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BOOKLET 3
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SOCIOLOGY
For IAS/PCS

CSE MAINS PAPER - I
(Fundamental of Sociology)

Syllabus Covered

Unit-6 : Works and Economic Life :
- Social organization of work in different types of society- slave society, feudal society, industrial /capitalist society.
- Formal and informal organization of work.
- Labour and society.

Unit-7 : Politics and Society :
- Sociological theories of power.
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- Protest, agitation, social movements, collective action, revolution.

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- Religion in modern society: religion and science, secularization, religious revivalism, fundamentalism.
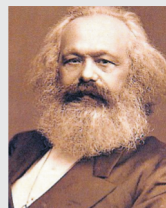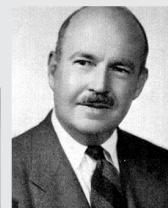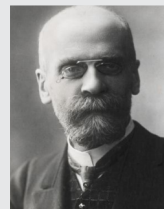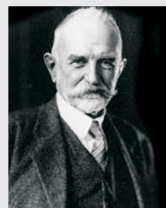
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Sociology for IAS

by

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(Compiled Edition of Previous Book "Fundamental of Sociology" & "Applied Sociology)

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Works and Economic Life

Syllabus:

- ✓ *Social organization of work in different types of society- slave society, feudal society, industrial/capitalist society.*
- ✓ *Formal and informal organization of work.*
- ✓ *Labour and society*.

THE SOCIAL ORGANIZATION OF WORK

We can define work, whether paid or unpaid, as being the carrying out of tasks requiring the expenditure of mental and physical effort, which has some objective, the production of goods and services that cater to human needs. An occupation, or job, is work that is done in exchange for a regular wage or salary.

In all cultures, work is the basis of the Economic System. The economic system consists of institutions that provide for the production and distribution of goods and services. .

One of the most distinctive characteristics of the economic system of modern societies is the existence of a highly complex division of labour: *work has been divided into an enormous number of different occupations in which people specialize.*

In traditional societies, non-agricultural work entailed the mastery of a craft. Craft skills were learned through a lengthy period of apprenticeship, and the worker normally carried out all aspect of the production process from beginning to end. **For example** *a metalworker making a plough would forge the iron, shape it and assemble the implement itself. With the rise of modern industrial production, most traditional crafts have disappeared altogether, replaced by skills that form part of larger scale of production processes.*

Modern society has also witnessed a shift in the location of work. Before industrialization, most work took place at home and was completed collectively by all the members of the household. Advances in industrial technology, such as machinery operating on electricity and coal, contributed to the separation of work and home.

Factories owned by entrepreneurs became the focal points of industrial development. Machinery and equipment were concentrated within them and the mass production of goods began to eclipse small-scale artisanship based in the home. **People seeking jobs in factories are trained to perform a specialized task and receive a wage for their work.** Employee performance are overseen by managers, who concerned themselves with implementing techniques for enhancing worker productivity and discipline.

The contrast in the division of labour between traditional and modern societies is truly extraordinary. Even in the largest traditional societies, there usually existed no more than

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twenty or thirty major craft trades, together, with such specialized roles as merchant, industrial system; there are literally thousands of distinct occupations.

`**In traditional communities, most of the population worked on farms and were economically self- sufficient.** They produced their own food, clothes and other necessities of life. One of the main features of modern societies, by contrast, is an enormous expansion of economic interdependence.

Early sociologist wrote extensively about the potential consequences of the division of labour- both for individual workers and for society as a whole. Karl Marx was one of the first writers to speculate that the development of modern industry would reduce many people's work to dull, uninteresting tasks. According to Marx, *the division of labour alienates human beings from their work. For Marx, alienation refers to feeling of indifference or hostility not only to work, but to the overall framework of industrial production within a capitalist setting. In traditional societies, he pointed out, work was often exhausting – peasant farmers sometimes had to toil from dawn to dusk. Yet peasants held real measure of control over their work, which required much knowledge and skill. Many industrial workers, by contrast, have little control over their jobs, only contributing a fraction to the creation of the overall product, and they have no influence over how or to whom it is eventually sold. Marxists would argue that for workers like Jockey, work appears as some thing alien, a task that must be carried out in order to earn an income but that is intrinsically unsatisfying*.

Durkheim had a more optimistic outlook about the division of labour, although, although he too acknowledged its potentially harmful effects. According to Durkheim, *the specialization of roles would strengthen social solidarity within communities. Rather than living as isolated, self- sufficient units, people would be linked together through their mutual dependency. Solidarity would be enhanced through multidirectional relationships of production and consumption. Durkheim saw this arrangement as a highly functional one, although he was also aware that social solidarity could be disrupted if change occurred too rapidly. He referred to this resulting sense of normlessness as anomie.*

THE SOCIAL SIGNIFICANCE OF WORK

For most of us, work occupies a larger part of our lives than any other single type of activity. In modern societies, having a job is important for maintaining self- esteem. Even where work conditions are relatively unpleasant, and the tasks dull, work tends to be a structuring element in people's psychological make- up and the cycle of their daily activities. ***Several characteristics of work are relevant here.***

- **Money or Wage:** *A wage or Salary in return from work is the main resource many people depend on to meet their needs. Without an income, anxieties about coping with day-to-day life multiply.*

- **Activity level:** *Work often **provides a basis of the acquisition and exercise of skills and capacities.** Even where work is routine, **it offers a structured environment in which a person's energies may be absorbed.** Without it, the opportunity to exercise such skills and capacities may be reduced.*

- **Variety:** *Work provides **access to contexts that contrast with domestic surroundings.** In the working environment, even when the tasks are relatively dull, people may enjoy doing something different from home chores.*

- **Temporal structure:** *For people in regular employment, **the day is usually organized around the rhythm of work. While this may sometimes be oppressive, it provides a sense of direction in daily activities.** Those who are out of work frequently find boredom a major problem and develop a sense of apathy about time.*

- **Social contacts:** *The work environment **often provides friendships and opportunities to participate in shared activities with others.** Separated from the work setting, a person's circle of possible friends and acquaintances is likely to dwindle.*

- **Personal identity**: *Work is **usually valued for the sense of stable social identity it offers**. For **men in particular, self-esteem is often bound up with the economic contribution they make to the maintenance of the household***.

Against the backdrop of this formidable list, it is not difficult to see why being without work may undermine individual's confidence in their social value.

Economic system of simple societies(Pre-Industrial Society*)*

HERBERT SPENCER has defined simple society as one which forms a simple working whole and of which the parts cooperate for certain public ends. Simple societies have low division of labour. The occupational differentiation being limited primarily to birth, sex and age. These societies have no specialized economic organization.

- ✓ *THE PRODUCTIVE SKILLS ARE SIMPLE AND PRODUCTIVITY IS LOW therefore these societies cannot sustain large population size-SMALL POPULATION. Most of the adult members are engaged in FOOD GATHERING activities.*

- ✓ *There is LITTLE OR NO SURPLUS so the social inequalities are not significant and economic interaction takes place within egalitarian frame-work.*

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- ✓ *The **PRODUCTION SYSTEM IS SIMPLE** but **EXCHANGE OF GOODS AND SERVICES ASSUME A COMPLEX** form. The **FORMS OF EXCHANGE ARE RECIPROCAL AND REDISTRIBUTIVE** type.*

- ✓ *Some of the simple societies inhabiting regions having abundant food and other resources indulge in conspicuous consumption.*

- ✓ *The members **LACK HIGH DEGREE OF ACHIEVEMENT MOTIVATION** as there is neither any intense preoccupation on generation and accumulation of economic surplus.Infact most economic activities emphasize on giving rather than storing or accumulation. Private ownership of means of production is non-existent.*

- ✓ *There is **NO CLEAR SEPARATION BETWEEN DOMESTIC ECONOMY AND COMMUNITY ECONOMY** as they overlap to varying degrees.*

- ✓ *The **ECONOMIC SYSTEM IS DOMINATED BY SACRED CONSISTING OF MAGIC-RELIGIOUS IDEAS**.*

- ✓ *The **INNOVATION IS RARE AND CHANGE IS SLOW.** The customary practices and norms regulate production and exchange of goods and services.*

Some forms of Simple Economic Exchange:

- ✓ ***Barter system-** It is direct form of exchange whether in return for services or goods.*

- ✓ ***Silent trade-** It was an exchange system where the exchanging parties do not know each other personally.*

- ✓ ***Jajmani system-***It is system of economic and social relationship existing between various castes in villages. The patron is known as jajman and the service castes are known as kamin.It is still prevalent in villages.*

- ✓ ***Ceremonial exchange-***It is a type of social system in which goods are given to relatives and friends on various social occasions. The main idea is to establish cordial relations between the various social groups.*

- ✓ ***Potlatch-***This term means gift. It is meant as a public distribution of goods made to establish certain claims of the giver and the recipients. It is based on the principle of reciprocity. Through this system the host declares his status to others.*

- ✓ ***Multicentric economy-***It is an economy using several media of exchange.*

- ✓ ***Kula -***According to Malinowski it is a ceremonial exchange participated by the inhabitants of a closed circle of Trobriand Island. It has no practical or commercial value. The system of exchange is regulated in a kind of ring with two directional movements. In clockwise direction,the red shell necklaces called Soulava circulate and in anticlockwise circulation the white arm shells known as Mwali circulate among the members of the Kula.Objects given and taken in Kula are never subjected any bargaining.*

Economic system of complex societies (Industrial Society)

The complex societies have high degree of division of labor and consequently structural differentiation. Thus economic activity constitutes a specialized activity taking place in special institution framework and distinguishable from other types of social activity e.g. factories, banks and markets are some of the distinct economic activities.

- **HIGH DIVISION OF LABOR** *implies advanced skills which help in high productivity. The economic organization can easily sustain a large population.*

- ***COMPLEX SOCIETIES*** *due to their high productivity generate huge surplus. They can support conspicuous consumption.*

- ***MARKET EXCHANGE*** *is the pivotal form of exchange and money is the universal medium of exchange.*

- *The members of the complex societies have* **HIGH ACHIEVEMENT MOTIVATION** *and the economic behavior is characterized by an* **INTENSE PREOCCUPATION WITH GENERATION AND ACCUMULATION OF SURPLUS***.*

- *There exist a* **CLEAR DISTINCTION BETWEEN DOMESTIC ECONOMY AND COMMUNITY ECONOMY***. The* **DOMESTIC UNITS ARE THE UNITS OF CONSUMPTION AND SUPPLY THE MANPOWER** *to the community economy. The production of goods and services takes place in the larger units which form part of the community economy.*

- *These societies are characterized by* **THE HIGH LEVEL OF SCIENTIFIC AND TECHNOLOGICAL ADVANCEMENTS***. Economic activity is perceived in secular terms and is based on practical rationality.*

- **HIGH DEGREE OF SPECIALIZATION, RAPIDITY OF CHANGE, PREDOMINANCE OF PRACTICAL AND EXCESSIVE MECHANIZATION OF PRODUCTION** leads to a state of anomie in society and alienate the worker from the product of his labour.

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION OF WORK IN DIFFERENT TYPES OF SOCIETY

Slave society

- Slave society is a society, where the fundamentals of class conflict is based on the division of people into masters and slaves, with slaves being the dominant producing class. Masters had complete control and ownershipright over slaves. One group among human beings (slaves) were commodified andcontrolled by masters. The Roman Empire attempted to create a slave society for over 500 years. Rome had been a large semi-feudal empire with many peasant/farmers, whose skills were needed to plant crops, and whose loyalty to the Empire was

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necessary for waging war as soldiers. With the falls of the Roman Empire, the notion of a slave society also fell in centuries to come.

- **Early Marxist Theory:** *According to Marx & Engels, Slave society was the earliest form of class society. It is an extreme form of inequality in which some individuals are owned by others as their property.* The slave owner has full control including using violence over the slave. .**T Hobhouse** defined **slave as a man whom law and custom regard as the property of another. In extreme cases he is wholly without rights.**

- **Slaves were in lower condition as compared with freemen.** The slaves *have no political rights.* They did not choose their government, did not attend the public councils. Socially they were despised. They were compelled to work.

- **The slavery system has existed sporadically at many times and places but there are two major examples of slavery** - societies of the ancient world based upon slavery (Greek and Roman) and southern states of USA in the 18th and 19th centuries.

- *According to H.J Nieboer the basis of slavery is always economic because with it emerged a kind of aristocracy which lived upon slave labour.* The increase of production in all branches-cattle-raising, agriculture, domestic handicrafts-gave human **labour-power the capacity to produce a larger product than was necessary for its maintenance; hence prisoners of war were turned into slaves**.

- With increase of the productivity of labour, and therefore of wealth, and its extension in the field of production, the first great social division of labour was bound, in the general historical conditions prevailing, to bring slavery to its end. *From the first great social division of labour arose the first great cleavage of society into two classes: Feudal Lords and Slaves.*

Feudal Society

- **Feudalism was the medieval model of government predating the birth of the modern nation-state.** Feudal society is a military hierarchy in which a ruler or 'lord' who offered fighters a "fief", a unit of land to control in exchange for a military service.

- **Feudalism discouraged trade and economic growth**. **The land was worked by peasant farmers called serfs, who were tied to individual plots of land and forbidden to move or change occupations without the permission of their lord.** The feudal lord might claim one-third to one-half of their produce in taxes and fees, and the serfs owed him a set number of days each year in which they would work in the lord's fields in exchange for the right to work on their own lands. *Often, they were required to grind their grain in the lord's mill, and bake all their bread in the lords' oven, and to use roads and bridges the lord had built. Each time they did this, of course, they would have to pay him a toll or a fee of some sort.* They were,

however, forbidden to set up their own roads, bridges, mills, and ovens-the lord had a legal monopoly and would milk it for all it was worth.

- **During the period of history known as the Middle Ages, feudalism was the law of the land.** It was the basis by which the upper nobility class maintained control over the lower classes. The Lords held this land by what they believed was "divine right", the right to rule granted by God and then passed on through heredity. *However, there was no physical way for a king to govern all the land effectively because there was no quick communication system, and it often took several days to travel from one part of the country to the other, even in a relatively small country such as England. The king needed a way to maintain control over his lands, even if indirectly. Over time, the holdings of these lords were passed from generation to generation.* The class of lords solidified into an upper nobility class. They felt that they were much superior to the "common" peasants, or serfs. As a result, the lords usually were merciless to their peasants and demanded much from them.

- **The church leaders often also held a great power over the people, much like the lords of the manor. Many church leaders were active in politics and government.** The peasants believed that the harder they worked, the more of their money they gave to the church, and the more they served the church, the better the after-life would be for them. The church also paid the lord to use the land, and this sort of symbiosis between the church and the lord keep them both with an exceptional amount of money, while the peasant sometimes starved to death from overwork and exploitation.

- **The feudal society was constructed for one reason: security. The King wanted the security of maintaining control over their far-reaching kingdoms, so they were forced to delegate power to local control.** The peasants wanted security from marauders and barbarians from neighboring lands. They also wanted security from invading armies. And thus the development of the feudal system and the fief structure was almost inevitable. However, all this came at the great expense of the common man.

- **The estate system is synonymous with Feudalism. The feudal estates had three important characteristics** .In the **first place** they were legally defined; each estate had a status with legal rights and duties, privileges and obligations. **Secondly** the estates represented a broad division of labor and were regarded as having definite functions. The nobility were ordained to defend all, the clergy to pray for all and the commons to provide food for all. **Thirdly** the feudal estates were political groups. An assembly of estates possessed political power. From this point of view the serfs did not constitute an estate until 12th century. This period saw the emergence of third estate –commoners, who were a distinctive group within the system. Thus the three estates -clergy, nobility and commoners functioned like three political groups.

Industrial Society

- *Industrialization is the process of social and economic change whereby a human group is transformed from a pre-industrial society into an industrial one. It is a part of wider modernization process, where social change and economic development are closely related with technological innovation, particularly with the development of large-scale energy and metallurgy production. It is the extensive organization of an economy for the purpose of manufacturing.* Industrialization also introduces a form of philosophical change, where people obtain a different attitude towards their perception of nature.

- **According to EMILE DURKHEIM, "**Division of labour or specialization" is the specialization of **cooperative labour** in specific, circumscribed tasks and roles, intended to increase the productivity of labour in Industrial society. Historically the growth of a more and more complex division of labour is closely associated with the growth of total output and trade, the rise of capitalism, and of the complexity of industrialization processes.

- **Increasing the specialization may also lead to workers with poorer overall skills and a lack of enthusiasm for their work (Alienation).** This viewpoint was extended and refined by **Karl Marx.** He described the process as alienation; workers become more and more specialized and work repetitious which eventually leads to complete alienation. *Labour hierarchy is to a great extent inevitable, simply because no one can do all tasks at once; but of course the way these hierarchies are structured can be influenced by a variety of different factors. It is often agreed that the most equitable principle in allocating people within hierarchies is that of true (or proven) competency or ability. This important Western concept of meritocracy could be read as an explanation or as a justification of why a division of labour is the way it is.*

- **The concentration of labour into factories has brought about the rise of large towns to serve and house the working population.** In a capitalist system, investments, distribution, income, production, pricing and supply of goods, commodities and services are determined by private decisions, usually within the context of markets. In a capitalist state, private property rights are protected by the rule of law of a government through a limited regulatory framework.

- **According to Marx, the capitalist stage of development or 'bourgeoisie society',** represented the most advanced form of social organization to date. But he also thought that working classes would come to power in worldwide socialist or communist transformation of human society as the end of the series of first aristocratic, then capitalist, and finally working class rule would be reached.

- According to Max Weber, Western Capitalism was, most generally, the "rational organization of formally free labor". Industrial Society **was characterized by Market Economy for Weber.**

MARKET ECONOMY

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- **Market or Free economy is characterized by a system in which the allocation of resources is determined by supply and demand in the market.** Both the *production and distribution is determined by the market forces* to ensure competition and efficiency .

- It has an effect on the traditional families. As a result of monetisation and market economy the different members of the family contribute to the family income and increased the avenues for social mobility.

- Their is rapid growth of industries in which **the employee-employer relations are based on contractual relations**. **Work has become the commodity which is exchanged for wages.**

- Expansion of markets has increased the volume of trade and commerce facilitating **the integration of the country and different societies.**

- **Growth of economy leads to occupational diversification and increasing specialization of occupations which in turn has created a demand for educational institutions to provide specialized training.**

- **Due to industrialization and expansion of market economy in urban areas leads to consumption oriented life-style.**

- Market economy governed by supply and demand is **inherently unstable. This leads to anomie which is characteristic of urban life.** Inflation also poses constant threat to instability in the urban markets.

New Innovation of work organization in Industrial Society

TAYLORISM AND FORDISM:

Taylor's approach to what he called **'scientific management'** involved the **detailed study of industrial processes in order to break them down into simple operations** that could be precisely **timed and organized**. (Scientific management came to be called as Taylorism)

- Taylorism, (as scientific management came to be called) was not merely an academic study. **It was a system of production designed to maximize industrial output, and it had a widespread impact not only on the organization of industrial production and technology, but also on workplace politics as well**.

- In particular, Taylor's **time-and-motion studies** wrested **control over knowledge of the productions process from the worker and placed such knowledge firmly in the hands of management, eroding the basis on which cart or traditional workers maintained autonomy from their employers**. (As such, Taylorism has been widely associated with the deskilling and degradation of labour.)

    The principles of Taylorism were appropriated by the industrialist **Henry Ford. One of Ford's most significant innovations was the introduction of the assembly line industry.** Each worker on Ford's

assembly line was assigned a specialized tasks, such as fitting the left side door handles as the car bodies moved along the line.

- **Ford was among the first to realize that mass production requires mass markets. He reasoned that if standardized commodities such as the automobile were to be produced on an ever-greater scale, the presence of consumers who were able to buy those commodities must also be assured.** In 1914 Ford took the unprecedented step of unilaterally raising wages at his Dearborn, Michigan, plant to $5 for an eight-hour day a very generous wage at the time and one that ensured a working class lifestyle that included owning such as automobile.

- **Fordism is the name given to designate the system of mass production tied to the cultivation of mass markets.** In certain contexts, the term has a more specific meaning, referring to a historical period in the development of post-second world War capitalism, in which mass production was associated with stability in labour relations and high degree of unionization.

- **Under Fordism, firms made long term commitments to workers, and wages were tightly linked to productivity growth.** As such, collective bargaining agreements formal agreements negotiated between firms and unions that specified working conditions such as wages, seniority rights, and benefits and so on- closed a virtuous circle that ensured worker consent to automated work regimes and sufficient demand for mass-produced commodities. This system is generally understood to have broken down in the 1970s, giving rise to greater flexibility and insecurity in working conditions.

The limitations of Taylorism and Fordism:

The reasons for the demise of Fordism are complex and intensely debated. As firms in a variety of industries adopted Fordist production methods, the system encountered certain limitations.

- **The system can only be applied successfully in those industries, such as car manufacture that produce standardized produces for large markets.**

- **To set up mechanized production lines is enormously expensive, and once a Fordist system is established, it is quite rigid; to alter a product, for example substantial reinvestment is needed.**

- **Fordist production is easy to copy if sufficient funding is available to set up the plant. But firms in countries where labour power is expensive find it difficult to compete with those where wages are cheaper.** This was one of the factors originally leading to the rise of the Japanese car industry (although Japanese wage levels today are no longer low) and subsequently that of South Korea.

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- Fordism and Taylorism are what some industrial sociologists call **low-trust system. Jobs are set by management and are geared to machines. Those who carry out of the work tasks are closely supervised and are allowed little autonomy of action.** In order to maintain discipline and high- quality production standards, employees are con-tenuously monitored through various surveillance systems.

- This constant supervision, however, tends to- produce the opposite of its intended result: **the commitment and morale of workers is often eroded because they have little say in the nature of their jobs or in how they are carried out.** In workplace with many low-trust positions, **the level of worker dissatisfaction and absenteeism is high, and industrial conflict is common.** (**A high-trust system**, by contrast, is one in which workers are permitted to control the pace, and even the content, of their work, within overall guidelines. Such systems are usually concentrated at the higher levels of industrial organizations. As we shall see, high-trust systems have become more common in many work places in recent decades, transforming the very way we think about the organization and execution of work.)

HUMAN RELATIONS SCHOOL OF WORK ORGANIZATION: ELTON MAYO

Research carried out by **Mayo** at the **General Electric Company in Chicago concluded that group relationships and management-worker communication were far more important in determining employee behaviour than physical conditions (e.g. lighting and noise) and the working practices imposed by management.** Also, **wage levels were not the dominant motivating factor for most workers.**

In many respects this work paved the way for the volume of research that followed, looking at employee behaviour, motivation and so on.

Key proposition of Elton Mayo: Further research established the following propositions of the **human relations school.**

- **Employee behaviour** depends primarily on the **social and organisational circumstances of work.**

- **Leadership style, group cohesion and job satisfaction** are major determinants of the outputs of the working group.

- **Employees work better** if they are given **a wide range of tasks to complete.**

- **Standards set internally by a working group influence employee attitudes and perspectives** more than standards set by management.

- **Individual workers cannot be treated in isolation,** but must be seen as members of a group.

- **Monetary incentives and good working conditions are less important** to the individual than the need to belong to a group.

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- **Informal or unofficial groups formed at work place have a strong influence** on the behavior of those workers in a group.
- Managers must be aware of these **'social needs'** and cater for them to ensure that **employees collaborate with the official organization rather than work against it.**

The usefulness of the human relations approach:

- The school **explicitly recognised the role of interpersonal relations in determining workplace behaviour, and it demonstrated that factors other than pay can motivate workers.**
- **However**, the approach possibly **overestimates the commitment, motivation and desire to participate in decision making of many employees.**

POST-FORDISM THESIS OF WORK ORGANIZATION:

The term is used to refer to a set of overlapping changes that are occurring not only in the realm of work and economic life, but throughout society as a whole.

- **In recent decades, flexible practices have been introduced in a number of spheres, including product development style, the working environment, employee involvement and marketing.** Some commentators have suggested that, **taken collectively, these changes represent a radical departure from the principles of Fordism;** they contend that we are no operating in a period that can best by understood as **post Fordism.**
- The phrase "**Post-Fordism.**" was popularized by **Michael Piore and Charles Sabel** in their book 'The second Industrial Divide (1984)', and describes a new era of capitalist economic production in which flexibility and innovation are maximized in order to meet market demands for diverse, customized products.
- Despite the confusion surrounding the term, **several distinctive trends within the world of work have emerged in recent decades that seem to represent a clear departure from earlier Fordist practices**. These include the '**DECENTRALIZATION OF WORK INTO NON-HIERARCHICAL TEAM GROUPS OR GROUP PRODUCTION'** the idea of '**FLEXIBLE PRODUCTION' & 'MASS CUSTOMIZATION'**, the spread of '**GLOBAL PRODUCTION' and the introduction of a 'MORE FLEXIBLE OCCUPATIONAL STRUCTURE'**.
- **Group production: Group production - collaborative work groups in place of assembly lines**- have sometimes been used in conjunction with automation as a way of reorganizing work.
- ✓ T**he underlying idea is to increase worker motivation by letting groups of workers collaborate in team production processes** rather than requiring each worker to spend the whole day doing a single repetitive task, like inserting the screws in the door handle of a car.

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- ✓ **An example of group production is "quality circles (QCs)", groups of between five and twenty workers who meet regularly to study and resolve production problems.** Workers who belong to QCs receive extra training, enabling them to contribute technical knowledge to the discussion of production issues. QCs were **They represent a break from the assumptions of Taylorism, since they recognize that workers possess the expertise to contribute towards the definition and method of the tasks they carry out.**

- ✓ **The positive effects of group production on workers can include the acquisition of new skills, increased autonomy, reduced managerial supervision and growing pride in the goods and services that they produce.**

- ✓ **However, studies have identified a number of NEGATIVE CONSEQUENCES of Group production.** Although direct managerial authority is less apparent in a team process, other forms of monitoring exist, such as supervision by other team works. **The American sociologist LAURIE conducted study at the Japanese- owned Subaru-Isuzu car plant based in Indiana, in the USA, and found that peer pressure from other workers group to achieve greater productivity was relentless.** *One co-worker told her that after initially being enthusiastic about the team concept, she found that peer supervision was just a new means of management trying to work people to death.* GRAHAM (1995) also found that **Subaru-Isuzu used the group- production concept as a means of resisting trade unions, their argument being that if management and workers were on the same 'team' then there should be no conflict between the two.** In other words, the good 'team player' doesn't complain.

    Studies like Graham's have led sociologists to conclude that while team-based production processes provide workers with opportunities for less monotonous forms for work, systems of powers and control remain the same in the workplace.

- ● **Flexible production and mass customization: One of the most important changes in worldwide production processes over the past few years has been the introduction of computer-aided design and flexible production.** While Taylorism and Fordism were successful at producing mass products (that were unable to produce small order of goods, let alone goods specifically made for an individual customer.

- ● **Stanley Davis** in his observation found the emergence of mass customizing. **The new technologies allow the large-scale production of items designed for particular customers.** Five thousand shirts might be produced on an assembly line each day. It is now possible to customize every one of the shirts just as quickly as, and at no greater expense than, procuring five thousand identical shirts.

- ✓ **While flexible production has produced benefits for consumer and the economy as a whole, the effect on workers, has not been wholly positive.** Though workers do learn new

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skills and have less monotonous jobs, **flexible production can create a completely new set of pressures which result from the need to coordinate the complex production process carefully and to produce the results quickly.** Laurie **Grahama's study** of the Subaru-Isuzu factory documented instances when workers were left waiting until the last minute for critical parts in the production process. As a result, employees were forced to work longer and more intensely to keep up with the production schedule, without additional, compensation.

✓ **Enthusiastic proponents argue that mass customization offers nothing short of a new Industrial Revolution, a development as momentous as the introduction of mass production techniques in the previous century.** Skeptics, however, are quick to point out that as currently practiced, mass customization only creates the illusion of choice- in reality, the options available to the Internet customer are no greater than those offered by a typical mail-order catalogue (Collins 2000.)

● **Global production: Changes in industrial production include not only how products are manufactured, but also where products are manufactured, as we saw with the example of the Barbie doll.** For much of the twentieth century, the most important business organizations were larger manufacturing firms that controlled both the making of goods and their final sales.

✓ **During the past twenty or thirty years, however, another form of production has become important- one that is controlled by giant retailers.** In retailer- dominated production, firms such as the American. Retailer Wal-Mart- which in 2000 was the world's second largest corporation- buy products from manufactures, who in turn arrange to have their products made by independently owned factories.

✓ The American sociologists **Edna Bonacich and Richard Appelbaum** (2000) show that **in clothing manufacturing, most manufacturers actually employ no garment workers at all. Instead, they rely on thousands of factories around the world to make their clothing, which they then sell in department stores and other retail outlets.**

✓ Bonacich and Appelbaum argue that such competition has resulted in a global 'race to the bottom' in which retailers and manufacturers will go to any place on earth where they can pay the lowest wages possible. One result is that much of the clothing we buy today is likely to have been made in sweatshops by young workers probably teenage girls- who get paid athletic shoes that sell for tens, if not hundreds, of pounds.

Criticisms of post-Fordism:

- One common criticism is that post-Fordist **analysts are exaggerating the extent to which Fordist practices have been abandoned. What we are witnessing is not a wholesale transformation, as advocates of post- Fordism would have us believe, but the integration**

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of some new approaches into traditional Fordist techniques. This argument has been adopted by those who claim we are actually experiencing a period of neo-Fordism- that is, modifications to the traditional Fordist techniques (Wood 1989).

- *It has been suggested that the idea of a smooth linear transition form Fordist to post-Fordist techniques overstates the true nature of work at both ends. ANNA POLLERT (1988) has argued that Fordist techniques were never as entrenched as some would have us believe.* It is also an exaggeration, she contends, that the age of mass production has passed in favour of total flexibility. **She points out that mass production techniques still dominate in many industries, especially those that are aimed at consumer markets.** According to Pollert, **economic production has always been characterized by a diversity of techniques rather than a standard, unified approach.**

POSTINDUSTRIAL SOCIETIES

In 1973, sociologist Daniel Bell noted that a new type of society was emerging. He described the essential changes that are accompanying the emergence of a POST-INDUSTRIAL SOCIETY, one that relies on intellectual technologies of telecommunications and computers, not just "large computers but computers on a chip"

This new postindustrial society has six characteristics:

(1) A service sector so large that most people work in it,

(2) A vast surplus of goods,

(3) Even more extensive trade among nations

(4) A wider variety and quantity of goods available to the average person

(5) An information explosion

(6) A global village where the world's nations are linked by fast communications, transportation and trade.

In addition to the associated technology, a substantial proportion of the working population employed in service, sales, and administrative support occupations distinguishes post-industrial societies. There is an extraordinary rise in the percentage of workers in management, professional, and related occupations. There is an increased emphasis on education as the avenue of social mobility.

- This has led to an opportunity, the dominance of intellectual technology based on mathematics and linguistics in the form of algorithms, programs (software), models, and simulations the creation of an electronically mediated global communication infrastructure, which includes broadband, cable, digital TV, optical fiber networks, fax, e-mail and ISDN (integrated system digital networks) an economy defined not simply by the production of goods and labor-saving

devices but by applied knowledge as the source of invention and innovation and by the manipulation of numbers, words, images, and other symbols.

- **The jobs associated with this knowledge driven, information based economy include computer programmers, technical writers, financial analysts, market analysts, and customer-service representatives.** The challenge of post-industrial society is interpersonal, as the "basic experience of each person's life is his relationship between himself and others." **In an environment that emphasizes knowledge and interpersonal relationships, the institutions of science and education take center stage.**

- With regard to science, **Bell described the rise and importance of science-based industries, which involve applications of theoretical knowledge. These industries are fundamentally different from the industries of the Industrial Revolution, such as steel, automobile, and telephone.** For the most part, these industries were "founded or created by talented thinkers" who were not connected to the scientific establishment.

- Post-industrial industries derive directly from the investigations of scientists into the basic phenomena of nature and the applications of this research to technological problems.

- Education becomes key to negotiating an information society and is viewed as something that takes place across the lifespan, not con- fined to a specific time or place.

THE CHANGING, NATURE OF WORK IN INDUSTRIAL SOCETY:

FEMINIZATION OF LABOUR:

The globalizing of economic production, together with the spread of information technology, is altering the nature of the jobs most people do. As discussed in chapter 9, the proportion of people working in blue collar jobs in industrial countries has progressively fallen. Fewer people work in factories than before. New jobs have been created in offices and in service centres such as supermarkets and airports. Many of these new jobs are filled by women.

Women and Work:

For the vast majority of the population in pre-industrial societies (and many people in the developing world), productive activities and the activities of the house hold were not separate. Production was carried on either in the home or nearby, and all members of the family participated in work on the land or in handicrafts. *Women often had considerable influence within the household as a result of their important in economic processes, even if they were excluded from the male relams of politics and warfare. Wives of craftsmen and farmers often kept business accounts and widows quite commonly owned and managed businesses.*

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Much of this changed with the separation of the workplace from the home brought about by the development of modern industry. The movement of production into mechanized factories was probably the largest single factor. Work was done at the machine's pace by individuals hired specifically for the tasks in question, so employers gradually began to contract workers as individuals rather than families.

With time and the progress of industrialization, an increasing division was established between home and work place. The idea of separate spheres public and private- became entrenched in popular attitudes. Men, by merit of their employment outside the home, spent more time in the public realm and became more involved in local affairs, politics and the market. Women became to be associates with 'domestic' values and were responsible for tasks such as child care, maintaining the home and preparing food for the family. The idea that 'a women's place is in the home' had different implications for women at varying levels in society. Affluent women enjoyed the services of maids, nurses and domestic servants. The burdens were harshest for poorer women, who had to cope with the household chores as well as engaging in industrial work to supplement their husband's income.

Rates of employment of women outside the home, for all classes, were quite low until well into the twentieth century. The female labour force consisted mainly of young single women, whose wages, when they worked in factories or offices, were often sent by their employers direct to their parents. Once married, they generally withdrew from the labour force and concentrated on family obligations.

● *The growth-in- women's economic activity*

Women's participation in the paid labour force has risen more or less continuously over the last century. One major influence was the labour shortage experienced during the First world War. During the war years, women carried out many jobs previously regarded as the exclusive province of men. On returning from the war, men again took over most of those jobs, but ht pre-established pattern had been broken.

In the years since the second world War, the gender division of labour has changed dramatically.

There are a number of reasons why the gap in economic activity rates between men and women have been closing in recent decades. **First,** there have been changes in the scope and nature of the tasks that have traditionally been associated with women and the 'domestic sphere. As the brith rate has declined and the average age of childbirth has increased, many women now take on paid work before having children and return to work afterwards. Smaller families have meant that the time many women previously spent at home caring for young children has been reduced. The mechanization of many domestic tasks has also helped to cut down the amount of

time that needs to be spent to maintain the home. Automatic dishwashers, vacuum cleaners and washing machines have made the domestic workload less labour- intensive.

There are also financial reasons why a growing number of women have entered the labour market. The traditional nuclear family model- Composed of a male bread winner, female housewife and dependent children- now accounts for only a quarter of families in Britain. Economic pressures on the household, including a rise in male unemployment, have led more women to seek paid work. Many households find that two incomes are required in order to sustain a desired lifestyle. Other changes in household structure, including high rates of single hood and childlessness as well as a growth in lone- mother house holds, has meant that women outside traditional families have also been entering the labour market- either out of choice or necessity. Additionally, recent efforts to reform welfare policies, both in Britain and the United States, have aimed to support women- including lone mothers and married women with small children in entering paid work.

Finally, it is important to note that many women have chosen to enter the labour market out of a desire for personal fulfillment and in response to the drive for equality propelled forward by the women's movement of the 1960s and 1970s. Having gained legal equality with men, many women have seized on opportunities to realize these rights in their own lives. As we have already noted, work is central in contemporary society and employment is almost always a prerequisite for living an independent life. In recent decades women have made great strides towards parity with men; increased economic activity has been central to this process (Crompton 1997).

● *Gender and inequalities at work*

Despite possessing formal equality with men, women still experience a number of inequalities in the labour market.

- **Occupational segregation:** Women worker have traditionally been concentrated in poorly paid, routine occupations. Many of these jobs are highly gendered – that is, they are commonly seen as 'women's work's Secretarial and caring jobs (such as nursing, social work an child care) are overwhelmingly held by women and are generally regarded as feminine occupations. Occupational gender segregation refers to the fact that men and women are concentrated in different types of jobs, based on prevailing understanding of what is appropriate 'male' and 'female' work.

