Political Sociology

BASCC301

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POLITICAL SOCIOLOGY
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MODULE: 1
INTRODUCTION

1.1 Definition, Nature and Scope of Political Sociology

1.2 Subject matter of Political Sociology

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1.1 Definition, Nature and Scope of Political Sociology

The Social Sciences are now in a revolutionary mood in which the boundaries of the disciplines become invisibleand new disciplines are emerging out showing interdisciplinary nature. Similarly, Political Science – one of the oldest disciplines among Social Sciences no longer considered as independent because it hires the mouth piece from Sociology. The Sociology not only altered the perspectives of Political Science but also reshaped the content and character of it, which lead to the emergence of a new discipline titled Political Sociology.

Political Sociology is the byproduct of the cross fertilization between Sociology and Political Science emerged after the Second World War. It studies the impact of society and politics on each other as well as includes the elements of both Sociology and Political Science. Both Lipset and Runciman have fixed the birth of Political Sociology at the middle of the 19th century under the impact of industrial revolution in turn leads to the changing of traditional society into a modern one. The emergence of modern society had begun to point out the distinction between state and society. Since it is a young discipline in its modern form, but has a history of long tradition like in the writings of Herbert Spencer, Horkheimer, Karl Marx,

Hegel, and Pareto and so on. In spite of these scholars its Max Weber, the German Sociologist considered as the father of Political Sociology. His analysis of the relation between state and society and the concept of bureaucracy nurtured its growth as a scientific discipline.

Political Sociology is not a discipline which emerged by accident but there are lot of factors for its emergence. Since the Second World War the western scholars have been doing empirical research on political phenomena with a touch of Sociology in it. The findings when analyzed showed that it is neither pure Politics nor pure Sociology. The major factors lead to the emergence of Political Sociology is as follows:

- **The extension of the area of politics, which has penetrated into social arena.** Because of the interdependence of politics and society, political institutions have been studied from Sociological perspective.

- **Rise of modern concept of bureaucracy by Weber which explains that it has deep relationship with the society and culture of the country**. Therefore, the Political Sociologists started to conduct large survey for the standard study of bureaucracy and social variables.

- **Rise in tendency of the distinction between state and society due to the evolution of modern society.**

- **Rise in tendency of distinction between political and social relations.**Like, Montesquieu claimed that social factors determine the nature of the government and administrators and the nature of state may change the society.

- **Growing dissatisfaction with the nature of traditional Political Science.**

Definitions of Political Sociology

Many times, the Political Sociology is used interchangeably with Sociology of politics even though both are distinct.Giovanni Sartori claimed that Political Sociology is the Sociology of Politics with something else. A.K Mukhopadhyaya says that "Political Sociology is indeed, this connecting bridge that one finds so much missing in Sociology of Politics. Political Sociology believes in a two - way relation between Sociology and Political Science, giving equal emphasis on both the social and political variables."

➢ Political Sociology as "the study of the interrelationship between society and polity, between social structures and political institutions" - *S.M. Lipset*

➢ "Political Sociology starts with the society and examines how it affects the state"- *R.Bendix*

➢ Political Sociology as "being a subject area which examines the link between social structures and political structures and between social behaviour and political behaviour" - *Michael Rush and Philip Althoff*

➢ "Political Sociology as an interdisciplinary hybrid"- *Giovanni Sartori*

➢ Political Sociology "as the study of political behaviour within a sociological perspective framework" - *Robert E. Dowse and John A. Hughes*

➢ "Political Sociology is the product of a cross fertilization between sociology and political science that studies the

impact of society on politics and also the reverse, although viewing the substance of politics in a social form"- *A.K.Mukhopadhaya*

Some of the essential features of Political Sociology are given below:

(1) Political sociology is not political science, unlike the later, it is not a discipline or a study of the state craft.

(2) It is concerned not only with social but the political aspect as well.

(3) It revolves around the belief that there exists an identity of form between the social process and the political process.

(4) Political sociology tries to resolve the traditional dichotomy between state and society.

In short, Political sociology acts as a theoretical and methodological bridge between political science and Sociology, what Sartori has called "an inter-disciplinary hybrid".

Nature of Political Sociology

Political Sociology is defined as the study of political institutions and processes in relation to their social background or setting.The study deals with the ways in which political phenomena influence and are in turn influenced by various aspects of society. It is a discipline which had its root in the period of enlightenment where there was an attempt to look at a society from a novel perspective. Aristotle once said that man is a social animal and so man is to be understood through society, as a member of the society. This in turn gives the basis for Political Sociology.

*   Political Sociology interests itself in the social conditions which affect the working of government and politics.

*   It aims at understanding the sources and the social bases of conflict, as well as process of conflict management and articulation of interest, issues, political organization and integration.

*   It tries to understand the process of interaction between government and society.

*   It seeks to understand the decision-making authorities and conflicting social forces and interests.

*   It studies the interactions and linkages between politics and society; political system and its social, economic and cultural environment.

*   Its main focus is on the independence of interplay between socio – cultural, economic and political elements.

*   The perspective of Political Sociology is distinct from behavioralist and institutionalism in which former deals with institutional types of political organization and later on the individual actor in political arena.

*   Political Sociologists study the political processes as a continuum of interactions between society and its decision - makers and decision – making institutions and social forces.

*   It provides a new vista in political analysis which is closely related to the Political Philosophy.

*   It finds an identity between the social processes and the

political process and there by introduces a new definition of politics.

Scope of Political Sociology

Political sociology is mainly concerned with the analysis of the interaction between politics and society. The scope of political sociology is very vast. An important concern of political sociology is the decision-making process; it considers not only the social forces but also includes the economic factors which are regulated by forces such as money, market and other resources scarcities.

According to Lipset, "If the stability of society is a central issue for Sociology as a whole, the stability of a specific institutional structure or political regime – the social conditions of democracy – is the prime concern of Political Sociology."*Lipset and R. Bendix* explained that Political Sociology studies:

- ❖ Voting behavior in communities and in the nation.

- ❖ Concentration of economic power and political decision making.

- ❖ Ideologies of political movements and interest groups.

- ❖ Political parties, voluntary association, the problems of oligarchy and psychological correlates of political behavior.

- ❖ Government and the problem of bureaucracy.

Years later, *Greer and Orleans* opined that the "Political Sociology is mainly concerned with explanation of the peculiar social structure called state". They more specifically pointed out the major concerns of the discipline:

(1) The structure of the state

(2) The nature and conditions of legitimacy

(3) The nature of the monopoly of force and its use by the State

(4) The nature of the subunits and their contention with the state.

Andreu Effrat has taken a much broader view on Political Sociology, concerned with the causes, patterns and consequences of distribution and process of power and authority in all social systems. In the social systems he includes small groups and families, educational and religious groups as well as governmental and political institutions.Where as *Dowse and Hughes* stressed that the major concern of Political Sociologist is the social order and political obedience.

*Richard G Braungart's*point on Political Sociology is that it is concerned with the dynamic association between the social origin of politics, the structure of political process and the effects of politics on the surrounding society and culture.

Major concern for political sociology is the analysis of socio - political factors in economic development. The problems of administrative expansion, bureaucratic way of looking into a country's native culture and society, the relationship between the bureaucratic officials and the political leaders, and the role of citizens in development activities, are of such practical significance that governments as well as academicians have been forced look on. It is a kindred field that illustrates urban politics where one encounters problems of social change and mobilization, political institutions and popular participation, organization and management of government functions on an increasing scale. Villages and towns are seen as miniature of nations that are confronted with problems of social change, political participation and administrative management.

There is a growing realization that the problems of development are not merely technical or bureaucratic but essentially socio-political in the wider sense, and that political forces must be organized in a way to ensure effective implementation of development plan.Political Sociology also studies the characteristics of multi group society as wellas all the factors which contribute to the recently increasing interdependence and close correspondence between polity and society in the mass industrial society.

1.2 Subject matter of Political Sociology

Scholars all over the world opined that the polity affects the social structure and vice versa. For example, communism develops in a society which has history of backwardness and revolting exploited lower classes (Africa, Asia) whereas democracy flourishes in a society where there is equal distribution of power and resources between different social classes (Britain). Therefore, Political Sociology is a discipline which is of recent origin studies the inter relations between state and social structures. It is the sociological study of political institutions and its relation to other parts of society as well as institutions. It is also concerned with political movements and ideologies.

The subject matter of Political Sociology is "Non – political politics". Non – political politics, as is clear by the term, takes its birth in society and disowns its association with the state and its formal institutions. It is social politics or political behavior (Kumar,2001). Non - political politics is a social process characterized by consensus and conflict.The political phenomena are closely related to the social phenomena. Therefore, political phenomena may be treated in terms of social variables.The subject matter of Political Sociology is the

stability, its conditions and causes of democratic society as claimed by Kumar.

As a young discipline which emerged recently, Political Sociology stresses on the unstable and eruptive relationship between the society and politics of the modern age with special focus on the characteristics of multi group society, the social and political implications and the nature of modern bureaucracy and its form in diverse political and social contexts.

The prime interest of Political Sociology is on captivating society as a living functional system with different interdependent parts and with the impact of social grouping and of the activities of different parts on the political activities, the nature of the state, common masses, the effectiveness of propaganda and public opinion as means of informal political education." "Political social aspects" has been the corner stone of Political Sociology.

It mainly focuses on four areas –

> (i) Political structures (social class/caste, elite, interest groups, bureaucracy, political parties and factions)

> (ii) Political life (electoral process, political communication, opinion formation)

> (iii) Political leadership (bases, types and operation of community power structure)

> (iv) Political development (concept and indices of its measurement, its social bases and prerequisites and its relationship to social change and modernization).

Political Sociologists concerned with the topics of social stratification and political power, socio economic systems, political regimes, interest groups, political parties, political socialization, electoral behavior, political mobilization and social movements.

Contemporary political sociology is concerned with cultural politics, the "politics of politics." From this perspective, what events mean to those who interpret and act on them is what matters. It is also concerned with cultural politics in a wider sense: what is made "political" is not simply confined to what takes placewithin government, political parties, and the state. The perspective of cultural politics also helps us make sense of how the meanings of social relations and identities are consistently challenged wherever they are framed as unjust, eliminated and destructive of the capacities of individuals and groups.The substantive issues of contemporary political sociology fall into six major areas: (1) State, citizenship and civil society, (2) social cleavages and politics, (3) protest movements and revolutions, (4) surveillance and control, (5) state-economy relations, and (6) the welfare state. In grappling with the new demands of discipline, it has opened up new frontiers of research and has experimented with new methods of analysis.

