Readings

### **1.1 Introduction**

Power, authority and ideology have occupied predominant position to the study of Political Sociology. In short, every phenomenon of politics revolves around these three concepts. We have already studied the basic concepts of these phenomenon. Let us again discuss these concepts very briefly. We know that sociology determines the relationship between people and the society. In this context, power plays an important role in determining one's position. Again, authority denotes ones legitimate power and ideology helps us to examine ones attitudes and opinions towards his socio-political system. In short, power gives us the ability to control others behaviour and authority makes it legitimate, while ideology provides the way to find out the solutions. Here in this unit we are going to discuss various aspects of power, authority and ideology.

### **1.2 Objectives**

It is well known to you that power is the central theme of political science and authority makes it legitimate while ideology provides a concrete way to

achieve ones desired goals. After going through this unit you will be able to:

- *discuss* the meaning, concepts and various theories of power
- *describe* the meaning of authority
- *analyse* relationship between authority and leadership
- *discuss* the relationship between power and authority
- *examine* the meaning and role of ideology

### **1.3 Definition of Power**

The term power has been derived from the Latin word '*potere*' meaning '*to be able*'. Power simply means one's ability or capability to control others behaviour and it is generally said to be the capacity of an actor to affect the actions of others in accordance with his own intentions. We can also define power as a tool of measurement of one's ability to control its environment, including the behaviour of other people. We can find a comprehensive account of power in Steven Lukes' (2005) *Power: A Radical View* where he discusses the three dimensions of power. According to him, power can be seen as various forms of constraint on human action, but also as that which makes action possible, and basically, power would be addressed in abstraction like a social construction. In this context, we can point out some factors that determine the power's jurisdiction such as behaviour, decision- making issues, observable conflicts, subjective interests.

However, it is very difficult to find out a precise and universally applicable definition of power. It is because scholars have forwarded various views regarding the concept of power. For example, for Eric Wolf, political power is composed of three basic elements: a) individualism and ambition for some persons over others, b) an ability for a psychological ego to impose the proper desires to "an external alter" unidirectionally, c) an outstanding capacity in centralizing specific strategies (Wolf, 2004:3). Here in this section we are going to quote some important definitions of power as prescribed by some prominent scholars.

- According to Herbert Goldhamer and Edward Shills ‘power is the ability to influence the behaviour of others in accordance with one’s own ends.’
- Hans Morgenthau defines politics as a struggle for power, as a psychological relation between those who exercise it and those over whom it is exercised. It gives the formal control of certain actions of the later. To quote him, ‘by power we mean the power of man over the mind and actions of other man.’ Power is a possession but not in a tangible form like money.
- MacIver writes, ‘by the possession of power we mean the capacity to centralize, regulate or direct the behaviour of persons or things.’
- According to Samuel Beer, ‘one person exercises power over another when he intentionally acts in such a manner as to affect in a predictable way actions of others’.
- Lasswell and Kaplan define power as participation in the making of decisions.
- M.G. Smith says that ‘power is the ability to act effectively over people and things using means ranging from persuasion to coercion’.
- In the words of George Schwarzenburger, ‘power is capacity to impose one’s will over another by reliance on effective sanctions in case of influence involving losses for non- compliance. If A confronts B with the prospects of shifting his behaviour, A is attempting to exercise power over B’.
- David Easton defines power as the ‘relationship in which one person or a group is able to determine the actions of another in the direction of the former’s own ends.’

On the basis of these definitions we can say that in social terms, power, involves the rule by the few over the majority. By power we also mean the ability of individuals or groups to make their own concerns or interests count, even where others resist. Power sometimes involves the direct use of force, but not always. Politics, in this sense, is a concept that can be defined as a process involving the “exercise of control, constraint and coercion in society”. However it needs mention here that Power which is derived from social positioning lacks legitimacy. It is dependent upon individual strength and competencies.

**Stop to Consider:****Types of Power**

Depending upon situation, there are several kinds of power, some of which are described below:

- **Reward power-** When a person holds power to bestow rewards it is called reward power. These rewards may be of any form like job assignment, benefits, time off, gifts etc.
- **Coercive power-** When a person is in a position to punish others and when the power relationship is based on coercion, it is called coercive power.
- **Legitimate power-** If the power holder exercises power in compliance with the law of the land or the constitution or the accepted tradition, it is called legitimate power.
- **Expert power-** Expert power refers to the expertise of a person. This expertise comes from education and experience.
- **Referent power-** Referent power is exercised by a person who has the ability to attract others. For example- the strong personality of a sport person helps him in endorsing products.

**1.3.1 Theories of Power**

Though power manifests itself in three forms viz, political, economic and ideological, we have various theories of power. Let us discuss some of them in this section.

**1. Class theory of Power**

This class theory of power is put forwarded by the Marxists. According to this theory, since the inception of the institution of private property, power belongs to the economically dominated class of the society. In other words, class theory of power holds the view that power is concentrated in the hands of those classes of the society, which control the means of production. They are of the view that state legalises their actions. According to them, state is the tools in the hands of rich class to exploit the weaker sections of the society. We can find a systematic analysis of class theory of power in *Das capital* written by Marx and Engels. They wrote, “political power, properly so called is merely the organised power of one class for suppressing another.” They argue, in different phases of time various dominant classes emerged in the society to exploit the weaker sections, for example, in the ancient society the masters dominated the slaves, in the feudal society the nobility dominated while in the capitalist society the industrialist class

dominates the workers. Marxists are of the opinion that only through a revolution we can change such kind of societal system.

Gramsci, a notable Marxist writer is of the view that the domination of class is achieved not only through economic structure and coercion but also through the active consent of the weaker or propertyless class. He suggests that the consent of propertyless class is achieved through the use of intellectual, moral and political persuasion and leadership. Again a twist came to the class theory after the Second World War. This period led to the reduction in the economic burden of the working class and enhanced the legitimacy of the capitalist system in their eyes. But the economic growth has benefited the capitalist class rather than others. Though in recent years, welfare state system has acquired popular support, still it by and large serves the interests of the owners of the means of production. In short class theory of power holds the view that in the society mode of power is the power of economically dominant class in the society.

**SAQ:**

Do you think that the class theory of power is sufficient to explain the present power structure of the Indian society ? (100 words)

.....  
.....  
.....  
.....  
.....

**2. Elitist Theory of Power**

In the Class Theory we have learnt that in a society, power belongs to the property holder. Like this theory, the Elitist Theory of Power holds the view that every society is dominated by a group of people and power belongs to their hands, but they are minority. According to this theory, this minority group is known as elites, which can take all the major decisions of the society and all power is concentrated in their hands. We can find the roots of this theory in the writings of our classical writer, but in modern sense the theory is developed by Pareto, Mosca, Mitchels and the sociologists of USA.

In the writings of Pareto we find that he is of the view that in all societies people are divided into

- a. a small governing elite and non-governing elite, and
- b. mass of population.