- **Concentration in part-time work:** Although increasing numbers of women now work full time outside the home, a large number are concentrated in part-time employment. In recent decades, opportunities for part-time work have grown enormously, partly as a result of labour market reforms to encourage flexible employment policies and partly due to the expansion of the service sector (Crompton 1997). Part-time jobs are seen as offering much greater flexibility

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for employees than full-time work. For this reason they are often favoured by women who are attempting to balance work and family obligations. In many cases this can be done successfully, and women, who might otherwise forgo employment become economically active. Yet part time work carries certain disadvantages, such as low pay, job insecurity and limited opportunities for advancement.

- **The wage gap:** The average pay of employed women in Britain is well below that of men, although the difference has narrowed somewhat over the past thirty years. Several processes have affected these trends. One significant factor is that more women are moving into higher-paying professional positions than was earlier the case. Young women with good qualifications are now as likely as their male counterparts to land lucrative jobs. Yet this progress at the top of the occupational increase in the number of women in low paid part-time jobs within the rapidly expanding service sector. Occupational segregation by gender is one of the main factors in the persistence of a wage gap between men and women. Women are over- represented in the more

● *Changes in the domestic division of labour*

One of the results of more women entering paid work is that certain traditional family patterns are being renegotiated. The 'male breadwinner' model has become the exception rather than the rule, and women's growing economic independence has meant that they are between placed to move out of gendered roles at home if they choose to do so. Both in terms of housework and financial decision-making, women's traditional domestic roles are undergoing significant changes. There appears to be a move towards more egalitarian relationships in many households, although women continue to shoulder the main responsibility for most housework.

Studies show that married women employed outside the home do less domestic work than others, although they almost always bear the main responsibility for care of the home. The pattern of their activities is no course rather different They do more housework in the early evenings and for longer hours at weekends than to those who are full-time housewives.

A survey conducted by **Warde and Hetherington (1993)** in Manchester revealed that the domestic division of labour was more egalitarian among young couples than among those of older generations. The authors concluded that over time, gender stereotypes are loosening. Young people who were raised in households with parents who attempted to share domestic tasks were more likely to implement such practices in their own lives.

Vogler and Pahl (1994) examined a different aspect of the domestic division of labour- that of household financial man agreement systems. Their study sought to understand whether women's access to money and to control over spending decisions had become more egalitarian with the increase in female employment. Through interviews with couples in six different British communities, they found the distribution of financial resources to be, on the whole, done more fairly

that in the past, but \that it remained interlinked with class issues. Among higher income couples, 'pooled' finances tended to be managed jointly and there was a greater degree or equality in accessing money and making spending decision. The more a woman contributes to the household financially, the greater the level of control she exercises over financial decisions.

In families with lower income, women were often responsible for the day-to- day management of household finances, but were not necessarily in charge of strategic decisions about budgeting and spending. In these cases, Vogler and Pahl noted a tendency for women to protect their husbands access to spending omen while depriving themselves of the soma eight. In other words, there appeared to be a disjunction between women's everyday control over finances and their access to money.

FORMAL AND INFORMAL ORGANIZATION OF WORK

Formal Organisation of Work

Formal organization of work is one which is deliberately planned and designed and duly sanctioned by the competent authority. It is the organization of work as shown on the organization chart or as described by manuals and rulers. Formal organization of work is a system of consciously coordinated activities or forces of two or more persons. Individuals agree to work in an organization because they are prepared to contribute their services and receive in return certain benefits. *The working of the postal department can be given as a good example. The delivery of mail depends upon certain inter-related activities like sorting of the letters, distribution of mail to the concerned postmen and delivery at the door step of the individuals concerned.* *Formal organization is a system of well defined jobs, each bearing a definite measure of authority, responsibility and accountability, the whole consciously designed to enable the people of the enterprise to work most effectively together in accomplishing their objects.*

Formal organization of work is the frame through which organized effort is directed for achieving the goals. It has certain distinct characteristics. They are:

- *Legal Status*
- *Division of work*
- *Primacy of structure*
- *Permanence*
- *Rules and Regulations*

- **Legal Status:** A distinctive feature of formal organization work is that it is backed by legal sanctions. The establishment of any organization where work is formally organized requires the

enactment by parliament or legislature. Public sector organisations like Life Insurance Corporation, Food Corporation, etc., were established on the basis of enactments by the union parliament. The law which enables the organization to come into existence also confers authority. The personnel working in the various departments in the discharge of their official work are backed by the authority of law.

- **Division of work:** Division of work, which is the very basis for Formal organization of work, is made possible through formal organisation. Formal organization which indicates the levels of management, the designation of officers and their area of operation makes it very convenient for the division of work.

- **Primacy of Structure:** In formal organization of work, the emphasis is laid on the design and structure. As Urwick has noted that "absence of structure is illogical, cruel, wasteful and inefficient". The structure is clearly defined and the roles of individuals working in organizations are clearly spelled out. The structure also describes the communication flows and the relationships between workers.

- **Permanence:** Formal organisation of work is relatively permanent than informal oganisation of work. Though they adopt to environmental conditions and change the structure and even objectives, they are generally created to last a long time. Such work not only last long, but they also grow over time.

- **Rules and Regulations:** Another important feature of a formal organization is that it is done in accordance with well-formulated rules and regulations. Officials involved in formal organizations of work cannot act as per their likes and dislikes but should function within the framework of the stipulated rules and regulations.

- **In formal organisation of work it is important to determine the goals and objectives** in the absence of which it would be difficult to direct skills of men and women to accomplish the stated goals. These goals and objectives spells out the nature and scope of the activities of different persons working in the organization. In formal organisation of work every higher level functionary coordinates the activities of the officers immediately below him.

Informal Organisation of Work

Broadly speaking, Informal Organisation of Work is characterized by:

- **Low levels of skill:** Workers in Informal Organisation of Work have low levels of education and thus they have low levels of skills. This is the reason why they are engaged in jobs involving low technology. Worker in the formal sector have skill and there position in the labour is better.

- **Easy entry:** Getting work in informal sector is comparatively easier than in the formal sector. Any able bodied person, irrespective of the skills possessed can become a day labourer. With minimum investment the same person can become a street vendor and sell her/his wares in the

market. The people need not money to invest in a shop. In this way the informal sector is able to absorb more workers who would not get any work because they are either not qualified or they do not have capital for investing in business.

- **Low paid employment:** Because of the requirement of low skill and the easy entry, work in the informal sector has low returns. Workers who offer their labour are not paid high wages. In fact, the biggest grievance against this sector is that the wages are many times below sustenance level. In many cases, low wages drive other members of the family in informal workforce because the main wage earned is not sufficient for sustaining a household. In this sense, children too may be encouraged to join the labour force.

- **Immigrant labour:** Informal sector is largely composed of immigrant. Most of the workers come to the city from rural areas in search of a livelihood. Hence migrant status is a characteristic of informal sector.

Informal organization of work is characterized by aggregate of personal contacts and interactions and the associated grouping of people. While the formal organization of work emphasizes on the structure, informal organisation of work emphasizes on personality and human emotions. The superior-subordinate relations between important officers may be influenced by the commanding personality or the powerful connections of the subordinates. In informal organization of work, roles are assigned without recognised status.

Thus informal organisations of work are ill-defined and difficult to determine. They do not have definite goals. The relations between workers, therefore, are not specific. Spontaneous, unofficial and unstructured relations lead to favourable sentiments which in turn increase the interactions and strengthen the bonds of identification. Because of informal nature, absence of goals and unstructured relationship, the formal system of controls do not operate in informal organisations.

The unorganised sector in India

Special Note on Formal And Informal Sector

In the mid 1950s, W.Arthur Lewis developed a theoretical model of economic development based on the assumption that *there was an unlimited supply of labour in most developing countries and that this vast pool of surplus labour would be absorbed as the modern industrial sector in these countries grew. It was therefore assumed that the traditional sector comprised of petty traders, small producers and a range of casual jobs would eventually be absorbed into the formal economy and disappear.*

This argument became less convincing since the 1970s when case studies on informal sector in various parts of the world began to reveal the highly active existence of men, women and children crowding at the bottom of the urban economy in Third World countries. So many studies have revealed the vast number of workers, in the Third World, striving hard to survive on the fruits of their labours outside the formal sector of the economy.

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- *The formal –informal dichotomy can be regarded as a new variation on the dualism theories of the past.* In the colonial era a contrast was constructed between *an invasive western capitalist sector and an opposing eastern non-capitalist people's economy*. In post-colonial development theory the concept of dualism was applied to the dichotomy of **traditional and modern**. According to this view, the rural agricultural order was still predominantly pre-capitalist while the urban-based industrial economy was described as capitalist. *In the most recent phase of the dualism doctrine capitalism is the label of only the advanced segment of the urban milieu: the formal sector*. *The modes of production in the lower economic terrain, rather questionably labeled as non-capitalist, are characterized as the informal sector.*

- In operationalizing these variations on dualism, the contrasts are more significant than the specific characteristics of each segment. For instance, it's entirely normal to describe the informal sector by summing up the absence of elements found in the formal sector. In the absence of a more analytical definition, the landscape of the informal sector becomes synonymous with the kaleidoscope of unregulated, poorly skilled and low-paid workers. Highlighting this chaotic assortment *Keith Hart coined the term 'informal economy' in 1971.*

- *There are different terminologies used so interchangeably to signify the unorganized sector like informal sector, informal economy, and even informal labour which often highlights the most affected part of the sector, namely, the labour. " Informal labour is a labour whose use is not governed either by state regulations or by collective agreements between workers and employers."*

- **INFORMAL LABOUR** *has, in different instances, been viewed as labour engaged in urban small scale enterprises, as self employment, as labour engaged in "traditional activities", as wholly unskilled labour, and as labour whose use is not subject to any rules or norms*. But none of this has any sound conceptual or empirical foundation. *Informality does not imply a particular mode or location of labour use*; informal labour can be *in self-employment, in casual wage employment, and in regular wage employment, just as it can be in urban as well as in rural areas.* There is little reason to think that informal labour must be confined to 'traditional' and 'modern' activities.

- *We do not need to assume that informal labour is unskilled; only need to recognize that its skills are acquired outside the formal education system.* And all the more in the context of the neo-liberal economic policies of hire and fire where *THE ORGANIZED SECTOR ITSELF IS GETTING INFORMALISED through CONTRACTUALISATION, ACTUALIZATION, and OUTSOURCING OF LABOUR, there are workers who are equally or even more educated and skilled, work better and even longer in so many of the organized sectors; but for no labour rights, wage, job or social security protection and for very dismal wages*. The casual and contract labourers are under the working and living conditions that prevailed in the nineteenth century Europe.

- *Since the introduction of the informal sector concept, opinion has been divided as to its socio-economic impact*. There are authors who positively point out the accelerated shift in livelihood patterns away from agriculture and villages to cities and towns in **the Third World** since the mid-twentieth century. *But even if the masses of migrants flooding into urban areas were fortunate enough to establish a foothold, the vast majority of them could gain no access to the formal sector*. It was still too small to cope with the continuous influx of newcomers.

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- *The more critical analysis of researchers, who have observed that the formal sector remained inaccessible for reasons other than the inferior quality of the new urbanites' labour, and their other defects, rejects such an optimistic view*. The failure of the newcomers' efforts to find *stable, decently paid and dignified work is in this alternative perception due mainly to a development strategy that, in the face of excess supply, seeks to keep the price of labour as low as possible, allows no room for collective action to reduce these people's vulnerability and refuses to provide this footloose workforce with public representation*. **In short,** *the lack of registration, organization and protection does not have its origin in the free play of social forces, but it's the deliberate product of economic interests that benefit from the state of informality in which a wide range of activities in all branches of the economy are kept, systematically and on a large scale, through evasion of labour laws and taxation.*

- Indeed, ***the informal sector is not a separate and closed circuit of work and labour***. There is the interaction, between the formal and informal sectors, and dependence of the latter on the former and even its subordination to it. Now with the neo-liberal economic policies there is the widespread informalization of the formal sector through downsizing, casualisation and contractualisation. In short the capitalist leaches become richer and richer by squeezing the life blood of the working force.

Informal Sector In India

The Indian Economy is characterized by the existence of a vast majority of informal or unorganized labour employment. The Ministry of Labour, Government of India, has categorized the ***Informal or unorganized labour force*** under four groups in terms of Occupation, nature of employment, specially distressed categories and service categories.

1. **In terms of Occupation:** Small and marginal farmers, landless agricultural labourers, share croppers, fishermen, those engaged in animal husbandry, beedi rolling, labeling and packing, building and construction workers, leather workers, weavers, artisans, salt workers, workers in brick kilns and stone quarries, workers in saw mills, oil mills etc. come under this category.

2. **In terms of Nature of Employment**: Attached agricultural labourers, bonded labourers, migrant workers, contract and casual labourers come under this.

3. *In terms of Specially distressed categories*: Toddy tappers, Scavengers, Carriers of head loads, Drivers of animal driven vehicles, Loaders and unloaders come under this category.

4. *In terms of Service categories:* Midwives, Domestic workers, Fishermen and women, Barbers, Vegetable and fruit vendors, News paper vendors etc. belong to this category.

In addition to these four categories, there exists a large section of Informal or unorganized labour force such as cobblers, Hamals, Handicraft artisans, Handloom weavers, Lady tailors, Physically handicapped self employed persons, Rikshaw pullers, Auto drivers, Sericulture workers, Carpenters, Tannery workers, Power loom workers and Urban poor.

Though the availability of statistical information on intensity and accuracy vary significantly, the extent of unorganized workers is significantly high among agricultural workers, *building and other*

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construction workers and among home based workers. According to the Economic Survey agricultural workers constitute the largest segment of workers in the unorganized sector (ie. 52% of the total workers).

As per the National Sample Survey Organization (NSSO), 30 million workers in India are constantly on the move (migrant labour) and 25.94 million women workforce has been added in the labour market from the year 2000 onwards. All the more every day 13000 Indians turn 60 years and they are expected to live another average of 17years. Unfortunately only 10% of the Indians save for old age. The tragedy is that the existing social security legislations cover only 8% of the total work force of 459 million in India.

The latest report of the NSSO about the casual workers in India between 2004-05 and 2009-10 compared to that of the period between 1999 – 2000 and 2004-05 very clearly shows that there is significant increase in the number of casual workers and decline in the number of regular workers.

This report shows a substantial shift between 1999-00 and 2009-10 in the structure of the labour force which can be broadly divided in to self employed, regular, and casual workers. (casual workers are employees who do not enjoy the same benefits and security as tenured employees. All daily wage employees and some categories of contract employees are casual labourers.)

All these NSSO reports are clear evidences to prove that the labour market of India has been undergoing tremendous transformations, including growth of informal sector activities, deterioration in the quality of employment (in terms of job security, terms and conditions at work), Weakening of worker organizations and collective bargaining institutions, marked decline in social security etc. To a greater extent, these transformation could be related to the ongoing globalization process and the resultant efforts on the part of employers to minimize the cost of production to the lowest levels. It is also evident that most of these outcomes are highly correlated and mutually reinforcing. A closer analysis suggests that the growing informalisation of labour market has been central to most of these transformations, which inter alia highlights the utility of understanding the growth of unorganized sector in India and its implications.

Many thought that India's growth could do no wrong, and took the administrative versions and interpretations for granted. Now it comes to a point that none of these can be taken for granted. Growth is slow, inflation is structural and structure of employment is not enough to cater to the growing labour force.

Growing prominence of Informal (unorganized) sector in India

Predominance of informal employment has been one of the central features of the labour market scenario in India. This national level pattern of informal workers occupying around 90% of the workforce is more or less similar in the case of most of the prominent states in the country. Among the unorganized sector workers, a considerable proportion (about 65%) is engaged in agricultural sector, which in turn indicates the prominence of rural segment in the informal economy.

- The growth of formal employment in the country has always been less than that of total employment, indicating a faster growth of employment in the informal sector. Available data suggests that within the formal sector also the proportion of informal / unorganized workers are on the increase. For instance, by providing a comparison of the NSSO Employment Data for 55th and 61st Rounds (for 1999-2000 and 2004-05 respectively) the NCEUS (2007) explains that the country is currently in a state of *"informalisation of*

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the formal sector", where the entire increase in the employment in the organized sector over this period has been informal in nature.

● It is widely acknowledged that the *informal sector in India suffers from a low productivity syndrome, compared to the formal sector.* The prominent features of the sector are lower real wages and poor working / living conditions.

● Further, *THE SECTOR IS CHARACTERIZED BY EXCESSIVE SEASONALITY OF EMPLOYMENT (ESPECIALLY IN THE FARM SECTOR), PREPONDERANCE OF CASUAL AND CONTRACTUAL EMPLOYMENT, ATYPICAL PRODUCTION ORGANIZATIONS AND WORK RELATIONS, ABSENCE OF SOCIAL SECURITY MEASURES AND WELFARE LEGISLATIONS, NEGATION OF SOCIAL STANDARDS AND WORKER RIGHTS, DENIAL OF MINIMUM WAGES AND SO ON.* Poor human capital base (in terms of education, skill and training) as well as lower mobilization status of the work force further add to the vulnerability and weaken the bargaining strength of workers in the informal sector. **Thus, the sector has become a competitive and low cost device to absorb labour**, which cannot be absorbed elsewhere, whereas any attempt to regulate and bring it into more effective legal and institutional framework is perceived to be impairing the labour absorbing capacity of the sector.

GLOBALIZATION AND GROWTH OF INFORMAL SECTOR

● **With the advent of GLOBALIZATION and resultant reorganization of production chains** led to a situation **where production systems are becoming increasingly atypical and non-standard,** involving *flexible workforce, engaged in temporary and part-time employment*, which is *seen largely as a measure adopted by the employers to reduce labour cost in the face of stiff competition.* No doubt, it obviously indicates that *these flexible workers in the new informal economy are highly vulnerable in terms of job security and social protection, as they are not deriving any of the social protection measures stipulated in the existing labour legislations*. The **insecurities and vulnerabilities** of these **modern informal sector labour** *are on the rise, as there is a visible absence of worker mobilization and organized collective bargaining in these segments owing to a multitude of reasons*. The alarming expansion of informal sector, in recent times, has *adversely affected employment and income security for the larger majority of the workforce, along with a marked reduction in the scale of social welfare / security programme.*

In our "global" cities such as Bangalore, which are being show-cased as the new faces of an affluent and vibrant India, there are lakhs of people who rely on manual labour for their own livelihood. The housemaids, security guards, construction workers, garment workers, cobblers, beedi workers, agarbati workers, drivers and many others have a very different story to tell. Their incomes have not grown at the staggering rate of their employers; indeed adjusted for inflation their incomes have often fallen over the last two and half decades, driving them into deeper poverty.

The major characteristics of the Informal or unorganized workers:

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- The unorganized labour is overwhelming in terms of its number range and therefore they are omnipresent throughout India.
- As the unorganized sector suffers **from cycles of excessive seasonality of employment, majority of the unorganized workers does not have stable durable avenues of employment**. Even those who appear to be visibly employed are not gainfully and substantially employed, indicating the existence of disguised unemployment.
- The **workplace is scattered and fragmented**.
- There **is no formal employer – employee relationship**
- **In rural areas**, the unorganized labour force is **highly stratified on caste and community** considerations. In urban areas while such considerations are much less, it cannot be said that it is altogether absent as the bulk of the unorganized workers in urban areas are basically migrant workers from rural areas.
- Workers in the unorganized sector are **usually subject to indebtedness and bondage as their meager income cannot meet with their livelihood needs**.
- The unorganized workers are **subject to exploitation significantly by the rest of the society**. They receive poor working conditions especially wages much below that in the formal sector, even for closely comparable jobs, ie, where labour productivity are no different. The work status is of inferior quality of work and inferior terms of employment, both remuneration and employment.
- **Primitive production technologies** and feudal production relations are rampant in the unorganized sector, and they do not permit or encourage the workmen to imbibe and assimilate higher technologies and better production relations. **Large scale ignorance and illiteracy** and limited exposure to the outside world are also responsible for such poor absorption.
- The unorganized workers **do not receive sufficient attention from the trade unions**.
- **Inadequate and ineffective labour laws and standards relating to the unorganized sector**.

Social security measures:

✓ It is rightly true that when independent India's constitution was drafted, social security was specially included in List III to Schedule VII of the constitution and it was made as the concurrent responsibility of the central and state governments. A number of directive principles of state policy relating to aspects of social security were incorporated in the Indian constitution. The initiatives in the form of Acts such as the Workmen's Compensation Act (1923), the Industrial Disputes Act (1947), the Employees State Insurance Act (1948), the Minimum Wages Act (1948), the Coal Mines Provident Funds and Miscellaneous Provisions Act (1948), The Employees Provident Fund and Miscellaneous Provisions Act (1952), the Maternity Benefit Act (1961), the Seamen's Provident Fund Act (1966), the Contract Labour Act (1970), the Payment of Gratuity Act (1972), the Building and Construction Workers Act (1996) etc. reveal the attention given to the organized workers to attain different kinds of social security and welfare benefits. *Unorganized Sectors' Social Security Act (2008* reveal the attention given to the Unorganized (Informal Sector)workers to attain different kinds of social security and welfare benefits *Though it has been argued*

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that the above Acts are directly and indirectly applicable to the workers in the unorganized sector also, their contribution is very negligible to the unorganized workers.

CRITICS OPINION

- ✓ Both the central and state governments have formulated certain specific schemes to support unorganized workers which fails in meeting with the real needs and requirements of the unorganized sector labour force. This becomes clear even when the highly proclaimed Mahatma Gandhi National Rural Employment Guarantee Act -2005 (NREGA), though it is a breakthrough, doesn't have common wage in different states and limits itself only to hundred day's work for those registered worker under the Act. *What about the rest of the days in an year? As per this Act, the work guarantee applies in rural areas only, what about the urban poo*r?

- ✓ *Looking at the recent Unorganized Sectors' Social Security Act (2008) , one really wonders if there is any provision for an unorganized worker in this Act other than some guidelines about the available social security schemes in the country. How can it be called an Act unless it has the legal binding and provisions of rights to work and entitlements under it?*

- ✓ Here as per the Act nothing is mentioned about what constitutes appropriate and adequate social security for the vast mass of unorganized workers and their dependents, what eligibility criteria, if any, ought to be prescribed, what will be the scale of benefits that the workers and their families are entitled to receive and under what conditions, what will be the funding arrangements that must be put in positions to meet the cost of social security and so on. Aren't the unorganized workers of this country entitled to receive, minimum standards of social security and labour rights, on the scale and spread adumbrated in the relevant ILO convention drawn up more than 50 years ago? Therefore, this law which does not deal with the issue of unemployment, its regulation, wages, and conditions of work and so on is not merely incomplete but dysfunctional if it proceeds to deal with social security on a stand alone basis.

- ✓ Even the provisions and procedure of the Minimum Wages Act (1948) is so vague and futile that different states of India have fixed abysmally meagre wages and that too with so much of variations from state to state.

- ✓ In fact a comprehensive Act, catering to the security needs of the unorganized sector such as Food, Nutrition, Health, Housing, Employment, Income, Life and accident, and old age remains a dream in India. Still the cries of the unorganized sector goes unattended with the governments laying red carpets for the corporates and so called investors at the expense and sacrifice of the working class.

Inspite of the fact that not much has been done in providing social security cover to the rural poor and the unorganized labour force, the country has made some beginning in that direction.

LABOUR & SOCIETY

- Man according to Marx is a creative being .He with his labor acts upon the nature and tries to change it. Man can never get satisfied with the existing conditions and always look out for a change. Work provides the most important and vital means for man to fulfill his basic needs, his individuality and humanity. Man uses his labor which is the essence of human being. In the

process of acting upon nature with the help of his labor and transforming it for his benefit man gets satisfaction. At this stage his work becomes a fully satisfying activity, encompassing both himself and the community of fellow human beings. Work through an individual activity becomes a social activity as well.

- In the process of acting upon nature man gets involved in interaction process with other human beings and gradually society moves towards the stage of complexity. In the process man engages himself in social production.

- All type of relationships and institutions emerge in society in this process with the economic process as infrastructure and other sub systems including culture, religion etc as super structure. According to Marx without culture there can be no production possible. The mode of production includes the social relations of production which are relations of domination and subordination into which human beings are either born or enter involuntarily.

- Class is an economic as well as cultural formation. Thus human beings are also in the process of social production which is a very wide concept including almost all the subsystems of society, culture, religion, economic production etc.

- The interaction between man and nature produce significant consequences as in his social production man is in constant touch with the nature. *(More from Other sections of the syllabus)*

Special Notes: For Short Answer

Social determinants of Economic Development

Economic development implies two things: Economic growth which leads to increase in production and generation of income and equitable distribution of this income among the population to improve the quality of life. Although economic development does not necessarily imply industrialization there is no historical precedent for substantial increase in percapita income without diversion of both capital and labour from agriculture. Economic development is synonymous with industrialization.

- Economic development is very much influenced by various social factors. Nation states are created with common language and culture.

- Economic development of any country hinges on the efficient employment of factors of production such as labour, land, capital and organization. There is commercialization of production with monetization of economy. The employment of factors of production is conditioned by cultural and social factors.

- The people must have the required ability, experience and knowledge to make the best use of the facilities that are made available.

- There is decline of the proportion of the working population engaged in agriculture. The technology plays very important role when appropriate social conditions are present.

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- There is trend towards urbanization of society with growth of scientific knowledge. A new value system emerges which emphasis individual initiative and responsibility and enables the individual to function without any control.

- The exclusiveness of clan, kin or caste breaks down and provides norms of behavior suited to the secondary group type of relationship characteristic of an industrial society.

- There is widespread spread of education. The social stratification emerges based on achievement criteria and permitting occupational mobility.

Medium of Exchange

A medium of exchange is the means by which people value and exchange goods and services. Hunting and gathering and pastoral and horticultural societies produced little surplus, and people bartered, directly exchanging one item for another. In later societies, surpluses grew and trade expanded people then developed new ways of placing values on goods and services so they could trade them.

- Although bartering continued in agricultural societies, people increasingly came to use money, a medium of exchange that places a value on items. In most places, money consisted of gold and silver coins. A coin's weight and purity determined the amount of goods or services it could purchase.

- Toward the end of the agricultural period, currency (paper money) came into existence. Each piece of paper represented a specific amount of gold or silver stored in a ware- house. Currency represented stored value. Gold and silver coins continued to circulate alongside the deposit receipts and currency.

- When fiat money replaced stored value, coins made of precious metals disappeared from circulation. People considered these coins more valuable, and they were unwilling to part with them. Then as inferior metals (copper, zinc, and nickel) replaced the smaller silver coins, people began to hoard these silver coins, and they, too, disappeared from circulation.

- Even without a gold standard that restricts the amount of currency issued to the amount of stored value, governments have a practical limit on the amount of paper money they can distribute.

- In general, prices increase if a government issues currency at a rate higher than the growth of its gross domestic product (GDP), the total goods and services that a country produces. This condition inflation means that each unit of currency will purchase fewer goods and services. Governments try to control inflation, for high inflation is a destabilizing influence.

- During the first part of the postindustrial society, paper money circulated freely. Paper money then became less common, gradually being replaced by checks and credit cards. The next development was the debit card; a device that electronically withdraws the cost of an item from the cardholder's bank account. Like the check, the debit card is a type of deposit receipt, for it transfers ownership of currency on deposit.

- The latest evolution of money is e-cash, money stored on a company's computer that can be transferred over the Internet to anyone who has an account with that company. E-cash can be used for making purchases and for paying bills.

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- We can use the term e-currency to refer to the most common form of e-cash. E-currency represents an amount recorded in a government's paper money, such as so many dollars or euros.

- The second form of e-cash is electronic gold, which represents a balance in units of gold. A transaction in e-gold is actually the transfer of ownership to a specified amount of gold that the owner has stored in a bank's vault.

Globalization and Organization of Work

The globalization of capitalism may be the most significant economic change in the past 100 years. According to Louis Gallambos this new global business system will change the way everyone lives and works.

- From the functionalist perspective, work is a basis of social solidarity. According to Emile Durkheim as the farmers do the same type of work; they share a similar view of the world. He used the term mechanical solidarity to refer to the sense of unity that comes from doing similar activities.

- When an agricultural society industrializes, people work at many different types of jobs. As the division of labor grows, people come to feel less solidarity with one another. As they are like the separate organs that make up the same body, Durkheim called this type of unity organic solidarity.

- This process has continued to the point that we now are developing a global division of labor as each of us now depends on workers around the globe. Corporations, with their separation of ownership and management, underlie the success of capitalism.

- We may not feel a sense of unity with one another, but the same global economic web links all of us. The globalization of capitalism has forged a new world structure. Three primary trading blocs have emerged: North and South America, dominated by the United States; Europe, dominated by Germany; and Asia, dominated by Japan and China. Functionalists stress that this new global division benefits not only the multinational giants but also the citizens of the world.

- That capitalism could become the world's dominant economic force can be traced to a social invention called the corporation. A corporation is a business that is treated legally as a person. A corporation can make contracts, incur debts, sue and be sued. Its liabilities and obligations, however, are separate from those of its owners. One of the aspects of corporations is their separation of ownership and management. It is not the owners those who own the company's stock who run the day-to-day affairs of the company instead, managers run the corporation. The result is the "ownership of wealth without appreciable control, and control of wealth without appreciable ownership"

- Conflict theorists stress how power is concentrated in the capitalist class. They note that global capitalism is a means by which capitalists exploit workers. From the major owners of the multinational corporations comes an inner circle. While workers lose jobs to automation, the inner circle maintains its political power and profits from the new technology. The term corporate capitalism indicates that giant corporations dominate capitalism today. Power and wealth have become so concentrated that a global superclass has arisen.

- A tool that unites and magnifies their power is interlocking directorates. Individuals serve on the board of directors of several major companies, and so do their fellow board members. Like a spider's web that starts at the center and fans out in all directions, these overlapping memberships join the top companies into a single network. The overlapping memberships of the globe's top multinational companies enfold their leaders into a small circle that are called the global superclass. The superclass is not only extremely wealthy but it is also extremely powerful. These people have access to the top circles of political power around the globe.

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Politics and Society

Syllabus:

- ✓ Sociological theories of power.
- ✓ Power elite, bureaucracy, pressure groups and political parties.
- ✓ Nation, state, citizenship, democracy, civil society, ideology.
- ✓ Protest, agitation, social movements, collective action, revolution.

Although power is a universal phenomenon in human activities and social relationship, there is no uniform conceptualization of this concept. Power implies the ability of an individual or a group to influence or change the behavior of other individuals or groups. Weber defines 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. An individual or a group does not hold power in isolation. They hold it in relation to others. To say that power is relational is also to imply it is behavioral. For if power consists in an inter-relationship between two actors. Then that inter relationship can only be understood in terms of one actor's manifest behavior as affecting the manifest behavior of others. Further power is also situational. To know power one has necessarily to relate it to a specific situation or a specific role and an actor's power in one particular situation or role may vary from that in another.

Authority and Legitimacy

- The concept of authority in general terms implies the right to command. It is not to be identified with persuasion or influence. The expressions like the parental authority, authority of tradition, authoritative opinion, political authority, legal authority or the constitutional authority are familiar expressions and they clearly convey that authority is exercised more characteristically within a net work of clearly defined roles. It is exercised according to the established and well recognized pattern. Political authority specifies the governing authority and defines the manner the power is to be exercised. It determines the nature of relations between the government and the governed. The doctrine of legitimacy implies that the authority should be used according to well recognized and accepted pattern.
- The natural sequence of happenings following the usage or custom or the established procedure invests the authority with legitimacy. Command and obedience relationship is based

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on the assumed legitimacy in the exercise of authority. Force and coercion are not legitimate but these are used either to establish legitimacy or by the legitimate authority for legitimate purpose. The legitimate authority if it fails in its objective may be challenged and a revolutionary authority may come into being. In case the newly established authority may fail there may be the counter-revolution. The authority that may come into existence finally has to establish its legitimacy. It is therefore the foundation of all governmental power. The government can itself function only with the understanding that it has the power to function. At a given time the authority that has come into existence may not have the legitimacy but it shall have to secure such legitimacy as the society would recognize and as could secure to it the international recognition.

SOCIOLOGICAL THEORIES OF POWER

Marxian Theory of Power (Karl Marx):

Marx does not give a clear definition of power, for him, power means coercion. Marx views power to be held by a particular group in society at the expense of the rest of the society. **According to him the source of power in society lies in economic infrastructure and those who own the modes of production i.e. the dominant group uses power to further its own interest and there by exploiting those who subject to power.**

- Marx argues that although from time to time dominant classes do have to resort to naked force to maintain their power and supremacy, the absence of such obvious coercion should not be taken to signify an absence of exploitation, lack of naked oppression does not indicate lack of oppression and the lack of any need to force. Lack of naked oppression does not mean that domination is not taking place. It is only that the dominated are unaware of their condition, because of the effectiveness of the ideologies into which they have been socialized.

- **How do such dominant idea, which hails the dominating power of the dominant class and the exploitation of the subordinate class, gain such general acceptance?** Marxists argue that particular ideas come to prevail through various key agencies of socialisation. FOR EXAMPLE, institution like the family, education system and the mass media play a crucial role in the promoting generally held beliefs and values. **For Marxists through these institutions of socialization the real character of class society is justified and thus it ensures social inequality and domination and thereby the acceptance of the power structure in the society.** This is the key element in Marxist approach to the superstructure, a society's non-economic institutions and the ideas and beliefs they promote. The assumption is that they exist to prop up a class-based mode of production. **Thus are power inequality in the economic infrastructure is reflected in the superstructure.**

- **Marxist theorist argue that institutions like education, state and mass media justify the stereotypical images of superiority and inferiority coinciding with class position. Thus in terms of Marxian theory "the relationship of dominance and subordination in the infrastructure is justified and legalized by the super structure".** FOR EXAMPLE, in capitalist society and the unequal relationship between employees and employers will be reflected and legitimated in the legal system. A range of legal status protect the rights of property owners and in particular their right to a disproportionate share of the wealth produced by their employees. Marxists argue that such an analysis of the relationship between the infrastructure and super structure tells in great deal about power in a class society. That means, FOR EXAMPLE, in capitalist society the infrastructure produce particular kind of state, education system, family structure etc. All institutions of super structure that reflect the domination of class structure reinforce the power and privilege of the ruling class in the society.

- **Marx views power as to be held by a particular group (dominant class) in society at the expense of the rest of the society (subordinate class). This is a CONSTANT SUM CONCEPT OF POWER since a net gain in the power of the dominant group represents a net loss in the power of the next in society.** The dominant group uses power to further its own interests and these interests are a direct conflict with the interests of their subject to its power.

- **Thus for Marx the source of power in society lies in the economic infrastructure. The basis of dominance or power is the ownership of forces of production. The ruling class, those who own the forces of production uses power to exploit and oppress the subject class in all societies.** The case of power to exploit others is defined by Marx as **coercion**. It is seen as an illegitimate use of power since it forces the subject class to submit to a situation which is against its interests.

- **The only way to return power to the people is communal ownership of the forces of production. Since everyone will now share the same relationship to the forces of production, power will be shared by all members of society.** Here Marx's concepts of false consciousness and class-consciousness are of importance. When the exploited class realizes their exploited status and start recognizing themselves to belonging to the same class, there originates class consciousness among them. In their subjective views of themselves and their condition comes to match its objective reality.

- **It is the emergence of a true class consciousness by a subordinate class that is the key which unlocks the revolution which over throws the existing power structure of the society to replace it with one which suits to the new economic arrangements.**

Max Weber's Theory on Power

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Max Weber deals power primarily in the context of society and state. **Weber defines power as the probability that an actor will be able to realize his own objectives against opposition from others with whom he is in social relationship). This is a broad definition.**

- **His definition of domination (Authority) is more specific. It refers only to those cases of exercises of power where an actor obeys a specific command issued by another. In making the distinction between power and domination (authority) Weber put forward two types of solution to the problem of order. Power represents action likely to succeed even against the opposition and resistance of those to whom it is applied.** This solution is typically found in warfare and class conflict, but it has the limitation of being unstable as long term source of order. **Legitimate domination**, by contrast, involves an **element of voluntary compliance from those to whom it applied and therefore embraces the issue of meaningful action.** Domination can be legitimized in terms of the appeal to the different principles, namely tradition, national legality as embodies in enacted law and charisma (Turner 1996).

- **Weber's concept of class, status and party along with his analysis of state and bureaucracy are the centre of his concept of power. Each grouping is focused around or oriented towards power as an independent point of conflict. Each represents an aspect of and a basis for power.**

- Weber's discussion of 'class', 'status' and 'party' are three dimensions of stratification in society, each of which conceptually separate from the others, and specifies that, on an empirical level, each may casually influence each of the others. Weber did not ignore economic sources of power, CLASS and considered these to be among the more important sources, especially in capitalism**. But unlike Marx, he claimed that power did not emerge only from economic sources, and he certainly does not restrict power relationships to ownership or non-ownership of the means of the production. Power can also emerge from STATUS OR PARTY (associations concerned with acquiring power) or can a also be pursued for its own sake. A**mong these different forms of power, there are cross-cutting influences and effects, so that power obtained in one of these spheres may lead to power or a change in situation in another sphere.