1.3 Relationship between Political system and Society

The term political system is often used as a label for the "collectivity of relationships comprising the government and political processes of a state." Some scholars defined the term in a much broader sense which includes any social relationship where influence is exercised or authoritative decisions are made. Within sub – societal groups such as family, church, labour union or business organization, the

group decision making structure is considered as political system. At the global level, authority and other influence relationships among states are often said to constitute an international political system, with various geographical, organizational and national sub – systems.

The political system began to replace 'state' and substitute 'Government' as the conceptual focus of Political Science. It can be applied to primitivesocieties in which political activities were carried through family, tribal or other multi – purpose groups rather than specialized governmental institutions. Political system has been defined differently by various writers; According to *Max Weber*, it is "a human community that successfully claims the monopoly of the legitimate use of physical force within a given territory" *David Easton* defines "Political System as a set of interactions as abstracted from the totality of social behaviour, through which authoritative values are allocated for a society."

Characteristics of political system

- o **Universality of political systems -** political systems exists in all societies whether it is developed, under developed or developing or primitive and modern, legitimate pattern of interaction is there for maintaining external and internal order.

- o **Universality of political structures** - All political systems have same structures that perform same functions, although with varying degrees.

- o **Universality of political functions** - Even though all political system performs same functions, the degree and frequency may vary according to societies. There

may be difference in their capacity to perform the functions as well.

- o **Multi-functionality of Political Structures** - All political structures, irrespective of the degree of specialization are multi-functional. For example, the model of the western political system has over-stressed the functional specificity of political structurewhereas the traditional system has over-emphasized the undifferentiated and diffused character of political and social structures.

- o **Culturally Mixed Character of Political Systems** - All Political systems are 'mixed' in the cultural sense. All political systems have formal and informal structures. No political system is quite modern or western. It means that all systems combineboth traditional and modern elements of culture.

The term 'Political System' refers to the study of a government in its empirical dimensions and also forms an interdisciplinary standpoint. Political System thus becomes 'a set of interrelated variables conceived to be politically relevant and treated as if they could be separated from other variables conceived to be politically relevant not immediately relevant to politics.' According to Almond, comprehensiveness, interdependence and existence of boundaries are considered as three major properties of political system. Hence it is clear that the society and political system is having interdependence and intertwined relationships. It is a part of the society as a whole in which Parson in his AGIL model considers polity as one of the sub systems which is essential for the proper functioning of the society.

Almond and Powell defined Political system, "directs attention to the entire scope of political activities within a society, regardless of where in the society such activities may be located." They further explained, "When we speak of the political system we include all the interactions which affect the use or threat of use of legitimate physical coercion. The political system not only includes governmental institutions such as legislatures, courts and administrative agencies, but all structures in their political aspects. Among these are traditional structures such as kinship ties and caste groupings; and anomie phenomena such as assassinations, riots and demonstrations; as well as formal organisations like parties, interest groups and media of communications."In short, Political system operates within a social environment in order to eradicate or solve the political problems social factors must be considered.

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MODULE II

THEORETICAL PERSPECTIVES

2.1 Max Weber: Authority, Party

2.2 Pareto: Circulation of Elites

2.3 C Wright Mills: Power Elites

Political Sociology as a young discipline began to create new concepts and theories. As a result of this the focus of the study of Political Science had shifted from legal and institutional to empirical, scientific and behavioral studies. This situation demanded the application of knowledge from different disciplines for the development of Political Sociology. Although many have contributed to the growth and development of political sociology, Max Weber is considered as the founding father of political sociology. In this section we will analyses the major theoretical perspectives of the scholars who contributed much to the development of the discipline.

2.1 Max Weber: Authority, Party

Max Weber was born in Erfurt, Germany on April 21, 1864 into a decidedly middle-class family. He was a great German Sociologist who has left a deep imprint upon Sociology. He was a deep thinker, reader and an erudite scholar. Weber was interested in the practical affairs of government and politics. His initial studies were in the fields of law and legal history. He also made contributions in Arts and Social Sciences. His life may be said to have been equally divided between science and politics.

The Protestant Ethics and Spirit of capitalism, General Economic History, Methodology of the Social Sciences, The Theory of Social and Economic Organization, Economy and Society – an unfinished work were some of the major contributions of Weber. Even at the time of his death (June 14, 1920), he was working on his important work, Economy and Society. Although this book was published and subsequently translated into many languages, it was unfinished.

Max Weber: Authority

Weber's sociological interest in the structures of authority was motivated, at least in part by his political interests (Eliaeson, 2000). He was not a political radical; infact, he was often called the "bourgeois Marx" to reflect the similarities in the intellectual interests of Marx and Weber as well as their very different political orientations (Ritzer,2016). Weber was also critical of modern capitalism but like Marx, but he did not advocate revolution.He was in favour of gradual change and had little faith in the ability of masses to create a "better" society. He had also little hope in middle class as well as he was critical of authoritarian political leaders like Bismarck. Weber had hope only with the great political leaders rather than with the masses or bureaucrats. He placed the nation aboveall: "The vital interests of the nation stand, of course, above democracy and parliamentarianism (Weber, 1921)." He preferred democracy as a political form not because he believed in the masses but because it offered maximum dynamism and the best milieu to generate political leaders (Mommsen,1974). According to him, the authority structures existing in all social institutions and his political views were related to his analysis of these structures in all settings.

Weber had analysed authority of structures firstly by defining domination. He defined domination as the "probability that certain specific commands (or all commands) will be obeyed by a given group of persons". Domination can be legitimate as well as illegitimate where Weber is much interested in the legitimate form of domination, called authority. Weber remained fairly close to his ideas on individual action, but he rapidly moved into the large-scale structures of authority. He explained three forms of authority. They are given below:

1. Traditional Authority

Traditional authority is based on a claim by the leaders and a belief on the part of the followers, that there is virtue in the sanctity of age – old rules and powers. The leader in such a system is not a superior but a personal master and the administrative staff is not officials but personal retainers. Here the personal loyalty rather than the official's impersonal duty determines the relation between administrative staff to the master. Although the bureaucratic staff owes its allegiance and

obedience to enacted rules and to the leader, who acts in their name, the staff of the traditional leader obeys because the leader carries the weight of tradition – he or she has been chosen for that position in the traditional manner.

Traditionally transmitted rules, customs, beliefs and heredity determine the basis of authority. The leaders obtain their powers from inherited right and are seen as legitimate in the light of customary rights and traditional norms. Authority is obtained in two ways:

- ❖ By the prestige confined by the tradition and by the belief that the ruler's commands are valid because of authority inherent in the office or status of the ruler.

- ❖ By virtue of the discretionary powers which are conferred upon them by titles or hereditary claims to power.

Here, power exist in the form of traditional prerogatives, privileges and rights which tend to confer almost unlimited authority upon individuals and the relationship between the ruler is governed by traditional norms which extend to the life time of the subject rather than by contractual arrangement.

1. Charismatic Authority

There are certain individuals who are so talented and versatile that they require neither position nor the boost of tradition to make impact upon others. This form of authority is known as charismatic authority. Weber claimed that power can turn into authority through charisma. Charismatic authority is power legitimized by extraordinary personal abilities that inspire devotion and

obedience. It depends less on a person's ancestry or office and personality (Macionis 2012). The legitimacy originates from two levels of belief:

- ❖ The leader may be followed because of the extraordinary capacities or powers of personal inspiration.

- ❖ Degree of 'felt duty' – personal inspiration – that is enjoined upon the faithful to carry out the commands of the leader.

No technically trained officials and also selection is not on the basis of social privilege and merit.Selection on the basis of the commitment to leader's calling and mission.Charismatic leaders have surfaced throughout history, using their personal skills to turn audience into followers.They make their own rules and began to challenge the status quo. Charismatic authority flows from a single individual and the leader's death creates crisis.

Survival of a charismatic movement, Weber explained, requires routinization of Charisma. It means the transformation of charismatic authority into some combination of traditional and bureaucratic authority. After the death of Jesus, for example, followers institutionalized his teachings in a church, built on tradition and bureaucracy (Macionis 2012). After the routinization of charisma, legitimacy is no longer focused on the personal quality of the leader, rather on the charismatic utterances or commands and mission of the doctrine.

2.   Rational - Legal authority

Weber defined rational – legal authority some times called bureaucratic authority as power legitimized by legally enacted rules

and regulations. It is power legitimized in the operation of lawful government. He viewed bureaucracy as the type of organization that dominates in rational – thinking, modern societies. In bureaucracy there is no space for traditional customs and practices. It is a type of authority which is linked with the position and status of a person. In this, the person is obeyed because he has got some legal authority to get his command obeyed. Rationally enacted rules guide the use of power in everyday life.In this type of authority, the charisma of a person or tradition do not play significant role.

 Defining this form of authority, Max Weber has written, "It extends to the person exercising the authority of office under it only by virtue of the formal legality of their commands and only within the scope authority of office." For example, authority of a Prime minister in a country is not by his personal power but due to his political post. The constitution lays down the rights and duties of every post in the government. an official may use his authority only within limits of these prescribed rights. Thus, a government notification is impersonal. It is based upon the law of the state. This form of authority is considered to be the best. In modern societies, the authority must be rational and legal in order to be accepted by the people. It is also known as constitutional authority.

Weber considered bureaucracy as the "purest type of exercise of legal authority." The major characteristics of bureaucracy are as follows:

➤ It consists of a continuous organization of official functions bound by rules.

➤ Each office has specified sphere of competence.

➤ The office carries with it a set of obligations to perform

various functions, the authority to carry out these functions and the means of compulsion required to do the job.

➢ The offices are organized into a hierarchical system.

➢ The offices may carry with them technical qualifications which require training for the officials.

➢ The staff that fills these offices does not known the means of production associated with them: staff members are provided with the use of those things that they need to do the job.

➢ The incumbent is not allowed to appropriate the position; it always remains part of organization.

➢ Administrative acts, decisions and rules are formulated and recorded in writing.

Weber's authority faced a lot of criticisms. Some has opined that a clear-cut division of authority is not possible, infact the forms of authority are always found in mixed forms. Others also said that no authority is continuous; it can be interrupted from time to time.