He says that the small elites consist of administrators, dictators, warriors, wealthy men, religious priests or any other group of men in the society. Again he says that depending on circumstances and nature of the society the composition of elite class may differ but they are always present in any form of society. Pareto also rejects the Marxist concept of power as power is determined by the economic class structure and declares that only skilful political man can exercise power. In favour of his opinion he has forwarded the following two reasons:

- a. the elites, unlike the commons can organised themselves better
- b. they possess some attributes superior to the common people of the society.

Again, in the writings of Mosca we find a different view of elitist theory. He has said that the superior organisation and calibre of the elite ensure their rule over society. He like Pareto also believes that though elites are minority in nature, due to their organised nature their rule or domination over the society is inevitable. On the other hand Michals has propounded the rule of “iron law of oligarchy”. It means rule by few. According to him, “one of the iron laws of history, from which the most democratic modern societies and within those societies, the most advanced parties have been unable to escape”. In short the rule by few is applicable to all types of society.

Thus it is seen that elitist theory of power argues for rule of few. According to this theory political, economic and ideological power is concentrated in the hands of a minority group so they enjoy more powers. Moreover in democracy, although powers rest in the hand of people, practically all the decisions are made by a few people or elites.

<p><b>SAQ:</b> Do you think that Indian democracy represents elites rule? Give reasons in favour of your answer. (80 words)</p> <p>.....</p> <p>.....</p> <p>.....</p>
----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------

### **3. Pluralist Theory of Power**

The theory rose as a reaction against the Marxist and Elitist theory of power. We have learnt that elitist theory makes minority as power holder while Marxist theory makes capitalist class as the ruling class of the society. On the other hand, pluralist theory makes majority as power holder of the society. According to this theory, in modern democracies power does not belong to a single elite group, rather it belongs to the different groups and interests which compete for influence and share power at different levels. It views politics as a struggle among different societal groups to control the decision making process. Hence, policy-making is a complex process and is not influenced by only a single elite class due to the bargaining of different institutions. Thus, the decisions in a society are the result of agreements and compromise among different groups. It clear that the theory holds the view that power is not the property of a single class; it involves various organisations attached with everyone's emotions.

### **4. Feminist Theory of Power:**

Since the inception of human civilisation, the male always controls society and women are always treated as second-class citizen. As against male hegemony over decision-making process of the society, Feminism emerged. Feminist theory of power views the gender difference as an elaborate system of male domination and try to end this system. According to this view, politics and society can be understood as a power relationship where one group of person i.e. women is controlled by another group i.e. men. Feminist theory of power argued that the gender differentiation has resulted in number of inequalities and discrimination against women in the family and occupation, unequal educational opportunities and devaluation of their works. They argue such kind of discrimination is only end through the transformation of the society. It is worth mentioning here that the struggle of women for justice and transforming society is quite old and manifests in various forms as suffrage movement. But all of them are directed towards the establishment of a just social order based on equality.



#### 1.4 Definition of Authority

Before defining authority it is important to mention here that to some extent our society though rational entities, often do not follow strictly their own well- defined system leaving scope for power play and politics. So, it is necessary to understand the dynamics of power, politics and authority so that society can be managed in a proper way. The concepts of authority, power and ideology are inter-dependent and society mainly deals with exercising of authority and power. Already we have learnt various aspects of power. Now let us discuss the concept of authority.

Authority is the corner stone of a society. In simple words it can be defined as the ability of an individual to seek compliance to the regulated instructions of the superior. It refers to the formal rights inherently available to a power holder to give orders and see their compliance. However, like power it is also very difficult to find out a precise and universally applicable definition of authority. Here we quote some important definitions of authority:

According to MacIver ‘Authority is often defined as being power, the power to command obedience.’

‘Authority is ability of man to get his proposals accepted.’ - *Jouvenel*

Herbert A. Simon opened that ‘Authority is the power to make decision which guides the actions of another. It is relationship between individuals, one superior and the other subordinate. The superior frames and transmits decisions with expectations that they will be accepted by subordinates. The subordinates accept such decisions and his conduct is determined by them.’

Robert A. Dahl analyze authority as ‘A commands B and B feels A has perfect right to do so and which he has a complete obligation to obey. Power of this kind is often said to be legitimate. But when B feels A has absolutely no right to ask him to obey, which he has no obligation to obey, and which perhaps he actually has no obligation to resist. Power of this kind is often said to be illegitimate. Legitimate power is often called ‘authority’. An important element of authority is legitimacy’.

According to Max Weber (1924), there are 3 types of authorities: Traditional, Rational and Charismatic authority. Traditional authority rests on an established belief in the sanctity of immortal traditions whereas legal authority rests on sheer legality of individual’s position. Charismatic authority has its genesis in an individual’s personal charisma and qualities.

Thus, it can be said that, the concept of authority is one kind of power relationship between two people, where one has the right to impose will over other and one has the right to obey his superior's regulations. It is also seen that authority is mainly imposed by the superior to the inferiors. From this perspective we can say that authority also denotes the superior inferior relationship.

### **Stop to Consider:**

#### **Types of Authority**

Authority is related to the concept of power and it takes the following forms

**Divine authority:** the concept of divine authority is as old as human civilization. It simply means that kind of authority which is derived directly from God or which has a divine origin.

**Ancestral Authority:** this type of authority is mainly seen in the monarchical rule. Here authority is derived from ancestral heritage basis and concentrated only on one royal family.

**Elite Authority:** in this type of authority, the authority is imposed by a group of elite or rich people.

**Constitutional Authority:** it is the widely accepted type of authority where authority is derived from the constitution of a nation.

**De Jure and De Facto Authority:** the de jure authority refers to a set of rules which guides the actions of the person holding the state power. In this kind of authority, authority derives from the legal consent, on the other hand the de facto authority rests on power of arms or force.

### **1.4.1 Relationship between Authority and Leadership**

Before discussing the relationship between authority and leadership you should know the meaning of leadership. The fourth paper of your first semester gave you an idea of leadership. Nevertheless, the term leadership can refer to the process of leading and the concept of leading refers to those entities that perform one or more acts of guiding. In our day to day life, leadership can be viewed as either actual or potential. Leadership emerges when an entity as "leader" contrives to receive deference from other entities who become "followers" and possesses the power of imposing his authority on his followers. Thus it is seen that authority denotes one kind

of power relationship. It is the ability of one person to impose his wills on others. From this point of view we can point out that authority is closely associated with the leadership. Now let us discuss their relationship.

We know that the role of a leader is very important in causing people to act in a particular way. The leader should motivate the team to be effective and efficient. The leader is a source of inspiration for the subordinates around him. He must win their confidence to reach the vision of the organization. For that, the leader needs authority. We know that it is only authority through which he can utilise his potentialities and regulate his followers properly.

We can also determine the relationship between authority and leadership on the basis of his functions. In this context, we can forward the Barnard's classification functions. According to him a leader performs four main functions:

- (a) determination of objectives;
- (b) manipulation of means;
- (c) control of the instrumentality of action; and
- (d) stimulation of coordinated action.

To implement such functions one must need power and authority over followers. Otherwise he will be a failure. Only authority makes him superior. But power, authority and leadership are not the same thing. Power indicates coercion, authority, command and in any organization, these have to be activated for the accomplishment of certain tasks but leadership acts represent a choice of these instruments. Excess power and authority make one leader arbitrary. So, society demands an accountable leader.