- **For Weber class is an expression of economic order to be more precise it is determined by a person market situation. Here a class denotes an aggregate of individuals who share the same Market situation. So as per the identification of class situation with the market situation there could be as many class division as there are minute gradations of market (economic) position. But similar to Marx, Weber also argues that the ownership versus non-ownership of property is the most important basis of class division in a competitive market**. Weber distinguishes two types of classes, positively privileged class who

are the property owners and non-owners or commercial class. He also identifies middle class, a group that can be placed between these two. **For him property or lack of property is the composed of the plurality of the class statuses between which an interchange of individuals on a personal basis or in the course of generation is readily possible typically observable.** For Weber power is associated with property class in terms that they enjoy more status and privilege in the society. The acquisition classes are in a negatively privileged situation and they are workers of the various principal types. They are less powerful in the society. Social mobility is possible between different classes or strata in the society. But this movement is possible only to a limited extent according to Weber. He says moving into a wider range of position is blocked by power differentials between different classes (Crib)

- Weber considers both class and status group membership as basis of social power. But the formation of political party has more influence upon power in modern society. **For Weber a party refers any voluntary association, which has the aim of securing directive control of an organization in order to implement certain definite policies within the organisation.** Parties are organisation, rather than communities or groups, and they involve striving for a goal in a planned manner.

- **Weber notes that classes are in the economic order, status groups in the social order, and parties in the sphere of power.** In some senses, power is not a separate order, in that classes and status groups are concerned with power. **The difference between PARTIES on the one hand, and STATUS GROUPS and CLASSES on the other, is in the level of analysis, Parties are organisation, whereas classes and status groups are groupings of people.** If status groups of classes become well organized, they may form parties, or their parties may become the organizational wings of the class or status group. Trade unions, professional association, ethnic organizations, and religious institutions are examples. Parties represent power at the macro level. For Weber all three – class, status and party are sources of power. Thus his view on power is extensive cutting across economy, social and political parameters.

- **When it comes to his perception of power at macro level, his concepts of power and domination are closely associated. He distinguishes between these types of domination: charismatic, traditional and legal rational.** In **CHARISMATIC LEADERSHIP** the basis of power is the charisma of the leader. The term charisma is applied to certain quality of an individual personality by virtue of which he is set apart from ordinary individual personality and treated as endowed with supernatural or specifically exceptional powers and qualities. In **TRADITIONAL DOMINATION** the basis of power is age-old traditions. Patriarchalism is a good example of traditional domination. The basis of power in **LEGAL-RATIONAL DOMINATION** is legitimate law.

Talcott Parsons Theory of Power

Parsons regards power as something possessed by society as a whole. As such power is a generalized facility of resources in the society. It is the capacity to mobilize the resources of the society for the attainment of goals for which a general public commitment has been made. In this sense the amount of power in society is measured by the degree to which collective goals are realized. Thus the greater efficiency of a social system for achieving the goals defined by its members, the more power exists in society. This view is known as variable sum concept of power (different from Weberian and Marxian constant sum concept of power), since power in society is not seen as fixed as contrast. Instead it is variable in the sense it can increase or decrease.

Parsons view of power is developed from his general theory of the nature of society. He believes that order, stability and cooperation in society are based on value consensus, that is a general agreement by members of society concerning what is good and worthwhile. He assumes that this value consensus is essential for the survival of social system. From shared values desire the collective goals, that is goals shared by members of society. For example if materialism is a major value of the Western Industrial society, collective goals such as economic expansion and higher living standards can be seem to these goals, the greater the power that resides in the social system. Steadily rising living standards and economic growth are therefore the indications of an increase of power for the society as a whole.

Parson view of power differential within society also derives from his general theory of social system. He argues since goals are shared by all members of society, power will generally be used in the furtherance of collective goals. Thus, for Parsons, power is an integrative face in social system just as social stratification. Parsons argues that as value consensus is an essential component of all societies, if follows that some form of stratification results from the ranking of individuals in terms of society, values will be ranked highly and accorded high prestige and power sicken they exemplify and personify common values. And Parsons, a functionalist, believes that this differential distribution of power and prestige among the different strata of society is just, right and proper since they are basically an expression of shared values.

Parsons views relationship between the social groups in a society as one of cooperation and interdependence rather than conflict and confrontation. Particularly in complex industrial societies different groups specialize in particular activities. As no one group is self sufficient it cannot meet the needs of its members and hence each group enter interaction with other groups for exchange of goods and services which makes the relationship between different social groups one

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of reciprocity. This relationship extends top the strata in a stratification system. In individual societies, which exhibit highly specialized division of labour some members, will specialize in organization and planning (those who govern), others will follow their directions (those who governed). Parsons argues that this inevitably lead to inequality in terms of power and prestige.

Parsons' later work on power involved a conscious modification of his previous views (Giddens 1995). In his later works criticizing C.W. Mills' power theory Parson viewed power as generated by social system in much the same as wealth was generated in this productive organization economy. The parallels, which Parsons developed between power and money, were based upon the supposition that each had similar role in the two of the four functional subsystems of the socials systems evolved by Parsons.

Power for Parsons is a direct derivative of authority. Authority for him is institutionalized legitimation which underlay power and was defined as the institutionalization of the rights of leaders to expect support from the members of the collectivity (Parsons 1960). **By speaking of binding obligation, Parsons deliberately brought legitimation into the very definition of power, so that for him there was no such thing as illegitimate power (Giddens 1995).**

Parsons argues that inequalities of power are based on shared values. Power is legitimate authority in that members of society as a whole generally accept it as just and proper. Parsons views power and prestige differentials associated with social stratification is both inevitable and functional for the society. It is inevitable because it derives from shared values, which are necessary part of all social system. It is functional because it serves to integrate various social groups.

Parsons stressed that the use of power is only one among several different ways in which one party might secure the compliance of another to a desired course of action. Parsons says compliance can be secured by applying positive (rewards) or negative (coercion) sanction. But in most cases when power was being used, there was no overt sanction (either positive or negative) employed. Parsons argues it was particularly necessary to stress that possession and use of power should not be identified directly with use of force.

Other Theoretical Models on State and Power

The state and power, both concepts essential are contested concepts. There are a number of sociological theories/models of state and power each offering different accounts of its origin, development and impact. Liberal theory, plural theory, elite, theory, neo-Marxist and anarchist theory are some of the theories explained here in brief.

The liberal theory of power dates back to the writings of the social contract theorists such as Hobbes and Locke. These thinkers argued that the society had risen out of voluntary agreement, or a social contract, made by individuals who recognized that only the establishment of sovereign power could safeguard them from the insecurity, disorder or brutality of the 'state of nature'. Here state is a neutral arbiter amongst competing groups and individuals in society capable of protecting each citizen from the encroachment of his or her fellow citizens. The state is therefore a neutral entity, acting in the interests of all representing what can be called the 'common good' or 'public interest'.

The liberal theory has been elaborated by modern writers into a pluralist theory of state. Pluralist theory argues that political power is dispersed amongst a wide variety of social groups rather than an elite of ruling class. It is decentralized, widely shared, diffused and fragmented deriving from many source, Arnold Rose, Peter Bentley, Robert Dahl, Talcott Parsons, Neil Smelser are some of the key pluralist theorists. Robert Dahl, an advocate of this theory who termed rule by many as 'oligarchy'. **According to pluralist perspective be competition between two or more political parties is an essential feature of representative government. According to pluralists interest groups and pressure groups representing various interest play a major role in affecting the decision making process of state.** Pluralists believe that a rough equality exists amongst organized groups and interests in that each enjoys some measure of access to government and government is prepared to listen impartially to all. **They claim that competition for office between political parties provides the electorate with an opportunity to select its leaders and a means of influencing government policy. Pluralist theory explains the origin of liberal democratic state. For pluralists, state represents institutionalized power, an authority and it is in the supreme guardian of representative democracy in the modern society.** The primary task of state is to balance interests of a multitude of competing groups, represents interests of society as a whole and coordinating other major institutions. They vies the state itself as a set of competing and conflicting institutions rather than a monolithic entity which exerts its power over the rest of the society (Smith 1995). They argue that power exists only in situations of observable conflict and that people's interests are simply what these overt preferences reveal.

The elite theory of power argues that all societies are divided into two main groups the ruling and the ruled. The classical elite theorists such as Vilfredo Pareto (**Italian thinker) Gaetano Mosca and Robert Michels argued that the political power always lies in the hands of small elite and the egalitarian ideas such as socialism (Marxist theory) and democracy (pluralist theory) are a myth.**

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Pareto is highly impressed by Italian social system. On this basis Pareto has presented the following outline of social system. Social system is made up of 2 kinds of people:

1. Elite class (Governing class ruling class)

2. Non-elites (Mass-ruled class)

Governing class is made up of two groups:

(i) Residues of combination

(ii) Residues of Group Persistence

People of first group work on the principle of maximum gains and so are very selfish. They want to bring substantial change in the system, for which they easily mix up with the people. The second group puts lot of thrust on stability in the system. They are idealistic, therefore neither they are selfish nor believe in the immediate gain. Unlike first group, they are more contained and so do no easily mix up with people.

They could be better understood under political, economic and idealistic aspects.
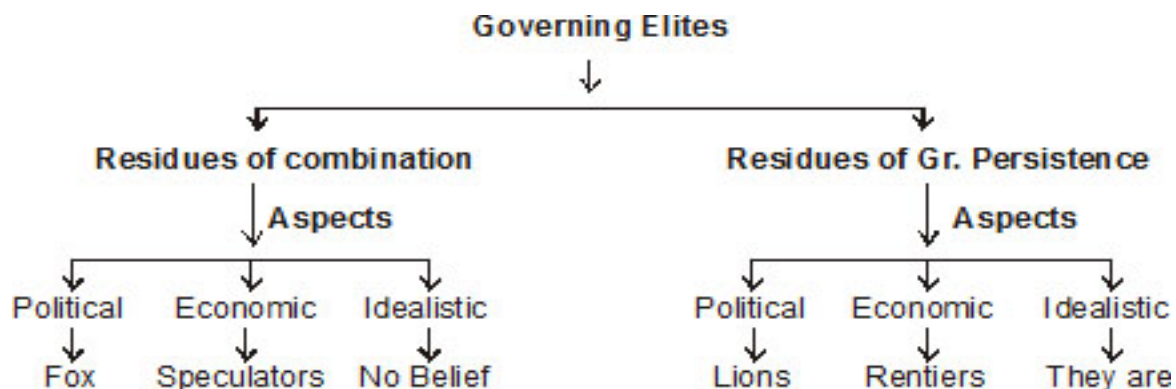
The political aspect of first group is Fox because they are equally clever and manipulative and diplomatic, whereas that of the second group is Lion, a symbol of stability and idealism. The power rotates between the two, which Pareto called 'circulation of Elites'.

Pareto places particular emphasis on psychological characteristics as the basis of elite rule. Major change in society occurs when one elite replaces another, a process which Pareto calls "circulation of elites" and he believes history is a never-ending circulation elites. For him state is a tool in the hands of the ruling elite. He saw modern democracies as merely another form of elite domination.

Gaetano Mosca believed that rule by a minority is an inevitable feature of social life. He claims that in all societies two classes of people appear a class that ruled. The first class,

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always the less numerous, performs all political functions and monopolises power and the advantages that power brings, whereas the second, there numerous class is directed and controlled by the first. He viewed that there are important differences between democracies and other forms of rule. By comparison with close systems such as caste and feudal societies the ruling elite in democratic societies is open. There is, therefore, a great possibility of an elite drawn from a wide range of social background. As a result the interests of various social groups may be represented in the decisions taken by the elites. The majority may therefore have some control over the government of society.

Theory of Power Elite

C. Wright Mills explains elite rule (Theory of Power Elite) in institutional terms.
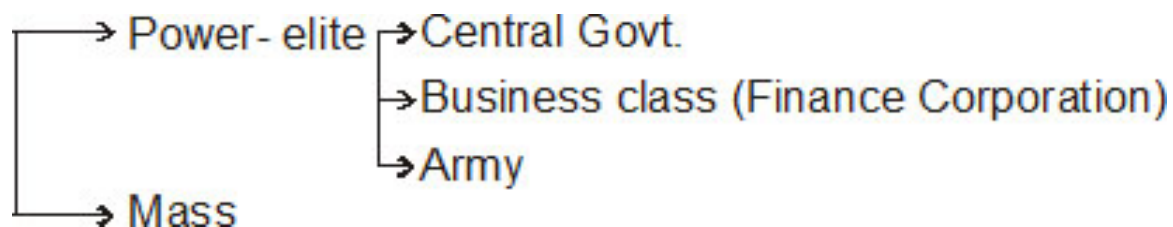
Mills explains elite rule in institutional rather than psychological terms. He rejected the view that members of the elite have superior qualities of the population. Instead he argues that the structure of institutions is such that those at the top of the institutional hierarchy largely monopolize power………….. Certain institutions occupy key **'pivotal positions'** in society and the elite comprise those who hold **'command posts'** in those institutions. Mills identifies three key institutions: Those who occupy the command posts in these institutions from three elites. In practice, however, the interests and activities of the elites are sufficiently similar and interconnected to form a single ruling minority which Mills claims that 'American capitalism is now in considerable part military capitalism'. Thus as tanks, guns and missiles pour from the factories, the interests of both the economic and military elites are served. In the same way Mills argues that business and government 'cannot now be been as two distinct worlds'. He refers to political power is a powers elite which dominates American society and takes all decisions of major national and international importance.

However, things were not always thus. ………….The power elite owes 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 decentralized…………. The growing threat of international conflicts has led to a vast increase in the size and power of the military. The local, state controlled military have been replaced by a centrally directed military organization. There 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.

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 and 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. For example, a corporation director may become a politician and vice versa. At any one time, individuals may have footholds in more than one elite. Mills notes that 'on the boards of directions we find a heavy overlapping among the members of these several elites'. Thus a general may sit on the board of a large corporation. Similarity of social origin and the interchange and overlapping of personnel strengthens the unity of the power elite.

- **Mills argues that American society is dominated by 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 any body-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'. Mills sees no real differences between the two major political parties, the Democrats and the Republicans, and therefore the public are not provided with a choice of alternative policies. The bulk of the population is pictured as a passive and quiescent mass controlled by the power elite which subjects it to 'instruments of psychic management and manipulation'. Excluded from the

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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 mass media directed by the elite. Unconcerned with the major issues of the day, he is preoccupied with his personal world of work. Leisure, family and neighborhood. Free from popular control, the power elite pursue its own concerns power and self-aggrandizemeMill says that owing to importance of political reasons that Hiroshima, Nagasaki (Japan) was attacked with nuclear bomb and was completely devastated. However, Cambodia, Iraq and now Afghanistan are suffering from the autocratic tendency and activities of American power-elite. Viewing their nature of this kind Mills predicted that whenever there happens a third world war, they would be responsible for it. Mills further opines that in internal matters the power elite is not committed to the mass. It means if their policies favour the mass, it is merely incidental. That is why American mass is always unhappy with governmental procedures.

- **Robert Dahl criticized Mills** **that his statements are only suggestive and not conclusive.** According to Dahl, Mills has emphasized only on one aspect of power-elite whereas their second aspect is equally important that they work for the welfare of the mass with full commitment. It is not appropriate here to assume that power elite possesses the complete control. In this reference only Dahl has talked about plural interest groups who get the policies turned in favour of the mass.

- Mills' conclusions about the nature and distribution of power on the national level are largely echoed in an investigation of power on the local level by Floyd Hunter, Community Power Structure is a study of a large southern city in the USA given the pseudonym of 'Regional City' but generally believed to be Atlanta, Georgia. Hunter claims that power rests in a small decision making group which is dominated by 'the businessmen's small decision making group which is dominated by 'the businessmen's class'. This primarily economic elite rules by 'persuasion, intimidation, coercion and if necessary force'. Through its finance of local political parties, it directly influence who is elected and largely controls local politicians from the state governor on down.

  With its power to regulate finance, the economic elite can control the granting of mortgages and level to influence decisions in its favour. Hunter examine a number of important local policy decisions including urban renewal and a sales tax. He claims that the economic elite formulated policy on these issues which was then translated into legislation by the politicians.

Iron law of oligarchy

Michels took the concentration of power in the hands of elite to be a necessary outcome of complex organizations. His famous '**iron law of oligarchy** states that, in modern societies, parties need to be highly organized and so inevitably become oligarchic, being hierarchically run by party leaders and bureaucracy such that the bulk of members are excluded from decision-making.

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Neo-MarxistsTheories: The classical Marxists stressed the coercive role of the state. But **neo-Marxists** took account of the apparent legitimacy of the bourgeoisie state particularly in the light of the achievement of universal suffrage and the development of the welfare state. **According to Antonio Gramsci, in the modern conditions it is the political party, which forms the state.** He was an advocate of arbiter theory of state. He emphasized that the degree to which the domination of the ruling class is achieved not only by open coercion but is also elicited by consent. He argued that ideological and political superstructures are relatively autonomous of the superstructure. He believed that bourgeoisie had established hegemony, ideological leadership or domination, over the proletariat and insisted that the state played an important role in this process. By hegemony, a key term propounded by Gramsci, he meant the way in which the dominant class gains consent for its rule through compromises and alliances with some class fractions and the disorganization of others, and also the way in which it maintains that rule is a stable social formation. According to him hegemony is gained in the first place in civil society where ideology is embodied in communal forms of the life in such a way that it becomes the taken for granted common sense of the people. For him all relations of civil society involve issues of power and struggle, not just class relations.

The French Marxists **Louis Althusser** **gives a functionalist interpretation to the Marxian conception of state. Although he viewed the state as relatively autonomous of the economic base, for him the state is fully implicated in the logic of capitalism where it functions to reproduce the mode of production**. He adds, since the capitalist mode of production requires the state to reproduce its conditions of existence, there is a reciprocal determination between the economic and political levels (Althusser 1971).

Although the neo-Marxist theory echoes liberalism in seeing the state as an arbiter is nevertheless emphasizes the class character of the modern state by pointing out that it operates in the longer term interests of capitalism and therefore perpetuate a system of unequal class power.

Anarchists condemned the state power and they believed that the state and all forms of political authority are both evil and unnecessary. They view the state as concentrated form of oppression; it reflects nothing more than the desire of those in power often loosely referred to as a ruling class, to subordinate others for their own benefits.

Relevance of these Theories:

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Marx and Parsons both have tried to interpret power in specific situations and so tended to be more extreme in their course. Generally people do neither use the power only in self interest to create conflict or for only welfare of the mass. However, the power is used for both the things together. Therefore, both Marx and Parsons are not completely universally relevant in this aspect.

In the context of constant and variable sum of power

These two seemingly opposite concepts are given by Karl Marx and T. Parsons respectively. Both of them have their own view points, therefore, none of them could be said to be irrelevant. Parsons views it in the context of power-holder only and so its growth proves the concept of 'variable sum of power' whereas Marx sees it as a relation between haves and have-nots and finds it to be constant forever.

Pareto's:

(i)   In the context of two opposite ideologies

(ii)   In the form of non-governing elites

(iii)   In the form of multi-party system

Mills':

The relevance of Mills' power-elite is clearly visible at international level, which is not only seen in the political relations of other countries, but its affectivity is felt in the conventions of UNO, WTO, World Economic Forum, G-8, etc. However, it does not seem relevant completely at domestic level. This is corroborated by Dahl's concept of plural interest group. Also at many issues the mass is highly appreciative of Federal govt.

POWER ELITE, BUREAUCRACY, PRESSURE GROUPS AND POLITICAL PARTIES

POWER ELITE

DISCUSSED ABOVE…

BUREAUCRACY

(In Thinkers Chapter)

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PRESSURE GROUP

Theoretically a pressure group may be defined as any association, organization or group which seeks through a variety of methods to influence public policy and decisions at local, national, or international levels usually [but certainly not always] within a particular, quite limited sphere. We may note also that many pressure groups may in some circumstances seek to defend their members interests or to advance their particular cause via appeals to the Courts ..

- **Pressure Group is any group that 'attempts to influence legislative or governing institutions in behalf of its own special interests or interests of larger public that it represents. These are the groups influencing Government's decision is their favour without participating in politics as such.**

- **Pressure Groups play a Indirect role in political life of society.** Members of society organize pressure groups in order to influence the government policies and initiatives. Ethnic and racial groups, religious and linguistic minority groups all act collectively to influence governmental decisions. In this sence such groups are referred as pressure groups.

- **Pressure groups are an interest group which tries to safe-guard and promotes the interests of its members.** It is not a political group seeking to capture political power though it may have a political character of its own. In other words, a pressure group can be understood as an association of persons with a common interest who try to influence governmental decisions. These pressure groups also known as interest groups pursue their political goals through lobbying- the process by which individuals and groups communicate with public officials in order to influence decisions of government. They also distribute persuasive literature and launch public campaigns to build grass -root support for their political objectives.

- **PRESSURE GROUP act behind the seen as not trying to capture the power**. They support their candidate, parties in election and ensure the winning candidate favour their demands and represent their interest in related bodies. **PRESSURE GROUPS give collective expression to the groups demand and also ensure that the demand should be met.** They change their political allegiance quickly as to suit their conditions.

- **According to ANTHONY GIDDENS pressure groups are the carriers of democracy.** With the increase in Industrialization, division of labour also increase, thus emerged various sections with specialized interest. But modern democracy demands harmonization of interest due to which minority or sectional interest tend to get ignored. Pressure Groups represent this interest.

- **Its presence shows existence of pluralism making power dispersed and decentralized in the political system.**

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- **Pressure groups also aggregates and articulate interest thus making government aware of public opinion and interest and work for them. The participation of all sections in governance is indirectly achieved.** Pressure groups can work in anonymity out of the glare of public. So they may prevent public censure. They may use imitative, educative, non-formal methods to protect and promote their interest.

- **According to Functionalists** such groups play a constructive role in decision-making. They prepare the ground for the orderly political participation. In the theoretical framework of democratic pluralism states are assumed to be neutral arbiters [or impartial referees] evaluating the claims of a vast number of possibly competing social groups in accordance with the national interest. States are assumed to attempt to represent the interests of societies as a whole rather than the interests of a different class or ruling elite. In Such situation pressure groups are said to make important contributions to the democratic process.

- Thus whereas POLITICAL PARTIES represent the general interests of voters across a range of issues **PRESSURE GROUPS** provide for the representation of citizens' views on particular issues relating to their own personal well-being as in the case of sectional groups and/or to their particular causes for concern as in the case of promotional or interest groups.

- As a result of the resources at their disposal **PRESSURE GROUPS** can represent individuals more effectively than they could do themselves, a point which may be especially relevant to more disadvantaged individuals such as the poor or the disabled and to minority groupings such as immigrants.

- It is possible that **PRESSURE GROUPS** can address controversial issues which political parties might initially seek to avoid and likely also that as new issues reach the political agenda new pressure groups can be formed to address these issues .

- **PRESSURE GROUPS** enable their members and supporters to participate more fully in the political process on a continuing basis between general elections and this is likely to enhance political understanding and thereby to strengthen support for the liberal democratic system as a whole.

- The existence of rival **PRESSURE GROUPS** for example supporting or opposing the increased use of nuclear power, liberalisation of abortion regulations or the war in Iraq will help to ensure that both sides of these controversial issues can be fully debated .

- **PRESSURE GROUPS** may also sometimes be able to provide governments with important information not otherwise available to them thereby improving government decision making. **For example** governments may be aided in the development of health or education policy by information provided for example by the Indian Association and the various teaching unions.

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- Once policy has been decided relevant **PRESSURE GROUPS** may also encourage their members to carry out government policy and may also scrutinise government performance to assess whether policies are being implemented effectively.

- By the provision of opportunities for political participation via "the normal channels" pressure groups may indirectly help to ensure that citizens do not turn to more radical methods in their attempts to pressurise the government so that pressure groups are seen as providing a safety valve preventing destabilising opposition to government and thereby increasing the overall legitimacy of the liberal democratic political system.

In summary pressure groups may contribute to government effectiveness by stimulating debate, by the provision of useful information by help with the implementation of policy and by scrutiny of government performance.

- Pressure groups aim to inform and educate both their members and the overall population about political issues.

- They provide an organised channel through which individuals may participate in the political process and seek to influence policies of local government ,devolved assemblies, national government, European political institutions and wider international institutions such as the UN. Increasingly also some pressure groups seek to influence the activities of multinational corporations.

- Whereas political parties represent voters' views over a wide range of political issues, pressure groups can represent individuals' views on particular issues such as animal rights or poverty.

- Pressure groups serve as a pool of talent for political recruitment in that many party politicians begin their careers as pressure group activists.

- Pressure groups may seek to raise controversial issues and to support minorities which political parties neglect for fear of electoral unpopularity. Thus for example pressure groups were more active than political parties in early campaigns in support of gay rights although all main political parties are nowadays committed to the protection of gay rights.

- Pressure groups provide opportunities for individuals to influence government policy between elections which obviously strengthens the overall democratic process.

- Pressure groups scrutinise the activities of government and publicise cases of government mismanagement and government activities which may be "ultra vires" [i.e. actions which exceed the powers granted in current legislation.] They therefore provide an important mechanism for the limitation of excessive executive power .

- Pressure groups may provide governments with useful information although ,at the same time, a government will wish to take account of possible bias in this information.

- Once policy decisions have been arrived at following negotiation between government and relevant pressure groups leaders, the leaders may then encourage their members to accept these decisions, as when Trade Union leaders in the corporatist 1970s encouraged their members to accept relatively low pay increases in exchange for government promises to protect employment and to increase the scope of the Welfare State. These strategies were not especially successful but it is clear that they could not have been devised without the support of the trade union movement.

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However it has also been argued by more **CRITICAL ANALYSTS** that **PRESSURE GROUP activity may in some cases undermine in various respects the principles of liberal democracy.**

- **Conflict theorists on the other hand argue that although a few organizations work on behalf of the poor and disadvantaged most of the PRESSURE GROUPS represent the vested interests of the business leaders, the lobbies of multinational companies, rich professionals and political leaders.** They further assert that these powerful lobbies discourage political participation by the individual citizens. **The pressure groups have greater say in democracy than in the totalitarian setup**..

- **Marxists especially claim that liberal democratic governments favour disproportionately the interests of well funded, well organised pro-capitalist PRESSURE GROUPS**. This is because governments depend for their very survival on the profitability and efficiency of private capitalism on which in turn levels of employment, living standards and economic growth depend. **Governments are therefore unlikely to introduce policies which are not supported by private enterprise.**

- Furthermore **PRO-CAPITALIST PRESSURE GROUPS** are likely to be granted insider status which means that their negotiations with government are often secret which undermines both their own and the government's accountability to the general public.

- Furthermore most **PRESSURE GROUPS,** apart from trade unions, **are joined mainly by relatively affluent middle class people and most pressure group leaders [who may not be chosen by especially democratic methods] are even more likely to be middle class.** Although we cannot automatically assume that pressure groups' middle class members and leaders will not attempt to represent the interests of other social groups.

- **However these points taken together do suggest that the poor and otherwise disadvantaged groups such as many disabled people and members of some ethnic minority groups are themselves relatively unlikely to be involved directly in PRESSURE GROUP activity and relatively more likely to be represented by under-funded outsider pressure groups which despite their best efforts may be unable to greatly influence government.** Indeed it has also been argued that the existence of so many pressure groups persuades people to believe that they have influence when in fact they have very little.

- I**t has been suggested that from the 1940s onward national political decision making world over operated within a framework of so-called corporatism or tripartism in which government decisions were influenced much more by business and trade union leaders than by the leaders of other PRESSURE GROUPS.** Critics of corporatism have argued that it

gave excessive political powers to business and trade union leaders who had not necessarily been fairly elected; that business and trade union leaders did not necessarily have the interests of the country at heart; that they each possessed considerable veto power enabling them to force governments to accept particular policies rather than facing ,say, a prolonged strike or reduced private sector investment; and that the excessive power of these groups undermined the pluralist claim that power was distributed among many separate pressure groups.

- From the 1970s theorists influenced by New Right ideology accepted the above criticisms of corporatism. **They argued in particular that the trade unions had excessive powers which they used to weaken the economy via damaging restrictive practices, inflationary wage demands and strikes and that welfare oriented pressure groups such as Shelter and the Child Poverty Action Group raised unrealistic expectations of increased spending on the welfare state which when they were not met served only to undermine confidence in government.** Fewer criticisms were made of the activities of private industry although there were sometimes significant disagreements over economic policy but critics of New Right ideology rejected this analysis of both trade unions and welfare pressure groups.

- **Professor Finer** characterized them as anonymous empires. For **Lambert** these are unofficial government which implies that no government can run without taking them into consideration. It organizes itself around a common interest of a section.

THE CLASSIFICATION OF DIFFERENT TYPES OF PRESSURE GROUPS

Pressure groups have been classified in a variety of ways such that we may distinguish in principle between the following different kinds of pressure groups although individual pressure groups may well fall into more than one of these categories so that for example the trade unions might be described as primary, sectional and permanent pressure groups which have sometimes but not always attained insider status , which may operate at local, national and international levels and also has a peak organisation known as the T.U.C. [Trades Union Congress].

- Primary pressure groups and secondary pressure groups

- Sectional pressure groups [sometimes called interest groups or protective groups] and cause or promotional pressure groups....and hybrid groups

- Insider pressure groups and outsider pressure groups

- Local, national and international pressure groups

- Permanent and temporary pressure groups

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- **Primary pressure groups and secondary pressure groups:**

Although political analysts are concerned mainly with the capacities of pressure groups to exert political influence and with the methods by which they attempt to do so we must recognise also that most pressure groups engage in a mixture of "political" and "non-political" activities. **PRIMARY PRESSURE GROUPS** are organisations which involve themselves in political activities designed to influence public policy whereas **SECONDARY PRESSURE GROUPS** engage mainly in non-political activity and involve themselves in actual political processes only rarely. EXAMPLES of primary pressure groups include organisations such as the **Electoral Reform Society**, **India Against Corruption etc** whereas **churches and many [but not all] charities** would be seen as mainly secondary pressure groups. Charities may face the threat of a loss of charitable status if their objectives are seen as excessively political.

- **Sectional or Protective pressure groups and cause or promotional pressure groups....and hybrid groups:**

SECTIONAL OR PROTECTIVE GROUPS aim to protect the interests of their members. For example, Trade Unions seek to increase the earnings and improve the living standards of their members, while the Confederation of Indian Industry (the CII) aims to influence the government to adopt policies such as the reduction in business taxation or increased government grants to industry which are likely to improve the prospects for private industry within the economy. Membership of sectional or protective pressure groups is confined to those who are personally involved in the sector of activity which the pressure groups represent: thus for example the trade union movement represents only trade unionists and specific trade unions represent only the trade union members employed in specific industries or trades and professional associations such as the Indian Medical Association and the Royal College of Nursing represent only doctors and nurses respectively.

PROMOTIONAL OR CAUSE GROUPS do not aim to protect the interests of their members but to advance causes that their members consider to be important. Examples of Promotional or Cause groups include Amnesty International, the Child Poverty Action Group etc. Membership of promotional or cause groups is open to any individuals who wish to identify with the causes advanced by particular groups.

This is a useful distinction but some groups may be seen as partly Sectional and partly Cause groups in that, for example, the Trade Unions have in the past supported a wide variety of causes such as the ending of Apartheid in South Africa and, in some cases,

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unilateral nuclear disarmament as well as trying to protect the living standards of their members. Also some pressure groups such as **FOR EXAMPLE** the Rural Associations or Caste Groups might be seen by some as a sectional pressure group concerned to protect the interests of landowners, farmers and other rural interests but they may themselves claim that they are a promotional or cause groups standing for the protection of local democracy in rural areas and against the imposition of policies designed by a metropolitan political elite which has no understanding of countryside issues. Obviously if such groups succeeds in promoting itself as a champion of local democracy its support and hence, perhaps, its political influence is likely to increase.

- **Insider pressure groups and outsider pressure groups:**

INSIDER PRESSURE GROUPS are those groups which are most likely to be consulted regularly by governments and pressure groups are most likely to achieve Insider group status if they can demonstrate that they possess at least some of the following features.

- High membership and high membership density suggesting that a pressure group represents a large number and proportion of people concerned about a particular issue. Membership density is the ratio of actual members to potential members.

- The compatibility of its own objectives with the objectives of government and with public opinion.

- The willingness to operate through the "normal political channels" rather than to engage in high profile demonstrations or direct action.

- The capacity to provide reliable , accurate information which might otherwise be unavailable and which facilitates government decision making.

- A significant role in the legitimation and/or implementation of government policies.

- Economic leverage and veto power. Governments cannot ignore business interests since government success depends in many ways upon the existence of a strong economy and trade unions have also been able to exercise veto power in the past although less so nowadays.

It is argued that insider groups with these characteristics are especially likely to be able to influence government policy decisions. Examples of Insider groups include the Indian Medical Association, CII, Automobile Association etc.

OUTSIDER GROUPS are essentially the reverse of Insider groups.

- Their membership or membership density may often [but not always] be relatively small.

- Their objectives and/or methods may be unpopular with the general public and seen by government as unacceptable and non-legitimate.

- They are not seen by governments as valuable sources of information and advice; they are unlikely to be involved in the legitimation and/or implementation of government policies; and they possess little or economic leverage or veto power.

OUTSIDER GROUPS may actively prefer outsider status because they themselves recognise that their own objectives are never likely to be shared by governments and believe that closer links with government will result only in the moderation of the groups' fundamental objectives. Instead they choose to involve themselves in various forms of direct action in the hope of increasing mass public support which, they hope, will lead eventually to fundamental changes in government policy. Outsider groups such as **India Against Corruption** which, in the fairly recent past, have been able to mobilise very large demonstrations always stressed the need for transparancy so as not to alienate public support but other groups such as the **PETA, Green Peace** are prepared to use potentially disorderly.

- **Local, national and international pressure groups:**

Pressure groups may concern themselves primarily with local, national or international issues and negotiation or with a combination of all three types of activity. **A small local pressure group may, for example, seek to influence local council decisions on a variety of specifically local issues such as decisions whether to license the building of new supermarket branches, to permit the opening of new music venues ,r to introduce speeding restrictions and/or "speed bumps" in roads close to schools or to extent recycling arrangements.**

A **large national trade union may sometimes be involved in negotiations affecting wages or working conditions in one particular firm but at other times may be obliged to negotiate with a national employer's association and national government and/or with the political institutions of the EU and with multinational corporations.**

Business pressure groups and large environmental pressure groups may similarly be involved at various times in negotiations at local, national and international levels.

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- **Permanent and temporary pressure groups...including episodic groups and fire brigade groups:**

Whereas some **pressure groups are likely to be permanent** because they have been formed to address issues which are seen as likely to dominate the political agenda for the foreseeable future others are formed to address issues which are essentially temporary. Thus it is to be expected that there will always be economic issues in a capitalist society which are perceived differently by employees and employers so that **both trade unions and business pressure groups** are likely to be permanent fixtures on the political landscape. **Similar conclusions apply to pressure groups such as Greenpeace and Friends of the Earth and Oxfam, Action Aid related organisations now that environmental issues and world poverty occupy a more permanent position on the political agenda.** However even in relation to pressure groups regarded as permanent there may be important organisational changes: in recent years there have been union mergers as unions attempted to protect their bargaining power in response to the general decline in trade union membership which has occurred since the 1970s and new environmental pressure groups have emerged which are critical of what they perceive to be the incorporation of the once radical Friends of the Earth and Greenpeace.

Other **pressure groups are very likely to be temporary** because they have been set up to address essentially **temporary issues such as a hospital or school closure or a road building scheme or a building project on a green field site**. Once final decisions have actually been taken for or against these particular initiatives the pressure group loses its reason for existence.

In their analyses of temporary pressure groups theorists also sometimes distinguish between **EPISODIC GROUPS** AND **FIRE BRIGADE GROUPS**. **Episodic groups are groups which have been formed for non-political purposes but which may involve themselves in political questions if they feel that their interests are threatened** [e.g. the local amateur soccer leagues may register their opposition to proposals to sell off playing fields and then return to their usual non-political stance once this "episode" has been resolved.

Fire brigade groups are groups which are set up in response to a particular political issue and which may disappear completely once the issue has been resolved because they no longer have any reason to exist although the group might continue if, **FOR EXAMPLE,** some of its members decide to support similar campaigns possibly in nearby areas .