Max Weber: Party

Another important contribution of Weber is class, status and party. According to Weber social structure has been composed of class, status and party. These are the three predominant elements in the stratification scenario of modern society. One important aspect of Weber's analysis is that he refused to reduce the stratification to economic factors only but considered it as multi-dimensional. Thus, society is stratified on the basis of economy, status and power. While classes exist in the economic order, status group in the social order and parties can be found in the political order.

To Weber, parties "are always structures struggling for domination" (Gerth and Mills, 1958). Parties are the most organized element of Weber's stratification system. He not only considers parties that exist in state but also those that may exist in a social club. Parties usually, but not always, represent class or status groups. Whatever they represent, parties are oriented to the attainment of power (Ritzer, 2016).

Parties are groups which are specifically concerned with influencing politics and making decisions in the interests of their membership. It includes variety of associations from the mass political parties to the whole range of pressure or interest groups which include profession associations, trade unions etc. The primary purpose of parties is to secure power and maintain separation from the economic and status spheres. All associations by the members are to be carried out according to the prescribed rules. Modern parties alter the class structure of the society by absorbing elements of the class struggle in their representation of social groups.

The interplay of class, status and party in the formation of social groups is complex and diverse and must be examined separately in a given context. Marx attempted to reduce all forms of inequality to social classes. But Weber argued that the empirical evidence provides a more complex and diversified picture of social stratification.

2.2 Pareto: Circulation of Elites

Vilfredo Pareto (1848 – 1923) was an Italian engineer, Economist, Scientist, Sociologist and Philosopher. Trained in engineering, Pareto applied mathematical tools for economic analyses. He is chiefly known for his influential theory of ruling elites and for his equally influential theory that political behavior is essentially irrational. Believing that economics could

not solve problems, he turned to Sociology. Mind and Society (1916) is considered as important work of Pareto. In that work, he inquired into the nature and bases of individual and social action. His concept of society as a social system had a strong impact on the development of Sociology and theories of social action in the United States after World War II.

Pareto had two-fold aim, divided into two parts. First, he proposes to make a logical study of non – logical actions and he aims to reconstruct the social entity arrives at a synthetic explanation of the whole of society. He believed that Sociology has to be studied in the manner of Thermodynamics and conceived the interdependence of individual elements and changes in one system will affect other parts as well. He believed that human actions are largely guided by non-logical and non-rational actions. He also argued that most of human activity was not controlled by rational thought but by sentiments, feelings, superstitions and other non – logical determinants. Man, for Pareto is at the same time reasoning and unreasonable and they rarely behave in logical manner but always convince others that they do.

Pareto finds that elites make both logical or rational and illogical or irrational actions for the attainment of their ends. On the closer analysis, attempt to present non-logical actions as logical is to be composed of two elements, which are residues and derivatives. Residues are the qualities of the elites, that is, the manifestation of sentiments on instinct and derivatives are the rationalization or justification of these residues. Elites justify the use of force with the help of myth and the use of it for the suppression of every activity which goes against their interest. These justifications are derivatives.

According to Pareto there are six types of residues. They are 1. Residue of combination - tendency to invent and embark on adventures; 2. Residue of persistence of preservation-(aggregation)- tendency to consolidate and make secure; 3. Residue of expressiveness (activity) - tendency to make feelings manifest through symbolization 4. Residue of sociability - tendency to affiliate others; 5. Residue of integrity - tendency to maintain a good self-image; and 6. Residue of sex - tendency to see social events in erotic terms.

Circulation of elites

Pareto has presented the concept of elites and has particularly the administrative elites. According to Pareto, men are not equal; they differ among themselves in regard to their capacities and abilities. Every sphere of social activity there is a class of superior persons known as elite which literally means *superi*or. He distinguished two types of elites:

* **Governing elites** – Persons who are directly or indirectly concerned with administration. These persons play highly important role and enjoy prestigious place in society.

    *   **Non – Governing elites** - Persons who are not connected with administration but occupy such a place in society that they somehow influence the administration.

Pareto places particular emphasis on psychological characteristics as the basis of elite rule. The elites overtly and covertly manipulate the political power. The class of elite is universal. It is to be found in every society. Whatever type or method of administration may be in any country, there is bound to be a class of superior persons which is directly or indirectly concerned with it. He argues that there are two main types of governing elite – 'foxes' and 'lions. Lions achieve power because their ability to take direct and incisive action and they tend to rule by force. Military dictatorships provide an example of the governing elite whereas foxes rule by cunning and guile, by diplomatic manipulation, wheeling and dealing. Members of governing elite owe their positions primarily to their personal qualities, either to their lion – like or fox – like characteristics (Haralambos, 2017).

Major change in society occurs when one elite replaces another, a process Pareto calls the 'Circulation of elites'. All elites tend to become decadent. They 'decay in quality' and lose their 'vigour'. They may become soft and ineffective with the pleasures of easy living and privileges of power, or set in their ways and too inflexible to respond to changing circumstances. Each type of elite lacks the qualities of its counterpart, qualities which in the long run are essential to maintain power. Elite of lions lacks the imagination and cunning necessary to maintain its rule and will have to admit foxes from the masses to make up for this deficiency. Gradually foxes infiltrate the entire elite and so transform its character. Foxes however lack the ability to take forceful and decisive action which at various times is essential to retain power. An organized minority of lions committed to the

restoration of strong government develops and eventually overthrows the elite of foxes. History according to Pareto is never ending circulation of elites. Nothing ever really changes and history is, and always will be, 'a graveyard of aristocracies' (Haralambos, 2017).

Pareto's view of history is both simple and simplistic. He dismisses the differences between political systems such as western democracies, communist single party states, fascist dictatorships and feudal monarchies as merely variations on a basic theme. All are essentially examples of elite rule and by comparison with this fact; the differences between them are minor. Pareto fails to provide a method of measuring and distinguishing between the supposedly superior qualities of elites. He assumes that the qualities of the elite are superior to those of the mass. His criterion for distinguishing between lions and foxes is merely his own interpretation of the style of elite rule. Nor does Pareto provide a way of measuring the process of elite decadence. He does suggest however that if an elite is closed to recruitment from below it is likely to rapidly lose its vigor and vitality and have a short life(Haralambos,2017).

Pareto saw modern democracies as merely another form of elite domination. He scornfully dismissed those who saw them as a more progressive and representative system of government (Haralambos, 2017).

Pareto faced a lot of criticism like some had opined that he has not given an adequate definition of the qualities of elites. They are vague and unscientific. His notion of circulation of elites due to psychological factors is also not sufficient.

2.3 C Wright Mills: Power Elites

Charles Wright Mills (1916-1962), popularly known as C. Wright Mills, was a mid-century sociologist as well as journalist. He is known and celebrated for his critiques of contemporary power structures, his spirited treatises on how Sociologists should study social problems and engage with society.His critiques of the field of sociology and academic professionalization of sociologists.

Mill's focus was on the subjects of social inequality, the power of elites and their control of society, the shrinking middle class, the relationship between individuals and society, and the importance of historical perspective as a key part of sociological thinking.

The Sociological imagination (1959), The power Elite (1956), From Max Weber: Essays in Sociology (1946), The New Men of Power (1948), White Collar (1951), Character and Social Structure: The Psychology of Social (1953), The Causes of World War Three (1958), and Listen, Yankee (1960) are the major contributions of Mills.

Power Elite

The term power elite was coined by C. W Mills who argued that a small upper class holds most of society's wealth, prestige and power. He presents a less ambitious and wide – ranging version of elite theory. He limits his analysis to American society in the 1950s. Unlike the early theorists, he does not believe that elite rule is inevitable. In fact, he sees it as a fairly recent development in the USA.

Figure 14.3 – Mill's Pyramid of Power

Legend:

1= corporate rich

2= executive branch

3= military leaders

4= leaders of interest groups, legislative branch, local opinion leaders

5= unorganized masses
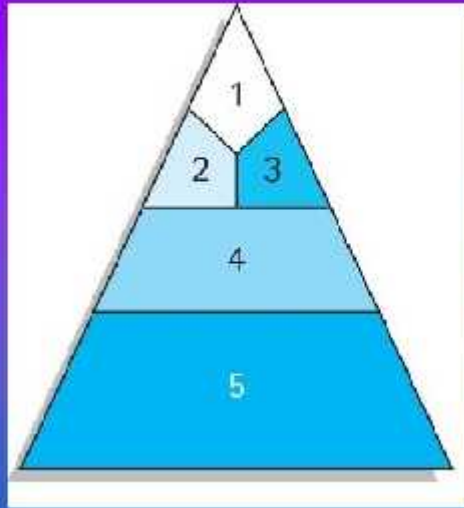
He explains elite rule in institutional rather than psychological terms. He rejects the view that members of the elite have superior qualities or psychological characteristics which distinguish them from the rest of the population. Instead he argues that the structure of institutions is such that those at the top of the institutional hierarchy largely monopolize power.Certain institutions occupy 'pivotal positions' in society and the elite comprise those who hold 'command posts' in those institutions (Haralambos, 2017).

Mills identifies three key institutions: the major corporations, the military and the federal government. Those who occupy the command posts in these institutions form three elites.   In practice, however, the interests and activities of the elites are

sufficiently similar and inter connected to form a single ruling minority which Mills termed as 'the power elite'. Thus, the power elite involve the 'coincidence of economic, military and political power.' For example, Mills claim that 'American capitalism is now in considerable part of military capitalism'. Thus, as tanks, guns and missiles pour from the factories, the interests of both the economic and military elites are served. He also said that now the business and government cannot be considered as two distinct worlds. The net result of the coincidence of economic, military and political power is power elite which dominates American society and takes all decisions of major national and international importance (Haralambos, 2017).

The power elite owe its dominance to a change in the institutional landscape. In the nineteenth century economic power was fragmented among a multitude of small businesses. By the 1950s, it was concentrated in the hands of a few hundred giant corporations which together hold the keys to economic decision. Political power was similarly fragmented and localized and in particular state legislatures had considerable independence in the face of a weak central government. The federal government eroded the autonomy of the states and political power became increasingly centralized. The growing threat of international conflict has led to a vast increase in the size and power of the military. The local, state-controlled militia has been replaced by a centrally directed military organization. These developments have led to a centralization of decision-making power. As a result, power is increasingly concentrated in the hands of those in the command posts of the key institutions (Haralambos,2017).