Thus it is seen that leadership is the ability to influence a group towards the achievement of goals, which is possible only after having authority. Again it is also seen that a leader is someone who exercises influence or authority over other people. Thus it is clear that there is an intimate relationship between authority and leadership. In one word we can say that both are the two sides of a same coin.

**Check Your Progress:**

1. Define power.
2. Discuss the theories of power.
3. Examine the concept of authority.
4. Make a comparative analysis of the elitist theory of power and Marxist theory of power.
5. Examine the relationship between authority and leadership.
6. Define leadership.

**1.4.2 Relationship between Authority and Power**

In the previous sections we have discussed the concepts of power and authority in details. Now in this section we are going to discuss the relationship between power and authority. It needs mention here that legitimacy is attached with the concept of power and authority. Here we are going to discuss the relationship between power and authority with the help of legitimacy.

We know that the concepts power, authority and legitimacy are central to the study of political science. The lawfulness of a political system depends on them and all of them are linked with commands, rules, norms and moral obligations from the people. By authority we simply understand a command of an individual or a group of individual to do or to resist or abstain from doing, which is believed to possess the moral right to issue them that command and hence the people to whom the command is issued have the moral obligation to obey the same. On the other hand, political power refers to that power which allows an individual or a group of individual to control or motivate people within a specific territory. From this perspective it is seen that political power closely linked with that of authority. Authority provides the moral or legal base to impose rules. On the other hand the power holder can issue rules if they have moral or legal support, which is termed as legitimacy. In short, legitimate power is known as authority.

Again, if not legitimate power becomes tyranny and soon it will collapse, and authority of the power holder greatly relies on legitimacy. Only a legitimate authority can impose power over his subjects for a long term. Authority is that form of power or influences that arise spontaneously and derives its

efficacy from being heard from recognition. In other words, it can be said that authority is power based on morality, ethics, traditions, prestige and it will succeed to receive spontaneous support termed as legitimate authority.

Thus it is seen that, authority is composed of two elements: power and legitimacy. In the words of Rousseau, “the strongest is never strong enough unless he succeeds in turning might into right and obedience into duty”. Hence, it is proved that authority greatly relies on the ability of a power holder to secure obedience to put forward his commands, and when it is obeyed, it becomes legitimate authority. It is worth mentioning here that authority loses its legitimacy when it fails to maintain the existing status of their system or fails to acquire popular consent or obedience. To sum up the relationship between power, authority and legitimacy we can forward the following equation:

$$\textit{Power} = \textit{Authority} + \textit{Legitimacy}$$

#### **Stop to Consider:**

##### **Difference between Power and Authority:**

Though there is an intimate relationship between power and authority we can point out the following differences between them:

Authority is legally enforced and is derived from level of position in a society. On the other hand power is individual and independent and originates from charisma and social positioning of an individual. Again, authority is formal and based upon superior and subordinate relationship while, power is informal and is based upon individual understanding. It is also seen that, since authority is related to position of an individual in the society, it has limited scope and is confined to societal structure whereas power is linked with an individual and transcends boundaries.

### **1.5 Meaning of Ideology**

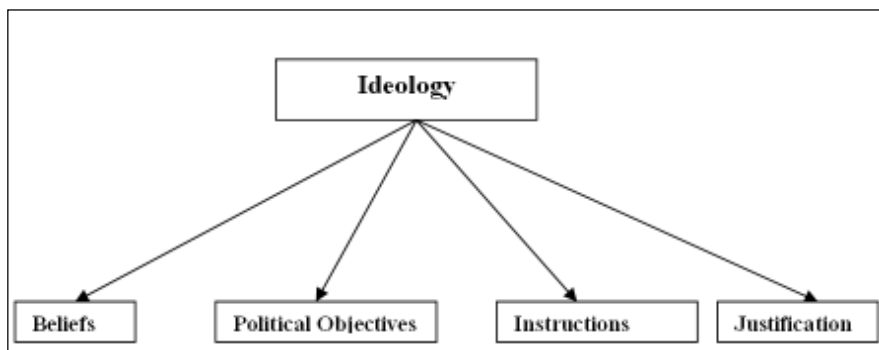
We have already discussed the concept of ideology. Now let us discuss the concept of ideology in this section briefly. It is known to you that, ideologies offer the most useful guidance and new values or ideas to examine social phenomenon properly. You have also learnt that ideology may be defined as a body of moral beliefs and social prescriptions aiming radical change in the existing political structure for the creation of an Ideal Society.

In terms of power and authority, we can find a useful analysis on authority in the writings of Shill. He comments that ‘ideologies are always concerned with authority, transcendent and earthly, and they cannot therefore avoid being political’. We can also define ideology as an ideal political system that prescribes the rules for achieving and maintaining it. Those in power preserve and promote the ideology. Ideological principles are a source of law.

In contemporary world, ideology is inseparable from the study of political behaviour or expression of nation-state. Since the beginning of modern nation-state, ideologies play a crucial role in moulding the behaviour of the nation. Though, Francis Fukuyama proclaimed in his book *The End of History* that the close of the Cold War marked the world’s turning away from ideology. With the exception of Maoist beliefs that continued to guide rebel groups in a few far-flung countries like Peru and Nepal, the age of ideology did seem to be at an end. But still it is ideology through which we can logically examine the true nature of one nations activities. Again a close analysis of an ideology helps us to explore the hidden ideas behind the policies and programmes of a nation. Again like all other concepts of political science it is also very difficult to define ideology in a word. Many scholars put forwarded various opinions regarding the concept of ideology. Let us examine some of them.

To Alan Ball, ideology is the mechanism to legitimize the political structures and distribution of political power within that system and it serves to legitimate the political process. Preston King, one of the prominent scholars of modern political analysis discusses ideology as an actual application of one nations policies and programmes which may involve the entire political ideas to a political system.

Thus it is seen that political ideologies are seen as set of fundamental ideas that are only permissible to a political system. Political ideologies are same as the common ideologies which represent the beliefs, values and attitude of a nation. With the following diagram we can illustrate political ideology very clearly:



**Check Your Progress:**

1. What do you mean by ideology?
2. Examine the relationship between power and authority.
3. Choose the correct one
  - a. Francis Fukuyama/ Marx/Aristotle wrote the book *The End of History*.
  - b. Weber said about 3/4/5 types of authority.
  - c. *Das Capital* was written by Marx/Marx and Angels/Marx and Lenin

**Stop to Consider:****Types of ideology**

From the above discussions we have an idea that ideology consists of our beliefs and values towards our political or social system. However, ideology may differ depending on one's attitude and their needs of time. In this context we can point out the classification of Prof. Morgenthau who divided the various ideologies into three categories. They are

- a). **Ideology of Status Quo**- This ideology emphasises the concept of self-preservation. By applying this ideology in international politics, Morgenthau opines that the existence of this ideology can guarantee peace in international sphere.
- b). **Ideology of Imperialism**- This ideology refers to the extension of the empire through the development of moral ideology. It is just opposite to the ideology of status quo.
- c). **Ambiguous Ideologies**- Sometimes the nations do not make clear which ideology they are going to follow. It is called ambiguous ideology.