- **Anomic Pressure Group.**

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Mmodern democracy they can be dysfunctional too as by representing self-sectional interest at times other interests get marginalized. It may be possible that sectional interest goes contrary to national interest. Certain pressure groups have also emerged using illegal methods e.g. terrorists organizations. Such Pressure Groups are referred as **ANOMIC PRESSURE GROUP.**

Thus, being inevitable phenomena in democracy pressure Groups have strengthened & weakened democracy side by side. Inspite of their limitations and defects **Pressure Groups** have become an essential part of the modern democratic process. We may conclude that theorists influenced by democratic pluralism have been most likely to praise the democratic activities of pressure groups but that theorists influenced by Marxism, Elitism, Corporatism and the New Right have adopted a more critical approach. While recognising the importance of these criticisms one only has to imagine a political system with no independent pressure groups to see that they do on balance make a significant contribution to the operation of liberal democracy.

POLITICAL PARTY

What is a political party?

Political parties are a special form of social organisation. **"A political party is a team of men seeking to control the governing apparatus by gaining office in a duly constituted election" (Antony Downs,)**.

The Italian scholar Giovanni Sartori defined a party as: **"any political group identified by an official label that presents at elections, and is capable of placing through election, candidates for public office."**

Political party is a group of people who come together to contest election and hold power in the government. They agree on some policies and programmes for the society with a view to promote the collective good. Since there can be different views on what is good for all, parties try to persuade people why their policies are better than others. They seek to implement these policies by winning popular support through these elections.

Even if these definitions demonstrate some difference in the understanding of political parties, **they all emphasize the participation in elections and the interest to gain public offices and mandates as essential elements that characterise political parties.** They must meet certain criteria which can be summarized as follows.

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In other words we can define Political party as an organization of people interested in and working to control or influence the power structure of a community or society in a way they regard as best for their interest and presumably for the best interest of the community.

Thus, parties reflect fundamental political divisions in a society. Parties are about a part of the society and thus involve partisanship**.** Thus a party is know by which part it stands for, which policies it supports and whose interests it upholds. A political party has three components:

  -the leaders,

  -the active member and

  -the followers

Political parties are visibly one of the most visible institutions in a democracy. For most ordinary citizens, democracy is equal to political parties. If we travel to remote parts of our country and speak to the less educated citizens, we could come across people who may not know anything about our Constitution or about the nature of our government. But chances are that they would know something about our political parties. At the same time this visibility does not mean popularity. Most people tend to be very critical of political parties. They tend to blame parties for all that is wrong with our democracy and our political life. **Parties have become identified with social and political divisions.**

CRITERIA TO IDENTIFY POLITICAL PARTIES

- A party strives to influence the formation of political opinion and aims to have a general political impact. The active influence of political opinion-making is aimed at a longer period of time as well as a wider region and should not be concentrated on a local level or a single issue.
- A party is an association of citizens holding individual memberships, and shall have a minimum number of members, so that the seriousness of its targets and the prospects of success remain clear.
- A party has to demonstrate the will to consistently take part in the political representation of the people during elections. It, therefore, distinguishes itself from unions, non-governmental organisations and other initiatives that do not want to carry any political responsibilities for larger sectors but only try to have selective influence, and that do not participate in elections.
- A party has to be an independent and permanent organisation; it shall not be formed only for one election and cease to exist afterwards.
- A party must be willing to appear in public.

- A party does not necessarily need to win a seat in parliament, but it has to fulfil all the other criteria.

Parties can therefore be understood as permanent associations of citizens that are based on free membership and a programme, and which are anxious to occupy through the path of elections, the politically decisive positions of the country with their team of leaders, in order to materialize suggestions for resolving outstanding problems. The means of elections implies the competition of at least two parties.

Parties not only strive to participate in the formation of political opinion. They also aspire to participate in the representation of the people in parliament. This presumes that parties take part in elections. A party's political contribution as well as its political "weight" is closely tied to elections. The will of the voters is of significant importance for the parties. Typical for parties is their "fighting spirit"—their readiness for political action and political confrontation—and their aspiration to takeover and retain governing power. This competition among parties is the instrument to gain political power and the whole organisation of a party is ultimately subject to this aim. Only those parties that participate successfully in this competition can obtain posts of political representation. This is also the main stimulation to participate in party activities and makes a party especially interesting once it is a part of a government.

Even the less attractive opposition role offers interesting elements for active participation. Political parties are always the centre/ for debates and discussions about political reforms and political change. Those interested in politics will mostly find a party that reflects the own perception, may it be a party in government or opposition. Parties in opposition exercise an important function in a democratic system as a "watchdog" of government policy and as a political alternative in the future. Opposition may be considered awful, but it is essential for the functioning of democracy.

Contrary to INTEREST GROUPS, a party is expected to express itself on all issues relevant for government. One expects parties to propose views on domestic and foreign policies, economic and social policies, and youth and civil policies etc. In order to meet these requirements, each party should have a programme, in which its fundamental positioning in various areas is retained. Furthermore, one expects a party to have a consistent organisation.

WHY DO PARTIES EXIST?

Within every society there are different opinions, needs, expectations and views over daily issues; likewise "big" questions on the social organisation, its norms and procedures also exist. Something

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like a common will of the people or a predetermined common good does not exist. In contrast, in every society there are rivalling interests that often collide very hard. In order to peacefully mediate conflicts, the formation of political views must take place in an open process of debate between different opinions. A minimum of common conviction is necessary. This is the common sense of democracy. It is based on the principle that each citizen has the right to represent his opinion and conviction in a peaceful competition of minds.

This assumption of conflicting interests within every society, which in principle are legitimate, is called pluralism or "competition theory" of democracy. According to this theory, the formation of political opinion in the pluralistic society is achieved through an open process of competition between heterogeneous interests. Due to the diversity of opinions and social conflicts there is no perfect solution to problems. Decisions have to be made on the basis of consent and approval of a majority of the citizens. Nevertheless, there may be no "tyranny of the majority" that offends democratic rules and violates inalienable human rights. Even majority decisions may imply deficiencies or even injustice. Therefore, a distinct and constitutionally guaranteed protection of minorities on the one hand, as well as the recognition of voting or election defeat of the losing side on the other hand—provided that it is a (largely) free and fair poll—are constitutive elements of this concept of democracy.

Within the context of democratically managed conflicts of interests, political parties represent particular interests. Only once the contrasting interests are openly expressed and the parties accord other parties the right to represent particular interests too, and when the parties agree to the principles of the political game—for instance, if they agree principally on the democratic constitution—then it is possible to resolve conflicts in a society and form political compromises in an appropriate manner.

We can also think about it by looking at the non-party based elections to the Panchayats in many states. Although, the parties do not contest formally, it is generally noticed that the villages get split into more than one faction, each of which puts up a 'panel' of its candidates. This is exactly what the party does. That is the reason we find political parties in almost all countries are big or small, old or new, developed or developing.

The rise of political parties is directly linked to the emergence of representative democracies. As we have seen, large societies need representative democracy. As societies became large and complex, they also needed some agency to gather different views on various issues and to present these to the government. They needed some ways, to bring various representatives together so that a responsible government could be formed. They needed a

mechanism to support or restrain the government, make policies, justify or oppose them. Political parties fulfill these needs that every representative government has. We can say that parties are a necessary condition for a democracy.

PARTIES AND PARTY SYSTEMS

Of course, the freedom of parties must be ensured in the process. That means that the creation of political parties has to be free of political constraints. Nevertheless, there may be some limitations with regard to the creation of parties who openly reject the democratic constitution of a country. In principle, however, citizens must posses the right to create a party, to belong to a party and to express themselves freely in it. Freedom of parties also includes the notion that nobody can be forced to adhere to a specific party or to remain in it against his will—as was the case in some countries and still may be. The affirmation of the diversification of parties is a corollary of the recognition of pluralistic democracy.

This competitive concept of democracy stands opposed to the vision of homogeneity, which supposes a uniformity of the will of the people. **The French political philosopher Jean-Jacques Rousseau (1712 – 78) had created this vision that in theory denies the legitimacy of conflicts and defines democracy as the identity of the government and the citizens. This concept does not accept a for a plurality of parties. They are not regarded as legitimate, as they would inevitably falsify the "common will" by their particular behaviour. Deviations from the imposed and mandatory common good are not tolerated by this theory. However, it is obvious that this concept is characteristic of totalitarian states where the diversity of parties is banned and where the "common will" is defined only by a small ruling elite.** Consequently, totalitarian states are identified with Rousseau. It should be noted that even Rousseau could not clarify how this "common sense" would be discovered and decided. We have to be aware that modern societies are characterized by a diversity of interests and world-views. They need political parties as central instances for the representation of this diversity of interests within the political system.

FUNCTIONS OF POLITICAL PARTIES

To participate successfully in the political process and to contribute to the consolidation of democracy, political parties have to demonstrate certain capacities. In political science, these capacities are called "functions".

Important Functions of political parties are:

- **They articulate and aggregate social interests:** Parties express public expectations and demands of social groupings to the political system (= function of political opinion-making).

- **They recruit political personnel and nurture future generations of politicians:** They select persons and present them as candidates for elections (= function of selection).

- **They develop political programmes:** Parties integrate various interests into a general political project and transform it into a political programme, for which they campaign to receive the consent and support of a majority (= function of integration).

- **They promote the political socialisation and participation of citizens:** Parties create a link between citizens and the political system; they enable political participation of individuals and groupings with the prospect of success. (= function of socialization and participation).

- **They organise the government.** They participate in elections to occupy political charges. Normally in party democracies, a good part of government authorities arise from political parties (= function of exercising political power).

- **They contribute to the legitimacy of the political system:** in establishing the connection between citizens, social groupings and the political system, the parties contribute in anchoring the political order in the consciousness of the citizens and in social forces (= function of legitimating).

- **Parties contest elections. In most democracies, elections are fought mainly among the candidates put up by political parties**. Parties select their candidates in different ways. In some countries, such as the USA, members and supporters of a party choose its candidates. Now more and more countries are following this method. In other countries like India, top party leaders choose candidates for contesting elections.

- **Parties put forward different policies and programmes and the voters choose from them.** Each of us may have different opinions and views on what policies are suitable for the society. But no government can handle such a large variety of views. In a democracy, a large number of similar opinions have to be grouped together to provide a direction in which policies can be formulated by the governments. This is what the parties do. A party reduces a vast multitude of opinions into a few basic positions which it supports. A government is expected to base its policies on the line taken by the ruling party**.**

- **Parties play a decisive role in making laws for a country. Formally, laws are debated and passed in the legislature.** But since most of the members belong to a party, they go by the direction of the party leadership, irrespective of their personal opinions.

- **Parties form and run governments.** As we noted last year, the big policy decisions are taken by political executive that comes from the political parties. Parties recruit leaders, train them and then make them ministers to run the government in the way they want.

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- **Those parties that lose in the elections play the role of opposition to the parties in power, by voicing different views and criticizing government for its failures or wrong policies.** Opposition parties also mobilize Opposition to the government.

- **Parties provide people access to government machinery and welfare schemes implemented by governments.** For an ordinary citizen it is easy to approach a local party leader than a government officer. That is why they feel close to parties even when they do not fully trust them. Parties have to be responsive to people's needs and demands. Otherwise people can reject those parties in the next elections.

POLITICAL PARTY SYSTEMS

The entire group of parties in a country forms the political party system. The party system reflects the pattern of relationships between individual parties in relation to each other. The composition of a party system results mainly from two factors. On the one hand it is the structure of social conflicts and interests. Classical conflicts are for instance those between capital and labour or those between secular and religiously oriented parties. On the other hand, the party and electoral laws also exercise considerable influence on the configuration of the party system depending on how liberal and free or restrictive the creation of new parties have been laid out and if the electoral system facilitates the representation of a larger number of parties in the parliament or not. Yet, in pre-democratic times the existence of one party provoked at least the emergence of another party.

Throughout history, party systems have in principle developed along social and/or ideological lines of conflict. Party systems can be classified by different criteria. Most frequently it is the number of parties that are fighting for power that serves as the criteria for the description of a party system. In this way, one can differentiate one, two and multi-party systems. In a **"single-party" system** only one party dominates and there is practically no political competition between parties. A "single-party" system is, as mentioned before, a contradiction in itself since a "party" should only be part of a larger group. Single party systems are therefore characterised by the oppression of political competition and democratic freedom. **"Two-party system"** means that two parties primarily dominate the political competition, while other, smaller parties only play a subordinate role. In a **"multi-party system"**, more than two parties have an effect on the political competition.

The existence of a two-party or a multi-party system depends on several different factors: political traditions, the development of political institutions, the socio-economic circumstances, and the relevance of regional cleavages, and ethnical or confessional conditions. The specifications of the electoral law can have certain, but not decisive, influence on the composition of the party system. The majority voting systems (first-past-the-post-systems) rather

favour the evolution of a two party system (or a system comprising only of a few dominant parties), whereas a proportional voting system is more likely to favour a multi-party system. However, there is no distinct connection between electoral and party systems.

The system of government influences the development of parties and party systems insofar as a parliamentary system offers more influence for political parties because the government emerges directly from the parliament, which is dominated by the parties. In a presidential system, it is the head of government—the president—who is directly elected by the people and thus its legitimacy is based not primarily on the parliament.

In addition, he mostly exercises, beside the parliament, also legislative and other functions, and he normally has a right to veto parliamentary decisions or even has the authority to dissolve the parliament. So, at first glance, in presidential systems parties play a minor role. On the other hand, in presidential systems the separation of powers is usually more evident because the parties are not linked so closely with the government. In parliamentary systems, however, the identity and especially the relationship between the government and the ruling party or parties is greater. Even so, in a presidential system the president also needs the approval of parliament and a parliamentary majority. The relative independence from the government which the parties enjoy in a presidential system is of considerable relevance. The number of parties represented in parliament is only slightly influenced by the system of government. This is rather a question of social cleavages, eventually also the ethnic and other cleavages in a country, the structure of conflicts and interests and the electoral system.

TYPOLOGIES OF POLITICAL PARTIES:

Likewise party systems, also the political parties itself can be distinguished by certain criteria. Such typologies help to sort the heterogeneity of social phenomena, in order to better understand it. To identify parties, one can consider the characteristic features in order to note commonalities and differences between individual parties.

Parties can be classified according to a number of different criteria: **according to their level of organisation, their socio-political targets, the social classes that they want to represent and approach, or their positioning towards the political system. Some parties can be classified also by their names, which often express special socio-political objectives that the parties want to be identified with. By their names, parties demonstrate how they want to be perceived, and that means how they want to be classified.** This confirms that the classification or construction of typologies is not a mere academic exercise, but part of the political competition of

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parties. The typologies emerged initially in view of the multi-party systems in Europe but can also be applied to other regions. Several typologies are introduced below:

- **Differentiation of parties by their degree of organization:**
- **ELECTORATE PARTIES**: such parties attach less importance to a large membership, but are particularly active in the scope of elections. The bond of the voters to such a party is usually weak.

- **MEMBERSHIP PARTIES:** such parties seek a large membership, preferably in all parts of the country. Traditionally, it is usually the popular parties and labour parties that strive for a well-organised party apparatus and a large membership ("mass political party"). At the minimum, this facilitates the financing of the party through membership fees.

- **Differentiation by socio-political objectives:** With regard to the criteria of socio-political objectives, which are aspired to by political parties, one can distinguish between those parties that seek social or political changes in the frame of the existing democratic order and parties that strive for changes by radical, extremist or revolutionary means. The first group is composed of conservative, liberal, Christian democratic, social democratic, in-part socialist, and also parties that define themselves by religion or confession as long as they do not represent extremist positions. To the second group belong mainly extreme rightist or leftist parties and among those the communist parties, beside others.

- **CONSERVATIVE PARTIES**: such parties want to retain the "approved" order or restore it; they are sceptical of innovations and changes, for instance, with regard to the perception and the role of the family, and alternative models of life (for example, same-sex marriages). They also do not like the transfer of national sovereignty to supranational institutions, but they do acknowledge that traditional ideas, values and principles cannot be continuously maintained without moderate reforms.

- **LIBERAL PARTIES:** such parties espouse the rights of individual freedom and emphasise the democratic character of the constitution. Traditionally, they are anti-clerical and mostly committed to a free market economy.

- **SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC PARTIES**: such parties mostly emerged in close relation to the labour movement and their political concepts are based on social equality of the people; they assign the state with a strong regulating role in the economy and society.

- **SOCIALIST PARTIES:** such parties also emerged in close contact to parts of the labour movement, but they represent a more radical approach to achieving social equality; the abolition of private ownership of the means of production and a state-driven economy are central targets of these parties.

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- **PARTIES DEFINED BY RELIGION** are special forms of parties that are characterized by their social-political objectives. Worldwide, a vast number of parties are more or less strongly based on religious convictions. There are Christian or Christian democratic, Islamic and Hindu parties that establish their programmes on the values and standards of their religion or confession. This can lead to considerable differences in the political programmes and political objectives of such parties, depending on how individual parties consider their respective religion's stand with regard to individual human rights and individual freedom or to political democracy. The European Christian Democratic parties, for instance, are committed to individual freedom, social solidarity and justice, self-responsibility of the citizens and a discrete role for the state under the supervision of economic and social actors.

- **EXTREME RIGHT-WING PARTIES**: such parties preach nationalistic ideologies, which are often inter mixed with a vague ethnic ideology and possibly racist perceptions.

- **COMMUNIST PARTIES**: such parties propagate the dictatorship of the proletariat and assume a predetermination of history.

- **Differentiation according to the social classes which they intend to approach:**

- **POPULAR PARTIES**: such parties attempt to consider the interests and needs of as many social groups as possible and therefore try to integrate as many citizens as possible of various social origins within their party rank and file and to aggregate different social and political aspirations in their programme.

- **PARTIES OF SPECIAL INTEREST**: such parties feel responsible for the interests of a very specific group (a social, confessional, or regional group) and do not claim to be equally eligible for all parts of the population.

- **Differentiation according to their positioning towards the political system:**

- **PARTIES CONFORMING TO THE SYSTEM**: such parties accept the political system in which they are active and wish to either stabilize the political order or improve it gradually with reforms.

- **PARTIES OPPOSED TO THE POLITICAL SYSTEM**: such parties do not accept the basic principles of their political system and pursue a change of the system, mostly with aggressive programmatic proposals.

Political parties rarely correspond completely to one of these classifications. There are fluent transitions and mixed forms. A membership or mass party for instance can also be an "interest party" if it represents only the interest of a certain social sector or class (the labour class for

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example). Furthermore, other criteria are also possible: for example, government and opposition party, regional party, protest party, etc. Nevertheless, the classifications allow the identification of the typical attributes of a party, which is a relevant element in the process of political competition.

PARTIES AND IDEOLOGIES

Ideologies and specific worldviews are of particular relevance for political parties. Ideologies are comprehensive visions of societies and social developments, which contain explanations, values, and goals for past, present and future developments. Ideologies inspire and justify political and social action. They are an essential element for political orientation. The term "ideology" has been and is still used mainly by leftist, communist and socialist parties to characterize their worldviews and political positions. Nevertheless, other streams of political thinking can also be denominated as "ideologies", like, for instance, liberalism, conservatism, nationalism or fascism.

Sometimes, **there are comments about a supposed "des-ideologization" of politics.** This refers to the fact that nowadays **many parties are stressing their ideological roots less than their pragmatic approach with regard to social and political challenges.**

The above-mentioned concepts, however, make it clear that ideologies still are of considerable relevance for the identification of worldviews and political positions. We never reached the "end of ideologies" as has been proclaimed by the American political scientist Francis Fukuyama at the end of the Cold War. **He supposed that liberal democracy would finally be enforced against all other forms of governance, and therefore all ideological debates could come to an end.**

Those who are, or will become, politically engaged should know the different ideological strands. This is relevant not only for defining one's own political position, but also for evaluating other political positions and eventually for combating them.

CHALLENGES BEFORE POLITICAL PARTIES

We have seen how crucial political are for the working of democracy. Since parties are the most visible face of democracy, it is natural that people blame parties for whatever is wrong with the working of democracy. All over the world, people express strong dissatisfaction with the failure of political parties to perform their functions well. This is the case in our country too.

No matter how democracy has been organised in any individual case, and in any political system, the political parties are the main institutions of democracy. Without parties, there can be no

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democracy. The basic functions of political parties have already been discussed. However, the parties do not have a monopoly in carrying out these functions and are nowadays—more than in the past—in competition with other organisations that also carry out these functions, at least in certain areas, and thereby compete with the parties. The essential differentiating characteristic of a party is and remains therefore its participation in elections.

Even though parties fulfil essential functions for the political system and democracy, they also face special challenges in modern democracies. Political parties need to face and overcome these challenges in other to remain effective instruments of democracy. Social change and the efficiency (or inefficiency) of dealing with the consequences of changing societies in the area of politics are the main reasons for these new challenges for political parties.

- A classic dilemma for political parties is the impossibility to meet all expectations directed at them at the same time. As they occupy the political decision-making instances, people expect concepts and decisions for problems and demands. Several groups, however, will always feel disadvantaged or develop new demands, which can usually never be completely satisfied. One just has to think of the expectation that the state should provide public goods at the same time as internal and external security, a well-developed road network, public schools, hospitals, and public housing or benefits, without increasing taxes or pushing up the national debt. Parties, therefore, are caught in a constant conflicting relationship between unfulfilled expectations and solutions perceived to be inadequate.

- New challenges has emerged from social change and the development of fragmented societies, which are characterized by the dissipation of traditional milieus, the erosion of previously stable value systems and the commitments based on it, a higher level of education, the pluralism of informative sources, as well as the individual organisation of personal relationships. "Shifting values", "individualisation", "event society", and "fragmentation of interests" are notions to describe social phenomena that are directly reflected on the attitude of the citizens towards the parties. Where social relationships become lost, the commitment with political parties also gets weaker. Parties feel this effect not only in the form of decreasing memberships, but also in the decline of stable voter milieus and unpredictable election forecasts and election outcomes.

- The change in the mass media and the way of reporting, the growing competition for attention and audience, as well as the extension of "investigative" journalism have led to a new form of reporting about politics, in which ideas, values and results are less important than emotionalisation, moralisation, scandalisation and personalisation in the form of "infotainment". Political scandals and personal behaviour and misbehaviour of politicians are known faster nowadays. This is certainly a gain in transparency and democratic control but it can also

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contribute to the disenchantment and sometimes also the trivialisation of politics and its players. The first to feel the negative consequences of that are the parties.

- The "modern" dilemma of political parties stems from globalisation. At a national level, globalisation and its consequences have reduced the room for political manoeuvres and have shifted decision-making power and management capabilities to supra-national or international players. Although citizens expect national political actors to decide on their demands and expectations, important issues cannot be resolved by national political decision makers. Consequently, political parties face a loss of confidence in their capacity to decide on important issues of national interest.

These developments have serious consequences for parties and party systems:

- party systems are nowadays much more prone to modifications and more fragmentised.
- the time of big mass parties seems to be over. At the very least, although some parties can still maintain large memberships, it is today much more difficult to organise large mass rallies.
- the past virtual monopoly of the parties as the source and place of political information and reflection has been negated in the era of mass media, modern information techniques like the internet and alternative areas for political participation outside of the parties.
- parties find it very difficult to retain so-called loyal voters of certain milieus in the long term.
- the overall trust level of the population in the parties and in politicians has dropped and the willingness to engage politically has declined, especially among young people.
- Mass media publish more reports about political scandals and about the real or alleged shortcomings of parties and their top leaders' inability to manage and resolve problems. In the same way that the difficulties of political management have increased in the era of financial, political or ecological globalization, the technical possibilities for critical reporting has also increased.
- The increased competition among TV channels and print media has also contributed to the tendency to report more about real or alleged misbehaviour of politicians.
- The respective roles played in the past by the governing and opposition parties are not as clear anymore, as the big opposition parties do not necessarily benefit from voters' dissatisfaction, but instead also lose votes to small or newer protest parties.
- **Lack of internal democracy within parties.** All over the world these is a tendency in political parties towards the concentration of power in one or few leaders at the top. Parties do not hold organizational meeting, and do not conduct internal elections regularly. Ordinary members of the party do not get sufficient information on what happens inside the party. They do not have the means or the connections needed to influence the decisions. As a result the leaders assume greater power to make decisions in the name of the party. Since few leaders exercise

paramount power in the party, those who disagree with the leadership find it difficult to continue in the party. More than loyalty to party principles and politics, personal loyalty to the leader becomes more important.

- **Dynastic succession is related to the first one. Since most political parties do not practice open and transparent procedures for their functioning, there are very few ways for an ordinary worker to rise to the top in a party**. Those who happen to be the leaders are in a position of unfair advantage to favour people close to them or even their family members. In many parties, the top positions are always controlled by members of one family. This is also bad for democracy, since people who do not have adequate experience or popular support come to occupy positions of power. This tendency is present in some measure all over the world, including in some of the older democracies.

- **The growing role of money and muscle power in parties, especially during elections.** Since parties are focused only on winning elections, they tend to use shot-cuts to win elections. They tend to use nominate those candidates who have or can raise lots of money. Rich people and companies who give funds to the parties tend to have influence on the policies and decisions of the party. In some cases, parties support criminals who can win elections. Democrats all over the world are worried about the increasing role of rich people and big companies in democratic politics.

- **Very often parties do not seem to offer a meaningful choice to the voters.** In order to offer meaningful choice, parties must be significantly different. In recent years there has been a decline in the ideological differences among parties in most part of the world. For example, the difference between the Labour Party and the Conservative Party in Britain is very little. They agree on more fundamental aspects but differ only in details on how policies are to be framed and implemented. In our country too, the differences among all the major parties on the economic policies have reduced. Those who want really different policies have no option available to them. Sometimes people cannot even elect very different leaders either, because the same set of leaders keep shifting form one party to another.

- **The Iron Law of Oligarchy:** In a classical work on party research, Robert Michels had, in 1911, demonstrated the "iron law of oligarchy" ("Reign of a few"). According to the research, every organisation inevitably brings forth a ruling class, which it cannot control effectively in the long-term. Accordingly, party leaderships and party structures also become more and more independent, given the advance in information technology and the increasing specialisation of politics. The accumulation of responsibilities and monopoly of power are symptoms of increasing oligarchy, which constitutes a problem for the democratic formation of opinion within a party. An improvement in democratic procedures and in the exchange of views can contribute to the removal of stiff party structures.

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CRITERIA FOR SUSTAINABLE AND SUCCESSFUL PARTY WORK

Parties have to be continuously striving to perform their functions under changing social circumstances. Independent of the regional or national social peculiarities, or the electoral and government system, there are several criteria that every party should respect and fulfil, in order to participate successfully in the political competition.

- A party needs a sufficient, identifiable electoral base. It needs to strive to root itself in the electoral and interest groups that it wants to represent, in alignment, obviously, with its basic values and its programmatic profile.
- A party has to build an extensive organisation in order to practice closeness to citizens and to be able to mobilise voters.
- A party has to build an open membership organisation. Membership is fundamental for the recruitment of its future leaders and should also be a relevant element for its financial basis. An active membership organisation, however, requires inner-party democracy, i.e., members who participate politically and who are able to determine the party leadership and set the course of the party.
- A party has to be communicative, both internally and externally. It needs a functional inner-party information system for all its rank and file on all levels and for its members. Furthermore, a constant link to the media is necessary. They are the "gatekeepers" of the political system in the developed media democracy, generating public awareness.
- A party has to develop its own programmatic profile, differentiating itself from others by formulating targets and ways of solution in keeping up to the real problems of the time. The objective of the programme work is to enable the party to integrate public expectations and demands and to promote identification with the party by the citizens.
- A party has to show a high degree of inner party governability. This is the capacity to balance between a unified appearance towards the public and the inner-party's controversial dialogue. Part of this governability is the selection and support of the younger generation of party members and party leaders.
- A party has to be capable of integration. This is the actual key to success and to the growth of a party. What is meant here is the constant strive to expand its electoral base, to win over new voters with different interests and young voters with other lifestyles and to establish a constant connection to these voters.
- A party must be capable of campaigning. It has to be able to present important topics and its own profile effectively in public and it must lead flawless election campaigns with few topics and a clear message for "focused communication".
- A party must be capable of forming coalitions. As it is difficult for a party, if not impossible, especially in the context of past-thepost voting systems, to obtain absolute majorities in parliament, a party has to be able to form stable coalitions with other parties to demonstrate governability. The problems of governability reflect directly on the reputation of the parties. In coalition formation it can be necessary to overcome deep programmatic and/or personal rifts. This is a moment where political leaders may show their competency.
- A party must prove its governability and capacity for solving problems at the local level. In all countries, the citizens should have the most direct contact with the parties and its representatives in local politics. Only if the parties can prove competency and citizen proximity at this level, can they can expect trust on a national level.
- A party must be capable of learning the expectations, and implementing political programmes that meet the demands within the society. Considering the increased significance of social non-governmental organisations and interest associations, the parties have to intensify their efforts to be in touch with these intermediate organisations, to understand the expectations of the people, and to translate them into policies.

- A law should be made to regulate the internal affairs of political parties. It should be made compulsory for political parties to maintain a register of its member to follow its own constitution, to have an independent authority, to act as a judge in case of party disputes, to hold open election to the highest posts.

- It should be made mandatory for political parties to give a minimum number of tickets, about one-third, to women candidates. Similarly, there should be a quota for women in the decision making bodies of the party.

- There should be state funding of elections. The government should give parties money to support their election expenses. This support could be given in kind: petrol, paper, telephone etc. Or it could be given in cash on the basis of the votes secured by the party in the last election.

- Citizens can put pressure on political parties. This can be done through petitions, publicity and agitations. Ordinary citizens, pressure groups and movement and the media can play an important role in this. If political parties feel that they would lose public support by not taking up reforms, they would become more serious about reforms.

- Political parties can improve if those who want this join political parties are pro- reform. The quality of democracy depends on the degree of public participation. It is difficult to reform politics if ordinary citizens do not take part in it and simply criticize it from the outside. The problem of bad politics can be solved by more and better politics. But we must be very careful about legal solutions to political problems. Over-regulation of political parties can be counter-productive. This would force all parties to find ways to cheat the law. Besides, political parties will not agree to pass a law that do not like.

Quota for women and minorities

Even though most constitutions all over the world stipulate equal treatment of men and women, women are under-represented worldwide in parties and political leading functions. In many countries efforts are being made to achieve stronger participation of women in politics. An intensified contribution in parties is a basic requirement for this purpose.

In order to give women a larger space for political contribution and involvement, a statutory female quota has been set up in many countries with different regulations. Usually, the point is to reserve a minimum number of party offices and positions for women during elections. Experience shows that such quota regulations—where they work!—can in practice actually contribute to a higher percentage of women in politics.

However, experience has also shown that quota regulations are often not put into practice, so the outcome is that there are no more women in the parliaments than before. Hence, there must be effort to ensure that the female quotas take effect and that there is an increase in the percentage of

women in politics, i.e. also in parliaments. This is certainly a question of political culture that needs time to develop.

Some parties apply quota regulations to guarantee certain minorities' appropriate cooperation within their rank and file. Policies to guarantee ethnic minority representation take place in two forms: candidate nomination quotas in political parties and legislative reservation. Legislative reservation includes reserving seats for specific groups and only members of a group can vote for the representative of the group.

This leads to a separate voters roll for the minorities. This system is not very favourable in a multicultural society as it undermines any incentive for political inter-mixing between communities. The participation of ethnic or racial minorities in legislatures often raises the questions as to what level these groups are represented in the parties and legislatures and to what extent they can influence policy and decision-making.

There have been significant efforts among political parties to increase support by ethnic minorities. They are recruited through the establishment of ethnic liaisons units by political parties in order to increase the parties' profiles within the ethnic communities. This can play an important part in local elections because unless the ethnic minorities get their share in representation, no aspiring ruling party is going to get their support in return.

Let us look at some of the recent efforts and suggestions in Indian Society to reform political parties and its leaders:

- The Constitution was amended to prevent elected MLAs and MPs from changing parties. This was done because many elected representatives were indulging in defection in order to become ministers or for cash rewards. Now the law says that if any MLA or MP changes parties, he or she will lose the seat in the legislature. This new law has helped bring defection down. At the same time has made any dissent even more difficult. MPs and MLAs have to accept whatever the party leaders decide.

- The Supreme Court passed an order to reduce the influence of money and criminals. Now, it is mandatory for every candidate who contests elections to file an affidavit giving details of his property and criminal cases pending against him. This information is now available to the public. But there is no system to check if the information given by the candidates is true. As yet we do not know if it has led to decline in the influence of the rich and to decline in the influence of the rich and the criminals.

- The Election Commission passed an order making it necessary fore political parties to hold their organizational elections and file their income tax returns. The parties have started doing so but sometimes it is mere formality. It is not clear if this step has led to greater internal democracy in political parties.

CONCLUSION:

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Despite all the weaknesses of parties and in spite of all the challenges that parties have to face, one thing remains certain: without parties, democracy cannot function. In a democracy the parties are still the most important connecting link between state and society. But indeed they have to adapt to the social changes so as to make sure they are not swallowed by them. The formation of political opinion and consensus in mass democracy are an endlessly laborious, partly ungratifying and constantly endangered process involving the lacklustre everyday life of committees, commissions and assemblies. The formation of political opinion, consensus building and government for the benefit of the whole society cannot bypass or even be against the political parties, but can only involve them. As much as citizens' initiatives and social movements are necessary for political innovation, opposition and criticism, in the end, they depend very much on the parties to carry the responsibility in the long-term and the parties are the ones that therefore have to face the population at regular intervals in the context of elections. Parties carry out a political leadership role that a modern democracy cannot do without. Especially in times of change this political leadership must be responsible and visible for the citizens and connected to the interests and demands of the citizens. As Konrad Adenauer, the first chancellor and prime minister of the Federal Republic of Germany after the Second World War has stated: "Each political party exists for the benefit of the people and not for itself. Political parties, their members and leaders are therefore more than ever required to face this responsibility."

STATE, NATION, CITIZENSHIP, DEMOCRACY, CIVIL SOCIETY, IDEOLOGY

STATE AND NATION

Aristotle defined state as A UNION OF FAMILIES AND VILLAGES HAVING, FOR ITS END, A PERFECT AND SELF-SUFFICING LIFE, WHICH MEANS HAPPY AND HONORABLE LIFE. **According to MacIver** the state is an association, which acting through law as promulgated by government, endowed to this end with coercive power, maintains within a community territorially demarcated universal external conditions of social order. **It can otherwise be said that WHEN A GROUP OF PEOPLE ARE PERMANENTLY SETTLED ON A DEFINITE TERRITORY AND HAVE GOVERNMENT OF THEIR OWN, FREE FROM ANY KIND OF EXTERNAL CONTROL, THEY CONSTITUTE A STATE AND IT HAS SOVEREIGN POWER UPON ITS PEOPLE.**

According to **MACIVER'S DEFINITION,** the following elements can be considered as the important ones for state:

(i)   A specific region and its inhabitants

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(ii)   The region free from outer control

(iii)   Requirement of a sovereign Goventernmt.

(iv)   The state applies power to control and unify the people and the means are: legislature, judiciary and executive and armed forces.

Normally, four elements are universally accepted:

1.   Territory

2.   Population

3.   Government

4.   Sovereignty

State uses power as a mechanism to keep the society bound together. **The state uses power as legislative, judicial, military and planning function**. Through legislative function it enforces the norms of the society, judicial function uses power to exert physical force for the protection of citizen's lives and property military function uses power to establish relations with other societies and planning function is related to the allocation of scarce goods and resources.

Concept of state as elaborated in different theoretical models:

KARL MARX ON STATE

Although Marx had no fully developed theory of state, he did discuss it in various ways throughout his writings. **Marx traces the development of the state of the division of labour in the society. Primitive societies are simple and less complex. So state is non-existent in primitive Societies. With change in forces of production, surplus wealth and private propert appears in society. And there arises some central organizing agency to control. This ultimately leads to the formation of state**. His views on state are closely related to his **classification of society**.

*   **For MARX the STATE IS FORCE AND STATE EXERCISES POWER AND AUTHORITY FOR PROMOTING THE INTERESTS OF THE DOMINANT CLASS AND SUPPRESSING AND EXPLOITING THE WEAKER CLASSES WHO ARE COLLECTIVELY CALLED AS PROLETARIAT IN THE CONTEXT OF CAPITALIST SOCIETY.** He views state as a man-made institution rather than a natural institution. The Marxists look at the state as a product of class struggle and as an instrument of class rule. Thus, for Marx, the state is essentially as

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class structure, an organization of one class dominating over other classes. He views that state as originated at a certain stage of economic development in the history of humanity, when society was broken into two classes, namely 'haves' and have-nots'.