The cohesiveness and unity of the power elite is strengthened by the similarity of the social background of its members and the interchange and overlapping of personnel between the three elites. Members are drawn largely from the upper strata of society; they are mainly protestant, native – born Americans from urban areas in the eastern USA. They share similar educational backgrounds and mix socially in the same high – prestige clubs. As a result, they tend to share similar values and sympathies which provide a basis for mutual trust and cooperation. Within the power elite there is frequent interchange of personnel between the three elites (Haralambos, 2017).

Mill argues that American society is dominated by a power elite of 'unprecedented power and unaccountability.' He claims that momentous decisions such as American entry into World War II and the dropping of the atomic bomb on Hiroshima were made by the power elite with little or no reference to the people. Despite the fact that such decisions affect all members of society, the power elite is not accountable for its actions either directly to the public or to anybody which represents the public interest. The rise of the power elite has led to the decline of politics as a genuine and public debate of alternative decisions. Mill sees no real differences between the two major political parties, the Democrats and the Republicans. Therefore, the public are not provided with a choice of alternative policies. Excluded from the command posts of power the 'man in the mass' is told what to think, what to feel, what to do and what to hope for by a mass media directed by the elite. Free from popular control, the power elite pursues its own concerns – power and self – aggrandizement (Haralambos, 2017).

Many critics of Mills have argued that his evidence is circumstantial and suggestive rather than conclusive. Robert A Dahl, one of his major critics claimed that Mills has shown that

the power elite have the 'potential for control' where he failed to establish where 'actual control' lies. He opined that case for a power elite remains unproven (Haralambos, 2017).

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MODULE III
DYNAMICS OF POWER

3.1 Power and Authority

3.2 Political Socialisation: Meaning, Significance and agencies

3.3 Role of Mass media in Politics

3.1Power and Authority

Max Weber has defined power as, 'the chance of a man or a number of men to realize their own will in a communal action even against the resistance of others who are participating in the action'. Power is an aspect of social relationships because no one can hold it in isolation. Weber considers the power as the degree to which an individual or group can get its own way in a relationship. It extends to every aspect of life like parents assigning domestic chores to their children, teachers enforcing discipline in the classroom, political party enacting legislation etc. Here, an individual or group have power to the degree to which others comply with their will. Many Sociologists argue that 'Political Sociology' is the study of power in its broadest sense. Dowse and Hughes state that 'politics is about "power", politics occurs when there are differentials in power'.

Definitions of power

"Power is ability to influence the behaviour of others in accordance with one's own ends" - **Herbert Goldhamer and Edward Shill.**

"Power is a capacity to impose one's will over another by reliance on effective sanctions in case of non-compliance"- **George Schwarzenberg.**

"Power is the relationship in which one person or a group is able to determine the actions of another in direction of the former's own ends"- **David Easton**.

Power as "the production of intended effects" is how **Bertrand Russell** defined the concept.

Characteristics of power

- **Power is situational in nature –** It depends on situation and position of person. When an officer retires he will not be obeyed by the subordinates as before.

- **It depends on its use –** Power is related to how its used**.** For example, President of India has vast powers but he will not be using it in the same manner as the President of United States of America.

- **Power should be backed by sanctions –**It is relational in nature, at least two actors are required, one who exercises the power and the other upon whom the power is exercised.

- **Power is not absolute but relative in nature –** the power relationship may change according to the circumstances.

- **Power has two aspects – actual and potential** –former is the power which a person or community actually uses and the later, the power which a person or community can exercise although the same may not be actually

exercised.

- **Power can be exercised through persuasion as well as repression** – this is explained by Althusser as Ideological State Apparatus and Repressive State Apparatus. Persuasion is the most effective method of exercising power which is mainly done through family, educational institutions where as later by military, army etc.

Forms of power

- ❖ Economic power
- ❖ Social power
- ❖ Political power
- ❖ Knowledge power
- ❖ Military power
- ❖ Ideological power

Sources of power
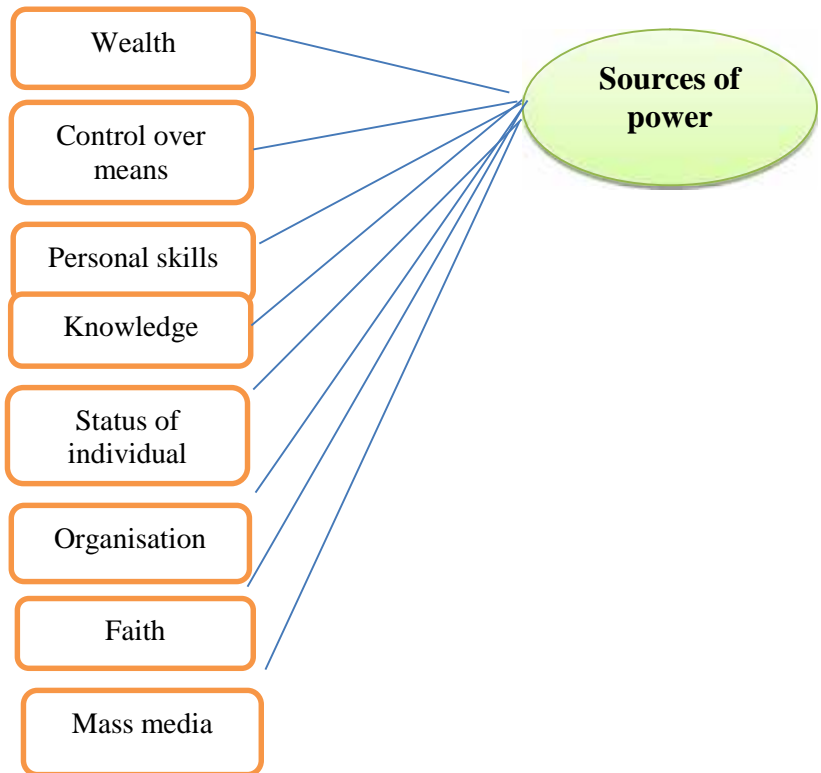
Analysis of power

Political analysis is concerned with four aspects of power and these have constituted political problems from early period onwards. They are:

a) Power of states over other states – Arab countries wielding power over other states through oil.

b) Power of Government over society - power comes out

with the responsibilities of officials who function as instruments of society.

c) Power of society over Government – Power comes from the society and it determines the officials responsibilities.

d) Power in conflict resolution and decision – making processes - power in terms of decision making whether its direct or indirect.

Three major questions are involved in the analysis of power in decision making systems.

- **Power relationship between system and environment** – the extent of government power over the society and the degree to which society can influence and restrain government.

- **Power configuration within the decision making itself** - the extent to which power is concentrated or dispersed and where power is located within the system.

- **Power of environmental groups over decision making** – the extent to which decision making is influenced by specific groups of the society.

Theoretical Analysis of power in society

Pluralist model	Power – elite model	Marxist political economy model
Power is spread among many competing interest	Power is concentrated among the rich	An analysis that explains power in terms of the operation of a

groups		society's economic system
Claims that political power is widely spread in the United States	Power is concentrated in a small, wealthy segment of population	Claims that our political agenda is determined by a capitalist economy, so true democracy is impossible
Based on the ideas of Weber, Parsons	Based on the ideas of C W Mills	Ideas of Karl Marx
Linked to structural – functional theory	Linked to social – conflict theory	Linked to social – conflict theory

Society is essentially a system of diverse power relations like political, social, economic, religious, moral and so on. Among them the most significant is the political power and the fact is that the political power is always unevenly distributed. It is important to know that how political power is legitimized in a society. And that bring us to the concept of authority.

Authority

In the midst of power relations in a society, political power stands in a much significant position. Power in the political sphere tends to be stable, permanent and effective not only because it is based on sanction but also it is strengthened by legitimacy.Sociologists distinguished between two forms of power, authority and coercion. Authority is that form of power which is accepted as legitimate one, that is right or just and it should be obeyed on that basis. Whereas, coercion is a form of

power which is not regarded as legitimate by those subject to it. Weber pointed out three ways in which how the government is transforming the raw power into more stable authority. They are as follows:

i. Traditional authority

According to Weber thepreindustrial societies, rely on traditional authority that is the power legitimized by respect for long – establishedcultural patterns. In traditional authority people accept a system, usually one hereditary leadership, simply because it has always been that way. For example, Chineseemperors in centuries past were legitimized by tradition, as were aristocratic rulers in medieval Europe. The power of tradition can be so strong that for better or worse, people typically come to view traditional rulers as almost godlike.Traditional authority declines due to industrialization. It remains strong only as long as everyone shares the same beliefs and way of life (Hannah Arendt, 1963). Modern scientific way of thinking, the specialization demanded by industrial production and the social changes and cultural diversity resulting from immigration all combine to weaken tradition. It is also a source of strength for patriarchy.

ii. Rational – Legal authority

Weber defined rational – legal authority also known as bureaucratic authority as power legitimized by legally enacted rules and regulations. It is power legitimized in the operation of lawful government. He viewed bureaucracy as the type of organization that dominates in rational thinking of modern societies. The same rational world view promotes bureaucracy which also erodes traditional customs and practices. Instead of looking to the past,

members of todays high income societies seek justice through formally enacted rules of law. Rationally enacted rules also guide the use of power in everyday life. For example, the authority of deans and classroom teachers rests on the offices they hold in bureaucratic colleges and universities.

iii.Charismatic authority

Weber claimed that power can turn into authority through charisma. Charismatic authority is power legitimized by extraordinary personal abilities that inspire devotion and obedience. Unlike traditional and rational – legal authority, charismatic authority depends less on a person's ancestry or office but more on personality. Charismatic leaders have surfaced throughout history, using their personal skills toturn an audience into followers. Often, they make their own rules and challenge the status quo. Mahatma Gandhi, Martin Luther king are some of the charismatic leaders. Charismatic authority flows from a single individual in which the leader's death creates a crisis. The survival of a charismatic movement, Weber explained that there is a necessity for the routinization of charisma. It means the transformation of charismatic authority into some combination of traditional and bureaucratic authority.

Max Weber claimed that every society is based on power, which he defined as the ability to achieve desired ends despite resistance from others. The use of power is the business of government, a formal organization that directs the political life of a society. Every government tries to make itself seem legitimate in the eyes of the people. This fact brings to Weber's concept of authority, power that

people perceive as legitimate rather than coercive.