However, the scholars of Political Science forwarded mainly three types of ideology. These are as follows:

- **Ideology of Liberalism/Democratic ideology**- The ideology of liberalism promotes the values of freedom, democracy and humanism. It is characterised by three assumptions- limited government, pluralistic society and unlimited scope for human choices.
- **Ideology of Communism/Marxism**- According to this ideology, behind all the historical changes, there is only one factor i.e. the economic factor. If there is a change in the means of production, it will lead to changes in the relations of productions. For eg. hand mill is a product of feudal society whereas steam mill leads to the emergence of industrial capitalists.
- **Ideology of Fascism**- Totalitarianism and anti- Marxism are the two most important characteristic features of the ideology of fascism. Fascism emphasises the protection of the interests of the bourgeois class.

### **1.5.1 Role of Ideology**

No one deny the fact that in a society, ideology is probably the most important factor that affects the activities of the leaders and common people. Again, it is believed that ideology is both a means to an end and an end in itself. In other words we can say that ideology determines the external behaviour of the society or a nation. In this context, we can put forward the arguments of Prof. Norman Hill, who opines that ideology is the readymade package of ideas on the basis of which we can simplify the relationship among the nations. In other words, we can say that our society revolves around the concept of ideology for its proper explanations of incidents. However, in terms of ideological elements or impact of ideology in politics there is a difference of opinion among scholars.

As we mentioned earlier ideology is regarded as a body of ideas reflecting the social needs and aspirations of an individual, group, class, or culture. The major international incidents are the reflection of ideological differences. For example, In the course of World War I, a new element has been introduced. By 1916 the Allies were being urged to think of their endeavour as a war “to make the world safe for democracy,” and the Germans, on their side, were correspondingly encouraged to visualize the war as a struggle of “culture” against “barbarism.” Hence, it is clear that ideological elements are the basic cause behind the War. However it is not true to accept this, because there are also some other causes which are responsible for the war.

However, ideology has tremendously influenced the relationships between the countries in the international arena. During the period between the First and Second World Wars, Fascism in Italy and Nazism in Germany had considerably influenced the foreign policies of these countries. Policy makers of various countries try to mould the public opinion in support of their policies. Particularly in the totalitarian states, the rulers justify their actions through ideologies. On the other hand it can be said that ideology is a set of doctrines or beliefs that form the basis of a political, economic, or other system. And we know that one country’s foreign policy is the reflection of its international and external behaviour and composite desire and beliefs of its people. Through foreign policy one country tries to adjust its relationship with other nations. From this standpoint ideology enables us to discover the lines of differences. For example during the Cold War period we may easily



point out that due to the ideological differences the then two super powers moved against each other.

Again the rise of Communism marked a corresponding increase in the role of ideology. and, Fascism helped to speed the process. The Spanish Civil War of the 1930s was an almost clear-cut confrontation between the ideologies of left and right. The balance of power in today's world is a balance weighted by ideological commitment. In the contemporary period it is believed that ideology has transformed international relationships from traditional to a modern one. Earlier centuries experienced dynastic wars, national, civil, and imperial wars, and diplomacy designed to further national security or national expansion or to promote mutual advantages and general peace. Such factors, indeed, appeared to govern international relations until recent times. International relations today are seemingly dominated more often than not by the exigencies of "-isms": wars are fought, alliances are made, and treaties are signed because of ideological considerations. Hence it is seen that the balance of power in the contemporary world is a balance weighted by ideological commitment.

Thus it is seen that, almost all incidents of politics constitute a belief system of one kind or another. However, some such belief systems are more structured, more ordered, and generally systematic than others, so they are still prevalent. For example, ideology of democracy or liberalism. Hence it is clear that ideology plays an important role in our society. Ideology plays both divisive and co-operational role. While common ideology may unite different countries, differences in ideology may divide them. It provides rigid framework for foreign policy makers. Ideology is also closely related to struggle for power.

**SAQ:**

Do you think that contemporary world depends on ideology in its policy making process. Give arguments in favour of your answer. (50 words)

.....  
.....  
.....  
.....  
.....  
.....

## 1.6 Summing Up

After going through this unit now you are in a position to examine the concepts of power, authority and ideology. All these three concepts play an important role to the study of political science. Moreover, we can say that politics is nothing but the combination of power, authority which reflects ideological elements of a society and its members. Since the inception of human civilisation, individuals are trying to acquire more and more power and try to impose their authority on others. Their efforts are fuelled by the ideologies they followed. Leadership is the media through which one can impose his power and authority on others. In this context you should remember here that authority is sanctioned by the ideology. Hence, this unit gave you an idea of power, authority and ideology. Now you can easily examine our existing social structure, because society is a power structure and we obey the authority of leaders which is based on our ideologies.

## 1.7 References and Suggested Readings

Bell, D., 1960. *The End of Ideology*. London: Harvard University Press.

Festenstein, M. and Kenny, M., eds., 2005. *Political Ideologies*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Fukuyama, F., 1992. *The End of History and the Last Man*. Harmondsworth: Penguin.

Lipset, S. M., 1969. *Political Man*. London: Heinemann.

Pip Jones, 2008, “*Introducing Social Theory*”, Polity Press, Cambridge, New York

Foucault, M. ,1982, “*The Subject and Power*”. Michel Foucault : *Beyond Structuralism and Hermeneutics*. Ed. Dreyfus, H. L. and Rabinow, P. Chicago: U. of Chicago Press.

Dalton, D, 1969, *Gandhi: Ideology and Authority*, Modern Asian Studies, Cambridge University Press, NY

\* \* \*

## **Unit 2**

### **Political Culture and Political Socialisation**

#### **Contents:**

- 2.1 Introduction
- 2.2 Objectives
- 2.3 Meaning of Culture
- 2.4 Functions of Culture
- 2.5 Material and Non- Material Culture
- 2.6 Meaning of Political Culture
- 2.7 Types of Political Culture
- 2.8 Meaning of Socialization and Political Socialization
- 2.9 Relationship between Socialization and Political Socialization
- 2.10 Functions of Political Socialization
- 2.11 Summing Up
- 2.12 References and Suggested Readings

#### **2.1 Introduction**

Culture is an identity building system. To preserve the strength and unity of a society, every individual in the society has to follow certain rules and regulations. These rules and regulations constitute the culture of the society. Culture varies from society to society. But the basic part remains the same. The answer to the question that whether we possess culture alone is based on how we define culture. If culture is defined in narrow sense, then only human beings possess culture. But if culture is defined in broad terms i. e. if it includes the entire learned behaviour pattern, then culture cannot be said to be a unique possession of human society. The animals also train their child on some learned behaviour patterns. Through the process of socialization the infant members of the society learns the rules and practices of social groups. Thus culture is transmitted from one generation to another. Political culture is that aspect of culture which deals with politics. It is the values, beliefs and faiths about the political system of the society. And the process

of political socialization transmits the political culture from one generation to another.