- **In Marxist theory the most important activity of human beings is economic activity. According to him understanding the way a society organizes its production is the key to understand the whole of its social structure.** His view is that the production of the means of subsistence forms the foundation upon which various institutions; the legal conception, art and even the ideas on religion of the people concerned have been evolved. Marx stresses economic production as they key structural feature of any society and he called the way it organizes it production as its **INFRASTRUCTURE.** The rest of its social organization – its non-economic activities such as ideas, beliefs and philosophies, legal system, the state etc. – he called **SUPERSTRUCTURE**. The super structure of any form of society is affected by its infrastructure i.e., the economic activities of the society. **State according to Marx is a non-economic institution and hence a part of superstructure.** The formation and functioning of the state is therefore depend on the way the society organizes its economic production. (Marx called the different ways of production of goods in the society as **MODES OF PRODUCTION. And based on the modes of production Marx distinguished five historical epochs in the development of humanity. These in chronological order are primitive communist, ancient, feudal, capitalist and communist, each depicting its own characteristic state and government.**

- **Apart from the first and last modes of production i.e. the primitive communist and communist mode, each mode of production has one crucial characteristic in common. Each of them produces goods based on class.** In each of the historical epochs there are two classes; one is the minority dominant class, the one which owns the modes of production and the other majority subordinate class, the class that does not own means of production or the exploited class which do the productive work.

- **Those who own means of production control the state. Whenever there is change in the mode of production in a society, the government (the physical form of state) also undergoes simultaneous change.** And irrespective of the form of the society (ancient, feudal or capitalist) the state invariably is, according to Marx, an instrument for exploitation in the hands of dominant class.

- **Marx's deliberation of state as an institution is mainly based on the capitalist form of society.** For him state is a **centralized organizing agency**, which was **necessarily involved in the domination of one class over the others.** The prominent classes Marx talks about in relation to capitalist society are bourgeoisie and proletariat. According to Marx, **capitalism is an inherently expanding system and the social class at its helm (bourgeoisie) is carried**

into political power not because of any deliberate or conscious action but because that is the way the society develops.

- **It is argued that Marx believed the state to be a sort of conspiracy against the working class, or that the wealth of the bourgeoisie could be used to ensure that whoever is in power pursues its interests (Miller 1991).** For Marx, the concern of the state of individual liberty could be seen as an attempt to enforce the right of the individual property owner (bourgeoisie) against those without property (Proletariat) whose only power lay in their banding together to take collective action. The political struggle for trade union rights represents the collective action of proletariat.

MAX WEBER ON STATE

Marx Weber suggested in Politics as a Vocation that the STATE IS A HUMAN'S COMMUNITY OR A SPECIAL KIND OF INSTITUTION THAT CLAIMS THE MONOPOLY OF LEGITIMATE USE OF PHYSICAL FORCE WITHIN A GIVEN TERRITORY. By this he meant not ONLY THAT THE STATE HAD THE ABILITY TO ENSURE THE OBEDIENCE OF ITS CITIZENS BUT ALSO THE ACKNOWLEDGED RIGHT TO DO SO. A monopoly of legitimate violence is therefore the practical expression of the state sovereignty. He saw the state as the most powerful institution in modern society it has gained the legitimate monopoly of force over a given territory.

CHARACTERISTICS OF MODERN STATE:

- **First**, it has **A LEGAL AND ADMINISTRATIVE ORDER, which is subject to change by legislation only**. **It has an administration which works in accordance with legislation.** This means that civil servants and judiciary do not make up their own rules but implement those formed by the legislature.

- **Secondly** the state has **BINDING AUTHORITY ON ALL ITS MEMBERS AND OVER THE ACTS carried out in its territory**.

- Third the **MEMBERSHIP** is usually given by birth.

- **Finally** state can use FORCE if that is legally prescribed and permitted.

- **For Weber the 'POLITICAL SOCIETY' is one whose EXISTENCE AND ORDER is continuously SAFE-GUARDED within a given TERRITORIAL AREA by THE THREAT AND APPLICATION OF PHYSICAL FORCE on the part of THE ADMINISTRATIVE STAFF. And a 'political Society' becomes a 'STATE' where it is able to exercise successfully a legitimate monopoly over the organized use of force within a given territory.**

- **WEBER OPPOSED TO MARX'S ECONOMIC DETERMINISM. According to Weber** legal, religious and political institutions and their inter relationship has decisive significance to economic structures and economic development not vice-versa as seen by Marx. He took **CONCENTRATION OF THE MEANS OF ADMINISTRATION** as most important factor in the state. This in turn has close association with his typology of domination. Weber talks about **three types of domination: charismatic, traditional and legal-rational**. According to him these three types of domination coexist in any situation but it is likely that one or other will be domination. Weber says-rational domination is more predominant in modern state.

- **According to Weber THE MODERN STATE IS LEGITIMATE IF PEOPLE BELIEVE IN ITS LEGITIMACY. Any three kind of domination can exist in modern state.** We cannot choose between the three on any rational ground, each can be justified on its own ground. **Each system justifies on itself; traditional domination justified by tradition, charismatic domination by charisma and in rational legal domination laws are legitimate if they are enacted according to the law.** There is no overall or superior set of values by means of which we choose better or worse system. WEBER believed that in modern state any norm could be enacted as law with the expectation that it would be obeyed; government and government apparatus are bound by the abstract system that these laws comprise and justice is the application of this laws. In such a system of governance people hold authority, doing so by virtue of being temporary office bearers rather than possessing personal authority and people obey laws not the office bearers who enforced them. **The state with a rational legal authority could not interfere with individual rights without the consent of the people through the duly elected representatives.**

- **For Weber BUREAUCRACY IS THE ORGANIZATIONAL APPARATUS OF THE MODERN STATE and the modern capitalist state is completely dependent upon bureaucratic organization for its continued existence.** Weber describes the state as gaining its power in modernity by concentrating the means of administration in the hands of an absolute monarch. Bureaucratic set up developed, **for example in ancient Egypt, when the monarch needed a permanent army,** to ensure supplies of arms and military equipment. According to Weber these developments were the most important factors promoting the emergence of the modern state in which the expert officialdom, specialization based division of labour is wholly separated from ownership of its means of administration. **Officials in modern, rational bureaucracies have little or no control over what they do since the rules and procedures of bureaucracies take on a life of their own, restricting the activities and decisions of those who work in them to the functions of the offices they fill.** The bureaucracy become the 'steel-hard housing' in modern state.

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- **This growth of MODERN-RATIONAL STATE, which has its corpus of bureaucratic officials, IS NOT WHOLLY DERIVATIVE OF ECONOMIC RATIONALIZATION, but to some extent PRECEDED THE DEVELOPMENT OF CAPITALISM AS WELL AS CREATED CONDITION, WHICH PROMOTED ITS RISE.** The head of the system of the legal authority or bureaucracy is the head of the state. And it can hold a position through appropriation, election or designated by succession. But even then his or her power is legally limited.

- **ACCORDING TO WEBER, THOUGH RATIONALIZATION IS EVIDENT IN ECONOMIC LIFE, CULTURAL LIFE ETC. OF A SOCIETY IT IS FUNDAMENTALLY EVIDENT IN THE MODERN INSTITUTION OF ADMINISTRATION, MORE ESPECIALLY BUREAUCRACY.** He says neither capitalism with its connection with liberalism nor state socialism with its formal commitment to social justice, can avoid the use of bureaucratic means of administrative domination. **The impersonality and calculability characters of the bureaucracy are seen not only as constraining but also as extremely efficient in securing the popular compliance with the structures of domination.** They are for Weber a key instance of the typical modern form of legitimate domination that is replacing the appeal of tradition as society's predominant legitimating principle.

EMILE DURKHEIM ON STATE

Durkheim discusses THE NATURE AND FEATURES OF THE STATE in his work **Professional Ethics and Civic Morals**. According to him **the opposition of governing and the governed is central in political life**. **HIS VIEWS ON STATE ARE VERY MUCH ASSOCIATED TO HIS EXPLANATION OF DIVISION OF LABOUR AND TYPES OF SOLIDARITY. Durkheim traced the development of the state to the division of labour in the society, AS SOCIETIES BECAME MORE COMPLEX there occurred the distinction between GOVERNING AND GOVERNED, which in turn resulted in the FORMATION OF STATE.**

For Durkheim THE FUNCTION OF STATE was to MEDIATE BETWEEN DIFFERENT INTERESTS and in particular TO PROTECT THE INDIVIDUAL AGAINST THE POWER OF SMALLER GROUPS. That is how state protects individual and balance group interests.

- **Mechanical solidarity** is the trademark of less developed or primitive society where division of labour is very little. Whereas societies with highly developed division of labour are held together by organic solidarity. For **Durkheim there was no politics or state existed in primitive societies because there was no or little division of labour and hence no grouping into government and governed.**

- **At the same time he argues that the division of a social group into governing and governed to not only exist in states; there is a similar division in the patriarchal household as well.** Durkheim tries to make a distinction between state and such organization. **The size and control of a determinate territory will distinguish state from such organization.**

- For Durkheim t**he crucial feature of a state is that IT CONTROLS NOT NECESSARILY LARGE NUMBERS OF PEOPLE but a number of different SECONDARY SOCIAL GROUPINGS. THE STATE IS THE ORGANIZATION OF OFFICIALS CONCERNED WITH GOVERNING THESE SECONDARY GROUPS.** It is not an embodiment of society as whole, but specialized institutions.

- **Durkheim next takes up THE RELATIONSHIP OF THE STATE OF THE INDIVIDUAL. This according Durkheim, is not an issue in societies where MECHANICAL SOLIDARITY dominated where individuals were absorbed into the social whole;** But as ORGANIC SOLIDARITY develops, the power of the state develops so also the rights of the individuals. THE GROWTH OF THE STATE DOES NOT THREATEN BUT ENABLES THE RIGHTS OF INDIVIDUALS.

- **Durkheim makes a clear distinction between SOCIETY AND THE STATE. Every society is dynamic.** As **societies become more complex,** then there is **a need for individuals to move from one group to other group and need to prevent the secondary groups exercising despotic control over its members,** it is the function of the state to provide this need. Durkheim's argument was that the individual members of society felt their commitment to society, the function of the state was to create and protect the space where the individuals could exercise such responsibility.

- **For Durkheim society is 'sui generous'. His notion of society dominated everything else' society exists over and above the individual over whom it exercises an immense power.** This notion of society reflects in his idea about state also. For Durkheim **STATE** essentially is a **MEDIATOR BETWEEN INDIVIDUAL AND SECONDARY GROUPS**. The secondary groups are developed in society, as the division becomes more sophisticated as in modern society. The secondary groups mediate between society and the individual just as state mediates between the individual and secondary group.

THE NATION

In modern times the nation is **THE LARGEST EFFECTIVE COMMUNITY WHICH IS PERMEATED BY A CONSCIOUSNESS OF A COMMON KIND**. Some writers equate nation with statehood and opine that people of a state are a nation. Hans Kohn, Frederick Hertz, Karl Marx and Frederick

Engels have recognized that the nation is distinctly an historical phenomenon. **All these writers and thinkers agree that the nation is an historical and sociological phenomenon and the nation evolved out of the amalgam of various racial and kinship groups after the break up of slavery and feudal societies.**

- **NATION** is defined as A GROUP OF PEOPLE COHESIVELY ATTACHED WITH EACH OTHER by the fact of BELONGING TO ONE RACE, LANGUAGE, RELIGION, CULTURE, GEOGRAPHICAL LOCATION etc. and have SIMILAR POLITICAL AMBITIONS AND UNIFORM HISTORICAL DEVELOPMENT. The feeling attached with it is called NATIONALITY.

- **But this definition connotes a narrow meaning, which when applied in the state as a whole, divides it in different nations which eventually create many bad consequences. FOR EXAMPLE,** emergence of many conflicting and separatist activities and related demands, subsequently the state faces many serious problems, e.g., in India, demands of Khalistan, Kashmir, North-East states etc.

- Such Problems have been seen worldwide. **Therefore some symbols were used as a solution to bring uniformity so that a nationality could develop for the whole state, eg., national emblem, national anthem, national language, national game, animal and bird etc. to develop one culture in a state.**

FACTORS RESPONSIBLE FOR EMERGENCE OF NATION:

There are some objective factors whose presence has been helpful in evolving the nation. It is at the same time asserted that the presence of each or any of them is not absolutely indispensable. The more important of such factors are: THE COMMUNITY OF COMMON LANGUAGE, GEOGRAPHICAL AND COMMON ECONOMIC TIES AND COMMON HISTORY AND TRADITIONS**. But there is no unanimity even in respect of them. According to** PROFESSOR MACLVER **there are scarcely any two nations which find their positive support in the same objective factors.**

- **RACE AND KINSHIP:** While it is true that **'unity of race and kinship helps in cementing people together'**, to argue that 'such unity is an indispensable objective factor is unacceptable'. F.Schuman points out if pure races ever existed they have long since disappeared as a result of migrations, wars, conquests, travels over thousands of years. All modern nations have been formed out of peoples of diverse racial and tribal groups. **India's unity in Diversity and America's 'Melting Pot' theories are the best examples.**

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- **COMMUNITY OF RELIGION**: Unity of religion has been and can be a great cementing force and has played a significant role in the past in consolidating nations. The modern nation is a territorial community. It includes and embraces all persons of ethnic stock and religious faith residing on a permanent basis on the same territory and therefore also participants in the history and traditions of the land. In this age of democracy and secularism to advance religion as an objective factor indispensable for the formation of a nation is to encourage religious bigotry and persecution and thereby to undermine the very foundations of secular democracy.

- **COMMON HISTORY OR TRADITIONS**: The possession of a **common language, geographical contiguity and common economic ties** are bonds which make the people living together share same experiences and develop a certain amount of common outlook and also have common aspirations. This creates among them a common psychological make-up or character. The character of people is a reflection of the conditions of life they have lived and led together. The reference to national character does not negate the existence of individual variations.

- **COMMUNITY OF ECONOMIC TIES**: This point was emphasized by Karl Marx. Since then its significance has been realized. When it was conceded that the nation was a historical and a sociological phenomenon, attention began to be paid to the conditions under which nations arise. A nation as a territorial community could not exist in the ancient period or in the ages of slavery and feudalism. The nation arises out of the fusion of clans, tribes and ethnic groups. It is the growth of exchange between regions and the creation of a home market which leads to the creation of nationalities.

- **In MODERN SOCIETY, viewing nation and state separately would keep on creating anomalies, its realisation led the thinkers and planners to INTEGRATE THE TWO TO UNDERSTAND THE REAL MEANING OF THESE TWO CONCEPTS.** In this way, the concept that developed, would understand state in reference to nation and nation in reference to state as **NATION-STATE**. Therefore, no step would be taken to create regional and so cultural imbalance. Finally, integration would be the best effort to tackle any problem related with unadjustment. In this context, **India's unity in Diversity and America's 'Melting Pot' theories are the best examples.**

NATION- STATE

- A **NATION** is a nationality which has organized itself into a political body either independent or desiring to be independent. The state is a territorially organized people. **NATION** is a group of people who feel their uniqueness and oneness which they are keen to maintain. If this group of

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people happen to organize themselves on a particular territory and desire independence or are independent they form a nation state.

- **THE MEMBERS OF A STATE MAY BELONG TO DIFFERENT NATIONALITIES.**

  - Nationality is subjective, statehood is objective.

  - Nationality is psychological, statehood is political.

  - Nationality is a condition of mind whereas statehood is a condition of law.

  - Nationality is a spiritual possession whereas statehood is an enforceable obligation.

  - Sovereignty is emphasized as an essential element of state but not of nation.

- **NATION SIGNIFIES CONSCIOUSNESS OF UNITY PROMPTED BY PSYCHOLOGICAL AND SPIRITUAL FEELINGS WHICH MAY OR MAY NOT BE SOVEREIGN.** The physical element of sovereignty is not as important as the psychological element of the feeling of oneness.

The Growth of Nation State- Competition and Conflict Theory:

- ***Nation state was born of competition and conflict.*** *The Hundred Years War gave rise to two rival groups across the English Channel **each feeling a consciousness of kind** –the English and the French. The War of Roses gave rise to a **united English nation under the Tudor dictatorship. Rivalry in discovery and piracy on the high seas cemented national solidarity among the participants –the English, the French, the Portuguese, and the Spaniards. The American nation was born of conflict. Liberty, Equality and Fraternity of French Revolution overran most of Europe and thereby sowed the seeds of national consciousness among the defeated countries. The German nation was born of conflict of war with France. The Italian nation under Mazzini and Garibaldi came into being as a resurgent movement in protest against Austrian domination.***

The Growth of Democratic Nation State:

The idea of democratic nation state is of recent growth. ***POLITICALLY THE FIRST STEP WAS THE UNIFICATION OF ALL AUTHORITY IN THE HANDS OF POWERFUL CENTRALIZED INDEPENDENT MONARCHIES which took the place of ineffective and petty feudal authorities.*** *After innumerable conflicts the principle of state absolutism became supreme in Europe. All the great reformers of enjoined on their followers passive obedience to the state. They held that the rulers to whom obedience was due ruled by divine right. In England their teaching paved the way for Tudor and Stuart despotism.*

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- *Such despotism however did not remain unchallenged.* THE PEOPLE WITH **THE GROWTH OF ENLIGHTENMENT AND REALIZATION OF THEIR POWER AND IMPORTANCE SLOWLY STARTED OBTAINING CERTAIN RIGHTS FROM THE RULERS. THE MONARCH LOST HIS STATUS OF A SUPERIOR BEING WITH DIVINE RIGHTS.** *Royal absolutism was no longer necessary once the object of bringing order and unity was fulfilled.* **POLITICAL PARTIES** *grew stronger and developed into open organizations* representing liberal attitudes on various questions of interest to the constitutional group.

- *THE DEMOCRATIC MOVEMENT STARTED IN SOME COUNTRIES, somewhere it was violent whereas in some monarchs willingly yielded to the popular will and were content to remain as figureheads under a democratic government. The sovereignty of the people became recognized and the democratic nation state came to be established.*

NATIONALISM: Nationalism is a state of mind that seeks to make the nation an effective unity and the object of man's supreme loyalty. It has developed in the western world and is today growing in the other parts of the world. It has prepared the way for modern democratic nation states. It has extended the area of national liberty and individual freedom. Nationalism serves as a source of integration within the state but it is dangerous when it denies the common interest that binds nation to nation. Then it becomes ethnocentrism or chauvinism which is intolerant or imperialism which seeks territorial expansion and political domination. When nationalism cuts one people from another ,it impedes the development of harmonious intergroup of international relations and sows the seeds of international rivalry and wars. In its pure form, nationalism may be binding ideal but in its narrow form it becomes a cause of serious division between nations. Nationalism is a long historical process with strong sentiments attached to it. In the words of Hayes: nationalism when it becomes synonymous with the purest patriotism will prove a unique blessing to humanity and to the world.

NATIONALITY IS A PSYCHOLOGICAL DISPOSITION OR SENTIMENT. According to ZIMMERMANN nationality like religion is subjective psychological, a condition of mind, a spiritual possession, a way of feeling, thinking and living. Nationality is an instinct. It is a cultural concept. It springs from a heritage of memories whether of great achievement and glory of disaster and suffering. MACLVER defined nationality as a type of community sentiment created by historical circumstances and supported by common psychological factors to such an extent and so strong that those who feel it desire to have a common government peculiarly or exclusively their own.

CITIZENSHIP

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The state exists to promote the welfare of the individual. The individual members of a state have been called, in recent times, its citizens. **Etymologically considered, 'citizenship', implies the fact of residence in a city (i. e., a city-state). A 'citizen' means one who lives in a city. But, now-a-days, the world has come to have a much larger meaning.** We say 'a citizen of India' although India is not a city. So a citizen means member of a community, or a State. Just as a man owes a duty to his father and mother, so a citizen owes a duty to the State. For the State is more than father and mother. When one is young one goes on making demands on one's parents. But when one grows up one realizes that one owes service and sacrifice to one's parents and elders. It is the same with a citizen. When a citizen is young in citizenship, he makes a demands on the State and expects everything to be done for him.

Citizenship consists not merely in enjoying certain rights and guarantees, but also in discharging one's obligations conscientiously. There should be a desire to contribute one's mite to the welfare of society manifested in an active participation in public affairs for the improvement of cultural, political and material aspects of social life. Without such participation citizenship is meaningless. It aims at the common good as distinct from exclusively sectional good. It depends not only upon enlightenment but also on a high average of character—a character essentially social in its make-up, a spontaneous regard for the happiness and welfare of others as **LASKI** puts it, "the contribution of one's instructed judgment to public good."

Citizenship has been defined as the LEGAL STATUS OF MEMBERSHIP OF A STATE. THE LEGAL STATUS signified a SPECIAL ATTACHMENT BETWEEN THE INDIVIDUAL AND THE POLITICAL COMMUNITY. With the creation of the modern state, CITIZENSHIP came to signify certain equality with regard to the rights and duties of membership to the state. The modern state began to administer citizenship. State determines who gets citizenship, what the associated benefits are, and what rights and privileges it entails. As a legal status, citizenship has come to imply a unique, reciprocal, and unmediated relationship between the individual and the political community. Citizenship, in short, is nothing less than the right to have rights.

WHO IS A CITIZEN?

In brief a citizen is A PERSON WHO ENJOYS RIGHTS AND PERFORMS HIS DUTIES IN A STATE. Anyone who lives in India is not an Indian citizen. Because besides citizens, aliens also live here. Therefore, EVERY INHABITANT OF THE COUNTRY IS NOT A CITIZEN.

- **A citizen is one who is a MEMBER OF THE STATE AND WHO PARTICIPATES IN THE PROCESS OF GOVERNMENT. In a democratic society THERE MUST BE TWO WAY TRAFFIC BETWEEN THE CITIZENS AND THE GOVERNMENT.**
- All GOVERNMENTS DEMAND CERTAIN DUTIES FROM ITS CITIZENS AND ALL CITIZENS HAVE TO OBSERVE THOSE DUTIES. But in turn, THE STATE MUST ALSO ADMIT SOME DEMANDS OF ITS CITIZEN ON ITSELF.

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- **SUBJECT in Non DEMOCRATIC STATES: People who live in States which are not democratic often do not enjoy political right. In such a State the government expects the SUBJECTS to perform their duties to pay taxes, to obey laws do whatever else the government wants of them.** But they cannot question STATE RULES or ask them to explain their STATE ACTION. Politics in these societies is like one way traffic. The government tells the people what to do and what not to do but does not listen to them in return. Only the rulers have rights. The ruled have none and hence they are not citizens.

DEMOCRACY AND CITIZENSHIP

Historically, the term 'CITIZEN' WAS LINKED WITH THE RISE OF DEMOCRACY. The demand for democratic government came up first in a few western societies, like England, France and the United States of America. Democracy means that everybody should have political rights. When one has political rights, the right to vote and the right to participate in decision-making on important questions facing one's society, one is a CITIZEN.

- Of course, all these ideas did not grow up all of a sudden. It took a long time for them to mature. They grew up gradually. UNIVERSAL SUFFRAGE A SYSTEM in which literally everybody can vote – is a fairly recent development. THE IDEALS OF DEMOCRACY MADE PEOPLE FIGHT FOR THEIR RIGHTS AGAINST MONARCHICAL GOVERNMENT. Many of the ideas of which democracy is made up are accepted after great revolutions. For instance, after the revolution of 1789 France became a republic. All citizens, it was said, were equal: they had equal rights. **Not surprisingly, the word 'citizen' was made popular by the French Revolution in 1789. Later on, this word was used whenever democracies were set up.**

- **At present IT IS COMMON TO TREAT PEOPLE IN DEMOCRATIC SOCIETIES AS 'CITIZENS'.** It means that in relation to the government, THE INDIVIDUALS ARE ACTIVE PARTICIPANTS IN THE PROCESS OF GOVERNANCE. They not only obey and listen to what the government says the government must also listen to them in turn.

- **IN democratic state CITIZENS HAVE THE RIGHT TO EXPRESS THEIR OPINION FREELY, TO BE CONSULTED AND TO BE INVOLVED IN THE POLITICS OF THE COUNTRY.** In democratic politics, the common human being no longer is treated as an outsider.

- **A DEMOCRATIC STATE PARTICULARLY DEPENDS ON THE QUALITY OF ITS CITIZENS.** If citizens do not take interests in politics, a democratic state might also gradually become undemocratic.

- **Conversely DEMOCRACY CAN BE STRENGTHENED IF THE CITIZENS HAVE A CLEAR VIEW OF OTHER OWN RIGHTS AND THE RIGHTS OF OTHERS**; if they demand what they can claim from the government; and if they know what the government can claim from them.

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- **Many social evils cannot be fought only by the government passing laws against them**. There is a **NEED TO CREATE AN INTENSE SOCIAL OPINION AMONG CITIZENS AGAINST SUCH SOCIAL EVILS**. A society is after all made by humans and not by laws.

- **One essential condition for A DEMOCRATIC STATE IS THAT CITIZENS MUST PARTICIPATE IN THE GOVERNING PROCESS.** The quality of democracy improves if citizen from all walks of life participate in its activities and if they take interest in the basic processes of making importance decisions for their society. **Democracy implies that the decisions affecting the whole society should be taken as far as possible by the whole society** by citizens participation.

- **In a democracy, A GOOD CITIZEN IS ONE WHO IS CONSCIOUS OF BOTH RIGHTS AND DUTIES.** For **EXAMPLE**, the right to vote is one of our most important rights and it is our duty also to exercise the right to vote. If a person does not vote she or he cannot be considered a good citizen, though otherwise she or he may be a good person.

- **In a democracy, GOOD CITIZEN SHOULD NOT ONLY BE CONSCIOUS OF THEIR OWN RIGHTS ALONE, BUT ALSO GIVE THE GOVERNMENT WHAT IS ITS DUE THEY SHOULD OBEY LAWS THAT ARE MADE BY THE LEGISLATURE AND PAY TAXES.** These are their duties towards the government. But they must also perform their duties to other citizens. And the most important duty of every citizen is to respect the rights of others. **FOR EXAMPLE, Our Constitution gives everyone the right to practice one's religion.** Every citizen, should practice religion in her/his own way; but in doing so one must respect the right of other citizens to practice their religion in the way they like. **The qualities of good citizens must, therefore, include a consciousness of their own right tolerance for others and respect for laws.**

CITIZENSHIP: A HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE

In the 19thC. Britain and USA provided the voting right even to commoners and eventually CIVIL RIGHTS were completed. In the countries like Sweden citizen's rights were denied even till the advent of 20th C., which saw people fighting for their rights under socialist ideology and leadership, which subsequently created revolutionary socialism on the one hand, and achievement of citizen's rights on the other. Similarly till Russian Revolution people were not provided equal rights to vote and freedom. In Germany civil rights were achieved late in 19th C. under the dominance of Reformative Democracy and non-revolutionary socialism.

British sociologist T.H. MARSHAL has first time wrote in details about citizenship and given the prime importance to class-struggle in modern states in which he included the ideas of Marx and Weber. Marshal envisages that CAPITALISM HAS INCREASED CLASS-STRUGGLE IN MODERN SOCIETIES. T. H. Marshall wrote a seminal essay on citizenship, titled "Citizenship

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and Social Class". This was published in 1950. He analysed **THE DEVELOPMENT OF CITIZENSHIP AS A DEVELOPMENT OF CIVIL, then POLITICAL, then SOCIAL RIGHTS.** These were broadly assigned to the eighteenth, nineteenth and twentieth centuries respectively.

- His distinctive contribution was to introduce **THE CONCEPT OF SOCIAL RIGHTS** understood as the welfare rights. **Social Rights are awarded not on the basis of class or need, but rather on the status of citizenship. He claimed that the extension of social rights does not entail the destruction of social classes and inequality.** In Britain, **citizenship was obtained at three stages:**

- ✓ **Urban Citizenship (Civil) – 18th Century:** Equality before law, individual freedom, right of speech and religion, right to possess property and to obtain contracts.

- ✓ **Political citizenship-19th Century:** Right to vote and to be voted.

- ✓ **Social Citizenship-20th Century :** Complete participation of individuals in state.

- **CRITICS CRITICIZED MARSHAL'S MODAL as only the description of British experiences and that it is silent on the issue of economic citizenship**.

- Marxist critics point out that Marshall's analysis is superficial as it does not discuss the right of the citizen to control economic production, which they argue is necessary for sustained shared prosperity.

- From a feminist perspective, the work of Marshall is highly constricted in being focused on men and ignoring the social rights of women and impediments to their realisation.

- There is a debate among scholars about whether Marshall intended his historical analysis to be interpreted as a general theory of citizenship or whether the essay was just a commentary on developments within England.

- The essay has been used by editors to promote more equality in society, including the "Black" vote in the USA, and against Mrs. Thatcher in a 1992 edition prefaced by Tom Bottomore. It is an Anglo-Saxon interpretation of the evolution of rights in a "peaceful reform" mode, unlike the revolutionary interpretations of Charles Tilly, the other great theoretician of citizenship in the twentieth century, who bases his readings in the developments of the French Revolution.

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In MARSHALL's approach, CITIZENSHIP is defined as ...

... a national legal status that provides a set of rights and duties to individuals, sense of belonging and is intimately related with social services and protection offered by the state

STEP FORWARD FROM THIS LIBERAL NOTION

CURRENT APPROACH...

- linked with *cross border* attributions such as global, cosmopolitan or transnational

- takes into account social inequalities

- questions boundaries and exclusivity of access to citizenship rights

- promotes formal universal access to citizenship rights → urgent challenge

GLOBAL CITIZENSHIP

Basically citizenship provides an identity which further gives opportunity for some evils like regionalism, communalism etc to develop. Global citizenship can play an important role in abolishing these evils. In fact, globalization is creating a cultural uniformity worldwide and this would further nationality to diminish the identity related with soil and blood.

DUAL CITIZENSHIP:

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Great efforts are made to maintain one's cultural identity in dual citizenship which is an indication of narrow-mindedness. In most of the cases it is provided for material gains and facilities. There is hardly the feeling of love and attachment to the soil in it. But it can be used to strengthen relation between any two countries.

CITIZENSHIP: RIGHTS AND DUTIES

Harold J. Laski opines that every state is recognized by its rights. The state is not only a sovereign institution liable for citizen's discipline having the power of obeying the orders but some additional powers and morality are also instilled in the state.

The way citizens have certain responsibilities towards the state, state also has certain responsibilities towards citizens like availing them those opportunities necessary for their physical, mental and moral development. In this way it is a two-way process which develops and maintains a healthy and balanced society.

DEMOCRACY

The Term 'Democracy' has been in use in the tradition of Western political thought since ancient times. It is derived form the Greek root 'demos which means 'the people'; 'cracy' stands for 'rule' or 'government'. Thus, **literally, democracy signifies 'the rule of the people'.** Abraham Lincoln's definition of democracy is very close to its literal meaning. It reads; '**Democracy is the government of the people, by the people, and for the people**.' In short, **democracy as a form of government implies that the ultimate authority of government is vested in the common people so that public policy is made to conform to the will of the people and to serve the interests of the people.**

Democracy in its basic meaning is therefore a political system in which the people, not monarch or aristocracies, rule. This sounds straightforward enough, but it is not. Democratic rule has taken contrasting forms at varying periods and in different societies, depending on how the concept is interpreted……. For example, 'the people' has been variously understood to mean all men, owners of property, white men, educated men, and adult men and women. In some societies the officially accepted version of democracy is limited to the political sphere, whereas in others it is extended to broader areas of social life.

The form that democracy takes in a given context is largely an outcome of how its values and goals are understood and prioritized. Democracy is generally seen as the political system which is most able to ensure political equality, protect liberty and freedom, defend the common interest, meet citizens' needs, promote moral self-development and

enable effective decision-making which takes everyone's interests into account (Held). The weight that is granted to these various goals may influence whether democracy is regarded first and foremost as a form of popular power (self-government and self regulation) or whether it is seen as a framework for supporting decision-making by others (such as a group of elected representatives.)

Participatory democracy:

In participatory democracy (or direct democracy), decision are made communally by those affected by them. This was the original type of democracy practiced in ancient Greece. Those who were citizens, a small minority of the society, regularly assembled to consider policies and make major decision, Participatory democracy is of limited importance in modern societies, where the mass of the population have political rights, and it would be impossible for everyone actively to participate in the making of all the decisions that affect them.

Yet some aspects of participatory democracy do play a part in modern societies. Small communities in New England, in the north-eastern part of the United States, continue the traditional practice of annual 'town meetings'.

Another example of participatory democracy is the holding of referenda, when the people express their views on a particular issue. Direct consultation of large numbers of people is made possible by simplifying the issue down to one or two questions to be answered. Referenda are regularly used at the national level in some European countries to inform important policy decisions. There were referenda in several European countries in 2005 over whether they should sign up to the proposed European Constitution.

Representative democracy:

Practicalities render participatory democracy unwieldy on a large scale, except in specific instances such as a special referendum More common today is representative democracy, political system in which decisions affecting a community are taken, not by its members as a whole, but by people they have elected for this purpose. In the area of national government, representative democracy takes the form of election to congresses, parliaments of similar national bodies. Representative democracy also exists at other levels where collective decisions are taken, such as in provinces or states within an overall national community, cities, counties, boroughs and other regions. Many large organizations chose to run their affairs using representative democracy by elective a small executive committee to take key decisions.

Countries in which voters can choose between two or more parties and in which the mass of the adult population has the right to vote are usually called liberal democracies. Britain and the

other Western European countries, the USA, Japan, Australia and New Zealand and fall into this category. Many countries, in the developing world, such as India, also have liberal democratic systems, and, as we shall see, this number is growing.

CLASSICAL NOTION OF DEMOCRACY:

Democracy has a long tradition. But the notions regarding its essence and grounds of its justification have been revised from time to time. **Plato and Aristotle** saw democracy at work in some of ancient Greek city-state, especially at Athens. Its salient features were:

- equal participation by all freemen in the common affairs of the polis (city-state) which was regarded as an essential instrument of good life;

- arriving at public decisions in an atmosphere of free discussion; and

- General respect for law and for the established procedures of the community.

The Greeks took pride in their customary law and admiringly distinguished it from the 'arbitrary rule' prevalent among the 'barbarians'.

However, the form of democracy prevalent in ancient Greek city-states was by no means regarded as an ideal rule. Plato decried democracy because the people were not properly equipped with education 'to select the best rulers and the wisest courses'. Democracy enabled the men with the gift of eloquence and oratory to get votes of the people and secure public office, but such men were thoroughly selfish and incompetent who ruined the state. Then, Aristotle identified democracy as 'the rule of the many', that is, of the more numerous members of the community, particularly, the poor ones. In his classification of governments into normal and perverted forms, Aristotle placed democracy among perverted forms since it signified the rule of the mediocre seeking their selfish interests, not the interests of the state. Aristotle observed that no form of government prevalent during his times was stable and this led to frequent upheavals. In his search for a stable form of government.

CONCEPT OF LIBERAL DEMOCRACY:

Liberal democracy today is distinguished from other forms of political system by certain principles and characteristics, that is, its procedure and institutional arrangements. Institutions are necessary for the realization of principles; without principles, the institutions might be reduced to a mere formality. The two must go together. Liberal democracy works on certain principles and certain mechanisms. Broadly speaking, principles of liberal democracy include;

- **Government by consent;**

- **Public accountability;**

- **Majority rule;**

- **Recognition of minority rights; and**

- **Constitutional Government.**

- **Government by Consent:** Democracy is government by consent of the people. Rational consent can be obtained by persuasion for which an atmosphere of free discussion is essential. Any regime where the consent of the people is sought to be obtained without freedom expression of divergent opinions, does not qualify for being called a 'democracy' even if it maintains certain democratic institutions. In view of the highly technical nature, the large volume and urgency of governmental decision, it is impractical to consult the people on every detail of every policy. However, discussion of the broad issues is indispensable. Discussion is usually held at two levels

- among the representatives of the people in the legislative assemblies where members of the opposition have their full say; and

- at the public level where there is direct communication between the leadership and the people. Democratic lines of policy as the ruling parties are bound to seek a fresh mandate of the people at regular intervals.

- **Public Accountability:** Liberal democracy, based on the consent of the people, must constantly, remains answerable to the people who created it.

- **John Locke** who thought of governments as a 'trustee' of the power vested in it by the people for the protection of their natural right of life, liberty and property, nevertheless, felt that it could not be fully trusted. He wanted the people to remain constantly vigilant. He thought of the people as a householder who appoints a watchman for protecting his house, and then, he himself keeps awake to keep a watch on the watchman'.