The major **differences** between power and authority are as follows:

Power	Authority
Ability of an individual to influence others and control their actions.	It is the formal and legal right to give orders and commands and take decisions.
It is a personal trait.	It is a formal right, that vests in the hands of high officials or management personnel.
Major source of power is knowledge and expertise.	Position and office determine the authority of a person.
Power flows in any direction that is, it can be upward, downward, crosswise or diagonal, lateral.	Authority flows only in one direction, that is downward (from superior to subordinate).
Power lies in person, in essence, a person acquires it.	Authority lies in the designation.
Power is not legitimate.	It is legitimate.
Flexible and dynamic.	Technical and static.

3.2 Political Socialization: Meaning, Significance and agencies

Baruch Spinoza has once said. "citizens are not born, but made. "The process of individual learning of politics and orientation with politics is known as political socialization. It involves both emotional learning and the manifest political doctrination and a deliberate inculcation of political information, values and practices by institutional agents who have been formally charged with this responsibility. This is a continuous process of learning and it can be acquired by individual learning as well as by early family experiences.

Meaning & Definition of political Socialization

Socialization is a process in which man became a social animal. According to Bogardus, "Socialization is the process of working together, of developing group responsibility, or being guided by the welfare needs of others". Whereas, political socialization is the process which transmits the political values and norms from one generation to another. It is the segment of the process of socialization. It is through the process of socialization the young and newcomers in a society get integrated into the society. 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. The term Political socialization was coined by H. H Hyman and popularized by 1970s.

> "Political Socialisation may be defined as those developmental processes through which persons acquire political orientations and pattern of behavior" - *David Easton*

"Political socalisation is establishment and development of beliefs about political system. It is a continues process of learning of norms' attitudes and behaviours acceptable to an ongoing political system" - *AR Ball*

"Political Socialisation is a process by which political cultures are maintained and changed" - *Almond and Verba*

"It is the gradual learning of norms, attitudes and behavior acceptable to an ongoing political system" - *Robert sigel*

"Political socialization is the process by which political cultures are maintained and changed. Through the performance of this function individual are inducted into the political culture, their orientations towards political objects are formed" - *Gabriel A. Almond and G.B. Powell.*

Significance of Political Socialisation

It is through the 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. 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.

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

Political socialization helps in stabilizing the political system. 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. 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.

 Political socialisation is the process by which the ethos and behaviour of apolitical system is communicated from one generation to another generation. Therefore, political socialization is a continuous unconscious and very significant process.

Agencies of Political Socialisation

Political socialisation is a process by which political culture is transmitted in a given society and it occurs at both the individual and community level. It extends beyond the acquisition of political culture to encompass the learning of more sophisticated political ideas and orientations. It is a lifelong process and variety of individuals and institutions contribute to its shaping effect. Broadly we can classify the agencies of political socialization as primary and secondary. The primary agencies of socialization are those that directly develop specific political orientations such as, family, peer groups, educational institutions etc. Whereas the secondary agencies tend to be less personal and involved in the process of socialization more of an indirect manner. Mass media, political parties, voluntary organizations, government etc. comes under the category of secondary socialization agencies.

Major agencies of political socialisation are as follows:

a. Family

Family plays a key role in transmitting political culture from one generation to the other. Much of an individual's political personality is shaped at home in the first ten or fifteen years of his life. Large scale researchers in U.S.A have confirmed that more than three-forth children of a generation follow political values of the parents through the social and economic environments. Usually child accept the familial political beliefs and attitudes just as readily accepts the parental version of what is right and wrong, what is good and bad, what is proper and improper.

The members of a family usually live in the same environment. The family members read the same newspapers, attend the same radio and TV programmes, listen to the same preacher and other local opinion leaders, gather the same gossip and hear the same stories. So, all the members of the family should naturally carry similar political ideas, values and behavior.

b. Peer groups

Besides family, childhood play groups, friendship cliques, small work groups, brothers and sisters, married couples are some of the examples of the peer groups. Peer groups comprises of members of the same age and are non - hierarchic as well as enjoy an equal status in their relation with each other. This equality is characteristic of equal age, equal functions and equal economic status. This does not mean that peer groups have no leaders, but these leaders do not enjoy authority, characteristic of the parents in the family. Just as in the socialization of the child influence of the family is maximum, similarly in adolescence she/ he is influenced by the peer group and friend circle. In this age the child needs explanation of political changes and participates in them. They attain political experience due to socialization in the upper group. However, the societies in which the control of the family upon the individual is comprehensive and durable exhibit little and less durable contribution of the peer group.

c. Educational institutions

After the family and peer groups, educational institutions play an important role in political socialisation. It is due to the significance of educational institutions in most of the countries the governments try

to control the educational institutions. Attempts are made by the government to control the universities by means of economic aid or by other means for propagating political culture favourable to them. For example, during Nazism the Jew faculty members were evicted from colleges and universities. The curriculum, teachers, political parties as well as their ideologies influence a person very much. Many great leaders had grown from campus politics and colleges.

d. Secondary groups

Secondary groups also work as an agency for political socialisation. However, the secondary groups vary according to the nature of societies. In highly developed countries the role played by the secondary groups and its number will be also more. As the complexity and development increases in society so does increase the value of secondary groups. It is possible to identify three types of secondary groups which socialize politically in different ways.

- Secondary groups with a distinctly political character. Political parties and political youth groups fall in this category. They are established clearly for the purpose of disseminating political values, mobilizing political action and recruiting the political leaders.

- Groups which are instituted for non-political purposes, but which are found to carry on political education and mobilisation along with their other activities. A labour union, students union illustrates these types.

- Groups which does not have any political character, nor do they ever try to impart political education to their members. But mere participation in their routine affairs gives their members opportunities to develop orientations that have political relevance.

e. Mass media

Radio, television, newspaper, and other forms of mass media also provide information about political happenings and is considered as one of the important pillars in Indian democracy. That is why manipulation of media is often resorted to in different countries to influence, and change the political orientation of citizens. A controlled system of mass media, can, therefore, be a powerful force, in shaping political beliefs of citizens. It is necessary to remember that mass media in most cases are not the actual originator of the messages they transmit, the governmental officials and political leaders, secondary groups, etc. are the originators of message.The mass media just channelize these messages to the people. From this, it is evident that the mass media, strictly speaking, are not themselves an agent of political socialisation. Further, the mass media messages go through what Klapper calls a "two-step flow". That is, mass media do not generally influence the people directly. The messages they transmit, at the first instance, reach a smaller number of "opinion leaders" like parents, teachers, community activities, etc., who then retransmit these messages to those over whom they have influence.

Now the media is beginning to displace the traditional agents like family, teachers as we spend more time in front of computers and the television. As a result, it

becomes easier for political messages to reach a greater number of people.

f. Political parties

The political party is another important instrument through which people get a regular opportunity to be involved in political actions of the society. It may either reinforce the established political culture or may bring in significant changes in the pattern of existing political culture. Indeed, when a nation is aiming at radical social and political changes the political party may serve as a very useful agency for effectively disseminating ideas congruent with this change and thus may play a significant role in the process of political socialisation.

 The government plays a role in political socialization in a variety of ways. It determines the policies and curricula, including what books students should read, for publicschools. The government also regulates the content of media, which affects what we see and hear. In the United States, broadcast television programs cannot contain nudity or profane language, and the government also mandates a certain amount of "family-friendly" programming per week. These choices have a subtle effect on viewers: We learn that bad language is inappropriate and that family is an essential part of American life and therefore American political culture. Similarly, governments frequently stage parades and celebrations to commemorate important events and people in history.

g. Religion

Religion is also a strong agency for political socialisation. It had great effect on person's political views. For example, Protestants are to be more conservative at the political stage.

h. Work place

Work place also plays an important role in formulating the political thinking among people. A person's attitude towards political institutions and structures gets shape with ease or difficulty with which he gets jobs. He develops love or hatred for the system accordingly.

Political socialisation is a relatively novel area of study, but they perform functions which are vital to the political system as well as to the individuals. This is when even a totalitarian regime is keen to monopolize the socialization process so that people develop positive attitudes towards it however, deplorable it may be from the larger humanistic stand point. But the study of political socialisation, like political culture, has special and vital significance for the third world countries where the political culture is not static and change and is yet to take a definite shape. The great issues of politics in the emerging nations such as political stability, political development and change can be much more meaningfully studied and discussed with the help of political socialization.

3.3 Role of Mass media in Politics

The media has been referred as "The Fourth Estate" – "the press" – and serving as the eyes and ears of the public. The news media is a societal or political force or institution whose

influence is not consistently or officially recognized. A free press serves four important purposes:

1. Holding government leaders accountable to the people.

2. Publicizing issues that need attention.

3. Educating citizens so they can make informed decisions, and

4. Connecting people with each other in civil society.

Free media plays an important role in influencing political discourse during elections. Free and balanced, traditional media (print and broadcast) nurtures transparency and the determination of important electoral information. The rise of new media provides further opportunities for participatory citizenship.The modern media play a central role not only within the political processes of every type, ranging from coverage of major political events and institutions to effects on campaigns and elections but also in any individual's life, providing necessary information services as well as offering possibilities for self-enlightenment and entertainment.

We live in a society that depends on information and communication to keep us moving in the right direction and do our daily activities like work, entertainment, health care, education, personal relationships, travelling etc. The media has a powerful role as people have come to treat television, radio, newspapers, magazines and internet as the basis for how to think and act in the world. Thus, media have a potential power to influence peoples' attitude, opinion and behaviour around many sensitive issues, such as gender, ethnicity and age. It stimulates citizen engagement in politics; these include, political party's membership

registration, voters registration, elections and electoral campaigns, electorates management, are some of the major political activities.Citizens are increasingly turning to social media platforms to follow election news and developments. According to a 2014Pew Research Center survey, 16 percent of registered American voters used social media platforms like Facebook and Twitter to get political information and follow election news during the 2014 U.S. midterm elections, more than doubling the number of registered voters who used social media for the same purpose in 2010.

The relationship between politics and the mass media is closely related to the debate about freedom of speech. The Universal Declaration of Human Rights, adopted by the United Nations in 1948, declared that "everyone has the right to freedom of opinion and expression; this right includes freedom to hold opinions without interference, and impart information and ideas through any media regardless of frontiers."