This unit is an attempt to familiarize you with the concepts like culture, socialisation, political socialisation as well as political culture. In this unit we shall discuss various functions of culture as well as types of culture specially material and non- material culture. Material culture refers to the man made objects like tools, furniture, automobiles, buildings, dams, roads, bridges etc. On the other hand the non- material culture includes beliefs, values, rules, norms, morals, language, organizations, and institutions of people. In this unit our aim is also to discuss the relationship between socialization and political socialisation as well as different functions of political socialization.

## **2.2 Objectives**

The concepts like culture, socialization, political culture and political socialization are interrelated. While culture refers to the beliefs and values of society, political culture deals with its political aspect. Socialization transmits cultural values in the society and the process of political socialization helps in transmitting political culture. After reading this unit you will be able to—

- *define* the concepts of culture, socialization, political culture and political socialization
- *explain* the functions of culture
- *examine* material and non- material culture
- *trace* the relationship between socialisation and political socialization
- *analyse* the functions of political socialisation

## **2.3 Meaning of Culture**

Culture as a social concept is related to group behaviour. The term culture has been first introduced by English anthropologist Edward B Tylor in his book *Primitive Culture* published in 1871. According to Tylor, culture is “that complex whole which includes knowledge, belief, art, law, morals, custom, and any other capabilities and habits acquired by man as a member of society.” The word culture has been derived from Latin word *cultura*

meaning 'to cultivate'. When the concept of culture first emerged in 18<sup>th</sup> century Europe, it was mainly used to refer to the cultivation in agriculture or horticulture. During the 19<sup>th</sup> century, the word has been used to denote the refinement of a human personality especially through education. In contemporary world the term is used to refer to all the human development which is not genetic. In simple terms, culture is the whole range of learned behaviour pattern.

It needs mention here that though culture differs from society to society, the basic part remains the same. For eg. every culture follows some religion. The religion may be different in different cultural societies. Culture is both universal and particular. Food is a universal culture. But what the people will take and how they will prepare it differs from society to society. For eg. every family takes food at night. An Assamese family may take rice whereas a Punjabi family may take chapattis.

You should remember here that the changing environmental development makes internal adaptation necessary for culture. It is changing from time to time. Few decades back, girl's education was looked down upon. But now, it is an important part of society. Though some factors bring changes in culture, but you should remember here that these changes most of the time do not and cannot affect the basic structure of the culture. It affects only the surface level of the culture. The impact of the changes is visible mostly in dress, food, transportation, housing etc. The basic structure of culture like values, morals, ethics etc resist deep changes.

Moreover, facets of culture are interrelated. Change in one aspect of culture leads to changes in various other aspects of culture. For eg. the women movement brings changes in gender role, educational opportunity, job opportunity, legal system etc.

Now let us discuss some of the definitions of culture to get a clear idea of the concept.

- B Malinowski-Culture is the cumulative creation of man. It is the handiwork of man and the medium through which he achieve his ends.
- Graham Wallas- Culture is an accumulation of thoughts, values and objects. It is the social heritage acquired by us from preceding generations through learning, as distinguished from the biological heritage which is passed on to us automatically through genes.

- C C North- Culture consists of the instruments constructed by man to assist him in satisfying his wants.
- Robert Bierstedt- Culture is the complex whole that consists of all the ways we think and do and everything we have as members of society.
- E V De Roberty- Culture is the body of thoughts and knowledge, both theoretical and practical, which only man can possess.
- Edward B Tylor- Culture is that complex whole which includes knowledge, belief, morals, art, law, custom and any other capabilities and habits acquired by man as a member of society.
- Frans Boar- Culture embraces all the manifestations of social habits of a community, the reactions of the individual as affected by the habits of the group in which he lives, and the products of human activities as determined by these habits.
- Klineberg- Culture is that whole way of life which is determined by the social environment.
- Clyde Kluckhohn- Culture consists of patterns, explicit and implicit, of and for behaviour acquired and transmitted by symbols, constituting the distinctive achievement of human groups, including their embodiments in artifacts; the essential core of culture consists of traditional (i.e. historically derived and selected) ideas and especially their attached values; culture system may, on the other hand, be considered as product of action, on the other as conditioning influences upon further action.
- Talcott Parsons- Culture is the patterned or ordered systems or symbols which are objects of the orientation of action, internalized components of the personalities of individual actors and institutionalized pattern of social systems.

From the above definitions you have learnt that culture teaches a child how to behave within the social framework. Culture may be defined as the deposit of knowledge, experience, beliefs, values, attitudes, meanings, hierarchies, religion, notions of time, roles, spatial relations, concepts of the universe, and material objects and possessions acquired by a group of people in the course of generations through individual and group striving. Culture is

transmitted from one generation to another through mind, books, pictures, films, videos etc. Every individual is an heir of massive information.

### **Stop to Consider:**

#### **Characteristics of Culture**

- Culture is learnt- Culture is said to be the learned ways of behaviour. Culture cannot be inherited biologically. Some behaviours are physiological and unlearned. For eg. closing the eyes while sleeping, the eye blinking reflex and so on. But some behaviours are not physiological and they are learnt. For eg. shaking hands, wearing clothes, combing the hair, wearing ornaments, cooking food, reading newspaper, driving a car are learnt behaviour. Culture is not innate and it is something which is learnt. We learn culture through interaction, observation and imitation.
- Culture is social- Culture is a product of society. It cannot develop in isolation. Social interactions help in originating and developing culture. Culture is shared by the members of the society. Association with other human beings helps in acquiring culture.
- Culture is shared- Culture cannot be enjoyed alone. It exists in society. No man can possess it alone. It is shared by everyone in the society.
- Culture is transmissive- Culture is a continuous process. It is transmitted from one generation to another. Culture is not passing through genes but by language.
- Culture varies from society to society- Cultures are not uniform. It differs from society to society. There are differences in the way of speaking, eating, greeting in different societies.
- Culture is dynamic- Culture is something dynamic and not static or constant. New ideas and products bring changes to culture. For eg. The civil rights movement and the invention of television helped in reshaping the culture of the society.
- Culture is changeable- The diffusion or borrowing from another culture also changes the existing culture- Moreover, the calamities also bring changes in the culture. Currently, many cultural changes are taking place in Eastern Europe and the former Soviet Union. The elimination of the Berlin Wall, the unification of East and West Germany, the dissolution of the Soviet Union into numerous smaller states, and the problems of adjustment to new economies and governments are producing enormous changes in the affected cultures.