- **Jeremy Bentham** envisaged liberal democracy as a political apparatus that would erasure the accountability of the governors to the governed. For Bentham both governors and the governed, as human beings, want to maximize their happiness. Then governors, who are endowed with power, may tend to abuse it in their self-interest. Hence, in order to prevent the abuse of their power. Governors should be directly accountable to an electorate who will frequently check whether their objectives have been reasonably net.

- **John Stuart Mill** significantly observed that 'the only purpose for which power can be rightfully exercised over any member of a civilized community against his will, is to prevent harm to

others'. Mill identified the appropriate region of human liberty as including liberty of thought, feeling, discussion and publication, liberty of tastes and pursuits, and liberty of association or combination, provided it causes no harm to others. He asserted that liberty and democracy, taken together, create the possibility of 'human excellence'.

- **Jean-Jaques Rousseau** the exponent of popular sovereignty postulated public accountability of government in a different way. In his concept of the 'social contract', sovereignty not only originates in the people, it continues to stay with the people in the civil society. People give their consent to vest their sovereignty in the 'general will' which represents their own higher self. As a votary of 'direct democracy' Rousseau is convinced that sovereignty cannot be represented. In his words, "the people's deputies are not, and could not be, its representatives; they are merely its agents; and they cannot decide anything finally." Rousseau commended an active, involved citizenry in the process of government and law-making.

- **Majority Rule:** In Modern representative democracies, decisions are taken in several, bodies – legislatures, committees, cabinets and executive or regulative bodies. Majority rule means that in all these decision-making bodies, from the electorate to the last committee, the issues are to be resolved by voting. Political equality is secured by the principle of 'one man, one vote', which implies that there will be no privileged section whose voice is ignored. No discrimination is allowed on grounds of religion, race, caste, sex, place of birth, ownership of property, and even educational qualifications. Any restriction of suffrage should be based on sound reason, that is, where the ballot cannot be used in a rational and responsible manner, such as, in the case of convicted criminals, mental patients, and person below a legally fixed age. The principle of majority rule relies on the wisdom of the majority. Minority opinion has the option to enlist the support of larger numbers by persuasion in an atmosphere off free discussion.

- **Recognition of Minority Rights:** The principles of majority rule by no means implies the suppression of minorities. In modern nation-states, there may be several racial, religious, linguistic or cultural minorities who fear discrimination or the tyranny of the majority. Minority grievances may take many forms ranging from psychological insults over discrimination in housing, education and employment to physical persecution and genocide. Legal safeguards are, therefore, considered essential for the realization of the democratic principles because their presence helps to raise the level of awareness of both majority and minority and thus promote a favourable climate for democratic politics.

- **Constitutional Government:** Constitutional government means a 'government by laws' rather than by men. Democracy requires an infinitely complex machinery of process; procedures and institutions of translate the majority will into action. It makes enormous demands on the time, goodwill and integrity of its citizens and public servants. Once the prescribed procedure is set aside, even for a legitimate purpose, it can set a precedent that may be followed for pursuing

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illegitimate purposes, and the flood-gates of corruption might be thrown wide open. It is therefore, essential to have a well-established tradition of law and constitution for the stability of a democratic government.

THE MAIN CHARACTERISTICS OF LIBERAL DEMOCRACY:

- **More than One Political Party Freely Competing for Political Power:** Liberal democracy seeks reconciliation between varying interests and ideologies of different groups. There is no fixed method of securing the reconciliation. When there is a free competition between more than one political party for power, the people get an opportunity to consider various alternative policies. Programmes and personalities to exercise their choice. According to this test single-party system do not qualify as democracies. The former Soviet Union and the present People's Republic of China cannot be treated as democracies as they conceded monopoly of power of their respective Communist Parties, in spite of a facade of periodic election.

- **Political Offices Not Confined to any Privileged Class:** In a liberal democracy a political office or public office can be acquired only through the support of the people, not by birth, tradition of anybody's favour. This feature of democracy distinguishes it from feudalism, monarchy and despotism, etc. In a democracy all citizens enjoy equal rights and status. Any citizen can have access to political office by following the prescribed procedure and fulfilling certain conditions. Political office can be held only for a limited period which must be relinquished on completion of one's term or other exigency, such a s dissolution of the legislature, one's own resignation, etc. Some qualifications, such as, age, education, etc. may be prescribed for the candidates of a political office, but nobody can be declared unfit for any office on grounds of caste, creed, sex, language, region, etc. However, in order to secure due representation for all strata of the population, some seats in the decision-making bodies can be reserved for minorities or weaker section, It is believed that such provision would strengthen democracy rather than weaken it.

- **Periodic Election Based on Universal Adult Franchise:** Since representative government is the only practicable method of establishing democracy in the present-day world, periodic elections become necessary for this purposes. Each citizen should have the right to vote on attaining the prescribed age (say, 18 years); nobody should be disqualified on grounds of caste, creed, sex, language, region, etc. It is true that the principle of universal adult franchise was introduced in modern democracies only gradually, but today it is regarded a necessary condition of democracy. Periodic elections require that the people's representatives should be chosen for a limited period (say four or five years) so that the party that comes to power is able to implement its policy and programme, but it is obliged to renew the confidence of the people to continue in power. At the same time, the opposition should have an opportunity to

bring any shortcomings of the ruling party to the notice of the people, to offer alternative policy and programme with a view to winning the next election.

- **Protection of Civil Liberties:** The protection of civil liberties, such as freedom of thought and expression, freedom of religion, freedom of assembly and association, and personal freedom, i.e. freedom from arbitrary arrest, is an essential characteristic of liberal democracy. On the one hand, these freedoms enable the citizens to form interests groups and other organizations to influence government decisions; on the other hand, they ensure independence of the mass media, particularly the press, from government control. Without civil liberties, will of the people cannot be translated into public policy and decision. Civil liberties, therefore, constitute the core of democracy.

- **Independence of the Judiciary:** Freedom of the people cannot be secured in the face of concentration of governmental powers in any organ. Liberal democracy, therefore, insists on the separation of powers between different organs of government. While the legislature and executive in a democracy are dominated by politicians, Judges are appointed on merit and they cannot be removed from office in consequence of sudden changes in the political climate of the country. Independence of judiciary enables the judges to pronounce their verdict without fear or favour.

CONDITIONS FOR SUCCESSFUL WORKING OF DEMOCRACY

Democracy as a form of government cannot function properly unless it is supported by suitable socio-economic and cultural factors. In the contemporary world, democracy has been adopted as a form of government in a large number of countries. It is not equally successful everywhere. The successful working of democracy depends upon many conditions. Some of the important conditions may be described as follows:

- **National Sentiment:** Some thinkers have pointed out that national homogeneity is essential condition for the success of democracy. For instance, John Stuart Mill (1806-73) in his Representative Government (1861) suggested that a mono-national state is essential for the success of democracy. A large number of states have emerged on the globe since J.S. Mill wrote his Representative Government. Most of these states include people belonging to different races, religions, languages and cultures. Democracy is working successfully in many such states. What is therefore needed for the success of democracy is not the uniformity of the people as a nationality but the sense of belonging to a single nation, inspired by the feeling of having a common history, common life in the present and a common future as also a common centre of loyalty.

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- **Spirit of Toleration:** True national sentiment cannot be created without the spirit of toleration. In fact, the spirit of toleration is the keynote of democracy. In a democracy we do not demand conformity nor assimilation, but different groups are expected to coexist in spite of their differences. We are free to win others by persuasion and discussion, not by force or blackmail. The minority is expected to respect the majority; the majority is expected to accommodate minority with full dignity.

- **High Moral Character:** High moral character of the people as well as leaders is another condition for the success of democracy. If people are led by their narrow self interests, or leaders are led by mere opportunism, democracy is bound to give way to demagogy, that is, the practice of leaders playing with the emotions of the people instead of appealing to reason. On the country, a sense of morality and discipline will make the people active in solving social problems more effectively.

- **Widespread Education:** An educated electorate is an asset to democracy. Generally the people could be literate if not highly educated so that they are able to learn more and exercise their judgment in the matters of common concern. Free access to the media of mass communication is provided within the democratic structure itself. Only a literate, preferably an educated, electorate can make best use of this facility. For the fulfillment of this condition, the state itself should provide for universal education.

- **Economic Security and Equality:** Lack of economic security in the masses is bound to undermine the people's faith in democracy. Similarly, vast economic disparities are bound to destroy the sense of equal dignity of individuals. In fact, democracy without a reasonable level of economic security and equality is a force.

In addition to this, other scholars have also come out with their view point on the subject. Borrowing from Robert Dahl's classic work on democracy, **Alfred Stepan**, states that among the basic requirements for democracy **"is the opportunity to formulate preferences, to signify preferences, and to have these preferences weighted adequately in the conduct of government."** According to Robert Dhal for the proper functioning of the government, it should ensure the following institutional guarantees which includes;

- **Freedom of association and expression :**

- **The right to vote :**

- **run for public office;**

- **free and fair elections;**

- **the right of political leaders to complete for support and votes;**

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- **alternative sources of information;**

- **policy making institutions dependent on votes;**

- **Other expression of preference.**

However, while accepting the importance of these institutional guarantees, **Stepan** considers them as a necessary but not a sufficient condition for the functioning of democracy. Not sufficient, because no matter how free and fair the elections, and no matter how large the majority of the government, the political society lacks quality unless it is able to produce a constitution that provides for fundamental liberties, minority rights, and a set of institutions and checks and balances that limit state power and ensure accountability, necessary for any given democratic system.

CIVIL SOCIETY

Think about the country that you live in - what does it take to make that country operate smoothly? The government takes care of law and order and businesses offer goods and services in exchange for money, which both help to keep a society moving. But what about other groups, like temples, churches or the NGOs, how do they contribute to your society? These other groups actually play a very big part in how your country operates, and they fall into a category known as civil society.

- **A civil society is comprised of groups or organizations working in the interest of the citizens but operating outside of the governmental and for-profit sectors. Organizations and institutions that make up civil society include labor unions, non-profit organizations, churches, and other service agencies that provide an important service to society but generally ask for very little in return.**

- Civil society is sometimes referred to as the civil sector, a term that is used to differentiate it from other sectors that comprise a functioning society. For example, the United States is made up of three sectors: the public sector, which is the government and its branches; the private sector, which includes businesses and corporations; and the civil sector, which includes the organizations that act in the public's interest but are not motivated by profit or government.

- According to definition of civil society developed by a number of leading research centers: "the term civil society to refer to the wide array of **non-governmental and not-for-profit organizations that have a presence in public life, expressing the interests and values of their members or others, based on ethical, cultural, political, scientific, religious or philanthropic considerations. Civil Society Organizations (CSOs) therefore refer to a wide of array of organizations: community groups, non-governmental organizations (NGOs), labor unions, indigenous groups, charitable organizations, faith-based organizations, professional associations, and foundations".**

HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE:

- The term 'civil society' can be traced through the works of Cicero and other Romans to the ancient Greek philosophers. **IN ITS CLASSICAL USAGE civil society was largely equated with the state**. **THE MODERN IDEA of civil society found expression in the Scottish and Continental Enlightenment of the late 18th century**.

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- A range of political philosopher, from **THOMAS PAINE TO GEORGE HEGEL, developed the NOTION OF CIVIL SOCIETY AS A DOMAIN PARALLEL TO BUT SEPARATE FROM THE STATE WHERE CITIZENS ASSOCIATE ACCORDING TO THEIR OWN INTERESTS AND WISHES.**

- **HEGEL'S** nineteenth-century notion of civil society **included the market in contrast to contemporary concepts of civil society as a non- profit sector. This new definition reflected changing economic realities: the rise of private property, market competition and the bourgeoisie.** It also resulted in the mounting popular demand for liberty, as manifested in the American English and French Revolutions.

- The terms, however, lost its concurrence in the mid-19th century as political philosopher and sociologists turned their attention to **the social and political consequences of the industrial revolution. I**t **bounced back into fashion after World War II through the writings of the Marxist theorist ANTONIO GRAMSCI who REVIVED THE TERM TO PORTRAY CIVIL SOCIETY AS A SPECIAL NUCLEUS OF INDEPENDENT POLITICAL ACTIVITY, A CRUCIAL SPHERE OF STRUGGLE AGAINST TYRANNY.** Although Gramsci was concerned about dictatorships of the right, his books were influential in the 1970s and 1980s amongst persons fighting against dictatorships of all political stripes in Eastern Europe and Latin America. Czech, Hungarian, and Polish activists also wrapped themselves in the banner of civil society, endowing it with a heroic quality when the Berlin wall fell.

- **IN CONTEMPORARY SOCIETY, The rise in popularity of civil society was LARGELY DUE TO THE STRUGGLES AGAINST TYRANNY WAGED BY RESISTANCE GROUPS IN LATIN AMERICA, AFRICA AND THE FORMER COMMUNIST WORLD. The period of 1980s and 1990s witnessed the advent of a global democratic revolution of unprecedented proportions, unions, women's organisations, student groups and other forms of popular activism provided the resurgent and often rebellious civil societies in triggering the demise of many forms of dictatorship.** There developments encouraged the rise of the complex notion that if an invigorated civil society could force a democratic transition, it could consolidate democracy as well.

- Recently **DAVID HELD** tried to give shape to the concept of civil society through a sociological definition. In his words, **"Civil society retains a distinctive character to the extent that IT IS MADE UP OF AREAS OF SOCIAL LIFE- THE DOMESTIC WORLD, THE ECONOMIC SPHERE, CULTURAL ACTIVITIES AND POLITICAL INTERACTION – which are organisation by private or voluntary arrangements between individuals and groups outside the direct control of the state".** IN THE 1990S, CIVIL SOCIETY BECAME A MANTRA FOR EVERYONE FROM POLITICIANS TO POLITICAL SCIENTISTS. **The global trend toward democracy opened up space for civil society in formerly dictatorial**

countries around the world. **In the United States and Western Europe, PUBLIC FATIGUE WITH TIRED PARTY SYSTEMS SPARKED INTEREST IN CIVIL SOCIETY AS A MEANS OF SOCIAL RENEWAL.**

- **Especially IN THE DEVELOPING WORLD In Contemporary Society, PRIVATIZATION AND OTHER MARKET REFORMS OFFERED CIVIL SOCIETY THE CHANCE TO STEP IN AS GOVERNMENTS RETRACTED THEIR REACH. And the information revolution provided new tools for forging connections and empowering citizens. Civil society became a key element of the post- cold-war society**.

THE SCOPE OF CIVIL SOCIETY

- The much of the current enthusiasm about civil society is its fascination with non- governmental organisations, especially ADVOCACY GROUPS DEVOTED TO PUBLIC INTEREST AND CAUSES AND ITS CONCERN FOR ENVIRONMENT HUMAN RIGHTS, WOMEN'S ISSUES, RIGHTS OF THE DISABLED, ELECTION MONITORING, ANTICORRUPTION, ETC.

- Whereas civil society is a much broader concept, ENCOMPASSING POLITICAL PARTIES AND THE MARKET ORIENTED ORGANISATION IT INCLUDES THE PLETHORA OF ORGANISATIONS THAT APART FROM NGOS LABOUR UNIONS PROFESSIONAL ASSOCIATIONS SUCH AS THOSE OF DOCTORS AND LAWYERS, CHAMBERS OF COMMERCE ETHNIC ASSOCIATIONS AND OTHERS. The list is all comprehensive.

- It also incorporates many OTHER ASSOCIATIONS THAT EXIST FOR PURPOSES OTHER THAN ADVANCING SPECIFIC SOCIAL OR POLITICAL AGENDAS, SUCH AS RELIGIOUS ORGANIZATIONS, STUDENT GROUPS, CULTURAL ORGANIZATIONS SPORTS CLUBS AND INFORMAL COMMUNITY GROUPs.

- NON-GOVERNMENTAL ORGANISATIONS do play important role in developed and developing countries. They help in formulating policy by exerting pressure on governments and by furnishing technical expertise to policy makers. They induce citizen participation and civic education. **They provide leadership training to young people who want to engage in civic life but are apathetic towards political parties. In theocratic and dictatorial Religious organisation, cultural organisations and other groups often have a mass base in the populations and secure domestic sources of funding.** Here, advocacy groups usually lack domestic funding.

- The burgeoning NGO sectors in such countries are often dominated by elite run groups that have only weak ties with the citizens and for their functioning they largely depend on international funders for budgets they cannot nourish from domestic source.

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- Apart from these positive contours of civil society formation, **IT IS WORTH POINTING OUT THAT THE MAFIA AND MILITIA GROUPS ARE ALSO AS MUCH AS PART OF THE CIVIL SOCIETY AS THE OTHER HUMANE ORGANISATIONS ARE.** Some civil society enthusiasts have propagated the one sided notion that civil society consists only of noble causes and welfare action oriented programmes. **Yet civil society everywhere is a mixture of the good, the bad, and the outright bizarre.** If one limits civil society to those actors who pursue higher humane aims, the concept becomes a theological notion, not a political or sociological one which could inure the notion of society itself.

FUNCTIONS OF CIVIL SOCIETY IN A DEMOCRATIC ORDER

LARRY DIAMOND in his article, 'Rethinking Civil society, says, "**Civil society plays a significant role in building and consolidating democracy**. In Diamond's view, civil society performs following important functions:

- **TO LIMIT STATE POWER –** By checking its political abuses and violations of the law and subjecting them to public scrutiny. Diamond maintains, "A vibrant civil society is probably more essential for consolidating and maintaining democracy than initiating it."
- **TO EMPOWER CITIZENS** by "increasing the political efficacy and skill of the democratic citizen and promoting an appreciation of the obligations as well as rights of democratic citizenship".
- **TO INCULCATE AND PROMOTE AN ARENA FOR THE DEVELOPMENT OF DEMOCRATIC ATTRIBUTES** AMONGST THE CITIZENS SUCH AS TOLERANCE, MODERATION, WILLINGNESS TO COMPROMISE AND RESPECT FOR OPPOSING VIEWPOINTS. According to Diamond, this is an important function as it allows "traditionally excluded groups – such as women and racial or ethnic minorities –access to power that has been denied them in the upper echelons of formal politics.
- **TO PROVIDE AVENUES FOR POLITICAL PARTIES AND OTHER ORGANISATIONS** ALLOWING THEM OF ARTICULATE, AGGREGATE, AND REPRESENT THEIR INTEREST. This enhances the quality of democracy as "it generates opportunities for participation and influence at all levels of governance, not the least the local government.
- **TO FUNCTION AS A RECRUITING, INFORMATIONAL AND LEADERSHIP GENERATING AGENCY** ESPECIALLY IN ECONOMICALLY DEVELOPED SOCIETIES – where, Economic reform is sometimes necessary, but often difficult to bring about if it threatens vested economic interests. The massive economic collapse in Indonesia unleashed mass discontent and made President Suharto suddenly vulnerable. This transformed the environment to allow civil society groups and opposition parties to mobilize citizens in an unprecedented fashion.

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- **A WELL FOUNDED CIVIL SOCIETY COULD ACT AS A SHOCK OBSERVING INSTITUTION**, where wide ranges of interest that may cross- cut and mitigate the principal polarities of political conflict.

- **TO GENERATE PUBLIC AND POLITICAL SUPPORT FOR SUCCESSFUL ECONOMIC AND POLITICAL REFORMS** which require the support of coalitions in society and the legislature.

- **A WELL ROOTED CIVIL SOCIETY ALSO HELPS IN IDENTIFYING AND TRAIN NEW POLITICAL LEADERS** as such; it can "play a crucial role in revitalizing the narrow and stagnant party dominated leadership recruitment patterns.

- **ELECTION MONITORING –** Many non- partisan organisations engage in election monitoring at home and abroad. Such efforts, sys Diamond, "have been critical in detecting fraud, enhancing voter confidence, affirming the legitimacy of the result, or demonstrating an opposition victory despite, government fraud. The Philippines in the mid 1980s and Panama in 1989s are cited as examples.

- **STRENGTHENING CITIZEN ATTITUDES TOWARD THE STATE-** civil society enhances "the accountability, responsiveness, inclusiveness, effectiveness, and hence legitimacy of the political system". In so doing it gives citizens respect, for the state and positive involvement in it. Here civil society is crucial to the development and maintenance of stable, quality sensitive democracy.

In an article, 'Civil society and Democracy in Global Governance', DR. JAN AART SCHOLTE makes a comprehensive analysis of the concepts. She Scholte identifies six areas where civil society could advance democracy:

- **PUBLIC EDUCATION** – Awareness is key to any democratic system. The civil society might enhance democracy through educating the public. An informed citizenry could sustain effective democracy; civic associations can contribute a lot by raising public awareness and understanding of world wide existing laws and regulatory institutions. To accomplish this goal civil, society groups can prepare handbooks and information kits, produce audio visual presentations, organize workshops, circulate newsletters, supply information to and attract the attention of the mass media, maintain websites of the internet and develop curricular materials for schools and institutions of higher education.

- **VOICE TO STAKEHOLDERS –** Civil society could promote democratic governance by giving voice to stakeholders. Civic associations can opportune the concerned parties to relay information, testimonial, and analysis to governance agencies about their needs and demands. Civil society organisation can give voice to neglected social circles like the poor, women and persons with disability who tend to get a limited hearing through other channels including their

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elected representatives in executive and legislative bodies. In this way civic activism could empower stakeholders and mould politics toward greater participatory democracy.

- **POLICY INPUTS –** Government Policy formulation is considerably influenced from the inputs given by the civil society not only at home but also in sparking debate about the so- called 'Washington Consensus. They have qualitative assessments of poverty, and pressurized for the schemes of debt reduction in the South.

- **TRANSPARENCY OF GOVERNANCE –** Vigilant civic mobilization can cause public transparency in governance. Constant pressure from civil society can help in bringing regulatory frameworks and operation into the open, where they could be accessed for public scrutiny. Generally citizens do not have the awareness about what decisions are taken by the government, by whom, from what options, on what grounds, with what expected results, and with what resources to support implementation. Civic groups through their well lit networks can question the currently popular official rhetoric of 'transparency' by asking critical questions about what is made transparent, at what time, in what forms, through what channels, on whose decision, for what purpose, and in whose interest.

- **PUBLIC ACCOUNTABILITY –** Civil society can hold various concerned agencies accountable to public. Civic groups can keep an eye on he implementation and effects of policies regarding people and press for corrective measures when the consequences are adverse. For example independent civic agencies have impartial policy evaluation mechanisms for the World Bank and the IMF. Whereby, they have more often criticized their policies towards the less Developed countries. The Western countries, which claim to be democratic in the behaviour, often while as a part of global player some times become far more dictatorial than those whom they criticize and put sanctions against them. Here, the civic agencies through an accountability function can push authorities in global governance to take greater responsibility for their actions and policies.

- **LEGITIMACY –** The sum total of the preceding actions by the civil society could lead to a legitimate democratic rule. Legitimate rule prevails when people concede that an authority has a right to govern and that they have a duty to obey its directives. As a result of such consent, legitimate governance tends to be more easily, productively and nonviolently executed than illegitimate and dictatorial authority.

Relationship between Civil Society and Democracy

The civil society should have a larger AGENDA OF DEMOCRACY AS A POLICY OF GLOBAL GOVERNANCE. The civil society not only could promote democracy at home, their impact could be clearly seen in the democratization of global order. **Apart from this, the international concerns**

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for human rights, women rights, rights of the disabled and concerns for environment have great impact on the domestic policy formulation and its implementation too. For example, various development related NGOs and think – tanks, who lobby for global debt relief and socially sustainable structural adjustment, have gone on to scrutinize public finances in national and local governments. In addition to this, women's movements have often used international laws and institutions in their favour to democratize the state on gender lines. The rights of the persons with disability also get impetus from international concerns for human rights. In all these matters civil society Civil society can offer a means for citizens to affirm that global governance arrangements.

- **It is emphasized here that in certain conditions civil society can contribute to the democratization of authoritarian regimes and can help to sustain a democratic system of governance once it is established.** For example in the Eastern European countries, South Africa, Serbia, Philippines, in Georgia, recently in Egypt, Yemen, Lebanon, citizens have used civil society organisations to wage struggle for political independence by learning about democracy and by mobilizing millions of their fellow citizens against repressive regimes.
- **Democratic setup, civil society organisations provide basis for citizens to pursue common interests in political, social, or spiritual, domain, citizens learn about fundamental democratic values of participation and collective action and they further disseminate these values within their community civil society movements that represent citizen interests can considerably influence both government policy and social attitudes.** Independent activities of the civil society can pause a counter weight to state power.

THE DEMOCRATIC DANGERS OF CIVIL SOCIETY:

Civil society's contribution to democracy in domestic as well as global governance is well placed in context. But here it must be noted that civil society might in certain ways actually detract from democratic governance of international relations. Seven general negative possibilities can be identified.

- **CIVIL SOCIETY ACTIVITIES MAY NOT ESSENTIALLY PURSUE DEMOCRATIC PURPOSE-** Though the term civil society at the outset seems to convey elements of civility and virtue, but in practice, elements of such organisations may themselves in subverting democracy for example, some civic organisations can work to promote their private petty interests and privileges. The destructive groups engaged in promoting racism, ultra- nationalism and religious fundamentalism work contrary to the democratic rights of others. Thos parts of the Islamic sector that are politically relevant, such as the Muslim Brotherhood, have not pushed for democracy in a comprehensive fashion.

- **CIVIL SOCIETY MIGHT DRAW AWAY FROM DEMOCRACY IF ITS EFFORTS ARE POORLY PLANNED AND DESIGNED OR EXECUTED –** if the said activist function without understanding the institutional arrangement of governance, they could cause real harm to the very objectives of their organisation. Even academicians may fail to link their theoretical models of universal application of democracy to empirical evidence and political exigencies of that particular area.

- **ILL- EQUIPPED GOVERNMENT AGENCIES CAN NOT HANDLE CIVIL SOEITY INPUTS-** Regulatory bodies may lack relevant staff expertise, adequate founds suitable procedures or the necessary receptive attitudes to take advantage of the benefits on offer fro civil society. Government officials my consult civic associations only in the later stages of policymaking when they key decision have already been taken. Instead of promoting democracy this could lead to friction in the society and cause turmoil.

- **THE STATE FUNDING AND BENEFITS COULD CORRUPT THE VOLUNTEERS OF THE CIVIC ORGANISATION –** Instead of focusing on there aims and objectives they could run in short terms gains.

- **INADEQUATE REPRESENTATION COULD SERIOUSLY UNDERMINE THE VERY FABRIC OF DEMOCRACY-** if civil society has to realize its promises fully, then all stratus of civil society should be duly allowed to access authorities and more over equality of opportunity in terms of participation otherwise civil privileges connected with class, gender, nationality, race, religion, urban versus rural location and so on.

- **CIVIL SOCIETY CONCERN FOR GLOBAL DEMOCRACY COULD BE INSENSITIVE TOWARDS THE LOCAL CULTURAL PRACTICE-** Here, civil society may not respond to all of the contexts of local populations. In particular there is a danger that civil society in the South and the former communist ruled countries could come under the strong influence of western-styled, western- funded NGOs led by the westernized. Such campaigners might criticize prevailing conditions of global governance; they have stronger cultural affinities with global mangers than with local communities. Thus NGOs and other professionalized civil society bodies may perhaps quite unintentionally marginalize grassroots circles that could give better voice to the diverse life –worlds that global governance affects.

- **CIVIL SOCIETY MAY LACK INTERNAL DEMOCRACY** – Civil society groups – including those that specifically campaign for greater democracy, can fall short of democratic behaviour in their own functioning. A lack of internal democracy within civil society circles is not only objectionable in itself, but also contradicts its very goal of bringing democracy to society at large. It is an often realized situation, where civic associations offer their members little opportunity for participation beyond the payment of subscriptions. Civil society organisations may advocate on behalf of certain constituencies without adequately consulting them. The

leadership of a civic organisation may suppress debate in the name of welfare. Civic groups may lack transparency as some times they do not publish financial statements or declarations of objectives of their organisation, let along full- scale reports of their activities.

Given these potential problems, one should not be swayed by much of the alluring fantasies with civil society. Much can go right but much can also go wrong. Civil society can be a means to good ends, but it is not the end itself. There are circumstances where civic involvement may detract from democracy or sabotage the very fabric of democracy. It should be the first demand of the society that civic associations should not merely assert but also demonstrate their democratic legitimacy.

CIVIL SOCIETY: CONCLUSIVE ANALYSIS

There is so much of academic assertion on this point that some anthropologists even question whether the concept of civil society even applies outside the West. In a comparative study of China and Taiwan, for example, Robert P Weller writes, "I have studiously avoided the term civil society while writing about many of its core issues. The term 'civil society' while writing problematic theoretical assumptions and historical connotations, which have strong roots in a particular European philosophical tradition. "With the arrival of European colonialism, the state becomes and undeniable, unavoidable part of the business of social living; and the institutional organisation of the modern state invites a discourse in terms of state/ civil society distinction.".

To further evaluate the subject in more theoretical context, the following points could be of use for understanding the existing complexities in the subject.

- **Firstly,** advocates often depict civil society as wholly positive, even flawless. For example, in a article, 'Civil Society and Building Democracy: Lessons from International Donor Experience' Harry Blair says that civil society organisations increase citizens' participation in the policy-making process, enhance the state's accountability to its citizenry, and provide civic education in democratic politics. This describes an ideal- an ideal that since 1989 has helped motivate hundreds of millions of dollars in international grants to civil society organisations in less-developed countries, with mixed result.

- **Secondly,** those who idealize civil society often talk about citizen engagement without mentioning citizen conflict. Yet conflict over resources, laws, policies, influence is central and inherent to the plurality of interests is at the heart of civil society. For this reason, fundamentalist societies that believe in a single source of truth, such as the Soviet Union under Stalin and other communist countries in the letter part of 20th century or Iran under the leadership of Ayatollah Khomeini, are much less tolerant of civil society than societies that welcomes plural points of view.

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- **Third,** from Tocqueville onward, Westerners have generally place individualisms at the heart of civil society. Ernest Gellner, for example describes the building block of civil society as modular man, an individual who is autonomous yet willing and able to associate. In much of the world, however, individuals do not consider themselves modular. They regard their identities as members of particular communities (determined by family, religion, ethnicity, caste, race, or something else) as fundamental, not choices easily made and unmade. For example, in Saekete Center, Muslims, Christian, and worshippers of local gods live together and Muslims and Christians often sacrifice to local gods when facing particularly vexing problems. Yet this openness to different practices does not mean that individuals are modular and can easily exchange one faith for another. Religion, like family and ethnicity, embeds the individual in a web of social connections and cultural meanings that can be severed only at significant cost. The basic thesis of civil society rests with the presumption that man being social is challenged. If individuals are considered modular, how do we fashion a definition of civil society that works trans- nationally?

- **Fourthly,** concept of civil society is placed with too broad parameters. Some have argued that civil society consists of all forms of non-state organisation other than the family which is unacceptable proposition because it includes within civil society many social forms that are essentially private, and thereby fails to distinguish civil society from society at large. To make the concept more useful for the purpose, civil aspect of civil society must limit the category to those networks, movements and organisations the have a public dimension.

- **Fifthly,** here it is stressed that civil society is essentially two-fold in nature: private in origins but public in focus. Civil society groups represent private interests by employing more often non-violent public means, such as association, education and demonstration to influence policy and polity, whether at the neighborhood, city regional, state, or national level. The interests pursued can be individualistic, or they can be oriented toward religion, race, or other social groupings. In a way that might generate pressure on government.

To conclude our discussion on civil society with positive academic note the essential idea that has been put into practice is that democracy requires a healthy and active civil society. The international community, by providing resources and training to different civic groups, can help to build up domestic civil society in democratizing countries. However, at the same time caution should be duly taken in imposing one's ideas and culture in the name of civil society or as matter of fact democracy. Though democracy is one of the healthiest systems of governance both in domestic and international arena yet there is no final world in social sciences. There are so many ancient cultural systems and practices in the East which are far better than the existing western way of life. They should not be discarded merely because we have fantasies and fondness for the West.

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More importantly, the debate and enthusiasm for promoting better life style should continue in order to benefit the people who are living in authoritarian societies with abysmal poverty and sufferings.

IDEOLOGY

In the realm of political theory the term 'ideology' is applied in two contexts:

- **a set of ideas which are accepted to be true by a particular group, party or nation without further examination; and**

- **The science of ideas which examines as to how different ideas are formed, how truth is distorted, and how we can overcome distortions to discover true knowledge.**

IDEOLOGY AS A SET OF IDEAS

- **In First context, ideology means a set of those ideas which are accepted to be true by a particular group without further examination**. These ideas are invoked in order to justify or denounce a particular way of social, economic or political organization. **In this sense, ideology is matter of faith; it has no scientific basis.** Adherents of an ideology think that its validity need not be subjected to verification.

- **Different groups may adhere to different ideologies; hence differences among them are inevitable.** Ideology, therefore, gives rise to love- hate relationship, which is not conductive to scientific temper. Examples of some ideologies are: Liberalism, capitalism, socialism, Marxism, communism, anarchism, fascism, imperialism, nationalism, internationalism, etc.

- WHEN AN IDEOLOGY IS USED TO DEFEND AN EXISTING SYSTEM OR TO ADVOCATE A LIMITED OR A RADICAL CHANGE IN THAT SYSTEM, IT BECOMES A PART OF POLITICS. A political ideology may lend legitimacy to the ruling class or it may involve an urge for revolution. It therefore signifies the manipulative power of a dominant class or of a social movement.

- AN IDEOLOGY IS ACTION- ORIENTED. It presents a cause before its adherents and induces them to fight for that cause, and to make sacrifices for its realization. FOR EXAMPLE, nationalism may inspire people to sacrifice their wealth or life for defending the freedom of their nation. But communalism may induce hatred among people towards members of another community and prompt them to base on obscurantism, has given rise to worldwide terrorism.

- IN THE SPHERE OF POLITICS, CONFLICTING IDEOLOGIES MAY BE INVOKED TO DEFEND CONFLICTING NORMS OR IDEALS. Of these, some ideals may be designed to serve some vested interests, and some ideals may sack to challenge irrational beliefs and conventions, and thus pave the way for progress. FOR EXAMPLE, ideology of imperialism may be invoked to facilitate the exploitation of colonial territories and their and their people, while

environmentalism may be invoked to save humanity from the curse of atmospheric pollution and depletion of valuable natural resources.

IDEOLOGY AS THE SCIENCE OF IDEAS

- The term 'ideology' was originally devised to describe the science of ideas. IN THIS SENSE, IT SEEKS TO DETERMINE HOW IDEAS ARE FORMED, HOW THEY ARE DISTORTED, AND HOW TRUE IDEAS COULD BE SEGREGATED FROM FALSE IDEAS. It was **Destutt de Tracy** (1954-1836), a French scholar, who first used the word ideology during 1801-15 in his writings on the Enlightenment. He defined it as a study of the process of forming ideas- a science of ideas. **TRACY OBSERVED THAT IDEAS ARE STIMULATED BY THE PHYSICAL ENVIRONMENT; HENCE EMPIRICAL LEARNING (GAINED THROUGH SENSE-EXPERIENCE) IS THE ONLY SOURCE OF KNOWLEDGE.** Supernatural or spiritual phenomena have no role to play in the formation of real ideas. Science is founded on these ideas. PEOPLE COULD USE SCIENCE FOR THE IMPROVEMENT OF SOCIAL AND POLITICAL CONDITIONS.

- Although Tracy was the first to use the term 'ideology' in this sense, he was not the first to study the process of formation of ideas. **FRANCIS BACON** (1561-1626), an English philosopher, before him, insisted that **KNOWLEDGE SHOULD COME FROM CAREFUL AND ACCURATE OBSERVATION AND EXPERIENCE. HE HELD THAT THE KNOWLEDGE DEDUCED FROM LESS SCIENTIFIC METHODS OF INQUIRY WAS DISTORTED BY FALSE IMPRESSIONS OR 'IDOLS'.** In short, Bacon and Tracy focused on the validity of knowledge obtained by scientific method, and cautioned us against distorted forms of knowledge.

- **In contemporary literature, the term 'IDEOLOGY' IS APPLIED TO THE SET OF IDEAS WHICH ARE ADOPTED BY A GROUP IN ORDER TO MOTIVATE IT FOR THE ACHIEVEMENT OF PREDETERMINED GOALS. Science of ideas is described by different terms, like "SOCIOLOGY OF KNOWLEDGE" (the term introduced by Karl Mannheim). Science of ideas is used to identify the causes of distortion in the prevailing ideologies. A systematic attempt in this direction began with Marx. Later Lukacs and Mannheim also made significant contributions to this effort.**

VIEWS OF Karl MARX:

- **Karl Marx (1818-83)** in "German Ideology (1845-46)" and "A contribution to the Critique of Political Economy (1859)" dwelled on the nature of ideology. According to him, ideology is a manifestation of false consciousnesses.