Particularly in democratic societies, the media plays an important role, as it is a communication channel which ensures the exchange of opinions and points of view between the people in power and the general public. The media facilitates the public discourse, informs the public, represents the public and acts as a watchdog of the branches of government which nurtures the democratic society. Jurgen Habermas depicts the relevance of media as a space for public discourse, which must guarantee universal access and rational debate in society.

On the other hand, dependence on powerful structures and financial resources can retard the media's ability to be an effective watchdog in political life. Although in democratic society, governments and political parties do not put direct

pressure on the media to a certain limit, the competition and the free market rules create different restrictions for journalists and their employers. In a bid to maximize profit, commercial TV channels are forced to respond to the interests of advertisers. In this context, public broadcasters are expected to be more independent and closer to the democratic ideal.

In democratic countries, the freedom of press is guaranteed by law. The absence of interference from the state in the freedom of communication and expression is a mandatory aspect of democracy. The government may protect information from its public disclosure by classifying it as sensitive, classified or secret. International organizations also seek to guarantee freedom of speech worldwide for example, Reporters Without Borders (RWB) is an NGO that aims to prevent repression and harassment of journalists, state monopoly and censorship in the media.

The onset of the information age has revolutionized the relationship between politics and the media. In the new media environment, shaped by social networks and blogs, the general public is no longer a passive observer, but an active player. The communication between politicians and voters is much more direct through the use of blogs and micro-blogging tools. The technological development has given rise to the emergence of citizen journalism, also referred to as participatory or street journalism. This trend describes the active role of the public in the dissemination, analysis and collection of information.

Now social media is usedas a powerful tool for protest.Mass media in India became the hotbed of public agitation which ultimately spilled into the streets as mass demonstrations and protests. Many protests are mobilized through social media which includes gender, environment, constitutional etc. Now

mass media is used for signing memorandums, knowing the opinion of people, mobilizing people as well its also helpful to convey messages to wider public. Party like Aam Aadmi is mobilized via online platforms. Now mass media act as a powerful platform for campaigns as well. Main issues were also discussed and debated in mass media and its significance increased doubly in the pandemic.

In a democratic country like India, People can express themselves through the Right of Speech and expression. Most of the people are expressing it with the help of social media, which is a part of mass media and it is the most convenient way. Criticizing government for their undemocratic acting is relevant now. The central government has been criticized for many such activities like petrol price hike, the less availability of oxygen, Lakshadweep issue, the inefficiency in the corona controlling measures etc in nearby days. News related to such problems has been spread all over the world through social media. After the hit of globalization, the world is totally interconnected and social media help us to know the problems of humans over other countries. The Indian government has recently responded to major protests with a raft of reforms designed to tighten country over social media and heighten censorship of opposition voices. That's why during emergencies or crucial situations the rights of press are curtailed especially the social media. Therefore, it's clear that media plays an important role in politics.

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MODULE IV

POLITICAL PROCESS IN INDIA

4.1 Role of Pressure groups and Interest groups in Indian politics

4.2 Role of Caste, Religion and Language in Indian politics

4.3 Regionalism and politics of ethnicity, Politicization of social life

4.1 Role of Pressure groups and Interest groups in Indian politics

Pressure groups

The pressure groups are the interest groups which work to secure certain interest by influencing the public policy. They are not aligned with any political party and work as an indirect yet powerful group to influence the decision. The role of pressure group is indirect, ordinarily invisible and intermittent but very significant part of the administrative system. Pressure groups are organized associations, unions or organisation of people having common interest. Their aim is to seek better conditions for their members through organised efforts also try to influence the legislature, executive and other decision makers to have decisions made in their favour. Their role is as vital as that of political party existing in any country and it acts outside the political party.

Finner has characterized pressure group as an anonymous empire. Richard.D. Lambert views it as an unofficial government. V. O Key has defined Pressure group as a private association formed to influence public policy.He also said that the striking feature of American politics is the extent to which political parties are supplemented by private associations formed to influence public policy. One of the major trends in democratic political process is the increasing role of pressure groups. The places where political parties are weak in principles and organisation, the pressure groups will flourish; where pressure groups are strong, political parties will be feeble; and where political parties are strong, pressure groups will be curbed. In. the context of the USA, the rigid nature of its constitution, the doctrine of separation of powers, difficulties of conveying the grievances of the people to the government, etc. contribute to the growth of pressure groups in American politics. American pressure groups are not much influenced by the political parties whereas in Britain pressure groups directly or indirectly have attachment with political parties.

In India, political parties are weak in principles and organisation. Therefore, pressure groups are supposed to be very significant in the functioning of the Indian Political System. In India, first pressure group emerged during the colonial period that is, All India trade union congress for the working class. India is a developing country having a scarcity of resources and acute poverty promoting the significant role of the pressure group. The main objective of this pressure group was to secure economic and political concessions for themselves.

Characteristicsof Indian pressure groups

The important characteristics of Indian pressure group are as follows-

- ❖ **Based on certain interest**- Pressure groups are formed on the basis of certain interest.

- ❖ **Lack of alignment with any party**-In India, there is multi-party system and these pressure groups to a great extend are not aligned with any of these political parties.

- ❖ **Pressure group uses party platform**-Pressure groups uses party platform to seek their interest fulfilled. They try to maintain a good relationship with both ruling and opposition party.

- ❖ **Presence of political parties sponsored pressure group**-In India political parties always tries to organize their own interest groups in various trade, professions, and industries. For example, Congress-Youth congress, Communistparty-Student's Federation of India, Bhartiya Janta party-Akhil Bhartiya Vidyarthi Parishad etc.

- ❖ **Emerged out of increasing pressure and demand on resources**-As resources of developing countries are usually scarce, there are claims and counter-claims on their resources from different and competing sections of society which leads to the emergence of pressure groups.

- ❖ **Use of traditional and modern means**-Indian pressure groupsuses both modern and traditional means for fulfilling their goals. The former uses methods like lobbying, funding political parties, introducing the favorite person in the legislature, executive and later includes cultivating connections with bureaucratic officials, traditional loyalties, caste loyalties, religious loyalties, etc.

- ❖ **Caste and religion-based pressure groups**-Several Indian pressure groups have been formed for promoting the interest of certain caste and religion. The All Indian Rajput Sabha, The Jat organization, the Jain Sabhas, Shiv Sena, Brahmin Sabha are some examples.

- ❖ **Counter checks on political parties-**It acts as a counter check on political parties and politics. For example-acts like MRPT or land reforms.

- ❖ **Pressure groups are temporary in nature**- Pressure groups are temporary in nature which keep on emerging and dissolving after some time. For example, anti-Sati group, anti-dowry etc.

- ❖ **More dependent on means of direct action**-Indian pressure group depends more on methods of direct action such as bandh, strikes, gheraos etc.

- ❖ **Influence shifted from negative to positive**-In India pressuregroup initially influenced negatively towards the actions of government as preventing nationalization of rice trade, food grain, increase in land tax, etc. But now pressure groups have a positive influence, it assists the government in forming rules. For example, a wheat policy of government framed in March 1974 was the outcome of positive efforts and support of all-India food grain dealers association.

- ❖ **State acts as pressure group**– In certain instances, the state itself act as a pressure group. Constitution under Article 262 and 263 makes provision for central government to settle border disputes and inter-state water disputes wherein the members of every states maintains

its liaison officers in Delhi to maintain its contact and act as pressure group.

Role of pressure groups in India

The capacity of pressure groups is determined by leadership, organizational abilities, mass media, economic power base, and mobilization technique. Besides this, they are also using lobbying methods, strike, bandh, demonstration, funding political parties, using party platform, etc. Even pressure group role is indirect as it facilitates many vital roles in administration. The various role of pressure groups are as follows:

- In legislature-Pressure group tries to introduce their chosen person into the legislature. They help political parties during the election and for preparing election manifesto.

- In executive-Pressure group tries to fill high executive posts with people of their own choice i.e. selection of cabinet, distribution of portfolios and P.M selection due to the prevalence of coalition government. And henceforth influences policy implementation process.

- In Bureaucracy- Bureaucrats are politically neutral as well as having long tenure, hence pressure group tries to obey them by putting good remarks that protect their interests.

- In judiciary- By appointing judges in political affairs, pressure groups play an important role as the high judicial offices are occupied by them.

Pressure groups play a significant role in democratic politics in terms of representing and nurturing the aspirations of the people. The relevance of pressure groups is mainly determined by the political parties, the forms of government, attitudes of people towards politics, the nature of leadership etc. They are different from political parties mainly because their main purpose is to secure maximum advantage for their members who arehaving common interests. Pressure groups do notseek political power, they only try to influence the decision-makers. There are different types of pressure groups, such as business groups, labour organisations (trade unions), farmers' associations, professional groups (e.g. bar associations, medical associations, teachers' associations and chartered accountants groups), and religious groups. Some of the pressure groups associate themselves directly, or indirectly, with one political party or make tie ups, without formally joining it.

The existence of pressure group is now an indispensable and helpful element for democratic setup. It promotes national and particular interests and act as a link of communication between citizen and the government. They provide the necessary information and keeps the nation politically alive. In current scenario, democratic politics has to be politics through consultation, negotiation and some amount of bargaining. These cannot happen without pressure group. The society has become highly complex and individual cannot pursue their interest by their own, they need pressure group for this. These groups are so vital that they are not confined to need of developed or developing nation or any form of government. It plays a very significant role in country like India.

Role of interest groups in Indian politics

In modern political systems, the interest groups are very active and proliferated. Their political roles are expanding and rooted in the needs of the modern political systems. With the growing complexity of the societies, the scope and functions of government is expanding which in turn make individuals to organize themselves into groups to influence the government in creation and allocation of values. Governments also need interest groups in order to generate support for the system.

Generally, interest groups and pressure groups are used interchangeably but they are not synonymous in nature. Interest groups are organized groups of people which seek to promote their specific interests. Whereas pressure group is an interest group which exerts pressure on the government or decision makers for the fulfillment of their interests. All pressure groups are interest groups while all interest groups may not be pressure groups. The major differences between them are as follows:

Interest Groups	*Pressure Groups*
Formally organized	Strictly structured
Interest – oriented	Pressure – oriented
May or may not influence the policies of the government	Influence the policies of the government
Softer in outlook	Harsher in outlook
More or less protective	Protective and promotive

Characteristics of interest groups

* Interest groups are well organized.