## 2.4 Functions of Culture

You have already learnt that culture is the basis of society. Selection of behaviour pattern separates one culture from another. If one culture selects work as an end (Japan), while another emphasizes work as a means to an end (Mexico), we have a cultural separation. The various functions of culture are discussed below-

- Culture is the treasury of knowledge- For the social, physical and intellectual existence of man, knowledge is necessary. Culture provides this knowledge. Birds and animals adapt themselves to the surrounding environments instinctively. But man has intelligence and learning capacity. They can adapt themselves with the changing environment with the help of this acquired knowledge. They can also modify the environment according to their own convenience. Culture provides mankind with the skill and knowledge necessary for this adaptation. Culture preserves this knowledge and transmits it from generation to generation.
- Culture defines situations- Culture defines, conditions and determines the social situations for us. Culture determines what we eat and drink, what we wear, when to laugh, weep, sleep, love, what work we do, what god we worship, what poetry we recite and so on.
- Culture defines attitudes, values and goals- Attitude of a person refers to the tendency to feel and act in certain ways. The measure of goodness or desirability is known as the values. Goals are the attainment of our desires which our values define as worthy. Our attitudes, values and goals are defined by culture. Our attitudes towards religion, morality, marriage etc are conditioned by culture. Again, culture also influences our values concerning private property, fundamental rights, representative government etc. Our goals of winning race, understanding others, attaining salvation, being obedient to elders, being patriotic etc are all set forth by our culture.
- Culture decides our career- Our culture influences the career we decide to pursue. Our choice to select different career is limited by the culture we are born into. Whether we should become a politician, a social worker, a doctor, an engineer, a soldier, a farmer, a professor, an industrialist and so on is decided by our culture. The individuals



always have to live within the framework of the culture though they can develop, modify or oppose some trends of culture.

- Culture provides behaviour pattern- Culture directs and confines the behaviour of a person. Culture assigns some roles to the individuals.
- Culture moulds personality- Culture prepares man for group life and provides him the design of living. Culture provides opportunity for the development of personality of a person.
- Culture shapes behaviour. Culture provides a standard by which we evaluate others behaviour. Culture gives meaning to events or acts. Culture allows for communication of events or acts. Culture provides boundary maintenance.

Besides these functions, culture also performs certain other functions like fulfilling a boundary- defining role; that is, creating distinctions between one organisation and another; conveying a sense of identity for members of the organization; facilitating the generation of commitment to something larger than one's individual self-interest; enhancing the stability of the organisation's social system; providing 'standards' for what employees should say and do; defines the 'rules of the game' etc.

**SAQ:**

Do you think that culture transforms a human being into social being? Explain. (20+30 words).

.....  
.....  
.....  
.....  
.....

**2.5 Material and Non- Material Culture**

The culture of a society can be broadly divided into two categories namely material and non- material. The physical object, resources and spaces that define the culture of people is known as material culture. Material culture includes homes, neighbourhoods, cities, schools, churches, temples, mosques, offices, factories and plants, tools, means of production, goods and products, stores, furniture, automobiles, buildings, dams, roads, bridges

and so forth. The material culture is concerned with external, mechanical and utilitarian objects. Technical and material equipments like television, printing press, telephone, tractor, machine gun etc. are also part of material culture. It also includes our banks, insurance systems, currency systems etc. These aspects of culture define the behaviour and perception of its members. For eg. computer represents the material culture of America. It is necessary for the American people to know computer to survive in college. Whereas building weapons and hunting represents the material culture of the young adults of Yanomamo society in the Amazon. These objects are result of human action. For eg. A coin which is a part of material object is made by human. There are again some objects which are natural but used by the human. For eg. animal horn can be used as decorative piece or ritual object. Moreover, a legal charter or religious paintings are also part of material culture. Everything that is made, fashioned or transformed by human being in the society represents the material culture of the society. It is tangible. It is concerned with external and mechanical objects.

It needs mention here that unlike material culture, non- material culture is something internal. It reflects the inward nature of man. Examples of non-material culture are- words people use or the language they speak, the beliefs they hold, values and virtues they cherish, habits they follow, rituals and practices that they do, ceremonies they observe etc. The concept of religion which includes ideas about God, worship, morals and ethics represents the non- material culture. The non- material culture includes our customs and tastes, attitudes and outlook. In simple it includes our ways of acting, feeling and thinking. In terms of non- material culture, a culture uses several processes like symbol, language, values and norms to shape the thoughts, feelings and behaviour of its members. Non- material culture is the way we use material culture. Non- material culture is related to material culture. For eg. food is material culture. But the taboos and restrictions related to food is non- material culture. The Muslims do not take pork whereas the Hindus do not take beef. Here the non- material culture decides the way in which the material culture should be used. It consists of intangible and abstract objects.

**Check Your Progress:**

1. Who introduced the term culture?
2. Write a note on importance of culture in social conditioning of identity.
3. What is the difference between material and non- material culture?

**2.6 Meaning of Political Culture**

In the first paper of this semester you have already learnt the concept of political culture. The political culture differentiates one political system from another. The concept of political culture became a part of modern political analysis during the 1960s. According to Gabriel Almond and Sidney Verba the concept of political culture has originated between the two world wars. The term has been first introduced in 1956 by Gabriel Almond in his paper titled 'Comparative Political System'. It is the political culture of the system which defines issues like why military dictatorship is popular in one country and democracy in another. In simple words political culture is the psychology of a nation towards politics. To know the meaning of political culture let us examine various definitions of political culture.

- Sidney Verba- Political culture is the system of empirical beliefs, expressive symbols and values which define the situation in which political action takes place.
- Dennis Kavanagh- A political culture is composed of the attitudes, beliefs, emotions and values of society.
- Samuel Beer- Political culture is the pattern of ideas and tradition about authority.
- Dogan and Rose- The concept of political culture is a conventional shorthand way of referring to the values, beliefs, emotions that gives meaning to political life.
- Walter A Rosenbaum- Political culture is the collective orientation of people towards the basic elements in their political system.
- S P Verma- Political culture includes not only the attitudes to politics, political values, ideologies, national character and cultural ethos but also the style, manner and substantive form of politics.

These definitions will help you in gathering some idea about the concept of political culture. It deals with the political orientation of the citizens.

### **Stop to Consider:**

#### **Foundations of Political Culture**

The political culture of a country is the product of many factors. These includes historical, geographical and socio- economic factors.

Tradition plays a big role in political culture. No new political culture can deny the influence of tradition in the society as tradition has its roots in the society and it is liked by vast majority. A monarchical nation cannot become a republic all of a sudden. In some cases tradition is gradually being assimilated with modernity. In such cases revolutionary changes are not seen. For eg in India, tradition is well blended with modernity. But in some other cases, traditional set up is overthrown by the revolution. For example we can cite the case of France.

Geography of the country also influences the political culture of the country. For eg. the island insularity of Britain protected the country from foreign invasion.

Ethnic differences also influence the political culture of a country to a great extent. The ethnic differences in Germany have affected the culture of the country to a great extent.

## **2.7 Types of Political Culture**

According to Almond there are four broad types of political culture. He distinguished these cultures on the bass of the political systems. These are as follows-

1. Anglo- American System- The political culture in Anglo- American system is homogenous and secular. In this system, politics is conducted in secular spirit as the citizens have shared values or they manage to fuse different values and role structures.
2. Continental European System- This system witnesses the fragmentation of culture into rival subcultures. In this type of system, the loyalties towards socio- political and religious institutions lead to the hostility among the sub- cultures. This type of political culture can be found in France during the Third and Fourth Republics, Italy, Germany and Northern Ireland etc.

3. Non- Western or Pre- Industrial System- This system represents a mixed type of political culture. This type of culture is marked by general lack of awareness of the regime and its norms as well as absence of stable and explicit role structure.
4. Totalitarian System- In this system a synthetic homogenous political culture is found. Apathy combined with general lack of commitment to regime norms is one of the important features of this type of culture.