- **ACCORDING TO MARX, in the process of social development material needs of people advance, but their social consciousness lags behind. This distorted consciousness or**

false consciousness is reflected in their **IDEOLOGY. Dominant class at any stage of social development marks use of ideology to maintain its authority**. **FOR EXAMPLE,** makers of the French Revolution (1789) raised the slogan of 'Liberty, Equality, Fraternity' to enlist support of the masses. But they settled for liberty which served their interest, i.e. the interest of the new entrepreneurial class of those days. They did not proceed to win freedom for common man, but stopped after winning freedom for a new dominant class to ensure inviolability of property.

- **Marx and Engels** (1820-95) held that **IDEOLOGY IS AN INSTRUMENT FOR PROTECTING THE INTEREST OF THE DOMINANT CLASS.** Thus bourgeoisie (the capitalist class) needs ideology to maintain itself in power. **On the contrary,** when **PROLETARIAT (THE WORKING CLASS)** comes to power after the socialist revolution, it has no vested interest in maintaining itself in power. It strives to create such conditions where the state will 'wither away'. It does not want to continue as the dominant class but works for the creation of a classless society.

- However, **V.I. Lenin** (1870-1924) in his what is conceal the prevailing contradictions, but it has become a neutral concept which refers to the political consciousness of different classes, including, the proletarian class. He argued that the class struggle will continue for a very long time during the socialist phase. So proletariats also need an ideology- the ideology of scientific socialism for their guidance, lest they are overpowered by the bourgeois ideology.

VIEWS OF LUKACS:

Georg Lukacs (1885-1971), a Hungarian Marxist, held that **CONSCIOUSNESS WAS ALWAYS CLASS CONSCIOUSNESS.** The proletariat, by virtue of its increasing estrangement within the socio-economic sphere, occupied a unique historical position from which it could achieve universal consciousness.

On the nature of ideology Lukacs maintained that it REFERS BOTH TO BOURGEOISIE AND PROLETARIAN CONSCIOUSNESS, WITHOUT IMPLYING A NECESSARY NEGATIVE CONNOTATION. MARXISM ITSELF IS THE IDEOLOGICAL EXPRESSION OF THE PROLETARIAT. **Lukacs held that BOURGEOIS IDEOLOGY IS FALSE, not because ideology itself is false consciousness, but because bourgeois class situation is structurally limited. IN OTHER WORDS, BOURGEOISIE (THE CAPITALIST CLASS) CANNOT STAND ON ITS OWN. IT MUST EXPLOIT PROLETARIAT (THE WORKING CLASS) TO MAINTAIN ITSELF.** Bourgeois ideology is deplorable because it dominates and contaminates the psychological consciousness of proletariat. However, Lukacs has warned that ideological struggle should not become a substitute for class struggle.

VIEWS OF Karl MANNHEIM

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Karl Mannheim (1893-1947), a German sociologist, in his famous work "Ideology and Utopia" REJECTS MARX'S THEORY OF IDEOLOGY ON THREE GROUNDS;

- STYLE OF THOUGHT (CONSCIOUSNESS) of any group is only indirectly related to its interests; there is no direct correlation between its consciousness and its economic interests;

- All thought (CONSCIOUSNESS) is shaped by its social background; hence Marxism itself is the ideology of a class; and

- Apart from classes, other social groups, like different generations, also have a significant influence upon CONSCIOUSNESS.

Mannheim introduced term **'sociology of knowledge'** to focus on social determination of knowledge or style of thought (Consciousness). He sought to generalize Marxist framework as a tool of analysis.

- He held that the FALSE CONSCIOUSNESS MAY BE MANIFESTED IN TWO FORMS; IDEOLOGY AND UTOPIA. **IDEOLOGY** REPRESENTS THE TENDENCY OF CONSERVATION. IT RELIES ON FALSE CONSCIOUSNESS TO MUSTER SUPPORT FOR THE MAINTENANCE OF STATUS QUO. One the other hand, **UTOPIA** REPRESENTS THE IMPETUS TO CHANGE. IT RELIES ON FALSE CONSCIOUSNESS BY PROJECTING UNREALIZABLE PRINCIPLES to muster support for the forces of change.

- A RULING CLASS MAKES USE OF IDEOLOGY; THE OPPOSITION MAY PROJECT A UTOPIA. Mannheim declared that Marxist vision of a classless society was nothing of utopia. Hence it also makes false consciousness its tools.

- **The relative character of all knowledge as postulated by Mannheim makes the knowledge of objective truth extremely difficult.** Is there no hope, then, to discover truth? Well, there is a silver lining. MANNHEIM HINGES ON THE POSSIBILITY OF A 'FREE FLOATING STRATUM OF INTELLECTUALS BETWEEN THE CONTENDING CLASSES TO ACHIEVE DISINTERESTED KNOWLEDGE. He hopes that some enlightened individuals within the conflicting groups will realize that their perception of truth is partial; it could be complemented by understanding their opponent's view. SUCH INDIVIDUALS FROM BOTH SIDES WILL COME TOGETHER WITH AN OPEN MIND; THEY WILL ENTER INTO A DIALOGUE AND INCESSANTLY STRIVE TO ARRIVE AT THE OBJECTIVE TRUTH. Thus they will open the way to achieve synthetic common knowledge of the prevailing historical situation and a realistic assessment of actual possibilities.

- IN OTHER WORDS, THEY WILL BE ABLE TO GRASP A REALISTIC VISION BETWEEN IDEOLOGY AND UTOPIA. Mannheim identifies these intellectuals as social scientists. He

recommends that these social scientists, who have proved their ability to grasp the objective truth, should be given authority to rule.

- **CRITICS ARGUE THAT MANNHEIM HAS CREATED CONFUSION BETWEEN THE ORIGIN AND VALIDITY OF KNOWLEDGE.** His extreme relativism contemplates the existence of ideas without upholders. Moreover, giving power to social scientists is fraught with danger of absolutism. Let these social scientists function as critics of power holders instead of wielding power themselves. They would better serve as organizers of agitations and demonstrations, journalist and writers, and as conscience- keepers of society.

IDEOLOGY AND TOTALITARIANISM:

WHEN IDEOLOGY IS CONCEIVED AS AN INSTRUMENT OF MOTIVATING PEOPLE FOR THE ACHIEVEMENT OF PREDETERMINED GOALS, IT COMES CLOSE TO TOTALITARIANISM. Some writers, therefore, assert that **IDEOLOGY IN THIS SENSE IS FOUND ONLY IN TOTALITARIAN SYSTEMS;** it has no place in an open society.

- Famous Austrian philosopher Karl Popper (1902-94) in "The Open Society and Its Enemies" argued that **ideology is the characteristic of totalitarianism; it has nothing to do in an open society.** He maintained that SCIENCE AND FREEDOM FLOURISH TOGETHER IN A SOCIETY WHICH IS OPEN IN THE SENSE THAT IT IS WILLING TO ACCEPT NEW IDEAS. In contrast, a TOTALITARIAN SOCIETY CLAIMS THAT IT HAS ALREADY FOUND THE ABSOLUTE TRUTH, and strives, to implement it ruthlessly. IDEOLOGY IS THE TOOL WHICH ENABLES THE STATE TO MOBILIZE ITS MANPOWER AND OTHER RESOURCES FOR A GOAL WHICH IS DECLARED TO EMBODY THE ABSOLUTE TRUTH. It does to allow anyone to oppose.

- In Popper's view, Western liberal- democratic societies are open societies; hence they do not need an ideology for working smoothly. Citizens of these societies are absolutely free to criticize the existing institutions and structures of power.

THE HANNAH ARENDT (1906-75), a German Jew philosopher, in "The Origins of Totalitarianism" (1951) defined TOTALITARIANISM AS A SYSTEM OF TOTAL DOMINATION, CHARACTERIZED BY IDEOLOGY AND TERROR. It was made possible in recent Europe by three factors:

1. THE SPECIFIC POLITICAL AND SOCIAL POSITION OF THE JEWS which had given anti-Semitism (the tendency of hatred toward Jews) a new force;
2. IMPERIALISM which generated racist movements and worldwide expansion of power; and

3. DISSOLUTION OF EUROPEAN SOCIETY INTO UPROOTED MASSES, so lonely and disoriented that they could be mobilized behind ideologies.

- Thus Popper and Arendt focused on the role of ideology as a tool of totalitarianism. **It is interesting to recall that Marx had evolved the concept of ideology in late nineteenth century in order to expose capitalism. Concept of totalitarianism was evolved in early twentieth century** to describe the dictatorial way to working of communist regime of the Soviet Union till the end of Stalin era (1953) and fascist regime of Italy (under Mussolini) and Germany (under Hitler) till the end of Second World War (1945).

- BOTH COMMUNIST AND FASCIST REGIMES MADE AMPLE USE OF THEIR RESPECTIVE IDEOLOGIES FOR THE MOBILIZATION OF THEIR CITIZENS TOWARD THE ACHIEVEMENT OF THEIR RESPECTIVE GOALS. Popper largely focused on the communist regime and Arendt on the fascist regime to bring out the close correlations between ideology and totalitarianism.

END OF IDEOLOGY DEBATE

The Current status of ideology in the world was reviewed in mid – 1950s and in 1960s. **IN WESTERN LIBERAL- DEMOCRATIC COUNTRIES, IT WAS DECLARED THAT THE AGE OF IDEOLOGY HAD COME TO AN END.** These countries LOOKED AT IDEOLOGY AS A TOOL OF TOTALITARIANISM which had no place in open societies.

- **'END OF IDEOLOGY' ALSO IMPLIED THAT AT THE ADVANCED STAGE OF INDUSTRIAL DEVELOPMENT, A COUNTRY'S SOCIAL – ECONOMIC ORGANIZATION IS DETERMINED BY THE LEVEL OF ITS DEVELOPMENT, AND NOT BE ITS POLITICAL IDEOLOGY.** In other words, **capitalist and communist countries were bound to evolve similar characteristics at the advanced stage of their industrial development, irrespective of their ideological differences.**

- Early indication of this view may be found in the proceedings of a conference on **'The Future of Freedom'** held in Milan, Italy, in 1955. **EDWARD SHILLS REPORT** on this conference was published in Encounter (1955) under the title 'The End of Ideology'. The conference urged its participants to forget their minor differences and discover common grounds to face the danger of Communism. **DANIEL BELL** observed in the course of his speech: "**Today ideologies are exhausted. In the Western World, there is today a rough consensus among intellectuals on political issues, THE ACCEPTANCE OF A WELFARE STATE; THE DESIRABILITY OF DECENTRALIZED POWER; A SYSTEM OF MIXED ECONOMY AND OF POLITICAL PLURALISM. In that sense too the ideological age has ended."** This view was confirmed and further elaborated by several Western writers.

- **DANIEL BELL**, in his noted work the **"End of Ideology (1960)"** asserted that **POST-INDUSTRIAL SOCIETIES ARE PRONE TO SIMILAR DEVELOPMENT IRRESPECTIVE OF THEIR IDEOLOGICAL DIFFERENCES**. They have **lesser proportion of workers in industry than in services**. In other words, **at the advanced stage of industrial development in any country the services sector expands at a faster rate than the manufacturing sector.** Besides, it is also characterized by the **INCREASING DOMINANCE OF TECHNICAL ELITES.** The change in this direction is not affected by its political ideology.

- **RALPH DAHRENDORF** in **"Class and Class Conflict in Industrial Society (1957)"** argued that **THE WESTERN SOCIETIES HAD ENTERED A NEW PHASE OF DEVELOPMENT. THEY WERE NO LONGER CAPITALIST SOCIETIES; THEY HAD BECOME POST-CAPITALIST SOCIETIES. The coincidence of economic conflict and political conflict, which was the foundation of Marx's theory, had ceased to exist in THE POST-CAPITALIST SOCIETIES.**

  In a **CAPITALIST SOCIETY,** the lines of industrial and political conflict were superimposed. The opponents within the industrial sphere- capitalist and workers met again as bourgeoisie and proletarian, in the political arena. **IN CONTRAST, industry and society have been dissociated in the POST- CAPITALIST SOCIETY. The social relations of the industrial sphere, including industrial conflict, no longer dominate the whole society but remain confined in their patterns and problems to the sphere of industry.** In post-capitalist society, **industry and industrial conflicts are institutionally isolated.** In other words, t**hey remain confined within the borders of their proper realm and do not influence politics and other spheres of social life.** Thus in Dahrendorf view, **the framework of Marxian ideology was no longer suitable for the analysis of the Western societies.**

- Then **SEYMOUR M. LIPSET**, in "Political Man: The Social Bases of Politics (1960)" significantly observed: **Democracy is not only or even primarily a means through which different groups can attain their ends or seek the good society; it is the good society itself in operation. LIPSET** observed that **in the Western democracies the differences between the left and the right are no longer profound; the only issues before politics are concerned with marginal increase in wages, marginal rise in prices, and extension of old- age pensions, etc.** He maintained that the fundamental political problems of the industrial revolution have been solved: **the workers have achieved industrial and political citizenship; the conservatives have accepted the welfare state; and the democratic left has recognized that an increase in overall state power carries with it more dangers to freedom than solutions for economic problems. THE TRIUMPH OF DEMOCRACY IN THE**

WEST HAS MADE THE INTELLECTUALS REALIZE THAT THEY NO LONGER NEED IDEOLOGIES OR UTOPIAS TO MOTIVATE THEM TO POLITICAL ACTION.

- **W.W. ROSTOW,** in "The Stages of Economic Growth: A Non- communist Manifesto (1960)" built **A UNIDIMENSIONAL MODEL OF ECONOMIC GROWTH WHICH WAS APPLICABLE TO ALL COUNTRIES IRRESPECTIVE OF THEIR POLITICAL IDEOLOGIES. He suggested that all societies pass through five stages of growth:** 'TRADITIONAL SOCIETY', 'PRECONDITIONS FOR TAKE- OFF', 'TAKE-OFF', 'ROAD TO MATURITY' AND 'THE AGE OF HIGH MASS CONSUMPTION'. He believed that the process of development going on at that time in Asia, Latin America, Africa and the Middle East was analogous to the stages of preconditions for take off and take-off which prevailed in the Western societies in late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. **Rostow asserted that the adoption of different political ideologies played no role in determining the course of economic development in different countries.**

- **J.K. GALBRAITH**, in "The New Industrial State (1967)" **identified certain characteristic of advanced industrial societies which correspond to the end of ideology thesis.** Galbraith observed that **"ALL INDUSTRIALIZED SOCIETIES ARE DESTINED TO SIMILAR DEVELOPMENT".** This involves **GREATER CENTRALIZATION, BUREAUCRATIZATION, PROFESSIONALIZATION AND TECHNOCRATIZATION. These characteristics were visible in the Russian as well as American system although they had adopted as divergent ideologies as communism and capitalism respectively**. It means that a country's **techno- economic structure is shaped by the level of its industrialization, and not by its distinctive political ideology.**

  Galbraith claimed that A NEW RULING CLASS CONSISTING OF THE BUREAUCRATIC AND TECHNOCRATIC ELITE HAD EMERGED IN ALL ADVANCED INDUSTRIAL SOCIETIES. This class belonged neither to the WORKING CLASS NOR TO THE CAPITALISTS. In liberal societies, **the members of this class occupied high position in an open meritocratic system. Because of high rate of social mobility, they are not attached to particular capitalists. Power in society is vested in bureaucracy and technocracy, and not in capitalists.** Galbraith comes to the conclusion that in the contemporary world, emancipation of humanity should be sought in anti- capitalism.

- **THE END OF IDEOLOGY THESIS HAD A MESSAGE FOR THE NEW NATIONS OF ASIA, AFRICA AND LATIN AMERICA. It implied that they should focus on their industrial development, and should not run after the mirage of communism as a remedy of their ills. With the collapse of communist systems in East European countries in 1989 (which was followed by a similar collapse in the Soviet Union in (1991), this view got a new**

impetus in the form the 'End of History' thesis. **FRANCIS FUKUYAMA, in his paper entitled 'THE END OF HISTORY', argued that the failure of socialism (i.e. communism in the present context) meant an unabashed victory of economic and political liberalism. IT MARKED THE END POINT OF MANKIND'S IDEOLOGICAL EVOLUTION AND THE UNIVERSALIZATION OF WESTERN LIBERAL DEMOCRACY AS THE FINAL FORM OF HUMAN GOVERNMENT.** <u>FUKUYAMA</u> maintained that the liberal democracy contains no basic contradictions and that it is capable of fulfilling deepest aspirations of mankind. Its victory has heralded an end to the long historical struggle which had obstructed its expansion in the past. This thesis was given wide publicity in the Western press and academic circles as it was suited to their mode of thought.

CRITICS of END OF IDEOLOGY DEBATE:

- However, **RICHARD TITMUSS, C. WRIGHT MILLS, C.B. MACPHERSON AND ALASDAIR MACINTYRE severely criticized** the end of ideology thesis. **TITMUSS** observed that **the champions of the end of ideology this overlook the problems of monopolistic concentration of economic power, social disorganization and cultural deprivation within the capitalist system. C. WRIGHT MILLS** dubbed the upholders of **END OF IDEOLOGY THESIS the advocates of status quo. In his view, it is an ideology of political complacency which appears to be the only way now available for many social scientists to acquiesce in or to justify the established social structure.** So far as human and political ideas are concerned, the **END OF IDEOLOGY THESIS** stands for a denial of their relevance. **C.B. MACPHERSON** asserted that the champions of the **END OF IDEOLOGY THESIS** make a futile attempt to solve the problem of equitable distribution within the market society. **ALASDAIR MACINTYRE** (Against the self- Images of the Age; 1971) significantly observed that the end of ideology theorists failed to entertain one crucial alternative possibility: namely that the **END- OF- IDEOLOGY,** far from marking the end-of-ideology, was itself a key expression of the ideology of the time and place where it arose".

- **IN SHORT, THE END OF IDEOLOGY DEBATE, AND ITS LATEST VERSION ARE DESIGNED TO PROJECT THE SUPREMACY OF LIBERAL- DEMOCRATIC SYSTEM IN THEORY AS WELL AS PRACTIC**E. In the contemporary climate of increasing urge for **liberalization, privatization and globalization,** this idea seems to be riding high. **However, it needs a close scrutiny. Collapse of socialism in a large part of the world could be the outcome of human faults in its implementation.** Moreover, **Western democratic world is by no means an epitome of justice and morality. Human emancipation is a complex venture. There are no readymade answers to all human problems**. In devising their solution, **relevant ideas from different ideologies may be drawn and examined.** Of these

liberalism, Marxism, socialism, fascism, anarchism, Gandhism, and Feminism, are particularly important.

CONCLUSION

Ideology has been variously condemned as the reflection of false consciousness or as an instrument of totalitarianism. But it is not fine to look at all ideologies in this light. **In actual practice, different ideologies as sets of ideas will continue to exist as the vehicles of value- systems preferred by different groups. They will be used for motivating people to achieve the goals cherished by their upholders.** They may also be used by some groups to convince others regarding their rightful claims. **Ideologies do not belong exclusively to dominate classes; oppressed classes also have their own ideologies. They cannot be set aside as 'false consciousness'.**

Ideologies could serve as meeting ground for like- minded people, instead of confining themselves to their tribe, caste, religion, region, etc. They may reflect changing social consciousness on crucial issues. **Some ideologies have given rise to strong social movements for the emancipation of various oppressed sections.** Some ideologies manifest a deep concern with the future of humanity. An ideology is identified by commitment to a cause. It rules out personal interest, bias or submission to a particular person, group or dynasty. It signifies a set of coherent ideas- perception of real and ideal from one's own position. It may also be used to make others realize that position. That is how, in the sphere of world politics, developing nations strive to impress upon advanced nations to adopt humanist attitudes and policies.

PROTEST, AGITATION, SOCIAL MOVEMENTS, COLLECTIVE ACTION, REVOLUTION

An ELEMENT OF DISSATISFACTION with the existing system can be found in every society. Dissatisfaction may be caused by POVERTY, SOCIAL DISCRIMINATION, EXPLOTATION OR LACK OF PRIVILEGE. People may develop a STRONG DESIRE TO CHANGE THE SITUATION by raising their voices against the existing order. They may start questioning established practices of society. This difference of opinion actually reflects a desire for change. SOCIAL MOVEMENTS EMERGE UNDER THIS SITUATION. However, a movement does not occur suddenly. It begins with **DISSENT**, moves towards **PROTESTS AND AGITATION** and finally takes the form of a **SOCIAL MOVEMENT. This SEQUENCE-DISSENT, PROTEST AND AGITATION** and **SOCIAL MOVEMENTS** - represents different phases of social change. But in some cases all these may be in operation at the same time

- DISSENT: The term **DISSENT** refers to **ideas and activities which are different from those prevailing in a society at a given point of time**. **DIFFERENCES OF OPINION AND**

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DISAGREEMENT on certain issues are bases of dissent. Dissent is thus the beginning of a movement for change. **FOR EXAMPLE,** the struggle against the inhuman practice of untouchability in India was initiated only when the people who were suffering from this cruel practice raised their voices against it (Expressed their Dissent).

- **PROTEST AND AGITATION** is generally **SPECIFIC IN NATURE. WHEN DISSENT IS EXPRESSED OPENLY IT ASSUMES THE FORM OF PROTEST AND AGITATION. When a dissenting opinion crystallizes further the situation of PROTEST AND AGITATION is created. Thus PROTEST AND AGITATION, in order to be meaningful, has to be supported by dissent in respect of the institutional arrangements prevailing in society at a given point of time. In fact, a CONSCIOUSNESS OF INJUSTICE AND DEPRIVATION TAKES PLACE AT THIS STAGE. Accordingly, we may say that THE SOCIAL SHARING OF DISCRIMINATION AND DEPRIVATION IS THE STARTING POINT OF PROTEST AND AGITATION. Thus, we may say that DISSENT expresses dissatisfaction with the existing situation and registers disagreement. PROTEST AND AGITATION, on the other hand, is a formal declaration of dissent and represents a more crystallized state of opposition and conflict.**

- **SOCIAL MOVEMENT:** The term **"social movements" was introduced in 1850 by the German Sociologist Lorenz von Steinin** his book "History of the French Social Movement from 1789 to the Present". A social movement is A SUSTAINED COLLECTIVE EFFORT THAT FOCUSES ON SOME ASPECT OF SOCIAL CHANGE. **M.S.A RAO** says that a social movement essentially involves SUSTAINED COLLECTIVE MOBILIZATION THROUGH EITHER INFORMAL OR FORMAL ORGANIZATION AND IS GENERALLY ORIENTED TOWARDS BRINGING ABOUT CHANGE IN THE EXISTING SYSTEM. Rao considers ideology as an important component of a social movement. **SOCIAL MOVEMENTS** are of great sociological interest because they are a major source of social change. All societies undergo changes. It may be radical i.e. some social institutions may be replaced by new ones. There may be major changes in the existing social institutions. **Social movements** are **A TYPE OF GROUP ACTION TO BRING OR RESIST CHANGE.** They are large informal groupings of individuals and/or organizations focused on specific political or social issues, in other words, on carrying out, resisting or undoing a social change.

KEY PROCESSES LIE BEHIND THE HISTORY OF SOCIAL MOVEMENTS

- Several key processes lie behind the history of social movements. **URBANIZATION** led to larger settlements, where people of similar goals could find each other, gather and organize. This facilitated social interaction between scores of people, and it was in urban areas that those early social movements first appeared.

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- Similarly, the process of **INDUSTRIALIZATION** which gathered large masses of workers in the same region explains why many of those early social movements addressed matters such as economic wellbeing, important to the worker class.

- **UNIVERSALIZATION of EDUCATION:** Many other social movements were created at universities, where the process of mass education brought many people together.

- **SCIENTIFIC REVOLUTION:** With the development of communication technologies, creation and activities of social movements became easier - from printed pamphlets circulating in the 18th century coffeehouses to newspapers and Internet, all those tools became important factors in the growth of the social movements.

- **DEMOCRATIZATION:** Finally, the spread of democracy and political rights like the freedom of speech made the creation and functioning of social movements much easier

NATURE OF SOCIAL MOVEMENTS

- **TURNER & KILHAN** define a social movement as a **"COLLECTIVITY which acts with some continuity to promote or resist change in the society or group of which it is a part". Toch** emphasizes that a **SOCIAL MOVEMENT** is **AN EFFORT BY A LARGE NUMBER OF PEOPLE TO SOLVE COLLECTIVELY A PROBLEM THEY FEEL THEY SHARE IN COMMON.**

- Although **SOCIAL MOVEMENT** involves **COLLECTIVE ACTION** by the people**. However, ANY FORM OF COLLECTIVE ACTION CANNOT BE LABELED AS A SOCIAL MOVEMENT, even if it is directed towards changing the existing, social values.** It should be **SUSTAINED AND NOT SPORADIC.**

- A **SOCIAL MOVEMENT DIFFERS FROM** a **CROWD** by being **a long term collectivity, not a quick spontaneous grouping.**

- **SOCIAL MOVEMENTS** are also different from other movements like **COOPERATIVE MOVEMENT** or **THE TRADE UNION MOVEMENT**. **THESE MOVEMENTS ARE INSTITUTIONALIZED MOVEMENTS** i.e. they function under a given set of rules. The membership of these organizations is not open to all. Members function with a fixed structure and a hierarchy. This type of a hierarchy is necessary for any institutionalized movement. **SOCIAL MOVEMENTS** on the other hand, will not have any of the above features. The two features of social movements, namely, **SUSTAINED ACTION AND SPONTANEITY OPERATE SIMULTANEOUSLY.** These together distinguish a social movement from other movements.

- **SOCIAL MOVEMENTS IN THE BEGINNING** do not follow a fixed pattern of hierarchy. They are thus able to innovate new features of organisation. Institutionalization would prevent any form of innovation because of its fixed structures.

- **A SOCIAL MOVEMENT** constitutes **a collective attempt** not only to promote change but also to **resist change** e.g. Sati movement.

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TYPES OF SOCIAL MOVEMENTS:

- **REFORM MOVEMENTS:**   Collective attempt to change some parts of a society without completely transforming it. It accepts the basic pattern of the social order of that society and orients itself around an ideal. It makes use of those institutions such as the press, the government, the school, the church and so on to support its programme. These usually rise on behalf of some distressed or exploited group. Reform movements are almost impossible in an authoritarian society. Such movements are mainly possible in democratic societies where people tolerate criticism.

- **REVOLUTIONARY MOVEMENTS:** Such a movement seeks to overthrow the existing system and replace it with a totally different one. Revolutionary movements aim at reconstructing the entire social order. They Challenge the existing norms and propose a new scheme of values.

- **RESISTANCE OF REACTIONARY MOVEMENTS:**   These arise among people who are dissatisfied with certain aspects of change. The movement seeks to recapture or reinstate old values.

- **MIGRATORY MOVEMENTS:** When a large number of people migrate due to discontent and or due to shared hope for a better future in some other land.

- **REVITALIZATION MOVEMENT:**

FUNCTIONS OF SOCIAL MOVEMENTS:

According to **TOURAINE** social movements have **three important functions:**

- **MEDIATION:** Help to relate the individual to the larger society. Give each person a chance to participate, to express his ideas and to play a role in the process of social change.

- **PRESSURE:** Social movements stimulate the formation of organized group that work systematically to see that their plans and policies are implemented.

- **CLARIFICATION OF COLLECTIVE CONSCIOUSNESS:** Social movements generate and develop ideas which spread throughout society. As a result group consciousness arises and grows.

THEORETICAL STRANDS FOR ORIGINS OF SOCIAL MOVEMENTS:

- **DEPRIVATION THEORY:** Deprivation theory argues that **SOCIAL MOVEMENTS** have their **foundations among people who feel deprived of some good(s) or resource(s)**. According to this approach, **individuals who are lacking some good, service, or comfort are more likely to organize a social movement to improve (or defend) their conditions. There are two significant problems with this theory. FIRST,** since most people feel deprived at one

level or another almost all the time, the theory has a hard time explaining why the groups that form social movements do when other people are also deprived. **SECOND,** the reasoning behind this theory is circular - often the only evidence for deprivation is the social movement. If deprivation is claimed to be the cause but the only evidence for such is the movement, the reasoning is circular.

- **MARXIST THEORY: (FOR DETAIL REFER THINKERS)** Derived from Karl Marx, Marxism as an ideology and theory of social change has had an immense impact on the practice and the analysis of social movements. **Marxism arose from an analysis of movements structured by conflicts between industrial workers and their capitalist employers in the 19th century.** In the twentieth century a variety of neo-Marxist theories have been developed that have opened themselves to adding questions of race, gender, environment, and other issues to an analysis centered in (shifting) political economic conditions. Class-based movements, both revolutionary and labor-reformist, have always been stronger in Europe than in the US and so has Marxist theory as a tool for understanding social movements, but important Marxist movements and theories have also evolved in the US. Marxist approaches have been and remain influential ways of understanding the role of political economy and class differences as key forces in many historical and current social movements, and they continue to challenge approaches that are limited by their inability to imagine serious alternatives to consumer capitalist social structures.

- **MASS SOCIETY THEORY:** Mass society theory argues that **SOCIAL MOVEMENTS** are made up of **individuals in large societies who feel their identity insignificant or socially detached**. SOCIAL MOVEMENTS, according to this theory, **PROVIDE A SENSE OF EMPOWERMENT AND BELONGING THAT THE MEMBERS WOULD OTHERWISE NOT HAVE FELT.** However, Very little support has been found for this theory. **AHO (1990),** in his study of Idaho Christian Patriotism, did not find that members of that movement were more likely to have been socially detached. In fact, **the key to joining the movement was having a friend or associate who was a member of the movement.**

- **SOCIAL STRAIN THEORY:** Social strain theory, also known as **"value-added theory"**, proposes **six factors** that encourage social movement:

  - structural conduciveness - **people come to believe their society has problems**

  - structural strain - **people experience deprivation**

- growth and spread of a solution - **a solution to the problems people are experiencing is proposed and spreads**

- precipitating factors - **discontent usually requires a catalyst (often a specific event) to turn it into a social movement**

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- lack of social control - **the entity that is to be changed must be at least somewhat open to the change; if the social movement is quickly and powerfully repressed, it may never materialize**

- mobilization - **this is the actual organizing and active component of the movement; people do what needs to be done**

  This theory is also subject to circular reasoning as it incorporates, at least in part, deprivation theory and relies upon it, and social/structural strain for the underlying motivation of social movement activism. However, social movement activism is, like in the case of deprivation theory, often the only indication that there was strain or deprivation.

- **RESOURCE MOBILIZATION THEORY:** Resource mobilization theory emphasizes the importance of resources in **SOCIAL MOVEMENT** and it's success. **Resources are understood here to include: KNOWLEDGE, MONEY, MEDIA, LABOR, SOLIDARITY, LEGITIMACY, AND INTERNAL AND EXTERNAL SUPPORT FROM POWER ELITE.** The theory argues that **SOCIAL MOVEMENTS** de**velop when individuals with grievances are able to mobilize sufficient resources to take action.** The emphasis on resources offers an explanation why some discontented/deprived individuals are able to organize while others are not. **Some of the assumptions of the theory include:**

  - **there will always be grounds for protest in modern, politically pluralistic societies because there is constant discontent among members of society** (i.e., grievances or deprivation);

  - Members weigh the costs and benefits from movement's participation; members are recruited through networks; commitment is maintained by building a collective identity and continuing to nurture interpersonal relationships

  - movement organization is contingent upon the aggregation of resources

  - social movement organizations require resources and continuity of leadership

  - social movement entrepreneurs and protest organisers are the catalysts which transform collective discontent into social movements;

  - the form of the resources shapes the activities of the movement (e.g., access to a TV station will result in the extensive use TV media)

  - movements develop in contingent opportunity structures that influence their efforts to mobilize; as each movement's response to the opportunity structures depends on the movement's organization and resources, there is no clear pattern of movement development nor are specific movement techniques or methods universal

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CRITICS of this theory argue that there is too much of an emphasize on resources, especially financial resources. Some movements are effective without an influx of money and are more dependent upon the movement members for time and labor (e.g., the civil rights movement in the U.S.).

M.S.A. RAO had done a great deal of research on SOCIAL MOVEMENTS and he IDENTIFIED THREE FACTORS relating to the origins of SOCIAL MOVEMENTS.

- **RELATIVE DEPRIVATION:** People feel that they are deprived of something. THE NAXALITE MOVEMENT would have this as a cause. **Deprivation is relative and not absolute.** Social movements can arise out of relative expectations and not necessarily out of extreme or absolute conditions.

- **STRUCTURAL STRAIN:** When **the prevailing value system and the normative structure do not meet the aspirations of the people, the society faces strain. A NEW VALUE SYSTEM IS SOUGHT SO AS TO REPLACE THE OLD LEADS TO CONFLICTS AND TENSION CAUSING SOCIAL MOVEMENT.** Usually individuals in such a situation violate the social norms.

- **REVITALIZATION:** Offer a positive alternative. MOVEMENTS ARE STARTED FOR REVITALIZING THE EXISTING SYSTEM WHICH IS UNDERGOING STRUCTURAL STRAIN. Urge for revitalization can generate a movement which promotes patriotism and national pride could be caused by youth movements which encourage young people to help and organize the oppressed or the literacy movements are other examples. Movements are started in order to solve a problem collectively. Not merely protest against what they define as wrong but also try to provide an alternative.

CONDITIONS FOR ORIGIN OF SOCIAL MOVEMENTS:

- Social movement represents an **effort by a large number of people to solve collectively a problem or problems.**
- The people must **understand the problem**.
- The **problem must be observable.**
- **Problem must be objective** i.e. it exists even if people are not aware of it.
- **Consciousness of the problem:** When people become aware of the problem it means that their consciousness of the problem is real. They are now **subjectively aware of the objective situation.**

  Problems are not created by people out of nothing. **Problems exist in reality but it is only when people actually understand a problem that they try to find out means to overcome it**.

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- **Social movements are not eternal.** They have a life cycle: they are created, they grow, they achieve successes or failures and eventually, they dissolve and cease to exist.

- **SOCIAL MOVEMENTS are more likely to evolve in the TIME AND PLACE WHICH IS FRIENDLY TO THE SOCIAL MOVEMENTS:** hence their evident symbiosis with the 19th century proliferation of ideas like individual rights, freedom of speech and civil disobedience.

- **SOCIAL MOVEMENTS** occur in both **liberal and authoritarian societies** but in different forms. **However** there must always be **POLARIZING DIFFERENCES** between groups of people, FOR EXAMPLE in case of **'old movements',** they were the poverty and wealth gaps. In case of the **'new movements'**, **they are more likely to be the differences in customs, ethics and values**.

- **Finally, the birth of a social movement needs what sociologist Neil Smelser calls an INITIATING EVENT:** a particular, individual event that will begin a chain reaction of events in the given society leading to the creation of a social movement. **FOR EXAMPLE,** American Civil Rights movement grew on the reaction to black woman, Rosa Parks, riding in the whites-only section of the bus (although she was not acting alone or spontaneously—typically activist leaders lay the groundwork behind the scenes of interventions designed to spark a movement). **The Polish Solidarity movement,** which eventually toppled the communist regimes of Eastern Europe, developed after trade union activist Anna Walentynowicz was fired from work. **The South African shack dwellers' movement** grew out of a road blockade in response to the sudden selling off of a small piece of land promised for housing to a developer. Such an event is also described as a **"volcanic model"** - a social movement is often created after a large number of people realize that there are others sharing the same value and desire for a particular social change.

SOURCES OF PROBLEMS IN SOCIAL MOVEMENT

- **One of the main difficulties facing the emerging social movement is 'spreading the very knowledge that it exists'.** Second is overcoming the 'free rider problem' - convincing people to join it, instead of following the mentality 'why should I trouble myself when others can do it and I can just reap the benefits after their hard work'.

- **Many social movements are created around some charismatic leader, i.e. one possessing charismatic authority.** After the social movement is created, there are two likely phases of recruitment. **The first phase** will gather the people deeply interested in the '**primary goal'** and ideal of the movement. **The second phase**, which will usually come after the given movement had some successes and is trendy; it would look good on a résumé. People who join in this second phase will likely be the first to leave when the movement suffers any setbacks and failures.

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- Eventually, the social crisis can be encouraged by outside elements, like opposition from government or other movements. However, many movements had survived a failure crisis, being revived by some hardcore activists even after several decades.

ROLE OF LEADERSHIP AND IDEOLOGY IN SOCIAL MOVEMENTS

Social movements constitute people's efforts to organize themselves to light against inequalities, discrimination and deprivation. Widespread collective mobilization has led to organized movements with defined **ideologies and leaders** who have brought important changes in the societies from which they originate.