* They are having certain common interests which unite its members.

* The interest is specific and particular.

* They seek to attain, protect and promote their interests for which they are united.

Types of interest groups

According to Almond, the interest groups are of following types: i) Institutional Interest Groups; ii) Anomic Interest Groups; iii) Associational Interest Groups; and iv) Non-Associational Interest Groups. As Almond said, **institutional interest** groups are "formal organisations, composed of professionally employed personnel, with designated political and social functions other than interest articulation. But, either as corporate bodies or as smaller groups within these bodies (such as legislative blocs…). These groups may articulate their own interests or represent the interest of other groups in the society." Such groups are very influential and powerful. In some of the third world countries, they are not satisfied only by exercising influence. They even seize power, as, for example, the military clique did in Burma, or Bangladesh (After Sheikh Mujib's murder), or Pakistan, or Nigeria. These are exceptions.

The **anomic interest groups**, Almond said, are "more or less spontaneous penetrations into the political system from the society." These groups often appear when normal means of expressing dissatisfaction prove not effective. They may be concerned with religious or linguistic or ethnic disturbances, or demonstrations, even assassinations and hijackings. They are

generally characterised by unconventional, usually violent means. They are occasionally found even in the western developed nations.

The **associational interest groups** are closely associated with formally organised institutions. They are functionally specialised, and they articulate the interests of specific groups. These groups are found in those countries where right to association is constitutionally recognised. Some of them have regular paid employees on their roles to influence the concerned institution. These groups are generally concerned with economic interests.

Role of interest groups in Indian politics

Thomas R. Dye defined interest groups as, "Modern urban institutional societies spawn a multitude of diverse interest groups. The resulting multiplicity and diversity reduces the likelihood that any single interest group can determine policy working in all fields. In contrast, poor, rural, agricultural societies produce fewer interest groups, but the opportunity for these interest groups to dominate policy-making in underdeveloped economies is greater."

These groups exercise influence on the policy makers in formulating policies where they will be getting maximum benefit. When compared to the modern anddeveloped nations, the interest groups are fewer in developing and underdeveloped countries. In developed nations, the interest groups exert influence over public policy primarily through means of personalised relationship and 'overlapping elites' whereas in developing states, the information content of these groups is seldom rational, their goals are narrow minded and they are less farsighted in comparison to the developed nations interest groups. Interest groups are organisations of people for the

achievement of certain specific goals, if necessary, they willpressurise the state. They may be regularly involved in the pressure politics, or may at times involve themselves in pressure politics, and at other times perform other functions to promote their interests.

Interest groups provide inputs regarding the grievances of the people so that government can take necessary measures. Such as Bank employees association, Railway mazdoor union etc. Industrial interest groups like FICCI and CII have from time to time influenced the commercial and foreign trade policy of the country.

On the other hand, there have been instances when the interest groups have involved in violence activities to pressurize the government, e.g. the blockage of rail routes by Gujjars in Rajasthan to demand reservation, the violence erupted in Bombay due to the sons of soils doctrine, etc. There have been cases, where certain vested interest groups have influenced government policy by corrupt means, like bribe, gifts, etc. Also, issue of international agencies to make development projects in India via pressure groups has also been raised. Thus, it can be said that the interest groups can be entertained by the government, but the objective behind every decision must be guided by social, economic and political justice to all citizens.

Hence from all this it is clear that like pressure groups, interest groups are also playing a very significant role in Indian politics. These groups try to protect the interests of the people, transparency in government's action as well as nurtures democracy.

4.2 Role of Caste, Religion and Language in Indian politics

Politics is generally applied to the art or science of running governmental or state affairs, including behavior within civil governments, institutions, fields, and special interest groups such as the corporate, academic, and religious segments of society. Caste, religion and language plays a very significant role in Indian politics, which can be considered as theepitome of more ethnic and religious groups as compared to other countries of the world.They have become a party of identity politics.

Caste and Indian politics

 In contemporary Indian scenario, caste mobilisation has become an important element in determining Indian politics. According to Risley Caste, is a collection of families bearing a common name, claiming a common descent from a mythical ancestor, divine or human and professing to follow same hereditary calling and regarded by those who are competent to give an opinion as forming a single homogenous community. It is described as localized group having a traditional association based on one's birth in a caste, though at times associated with particular occupation (N.D. Arora, 2010).

Caste, through a joint effort of its members to assert themselves, has presently intervened in both politics and administration mainly through franchise and institutions like Panchayati Raj. Whether it is the factionalism of Indian political parties or the nomination of candidates and the mode of election campaign, most things can be explained through caste interests and caste balance. Ideally, caste and democratic political system signify opposite value systems. Caste is hierarchical. Status of an individual in caste-oriented social system is determined by birth. It has religious sanction by various holy texts, reinforced by priests and rituals. Conventionally, upper castes had been given

certain privileges not only in religious area but also in economic, education and political spheres (Konesar, 2018).

There are three consequences of such interaction between caste associations and political parties.

* Caste members particularly poor and marginalized who were previously remained untouched by the political processes got politicized and began to participate in electoral politics with an expectation that their interests would be served.

* Caste members get split among various political parties weakening hold of the caste.

* Numerically large castes get representation in decision-making bodies and strength of the traditionally dominant castes get weaken. This explains the rise of middle and backward caste representations in most of the state assemblies.

 The interest and mindfulness of various castes in politics can be understood by analysing four factors: interest of castes in politics, political knowledge and political awareness of castes, identification of castes with political parties, and influence of castes on political affairs. Rajni Kothari (1970) scrutinized the relationship between caste and politics through evaluating the issue as to what happens to political system because of the vote of castes. He found that three factors such as education, government patronage, and slowly expanding franchise have entered the caste system because of which caste system has come to affect democratic politics in the country. Economic opportunity, administrative patronage, and positions of power offered by the new institutions and the new leadership drew castes into politics (Konesar, 2018).

The caste system, which is based on the philosophies of purity and pollution, hierarchy and difference, has despite social mobility, been overbearing towards the Shudras and the outcastes who suffered the disgrace of ritual impurity and lived in abject poverty, illiteracy and denial of political power. The basis of confrontational identity politics based on caste may be said to have its origin on the issue of providing the oppressed caste groups with state support in the form of protective discrimination. This group identity based on caste that has been reinforced by the advent of political consciousness around caste identities is institutionalized by the caste-based political parties that acknowledge to uphold and protect the interests of specific identities including the castes (Konesar,2018).

Subsequently, political parties have the upper caste dominated BJP, the lower caste dominated BSP (Bhahujan Samaj Party) or the SP (Samajwadi Party), including the fact that left parties have implicitly followed the caste pattern to extract distance in electoral politics. The Aggregate result of the politicization can be precised by arguing that caste-based identity politics has had a twin role in Indian society and polity. It comparatively democratised the caste-based Indian society but simultaneously destabilised the development of class-based organisations. Historical data indicated that Caste-based discrimination and domination have been a malicious aspect of Indian society and after independence, its implications with politics have not only made it possible for previously oppressed caste-groups to be accorded political freedom and recognition but has also raised consciousness about its potential as a political capital (Konesar,2018).

In fact, Dipankar Gupta has emotionally exposed this ambiguity when he elaborates the differences between Ambedkar and Mandal Commission's view of caste. While the former designed

the policy of reservations or protective discrimination to remove untouchability as an institution from Indian social life and polity, the latter considered caste as an important political resource. Actually, the Mandal commission can be regarded as the intellectual inspiration in transforming caste based identity to an asset that may be used as a basis for safeguarding political and economic gains. Though it can also be said that the upper castes by virtue of their major position were already occupying positions of strengths in the political and economic system, and when the Mandal intensified the consciousness of the 'Dalits' by recognising their disadvantage of caste-identity as an advantage the confrontation ensues (Konesar, 2018).

In politics, since last few decades' casteism plays a significant role in the selection of candidates for contesting elections as well as for seeking votes. The voters are asked to vote for their caste candidates and thus casteism is maintained by the elected leaders after the election are over. Political parties are also sponsor only those candidates from particular constituency, whose caste is numerically more in that particular area.

Recently the educated and middle-class members of almost every caste have become involved in the formation of caste association. They tried to unite the different sub castes, within the group to reform accepted behavior to promote education and generally fight for a higher place within the social hierarchy. This casteism also challenges the basic ideologies of the nation like tolerance and peace.

Religion and Indian politics

Religion is a collection of belief systems or cultural systems that relate humanity to spirituality and moral values. Many religions may have organized behaviours, clergy, adherence or membership, holy places, and scriptures. The practice of a

religion may also include: rituals,sermons,sacrifices, festivals,funerary services, matrimonial service, meditation, prayer, music, art,dance,public service and other aspects of human culture. Religions may also contain mythology. It can be used to enhance oneself financially or spiritually. It can also be used to manipulate and control others for good or evil ends. It has been used as an effective political and commercial tool as evidenced by the many historic records of religious wars (Konesar, 2018).

Religion has great influence on political pattern in Indian society. Politicians use religion as their loopholes. They hide their black money in the names of religion and trusts. Politician use religion to gain success in politics. The rise of Hindu national decisiveness, politics of representational government, persistence of communal perceptions, and competition for the socio-economic resources are considered some of the reasons for the generation of communal beliefs and their change into major riots. Identity schemes based on religion have become a major source of skirmish not only in the international background but since the early 1990s it has also become a challenge for Indian democracy and secularism (Konesar,2018).

Historically, the Hindu revivalist movement of the 19 century is considered to be the period that saw the demarcation of two separate cultures on religious basis as Hindus and Muslims which further deepened because of the partition. This division which has become institutionalised in the form of a communal ideology for a major part of the last century signified Hindu-Muslim conflict.In recent years contestations between Hindus and Sikhs, Hindus and Christians have often crystalized into communal conflict.

The rise of Hindu national assertiveness, politics of representational government, persistence of communal perceptions, and competition for the socio-economic resources are considered some of the causes for the generation of communal ideologies and their transformation into major riots. Identity schemes based on religion has become a major source of conflict not only in the international context but since the early 1990s it has also become a challenge for Indian democracy as well as secularism.

The rise of majoritarian assertiveness is considered to have become institutionalised after the BJP. Along with this 'Hindu' constituents gave political cohesiveness to a consolidating Hindu consciousness, formed a coalition ministry in March1998. However, like all identity schemes the forging of a religious community glosses over internal differences within a particular religion to generate the "we are all of the same kind" emotion. Thus, differences of caste groups within a homogenous Hindu identity, linguistic and sectional differences within Islam are shelved to create a homogenous unified religious identity (Konesar, 2018).