**Stop to Consider:**

**Three Levels of Political Culture**

System Level- It involves the citizen's and leaders views of the values and organizations that hold the political system together. Eg. national pride, national identity and legitimacy of government.

Process Level- It refers to expectation of how politics should function and individuals' relationship to the political process. Eg. rinciples of government, role of citizens, perceptions of political rights etc.

Political Level- It deals with citizens and leader's policy expectations from the government. eg. role of government, government policy priorities etc.

Later on Almond and Verba developed new kinds of political culture on the basis of people's orientation to political action. These are as follows-

- Parochial political culture is characterized by low awareness, low expectation and low participation. In this system, the citizens have no cognitive orientation towards the system. The citizens are hardly affected by the political system and they show little or no awareness of the political system. The people do not want to participate in the affairs of the government, neither they expect anything from the government. They cannot relate themselves to the input process. They are not even affected by the output process. Though this type of people may be found in every society, yet in traditional societies this kind of people can be found in large number. Politics seems to be a domain of the elites in this type of political culture. The people try to avoid the realm of politics as they perceive the government as enforcer of rules. For eg. Mexico

- In subject political culture, there is higher level of awareness and expectation but low participation. In this type of culture, citizens assume a passive or obedient relationship to the system. They do not see themselves as capable of influencing the input process. But they get affected by the output aspects and structures. People have cognitive orientation towards the output aspect. They too believe that politics is a domain of the elites and hence they do not tend to participate in the political affairs. This type of political culture is found in the East European and nations like Italy, Germany.
- In participant political culture, the levels of all the three are high i.e. high level of awareness, expectation and participation. In this type of culture, most people are oriented to the input process. They also find themselves capable of making demands and help to shape policies. In this type of political culture the citizens are informed about politics, make demands on government and support political leaders. Participant political culture exists in highly developed societies where people actively take part in the input process and they are equally affected by the output process. The British, American and Scandinavian political system represents this type of culture.

**SAQ:**

Do you think that Indian democracy represents participant political culture? Give reasons in favour of your answer. (30+30 words)

.....

.....

.....

.....

.....

.....

These are the ideal types of cultures according to Almond and Verba. But most of the time a political system combines two or three types of cultures. For eg. the citizens are participant during election or strike but are subjects when paying taxes or complying with laws and regulations. Hence, Almond and Verba put forwarded the following mixed types of cultures.

1. Parochial subject political culture- In this type, the individual or the citizen knows about various governmental roles but he does not know how to influence the political system. For eg. African Kingdom and Ottoman Empire.
2. Subject participant political culture- In this type there are two sections of citizens. One section is highly politically active while the other one is relatively passive.
3. Parochial participant political culture- In this type of culture, the input and output institutions are under the parochial interests.
4. Civic culture- It is a mixture of all the three types of political culture.

Now you have learnt the various kinds of cultures in a society. It needs mention here that besides these kinds, in every political society there are two broad types of political culture. One is the culture of the power holders or the elite culture and the other is the mass culture or the culture of the general people.

## **2.8 Meaning of Socialization and Political Socialisation**

You have already learnt that human behaviour is learnt behaviour. The new born member of a society is given training for the development of the personality. This training is known as socialization process. Socialization is the process of moulding and shaping the personality of human infant. Through the process of socialization, an individual becomes the functioning member of a society. Socialization refers to the process of adjustment of a person to the condition of his social environment. This process is a continuous process. Man learns something in every stages of life. Moreover, with the changing roles man learn something new. A human being undergoes several stages of life from infant to adolescence to old age. In these different stages of life we play different roles. For eg. as a child we learn from our parents. In the second stage we learn from our peer groups and then we become parents and our role changes. Therefore, it can be said that socialization is a continuous process. Socialization is a process of transmitting culture from one generation to another. Every society possesses different cultures. Hence, the process of socialization differs from society to society.

### **Stop to Consider:**

#### **Types of Socialisation**

In his book *Sociology* (1977), Robertson has mentioned four broad types of socialization. These are as follows-

1. **Primary socialization-** Primary socialization takes place in the early years of life of an infant. This type is characterized by the teaching of language and cognitive skills, the internalization of cultural norms and values, establishment of emotional ties, appreciation of other roles and perspectives etc. Among these, the internalization of norms is the most important. It is a process through which the norms of the society become a part of human personality.
2. **Anticipatory socialization-** It refers to that process of socialization through which a person tries to learn some culture of a group to which he is not a member but expects to become a member of that group. For eg. if a person wants to be a member of defense service, he needs to do physical exercises to toughen his body. He also needs to learn the behaviour of the defense personnels.
3. **Developmental socialisation-** This type of socialization is based on primary socialization. With the growing age, an individual learn many things which is added to the old ones.
4. **Resocialisation-** This type of socialization occurs when a person changes the membership of his group. For eg. if a thief becomes a cop it will be resocialisation.

Some of the definitions of socialization given by various writers are as follows-

- **Bogardus-** Socialization is the process of working together, of developing group responsibility, or being guided by the welfare needs of others.
- **WF Ogburn-** Socialization is the process by which the individual learns to conform to the norms of the group.
- **Peter Worsley-** Socialization is the process of transmission of culture, the process whereby man learns the rules and practices of social groups.
- **Harry M Johnson-** Socialization is the process of learning that enables the learners to perform social roles. He also says that it is a



process by which individuals acquire the already existing culture of groups they come into.

- **Lundberg-** Socialization consists of the complex process of interaction through which the individuals learn the habits, beliefs, skills and standards of judgments that are necessary for his effective participation in social groups and communities.

This process of political socialization develops the members of a society into a well functioning member of a political community.

## **2.9 Relationship between Socialisation and Political Socialisation**

It has already been mentioned that socialization is the process through which people acquire norms and behaviours of the society. On the other hand, political socialization is the process which transmits the political values and norms from one generation to another. Political socialization is the segment of the process of socialization. Through the process of socialization the young and newcomers in a society get integrated into the society. When this learning process is applied to social system it is called socialization. On the other hand, when it is applied to the political system it is known as political socialization. The process of socialization helps in moulding the personality of a person and in later stage it decides his political role.

### **Stop to Consider:**

#### **Functions of Socialisation**

Socialization converts biological being into social being- Man is not born social. Social behaviour is learnt behaviour. The process of socialization trains a child to become a full fledged member of the society.

Socialisation develops the personality- Socialisation shapes and moulds the human personality. Through the process of socialisation a child gets to develop different traits of his personality.

Helps to become disciplined- Socialization transmits values, beliefs, norms as well as rules and regulations to a child. This learning of values and rules of the society helps the child to be disciplined. It helps the child to live according to the expectation of the society.

Helps to enact different roles- In different stages of life an individual have to portray different role. The process of socialization teaches a child to portray these roles within the social framework. In the various stages of life through the different types of socialization a child gets to know about different role interpretations.

Provides the knowledge of skills- To portray different roles in different stages of life, a child needs some special skills. The process of socialization provides the child with those necessary skills to lead a normal social life.

Develops right aspirations in life- Every human being has some aspirations and desires. But all the desires are not in accordance to the society. Some of the aspirations may be anti- social. The process of socialization helps in choosing the right aspiration in life.

Stabilize the social order- The process of socialisation transmits the culture of a society from one generation to another and thus helps in stabilizing the social order.

So, now it is clear to you that the process of socialization helps a child internalizing different roles in the society. Political socialization makes an individual enable to become the member of political community. Through the process of socialization a child learns different aspects of society including political aspect. The part dealing with this political aspect is known as political socialization. It is a part of bigger whole of socialization. The process of political socialization takes place along with the process of socialization. It begins in the family.

The process of socialization begins with the birth of a child and it continues till death.

In the initial years the child learns the basic social norms like how to eat, how to drink, how to greet people, how to behave in the society etc. During this stage the child identifies with his mother. Gradually the process of socialization teaches the child to lower the dependency on mother to some extent and he starts internalizing two separate roles- his mother and he himself and ultimately he begins to internalize various social norms. The child begins to recognize the outside world. The child comes to know that there is a world outside the family. The child needs to learn group value. The child also gradually starts to put demands on the society. And this learning of group value and putting demands is the first step of political

socialization of a child. The children hear the adult members discussing political issues and giving their judgements. An impression is created in the minds of the children and it helps them in formulating an opinion about the same issue. The parental authority helps them to be familiar with the state authority. The child pays obedience to the parental authority and in the later stage it helps him/ her paying obedience to state authority.

You have already learnt that the political socialization is a continuous process. It takes place along with the process of socialization. In every stage of life various factors like educational institutions, peer groups, working environment etc. influence this process. And when the person actually takes part in the political system his views may change.

**2.10 Functions of Political Socialization**

From the above sections you have already learnt that through the process of political socialization, political cultures are formed and transmitted from one generation to another. Through this process, values, attitudes, knowledge and beliefs about politics is maintained and passed on within the society. It is the method which helps us in acquiring political norms and values.

The process of political socialization makes the masses aware of their political rights and also makes them conscious about their political duties like voting in the election; contesting election etc. This process also makes a person able to check drawbacks of the society through the realization of his rights and duties. It also helps in the growth and development of culture.

**SAQ:**

Do you think there should be specially designed programme for the process of political socialization in developing countries? Give reasons. (30+30 words).

.....

.....

.....

.....

.....

.....

.....

.....

Political socialization brings new changes in political culture so that it does not become static. It brings changes without violently disturbing the existing political order.

It creates awareness in the masses of various political rights and duties. It helps them to participate in voting process as well as contesting election etc. It preserves, strengthens and changes the political culture of a society.

Through the process of political socialization, individuals are inducted into the political culture. Moreover, the process of political socialization also helps in the formation of orientation towards political culture.

Political socialisation modifies political culture so that the culture does not become static. Political socialization helps in maintaining the dynamic character of culture. Political socialisation is responsible for introducing new culture in the society.

This process helps in making political democracy a success. It improves the existing political structure and also strengthens political values.

**Stop to Consider:**

**Causes for the Discontinuity of Political Socialisation**

**Mass migration-** Mass migration and immigration of population from one country to another leads to the discontinuity of the process of political socialisation. It is well known that there will be a difference between the political ideas of migrating population and natives.

**Time lag-** The time lag between the acquisition of political values and actual assumption of political role also leads to the discontinuity. The norms and values that an individual learns as a child may not be similar when he actually enters the political system. This time lag may cause the discontinuation.

**Urbanisation trend-** Rapid process of urbanisation also affects the political socialization process. Radical change in social ideas definitely going to affect the political ideas as well. Moreover, giving up of old values leads to discontinuation.

By the process of political socialization, political cultures are maintained and changed. Political socialization introduces a person to the political culture and consequently helps in forming orientation towards political objects. In simple words, this process transmits the norms and behaviour acceptable

to a well organized political system from one generation to another. Hence it can be said that the chief objective of this process is to train or develop the individual in such a manner that they become active members of a political community.

Political socialization helps in stabilizing the political system. Through the process of political socialization the citizens internalizes the norms and behaviour of the political system. It helps them in understanding the system in a better way. For eg. the citizens in Great Britain are politically socialized to adopt constitutional means to affect changes. They do not resort to violent means for bringing about changes in the community.

In simple terms the chief aim of political socialization is to achieve the goal of political stabilization. It internalizes political norms and values. For eg. the young Chinese are taught the values of Mao Tse Tung and communism. The young Americans are given knowledge on democracy and freedom. The Indians are taught the values of secularism, socialism and democracy.

Though political socialization stabilizes and maintains the political culture yet it cannot be said that political socialization always has a pattern maintaining role. Sometimes people may be socialized to protest against the existing political culture and established political order. For eg. during the period of national movement, the Indians were socialized to fight against the Britishers. Hence, it can be said that the process of political socialization may not always support the existing political culture. At times it may be destructive towards the established order also.

**Check Your Progress:**

1. Write a note on parochial political culture.
2. What do you mean by political socialization?
3. Explain the relationship between socialization and political socialization.
4. How political socialization transmits political culture?

## **2.11 Summing Up**

In this unit we have discussed various concepts like culture, socialization, political culture as well as political socialization. Culture includes all the values, beliefs, behavior patterns, habits and all those aspects which are not genetic. Culture is an integral part of our society. Yet it differs from society to society. A person becomes politically conscious as a result of political socialization. Political culture deals with the political aspect of culture. It includes those values and beliefs regarding the political system. Political socialisation transmits these political values from one generation to another. Political socialization helps a person to realize his political duties and responsibilities. This process makes the person politically conscious so that he can check the drawbacks of the system. All these constitute the political culture of the society and political socialisation helps in transmitting this political culture from one generation to another. This unit also helps you to grasp the relationship between political culture and political socialization as well as socialisation and political socialization.

## **2.12 References and Suggested Readings**

*Comparative Politics* by Vidya Bhushan, Atlantic Publishers and Distributors, Delhi, 2006

*Sociology* by C. N. Shankar Rao, S. Chand and Company Ltd., New Delhi, 1990

*Political Sociology: A New Grammar of Politics* by Ali Ashraf and L. N. Sharma, Universities Press, Hyderabad, 2001(reprint)

*Comparative Politics* by J. C. Johari, Sterling Publishers Pvt. Ltd., New Delhi, 2005 (reprint).

*Political Theory (Principles of Political Science)* by V. D. Mahajan, S. Chand and Company Ltd., New Delhi, 2000 (reprint).

<http://thisnation.com/textbook/processes-socialization.html>

[http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Political\\_socialization](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Political_socialization)

<http://polisci.nelson.com/intropc.html>

<http://home.comcast.net/~lionel Ingram/>  
Political\_Culture\_and\_Political\_Socialization.pdf

<http://tutor2u.net/sociology/power-political-socialisation.html>

<http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Socialization>

[http://k-12.pisd.edu/schools/pshs/soc\\_stu/comp\\_gv/Ch3\\_04\\_3.pdf](http://k-12.pisd.edu/schools/pshs/soc_stu/comp_gv/Ch3_04_3.pdf)

\* \* \*