In post-independence India, the majoritarian assertion has generated its own antithesis in the form of minority religions assertiveness and a resulting confrontational politics. Political leaders realized that to retain unity in India, there is a need to remain secular. Therefore, Gandhiji had been preaching brotherhood among the different religious groups. Nehru was a strong supporter. Currently one of the important threats faced by India is communalism, which is blind loyalty towards one's own religion. Communal riots become very much evident in Indian society. During communal riots, people become faceless members of their respective communities. They are willing to kill, rape and loot members of other communities in order to

revive their pride. No religion is exempted from these communal riots. It has also become the part and parcel of politics even in a secular country like India.

Role of language in Indian politics

India got her independence in 1947 and about 74 years have passed but language problem still persists. It is still a heavy weight on Indian political system and the issue is so sensitive that it can be utilized at any time by selfish politicians to serve their ends and purposes. In fact, many politicians do not hesitate to make language as an issue as when need arises. India's national leaders had to confront several language problems in the first two decades of independence. The problems included the official language issue, demands for the linguistic reorganization of the provinces of India whose boundaries during the British rule, and did not conform to linguistic divisions and the status of minority languages within reorganized states.

Identity based on the collectivity bound together by language may be said to have its origin in the pre-independence politics of the Congress that had promised reorganization of states in the post-independent period on the basis of languageBut it was the "JVP" (Jawaharlal Nehru, Vallabhbai Patel and Pattabhi Sitaramayya) Committee's concession that if public sentiment was "insistent and overwhelming", the formation of Andhra from the Telugu-speaking region of the then Madras could be conceded which as Michael Brecher mentions was the "opening wedge for the bitter struggle over states reorganization which was to dominate Indian Politics from 1953 to 1956".

Ironically, the claim of separate states on the basis of language did not end in 1956 and even today continues to confront the concerns of the Indian leadership. But theproblem has been that

none of the created or claimed states are mono-ethnic in composition and some even have numerically and politically powerful minorities. This has led to the continuation of problemswhich began to threaten the territorial limits of existing states and disputes over boundaries between linguistic states.For instance, the tensions between Maharashtra and Karnataka over the district of Belgaum or even the claims of the Nagas to parts of Manipur are examples.

The linguistic divisions have been complicated by the lack of an uniform language policy for the entire country. Since in each state the dominant regional language is often used as medium of instruction and social communication, the consequent affinity and allegiance that develops towards one's own language gets expressed even outsideone's state of origin. Even though, the country has been adopted three language formula – official language that is English, national language as Hindi and mother tongue. This three-language formula also faced a lot of criticisms; certain states began to use their mother tongue for all official purposes.

The politics has been interwoven with language. Language controversy is either raised by the politicians themselves or as soon as controversy some-how, some-where arises, politicians immediately jump in and bring forth politics to the front and take extreme positions. In spite of the fact that the country had monolithic political system for a very long time, whereas other problems were given priority, language was not accorded that high priority, which it deserved. All this resulted in continued agitations and demand of inclusion of more languages in the Schedule. In 1986, there were language riots in Karnataka. Similarly in 1987 there were agitations in Goa, where ultimately Konkani was declared as official language along with Gujarati and Marathi. There was a persistent demand that Nepali,

Bhojpuri, etc., should be included in the Schedule of languages of the Constitution and recognised as languages to be developed by the central government. In case it is desired that this problem should not exist for that more than anything else an atmosphere will have to be created under which non-Hindi speaking states will be made to realise that learning and specialization as well as expertise in Hindi will be in the interest of the people of the state.

It is also desirable that a code of conduct to be developed and strictly imposed on politicians by which exploitation of language at the time of elections or with election in view should be strictly forbidden. Provision should be made for declaring election of a candidate won by taking advantage on language, as invalid and declaring his seat immediately vacant. When such a situation arises it is only then that the problem will find its solution, otherwise it will continue to persist in spite of passing all types of laws and giving all types of assurances which the Government may give from time to time.Hindi should be so much developed that there is general realisation that it can replace English in any sphere. Not only the case of Hindi but the regional languages should be also given significance. Even though many commissions were appointed but still the problem does not come to an end latest was the formation of Telangana and Seemandhra state in 2014.Non-Hindi speaking state's problem is on other side, like communalism linguism is also curbing the unity of Indian society.

4.3 Regionalism and politics of ethnicity, Politicization of social life

Regionalism and politics of ethnicity

Regionalism in India is rooted in India's diversity of languages,cultures, tribes and religions. It is also encouraged by

the geographical concentration of these identity markers in particular regions and fueled by a sense of regional deprivation; Indian federalism has been a means of accommodating these regional sentiments (Bhattacharyya, 2005).

After independence, initially the Indian state followed the British Indian arrangement that is dividing the entire country into three large provinces – Madras, Bombay and Calcutta. These three were large multi – ethnic and multi – lingual provincial states constituting the major politico – administrative units of a semi federal state called the Union of India. For example, in Bombay presidency Marathi, Gujarati, Konkani and Kannada speaking people were there. Other than presidencies, provinces, there were princely states as well as principalities, all these units of the colonial era had to be reorganized into ethno – linguistic states with in the Indian union in response to strong popular agitations.

Language coupled with regional and tribal identity and not regional has therefore provided the most powerful weapon for the formation of ethno national identity in India.This does not mean that all linguistic communities have got statehood. For example, in 2000 Chattisgarh, Jharkhand and Uttaranchal language did not play a significant role, rather it's a combination of ethnicity based on tribal identity, language, regional deprivation and ecology lead to the statehood.

Regionalism promoted in developing economies like India. The scarcity of technical know-how, the increase in population growth, corruption, deteriorating law and order situation have created problems in India. The new developmental schemes have generated competition among different groups and regions for acquiring more and more economic gains. This has also resulted in the emergence of local leadership.

Regionalism broadly classified into three:

- **Supra state regionalism** - It is formed by forging identity by a group of state against other group of states or even against the union. Example: North – south issues.

- **Inter – state regionalism** – state identity or group of state identities are juxtaposed against the identities of other state on certain issues that clash with the interest of one another. For instance, the river water disputes between Tamilnadu and Kerala.

- **Intra – state regionalism** – It is the deprivation or exploitation in relation to other parts of the same state. It is also known as sub regionalism. Lot of movements had happened in this like Dravidian movement, Jharkhand movement etc.

Regionalisms lead to the rise of many regional parties with focus on regional issues. The regional movements often result in violent agitations, disturbs not only law and order but also have negative implications on the economy as well. It creates internal as well as international tensions. Telugu Desam party, Akali Dal, Mizo National Front etc are some parties in this category. Like language the parties also began to take advantage in the name of region and began to exploit the common people. In North East states also, lots of ethnic movements are happening. Hence ethnicity and regionalism are intertwined and its influence on politics is very much significant.

Politicization of social life

Politicization means the preponderance of politics in the different spheres of life. After independence in India, we can see

the concentration of power in political hands. Nowadays politicians interfere freely in administration and are able to influence it to benefit of themselves, their friends and relatives. Persons of different classes are busy by making maximum exertions to win and corner the political power. When the political-party identity of people become an important identity in society and people are essentially forced to support the dominant political party for getting basic amenities and opportunities called politicization of social life. The Politicization of society can happen in two main ways – explicit and implicit.

One is the 'explicit way', whereby the party in power demands that you are loyal to the party, explicitly, to live *properly* in society. So, people have to perform various signaling functions to show their support for the governing party, in the form of buying party membership and going to polls even when only one candidate is on the ballot. The people should take away the neutral or opposition attitude; in order to get opportunities in jobs they need party membership.

The other is the 'implicit way', whereby people live in seemingly 'democratic societies' with the governing (and dominant) party and the existence of other political parties. People do not have to publicly affirm their support for the governing party to live properly in society.

The amount of power and prestige enjoyed by the political leaders in modern India are unmatched by the leaders in Science, culture and arts. The politicization is evident in almost all spheres of life.

> ### Politicization in social sphere

The politics dominates various aspects of our social life today. In India, the evil of casteism has weakened on account of social

and cultural changes; but the political factors have given in a fresh lease of life. The politicians are exploiting the sentiment of casteism for their wicked ends and not for the genuine welfare of the caste. That's why once Dumont said the politicization of caste will happen in Indian society.Similarly, communalism, linguism and regionalism are being exploited by the politicians not for the interest of any community, language or religion but for selfish political ends. Not only the castes but family and marriage have also been affected by politics. In urban areas the capitalists after acquiring a lot of wealth make it a pointto corner political power.In municipalities and corporations as well, the elections are fought with selfish political motives.

> ### Politicization in Government services

The politicians try to fill up top government posts with men loyal to them. The chief ministers and other members of the cabinet try to fill up the top most positions with the people of their confidence. So, in government services too the political considerations are evident.

> ### Politicization in Economic sphere

In both private and public spheres, the politics dominates economic activity. In the private sector the top positions are occupied by the relatives of the management but the maximum politicization is seen in public sectors where the people loyal to government authorities or parties will be getting benefit.

> ### Politicization in Education

In educational institutions now, a number of appointments are made not according to merit merely out of political consideration. The politicians are using students as tools for their wicked ends which in turn results in the deterioration of academic standards.

> ### Boundary disputes

After independence, the boundaries of the states have been realigned a number of times. The areas of some states have been looped off and added to other states. Some are formed because of the demands of citizens but many are politically motivated. The more the states, the more are the interests of political incumbents.

> ### Politicization in culture

Cultural field is not free from politicization in India. In arts, sports and all the influence of politicians can be seen. The government grants and cultural associations are frequently made on political considerations.

India attaches much importance to the political leaders and political news than the cultural and artistic things. The evil of politicization can only be removed if the elitist class of industrialists, professors, doctors, engineers etc stops giving too much importance to the political news and politicians. They should realize the importance of their professions and assert their worth. They should not tolerate the interference of politicians in their respective fields. But now we can see a lot of cases regarding the illegal appointments and corruptions are increasing which is solely due to the politicization. Hence the politicization of social life is increasing corruption which in turn leads to unjust and inequal society in which the powerful people are only able to survive and can do anything.

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