- Leaders are important for movements because THEY HELP CLARIFY THE ISSUES and THUS SHAPE THE MOVEMENT.
- PROVIDE GUIDANCE to a movement.
- PREVENT IT FROM BECOMING A DESPERATE, UNRULY collection of people.
- Leadership is expected to REFLECT THE VIEWS OF THE PEOPLE.
- Leaders ARTICULATE THE VIEWS of the participants.
- They PRESENT PEOPLES VIEW IN AN ORGANIZED MANNER.
- **How the participant attempt to achieve the stated objectives will be largely determined by the leadership** the movement can throw up.

Ideology:

- **People follow the leader** because of what he represents i.e. **the ideas that he places before the people**.
- Ideology plays a role in SUSTAINING THE MOVEMENT.
- It helps in UNDERSTANDING A SITUATION.
- It LEGITIMIZES ACTIONS perused by the people.
- Ideology makes people UNDERSTAND AND JUSTIFY THE IMPLICATIONS OF THEIR ACTIONS.
- Ideology indicates THE GOALS, MEANS AND FORMS OF PRACTICAL ACTIVITIES of social groups and of individuals.
- It supplies the JUSTIFICATION FOR VARIOUS SOCIAL, POLITICAL AND MORAL IDEALS.
- Ideology DISTINGUISHES A SOCIAL MOVEMENT FROM MERE INSTANCES.
- **Leaders operate within ideological framework**.

LIFE CYCLE OF SOCIAL MOVEMENTS

- **STAGE ONE** reflects the **SOCIAL UNREST** present in society. **COLLECTIVE TENSION** builds up as a result of this.

- **STAGE TWO** in which COLLECTIVE EXCITEMENT can be witnessed in the society, where people feel they have a problem in common. CERTAIN SOCIAL CONDITIONS ARE IDENTIFIED as the root cause of the misery and excitement sets in. The movement gains support and a guiding ideology. AGITATION rise everywhere. This period is generally brief and leads quickly to action.

- **STAGE THREE** is the FORMALIZATION STAGE though some movements like migratory movements may be able to operate without formal organisation. DIVISION OF WORK among leaders and followers. FUND RAISING is systematized and IDEOLOGY BECOMES CLEARER than before. The STRATEGY AND TACTICS FOR PROTEST AND FOR ACTION are drawn and A MORAL JUSTIFICATION for having adopted a particular course of action is established.

- **THE FOURTH STAGE** is one of INSTITUTIONALIZATION. The movement CRYSTALLIZES INTO A DEFINITE PATTERN. **Efficient bureaucrats replace agitators; buildings, offices are established.** The AIMS OF THE MOVEMENT become accepted in that society. This period may last indefinitely.

- **THE FIFTH STAGE** is one of DISSOLUTION. Only some movements achieve full institutionalization. Some movements' ends early while some dissolve after the objective has been achieved.

All social movements: Play a major part in social change. Help in quickening the pace of change. Influence many aspects of the people's lives: moral, political, social and cultural.

REVOLUTION

A revolution is a mass social movement. A **revolution** (from the Latin revolutio, "a turn around") is a fundamental change in political power or organizational structures that takes place in a relatively short period of time when the population rises up in revolt against the current authorities. **A revolution leads to major process of reform or change (Skocpol 1979**).

- **JOHN DUNN** has pointed out that this means that **those who take power must genuinely be more capable of governing the society over which they assume control than those who have been over-thrown; the leadership must be capable of achieving at least some its targets.** A society in which a movement succeeds in gaining the formal trappings of power but is then unable to rule effectively cannot be said to have experienced a revolution; it is likely rather to be a society in chaos or threatened with disintegration.

- **Revolution involves the threat or use of violence on the part of those participating.** Revolutions are political changes brought about in the face of opposition from the pre existing authorities who cannot be persuaded to relinquish their power without the threatened or actual use of violence means.

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- **Combining these three criteria, we can define A REVOLUTION AS THE SEIZURE, OFTEN INVOLVING THE USE OF VIOLENCE, OF POLITICAL POWER BY THE LEADERS OF A MASS MOVEMENT, WHERE THAT POWER IS SUBSEQUENTLY USED TO INITIATE MAJOR PROCESSES OF SOCIAL REFORM**. In these terms, the events of 1989 in **Eastern Europe** were definitely revolutions. Mass social movements were involved. Violence was threatened and sometimes (in Romania, for example) used against the government authorities. And the events certainly led to major processes of social reform.

- The revolutions, however, are only the most recent in a history of revolutionary change in modern societies that goes as far back as the eighteenth century. **The American and French revolutions, of 1776 and 1789 respectively, were the most important examples during the eighteenth.** The **ideals of freedom, citizenship and equality in the name of which those revolutions were fought, have become fundamental political values.** Indeed, these were the value that guided the movements of 1989 in Eastern Europe. **Eighteenth-century revolutions in fact played a major role in establishing the political system of most Western societies, not just the United States and France.** But most of the revolutions occurring across the world in the twentieth century, up to the events of 1989, took place in developing societies such as Russia, China, Mexico, Turkey, Egypt Vietnam, Cuba and other Third World countries.

THEORIES OF REVOLUTION

Since revolution have been so important in world history over the past two centuries, it is not surprising that a diversity of theories exist to try to account for them. Some theories were formulated early in the history of the social sciences; the most important was that of Karl Marx. Marx, who lived well before any of the revolutions undertaken in the name of his ideas. He intended his views to be taken not just as an analysis of the conditions of revolutionary change, but as a means of furthering such change. Whatever is their intrinsic validity, Marx's ideas have had an immense practical impact on twentieth-century social change.

KARL MARX'S THEORY

- **Marx's view of revolution is based on his interpretation of human history in general.** According to Marx, THE DEVELOPMENT OF SOCIETIES IS MARKED BY PERIODIC CLASS CONFLICTS THAT, WHEN THEY BECOME ACUTE, TEND TO END IN A PROCESS OF REVOLUTIONARY CHANGE. Class struggles derive from the contradictions – unresolvable tensions – in societies.

- The main source of contradiction can be traced to economic changes, or changes in the forces of production. In beginning was stability in society, there was a balance between the economic

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structure, social relationship and the political system (PRIMITIVE CAPITALIST STAGE). As the forces of production altered, contradiction appeared in society because of inequality between HAVE and HAVENOT in respect to their relation with "Means of Production". In Capitalist stage contradictions further intensified, leading to open clashes between classes – and ultimately to revolution.

- **MARX APPLIED THIS MODEL BOTH TO THE PAST DEVELOPMENT OF FEUDALISM AND TO WHAT HE SAW AS THE PROBABLE FUTURE EVOLUTION OF INDUSTRIAL CAPITALISM**. The traditional, feudal societies of Europe were based on peasant production; the producers were SERFS ruled by a class of LANDED ARISTOCRATS AND GENTRY. Economic changes within these societies gave rise to towns and cities, where trade and manufacture developed. This new economic system, created within feudal society, threatened its very basis. Rather than being founded on the traditional lord-serf relationship, **the emerging economic order encouraged industrialists to produce goods for sale in open markets. The contradictions between the old feudal economy and the newly emerging capitalist one eventually became acute, taking the form of VIOLENT CONFLICT between THE RISING CAPITALIST CLASS** and **THE FEUDAL LANDOWNERS.** REVOLUTION WAS THE OUTCOME OF THIS PROCESS, THE MOST IMPORTANT EXAMPLE BEING **THE FRENCH REVOLUTION 1789.** Through such revolution and revolutionary change occurring in other European societies, Marx argued, the capitalist class managed to achieve dominance.

- **But the coming of industrial capitalism, according to Marx, set up new contradictions, which would eventually lead to a further series of revolutions prompted by ideals of communism**. MARX MEANT BY COMMUNISM THE OWNERSHIP OF INDUSTRY BY SOCIETY AS A WHOLE, RATHER THAN BY INDIVIDUALS. **Industrial capitalism is an economic order based on the private pursuit of profit and on competition between firms to sell their products creates a gulf between a rich minority who control the industrial resources and an impoverished majority of wage workers.** WORKERS AND CAPITALIST come into more and more intense conflict with one another. **Labour movements and political parties representing the mass of the working population eventually mount a challenge to the rule of the capitalist class and overthrow the existing political system**. **When the position of a dominant class is particularly entrenched, Marx believed, violent Revolution is necessary to bring about the required-transition.**

JAMES DAVIES THEORY:

Criticizing Marx, sociologist James Davies pointed out that there are many periods of history when people have lived in dire poverty but have not risen up in protest. Constant poverty or deprivation does not make people into revolutionaries; rather, they usually endure such conditions

with resignation or mute despair. **According to Davies, social protest, and ultimately revolution, is more likely to occur when there is an improvement in people's living conditions. Once standards of living have started to rise, people's levels of expectations also go up**. **If improvement in actual conditions subsequently slows down, propensities to revolt are created because rising expectations are frustrated.**

Thus, it **is not absolute deprivation that leads to protest but relative deprivation – the discrepancy between the lives people are forced to lead and what they think could realistically be achieved.** Davis's theory is useful in understanding the connections between revolution and modern social and economic development. **The influence of ideals of progress, together with expectations of economic growth, tend to induce rising expectations, which, it then frustrated spark protest Such protest gains further strength from the spread of ideas of equality and democratic political participation.**

As Charles Tilly has pointed out, however, Davies's theory does not show how and why different groups mobilize to seek revolutionary change. Protest might well often occur against a backdrop of rising expectations; to understand how it is transformed into revolutionary action; we need to identify how groups become collectively organized to make effective political challenges.

CHARLES TILLY'S THEORY:

In From **Mobilization to Revolution,** Charles Tilly analysed process of revolutionary change in the context of broader forms of protest and violence. He distinguished FOUR MAIN COMPONENTS of **COLLECTIVE ACTION**, action taken to contest or overthrows an existing social order LEADING TO REVOLUTION.

- **THE ORGANIZATION** OF THE GROUP OR GROUPS INVOLVED. Protest movements are organized in many ways, varying from the spontaneous formation of crowds to tightly disciplined revolutionary groups. FOR EXAMPLE, T**he movement Lenin led in Russia began as a small group of activists.**

- **MOBILIZATION,** the ways in which a group acquires SUFFICIENT RESOURCES to make collective action possible. Such resources may include supplies of material goods, political support and weaponry. FOR EXAMPLE, **Lenin was able to acquire material and moral support from a sympathetic peasantry, together with many townspeople.**

- **THE COMMON INTERESTS** of these engaging in collective action, what they see as the gains and losses likely to be achieved by their policies. Some common goals always underlie mobilization to collective action. FOR EXAMPLE, **Lenin managed to weld together a broad**

coalition of support because many people had a common interest in removing the existing government.

- **OPPORTUNITY,** CHANCE; events may occur that provide opportunities to pursue revolutionary aims. Numerous forms of collective action, including revolution, are greatly influenced by such incidental events. **There was not inevitability to Lenin's success, which depended on a number of contingent factors – including success in battle. If Lenin had been killed, would there have been a revolution?**

Collective action itself can simply be defined as people acting together in pursuit of interests they share – for example, gathering to demonstrate in support of their cause. Some of these people may be intensely involved; others may lend more passive or irregular support. Effective collective action, such as action that culminates in revolution, usually moves through stages 1 to 4.

Social movements, in Tilly's view, tend to develop as means of mobilizing group resources either when people have no institutionalized means of making their voices heard or when their needs are directly repressed by the state authorities. Although collective action at some point involves open confrontation with the political authorities – 'taking to the streets' – only when such activity is backed by groups who are systematically organized is confrontation likely to have much impact on established patterns of power.

Typical models of collective action and protest vary with historical and cultural circumstances. In today's society, for example, most people are familiar with forms of demonstration such as mass marches, large assemblies and street riots, whether or not they have participated in such activities. Other types of collective protest, however, have become less common or have disappeared altogether in most modern societies (such as fights between villages, machine breaking or lynching). Protesters can also build on examples taken from other countries; for instance, guerrilla movements proliferated in various parts of the world once disaffected groups learned how successful guerrilla actions can be against regular armies.

When and why does collective action become violent? After studying a large number of incidents that have occurred in Western Europe since 1800, Tilly concludes that most collective violence occurs depends not so much on the nature of the activity as on other factors – in particular, how the authorities respond. A good instance is the street demonstration. The vast majority of such demonstrations take place without damage either to people or to property. A minority lead to violence, and are then labeled as riots. Sometimes the authorities step in when violence has already occurred; more often, the historical record shows, they are the originators of violence. In Tilly's words, 'In the modern European experience repressive forces are themselves the most

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consistent initiator and performers of collective violence' (1978). Moreover, when violent confrontations do occur, the agents of authority are responsible for the largest share of deaths and injuries; This is not surprising given their special access to arms and military discipline. The groups they are attempting to control, conversely, do greater damage to object or property.

Revolutionary movements, according to Tilly, are type of collective action that occurs in situations what he calls multiple sovereignty – these occur when a government for some reason lacks full control over the areas it is supposed administer. Multiple sovereignty can arise as a result of external war, internal political clashes, or these two combined. Whether a revolutionary takeover of power is accomplished depends on how far the ruling authorities maintain control over the armed forces, the extent of conflicts within ruling groups and the level of organization of the protest movements trying to seize power.

Tilly's work represents one of the most sophisticated attempts to analyse collective violence and revolutionary struggle. The concepts he develops seem to have wide application, and his use of them is sensitive to the variabilities of historical time and place. How social movements are organized, the resources they are able to mobilize, the common interests of groups contending for power, and change opportunities are all important aspects of revolutionary **transformation.**

Tilly says little, however, about the circumstances that lead to multiple sovereignty. This is such a fundamental part of explaining revolution that it represents a serious omission. According to Theda Skocpol, Tilly assumes that revolutionary movements are guided by the conscious and deliberate pursuit of interests, and successful processes of revolutionary change occur when people manage to realize these interest. Skocpol, by contrast, sees revolutionary movements as more ambiguous and indecisive in their objectives. Revolutions, she emphasizes, largely emerge as unintended consequences of more partial aims: In fact, in historical revolutions, differently situated and motivated groups have become participants in complex unfolding of multiple conflicts. These conflicts have been powerfully shaped and limited by existing social, economic and international conditions. And they have proceeded in different ways depending upon how each revolutionary situation emerged in the first place.

Extra Readings:

Political Socialization

- Political socialization can be defined as a process of socializing in a political system through information on political symbols, institutions and procedures and internalizing the value system

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and ideology supporting the system. It is also a process of acquisition of political culture. This process works at individual as well as at community level through cultural transmission. It is one of the most important functions of the political system. It is also part of the general socialization which starts at the later life.

- The two important components are 1.Inculcation of general values and norms regarding political behavior and political matters and 2. The induction of an individual or some people into a particular party and learning its ideology and action programmes.The role played by mass-media is equally important in educating the masses and clearing their views for making informed decisions regarding political affairs. It plays a very crucial role during elections.

Political Modernization

- It is the transformation of political culture in response to changes in social and physical environment. According to Huntington political modernization is a multifaceted process involving change in all areas of human thought and activity. Benjamin Schwartz views political modernization as the systematic, sustained and powerful application of human energies to control man's social and physical environment. Claude Welch describes political modernization as the process based on the rational utilization of resources and aimed at the establishment of modern society.
- The process of modernization of the polity leads to the emergence of some crucial problems and challenges faced by the political system. It is rooted in the changing sources of legitimation of authority.

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Religion and Society

Syllabus:

☐   Sociological theories of religion.

☐ Types of religious practices: animism, monism, pluralism, sects, cults.

☐ Religion in modern society: religion and science, secularization, religious revivalism, fundamentalism.

The study of religion is a challenging enterprise which place quite special demands on the sociological imagination. In analyzing religious practices, we have to make sense of the many different beliefs and rituals found in the various human cultures. We must be sensitive to ideals that inspire profound conviction in believers, yet at the same time take balanced view of them. We have to confront ideas that seek the eternal, while recognizing that religious groups also promote quite mundane goals - such as acquiring finance or soliciting for followers. We should not only recognize the diversity of religious beliefs and modes of conduct, but also probe into the nature of religion as a general phenomenon.

Sociologist define religion as A CULTURAL SYSTEM OF COMMONLY SHARED BELIEFS AND RITUALS THAT PROVIDES A SENSE OF ULTIMATE MEANING AND PURPOSE BY CREATING AN IDEA OF REALITY THAT IS SACRED, ALL-ENCOMPASSING AND SUPERNATURAL. There are three key elements in this definition:

• **RELIGION IS A FORM OF CULTURE.** Culture consists of the shared beliefs, values, norms and ideas that create a common identity among a group of people. Religion shares all of these characteristics.

• **RELIGION INVOLVES BELIEFS THAT TAKE THE FORM OF RITUALIZED PRACTICES.** All religions thus have a behavioral aspect – special activities in which believers take part and that identify them as members of the religious community.

• **PERHAPS MOST IMPORTANT, RELIGION PROVIDES A SENSE OF PURPOSE – A FEELING THAT LIFE IS ULTIMATELY MEANINGFUL.** It does so by explaining coherently and compellingly what transcends or overshadows everyday life, in ways that other aspects of culture (such as an educational system or a belief in democracy) typically can not.

What is absent from the sociological definition of religion is as important as what is included: NOWHERE IS THERE MENTION OF GOD. In common sense WE OFTEN THINK OF THEISM, A BELIEF IN ONE OR MORE SUPERNATURAL DEITIES (the term originates from

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the Greek word for God), BASIC TO RELIGION, BUT THIS IS NOT NECESSARILY THE CASE. Some religions, such as Buddhism, believe in the existence of spiritual forces rather than a particular God.

How sociologists think about religion:

- **Sociologists** are **NOT CONCERNED with WHETHER RELIGIOUS BELIEFS ARE TRUE OR FALSE.** From a sociological perspective, **RELIGIONS ARE REGARDED NOT AS BEING DECREED BY GOD. But** as **BEING SOCIALLY CONSTRUCTED BY HUMAN BEINGS.** As a result, **sociologists put aside their personal beliefs when they study religion**.

- They are **CONCERNED WITH THE HUMAN RATHER THAN THE DIVINE ASPECTS OF RELIGION.** Sociologists ask;

  1. How is the religion organized?
  2. What are its principal beliefs and values?
  3. How is it related to the larger society?
  4. What explains its success or failure in recruiting and retaining believers?

- Sociologists are especially **CONCERNED WITH THE SOCIAL ORGANIZATION OF RELIGION.** Religions are among the most important institutions in society. **THEY ARE A PRIMARY SOURCE OF THE MOST DEEP-SEATED NORMS AND VALUES.** At the same time, **RELIGIONS ARE TYPICALLY PRACTICED THROUGH AN ENORMOUS VARIETY OF SOCIAL FORMS (SOURCE OF DIVERSITY IN SOCIETY).** Within Christianity and Judaism, **FOR EXAMPLE,** religious practice often occurs in formal organizations, such Asian religions as Hinduism and Buddhism, where religious practices are likely to occur in the home or some other natural setting. **THE SOCIOLOGY OF RELIGION IS CONCERNED WITH HOW DIFFERENT RELIGIOUS INSTITUTIONS AND ORGANIZATIONS ACTUALLY FUNCTION.** In **MODERN INDUSTRIAL SOCIETY,** however, religions have become established in separate, often bureaucratic, organizations, and so sociologists focus on the organizations through which religions must operate in order to survive (Hammond 1992).

- **Sociologists OFTEN VIEW RELIGIONS AS A MAJOR SOURCE OF SOCIAL SOLIDARITY.** To the extent that **RELIGIONS PROVIDE BELIEVERS WITH A COMMON SET OF NORMS AND VALUES,** they are an important source of social solidarity. Religious beliefs, rituals and bonds help to create a **'moral community'** in which all members know how to behave towards one another (Wuthnow 1988). If a single religion dominates in society there is stability. If a society's members adhere to numerous competing religions difference may lead to destabilizing social conflicts. Recent **EXAMPLES** of religious conflict within a society include struggles between Sikhs, Hindus and Muslims in India; clashes between Muslims and Christians in

Bosnia and other parts of the former Yugoslavia; and 'hate crimes' against Jews, Muslims and other religious minorities in the United States.

- Sociologists tend to explain **"THE APPEAL OF RELIGION" in terms of "SOCIAL FORCES rather than in terms of purely personal, spiritual or psychological factors"**. For many people, religious beliefs are a deeply personal experience, involving a strong sense of connection with forces that transcend everyday reality. **Sociologists do not question the depth of such feelings and experiences,** but they are unlikely to limit themselves to a purely spiritual explanation of religious commitment.

Some researchers argue that people often **'GET RELIGION' WHEN THEIR FUNDAMENTAL SENSE OF A SOCIAL ORDER IS THREATENED BY ECONOMIC HARD SHIP, LONELINESS, LOSS OR GRIEF, PHYSICAL SUFFERING, OR POOR HEALTH (BERGER 1967)**; explaining the appeal of religious movements, sociologists are more likely to focus on the problems of the social order than on the psychological response of the individual.

SOCIOLOGICAL THEORIES OF RELIGION

Karl MARX's THEORY OF RELIGION

KARL MARX, the German scholar, has provided a CONFLICT PERSPECTIVE OF RELIGION. Marx saw RELIGION AS A REFLECTION OF SOCIETY (not as an expression of "primitive" or psychological needs as other theorists of his time presented). UNLIKE THEORISTS LIKE DURKHEIM who emphasized the positive functions of religion, **MARX STRESSED THE DYSFUNCTIONS OF RELIGION AS A SOCIAL INSTITUTION?** Whereas Durkheim saw religion as benefiting all segments of society by promoting social commitment, **MARX SAW RELIGION AS SERVING THE INTERESTS OF THE RULING CLASS AT THE EXPENSE OF THE POWERLESS MASSES**.

- **MARX ARGUED that** "RELIGION IS THE SIGH OF THE OPPRESSED CREATURE, THE SENTIMENT OF A HEARTLESS WORLD, AND THE SOUL OF SOULLESS CONDITIONS. IT IS THE OPIUM OF THE PEOPLE".

- **MARX ARGUED that "**JUST AS A 'PAINKILLER' MASKS THE SYMPTOMS OF DISEASE, silencing the sick person into the illusory belief that he or she is well and hearty, 'SO RELIGION MASKS THE EXPLOITATION OF WORKERS, AND LULLING THEM INTO THE FALSE BELIEF THAT EXISTING SOCIAL ARRANGEMENTS ARE JUST-OR IF NOT JUST, INESCAPABLE".

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- Thus **MARX ARGUED** that **RELIGION** as a social institution **TEACHES THAT THE INDIVIDUAL'S POSITION ON EARTH WILL BE REWARDED IN HEAVEN**. In so doing, **RELIGION OBSCURES THE EXPLOITATIVE TENDENCIES HIDDEN WITHIN THE CLASS STRUCTURE AND ELITE'S VESTED INTEREST IN THE STATUS QUO.**

- In this way, **RELIGION** becomes **A TOOL IN THE HANDS OF THE 'HAVES' TO EXPLOIT AND OPPRESS THE 'HAVE-NOTS'.**

- **MARX perceived religion as 'THE PERSONIFICATION OF ALIENATION': the self-estrangement people experience when they feel they have lost control over social institutions. The term 'alienation' was used by him to describe the modern worker's experience of being nothing more than a 'cog in a machine'.** HE ALSO EMPLOYED THIS CONCEPT TO DESCRIBE WHAT HE SAW AS THE DEHUMANIZING EFFECT OF RELIGION. **'The more the worker expends himself in work, the more powerful becomes the world of objects which he creates in the face of himself, the poorer he becomes in his inner life, the less he belongs to himself.** IT IS JUST THE SAME AS IN RELIGION. 'THE MORE OF HIMSELF MAN ATTRIBUTES TO GOD THE LESS HE HAS LEFT IN HIMSELF' WROTE MARX .

- **As the above quoted citations indicate MARX'S DENUNCIATION AND REJECTION OF RELIGION IN SOCIETY WAS TOTAL. He argued that ONLY WHEN PEOPLE GIVE UP THE ILLUSORY HAPPINESS OF RELIGION WILL THEY BEGIN TO DEMAND REAL HAPPINESS.**

- In furthering his attack on religion as an exploitative social institution in the clutches of the bourgeois class, he wrote: 'The institution of religion disillusions man so that he will think, act and fashion his reality as a man who has… regained his reason". He predicted that in a classless society with communistic form of economic order, religion would become irrelevant and unnecessary. Like the capitalist class itself, religion would die its natural death.

Thus, Karl Marx considered RELIGION AS AN UNCALLED FOR AND MANIPULATIVE INSTITUTION FORMING AN INTEGRAL PART OF THE EXPLOITATIVE SUPERSTRUCTURE. Both the religious and cultural institutions transform with the transformation of the economic foundation or the base. Religion and culture are the result of the existing power structure of society and religion would wither away once the class society revolutionizes itself into a classless society.

FUNCTIONALISM AND RELIGIOUS RITUAL

In contrast to Marx, **EMILE DURKHEIM spent a good part of his intellectual career studying religion. Concentrating particularly on religion in small-scale, traditional societies, Durkheim's work, "the Elementary Forms of the Religious Life", is the one of the most**

influential studies in the sociology of religion. **DURKHEIM DOES NOT CONNECT RELIGION PRIMARILY WITH SOCIAL INEQUALITIES OR POWER, BUT RELATES IT TO THE OVERALL NATURE OF THE INSTITUTIONS OF A SOCIETY. He bases his work on a study of TOTEMISM as practiced by Australian Aboriginal societies, and he argues that totemism represents religion in its most 'elementary' or simple form – hence the title of his book.**

- **A TOTEM was originally an animal or plant taken as having particular symbolic significance for a group. It is a sacred object, regarded with veneration and surrounded by various ritual activities.** DURKHEIM DEFINES RELIGION IN TERMS OF A DISTINCTION BETWEEN THE SACRED AND THE PROFANE. SACRED OBJECTS AND SYMBOLS, he holds, are treated as apart from the routine aspects of existence, which are totemic animal or plant, except on special ceremonial occasions, is usually forbidden, and as a sacred object the totem is believed to have divine properties which separate it completely from other animals that might be hunted, or crops gathered and consumed.

- **WHY IS THE TOTEM SACRED? According to Durkheim, IT IS BECAUSE IT IS THE SYMBOL OF THE GROUP ITSELF; IT STANDS FOR THE VALUES CENTRAL TO THE GROUP OR COMMUNITY. The reverence which people feel for the totem actually derives from the respect they hold for central social values. IN RELIGION, THE OBJECT OF WORSHIP IS ACTUALLY SOCIETY ITSELF.**

- **Durkheim strongly emphasized that RELIGIONS ARE NEVER JUST A MATTER OF BELIEF. ALL RELIGION INVOLVES REGULAR CEREMONIAL AND RITUAL ACTIVITIES IN WHICH A GROUP OF BELIEVERS MEETS TOGETHER…..** IN COLLECTIVE CEREMONIALS A SENSE OF GROUP SOLIDARITY IS AFFIRMED AND HEIGHTENED. **Ceremonials take individuals away from the concerns of profane social life** into an elevated sphere, in which they feel in contact with higher forces, attributed to totems, divine influence or goods, are really the expression of the influence of the collectivity over the individual.

- **CEREMONY AND RITUAL, in Durkheim's view, ARE ESSENTIAL TO BINDING THE MEMBERS OF GROUPS NOT ONLY IN REGULAR SITUATIONS OF WORSHIP, BUT ALSO IN THE VARIOUS LIFE CRISES WHEN MAJOR SOCIAL TRANSITIONS ARE EXPERIENCED – FOR EXAMPLE, BIRTH, MARRIAGE AND DEATH.** In virtually all societies, ritual and ceremonial procedures are observed on such occasions. Durkheim reasons that **collective ceremonials reaffirm group solidarity at a time when people are forced to adjust to major changes in their lives. Funeral rituals demonstrate that the values of the group outlive the passing of particular individuals, and so provide a means for bereaved people to adjust to their altered circumstances.** Mourning is not the spontaneous expression

of grief or, at least, it is only so for those personally affected by the death. Mourning is a duty imposed by the group.

- IN SMALL TRADITIONAL CULTURES, Durkheim argued, ALMOST ALL ASPECTS OF LIFE ARE PERMEATED BY RELIGION. Religious ceremonials both originate new ideas and categories of thought, and reaffirm existing values. RELIGION IS NOT JUST A SERIES OF SENTIMENTS AND ACTIVITIES; IT ACTUALLY CONDITIONS THE MODES OF THINKING OF INDIVIDUALS IN TRADITIONAL CULTURES. Even the most basic categories of thought, including how time and space are thought of, were first framed in religious terms. The concept of 'time', for instance, was originally derived from counting the intervals involved in the religious ceremonials.

- WITH THE DEVELOPMENT OF MODERN SOCIETIES, Durkheim believed, the influence of religion wanes. SCIENTIFIC THINKING INCREASINGLY REPLACES RELIGIOUS EXPLANATION, AND CEREMONIAL AND RITUAL ACTIVITIES COME TO OCCUPY ONLY A SMALL PART OF INDIVIDUALS' LIVES. Durkheim agrees with Marx that traditional religion – that is, religion involving divine force or gods – is on the verge of disappearing. "The old gods are dead', Durkheim writes. Yet he says that THERE IS SENSE IN WHICH RELIGION, IN ALTERED FORMS, IS LIKELY TO CONTINUE. Even modern societies depend for their cohesion on rituals that reaffirm their values; new ceremonial activities can thus be expected to emerge to replace the old. Durkheim is vague about what these might be, but it seems that he has in mind the celebration of humanist and political values such as freedom, equality and social cooperation.

- Many other Social scientists, apart from Durkheim have analyzed religion in terms of what it does for the individual, community or society through its functions and dysfunctions. Many of these social scientists are known to belong to the tradition of functionalist thought. A famous social anthropologist of early twentieth century, MALINOWSKI, saw religion and magic as assisting the individual to cope with situations of stress or anxiety. Religious ritual, according to him, may enable the bereaved to REASSERT THEIR COLLECTIVE SOLIDARITY, TO EXPRESS THEIR COMMON NORMS AND VALUES UPON WHICH THE PROPER FUNCTIONING OF THE COMMUNITY DEPENDS. Religion can also SUPPLEMENT PRACTICAL, EMPIRICAL KNOWLEDGE, offering some sense of understanding and control in areas to which such knowledge does not extent.

- RADCLIFFE-BROWN argues that; Religious ceremonies, for example in the form of communal dancing, PROMOTED UNITY AND HARMONY AND FUNCTIONED TO ENHANCE SOCIAL SOLIDARITY AND THE SURVIVAL of the society. RELIGIOUS BELIEFS contained in myths and legends, he observes, EXPRESS THE SOCIAL VALUES OF THE DIFFERENT OBJECTS WHICH HAVE A MAJOR INFLUENCE ON SOCIAL LIFE

such as **food, weapons, day and night etc.** They form the **value consensus around which society is integrated.**

- Recently **FUNCTIONALISM** while retaining this notion that religion has a central role in maintaining social solidarity has rejected Durkheim's view that **religious beliefs are merely symbolic representations of society. KINGSLEY DAVIS argues that RELIGIOUS BELIEFS FORM THE BASIS FOR SOCIALLY VALUED GOALS AND A JUSTIFICATION OF THEM. RELIGION PROVIDES A COMMON FOCUS FOR IDENTITY AND AN UNLIMITED SOURCE OF REWARDS AND PUNISHMENTS FOR BAHAVIOUR.**

- FUNCTIONALIST THEORIES OF RELIGION FACE A PROBLEM IN THE APPARENT DECLINE IN RELIGIOUS BELIEF AND PARTICIPATION. What is viewed as secularization in other theories is seen as simply religious change in functionalist terms. **Functionalist theorists argue that RELIGION TAKES DIFFERENT FORMS IN APPARENTLY SECULAR SOCIETIES: IT IS MORE INDIVIDUALIZED, LESS TIED TO RELIGIOUS INSTITUTIONS.** The character of modern industrial capitalist society, **particularly its rampant individualism, is thus seen to be expressed in the differentiated character of religion in a society like the USA.** Although seemingly having little basis for integration, **the celebration of individualism is itself an integrating feature of such diverse religious forms.** Moreover, new and distinctive forms of religion may perform latent functions for the system by deflecting adherents from critical appraisal of their society and its distribution of rewards.

- **IN ANTI-RELIGIOUS SOCIETIES SUCH AS SOME COMMUNIST STATES THIS ARGUMENT CANNOT HOLD, BUT HERE IT IS CLAIMED THAT FUNCTIONAL ALTERNATIVES TO TRADITIONAL RELIGION OPERATE.** Other systems of belief such as communism itself fulfill the same role as religion elsewhere. **National ceremonial, ritual celebration of communist victories, heroes, etc., meets the same need for collective rites, which reaffirm common sentiments and promote enhanced commitment to common goals.**

- Finally, **EVEN IN HIGHLY SECULARIZED WESTERN SOCIETIES CIVIL RELIGION EXISTS. This consists in abstract beliefs and rituals, which relate society to ultimate things and provide a rationale for national history, a transcendental basis for national goals and purposes.**

- **ROBERT KING MERTON, a twentieth century functionalist, introduced the concept of dysfunction.** Talking about religion, for instance, **HE POINTED OUT THE DYSFUNCTIONAL FEATURES OF RELIGION IN A MULTI-RELIGIOUS SOCIETY.** In such a society religion, instead of bringing about solidarity, could become the cause of disorganization and disunity.

- Apart from Merton, many other social thinkers have highlighted the dysfunctions of religion. **KARL MARX** regarded **RELIGION AS A SOURCE OF FALSE CONSCIOUSNESS AMONG**

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THE PROLETARIAT, WHICH PREVENTS THE 'CLASS FOR ITSELF' FROM DEVELOPING. It prevents them from developing their real powers and potentialities

MAX WEBER'S THEORY OF RELIGION

Durkheim based his arguments on a very small range of examples, even though he claims his ideas apply to religion in general. **MAX WEBER, by contrast, EMBARKED ON A MASSIVE STUDY OF RELIGIONS WORLDWIDE. NO SCHOLAR BEFORE OR SINCE HAS UNDERTAKEN A TASK OF SUCH SCOPE. Most of his attention was concentrated on what he called the world religions – those that have attracted large numbers of believers and decisively affected the course of global history. HE MADE DETAILED STUDIES OF HINDUISM, BUDDHISM, TAOISM AND ANCIENT JUDAISM AND IN THE PROTESTANT ETHNIC AND THE SPIRIT OF CAPITALISM and elsewhere, he wrote extensively about the impact of Christianity on the history of the West. He did not, however, complete his projected study of Islam.**

- **WEBER'S** writings on religion differ from those of Durkheim in that they **CONCENTRATE ON THE CONNECTION BETWEEN RELIGION AND SOCIAL CHANGE,** something to which Durkheim gave little attention. **They contrast with the work of Marx because WEBER ARGUES THAT RELIGION IS NOT NECESSARILY A CONSERVATIVE FORCE; on the contrary, RELIGIOUSLY INSPIRED MOVEMENTS HAVE OFTEN PRODUCED DRAMATIC SOCIAL TRANSFORMATIONS.** Thus Protestantism – was the source of the capitalistic outlook found in the modern West. **THE EARLY ENTREPRENEURS WERE MOSTLY CALVINISTS. THEIR DRIVE TO SUCCEED, WHICH HELPED INITIATE WESTERN ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT, WAS ORIGINALLY PROMOTED BY A DESIRE TO SERVE GOD.** MATERIAL SUCCESS was for them a sign of DIVINE FAVOUR.

- **HIS DISCUSSION OF THE IMPACT OF PROTESTANTISM ON THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE WEST IS PART OF A COMPREHENSIVE ATTEMPT TO UNDERSTAND THE INFLUENCE OF RELIGION ON SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC LIFE IN CARRYING CULTURES.** Analyzing the Eastern religions, Weber concluded that they provided insuperable barriers to the development of industrial capitalism, such as took place in the West. **This is not because the non-Western civilizations are backward; they have simply accepted values different from those which came to predominate in Europe. IN TRADITIONAL CHINA AND INDIA,** Weber pointed out, **there was at certain periods a significant development of commerce, manufacture and urbanism, but these did not generate the radical patterns of social change involved in the rise of industrial capitalism in the West. RELIGION WAS A MAJOR INFLUENCE IN INHIBITING SUCH CHANGE.**

- **FOR EXAMPLE**, **HINDUISM is what Weber called on 'other-worldly' religion.** That is to say, ITS HIGHEST VALUES STRESS ESCAPE FROM THE TOILS OF THE MATERIAL WORLD

TO A HIGHER PLANE OF SPIRITUAL EXISTENCE. THE RELIGIOUS FEELINGS AND MOTIVATIONS PRODUCED BY HINDUISM DO NOT FOCUS ON CONTROLLING OR SHAPING THE MATERIAL WORLD. On the contrary, Hinduism see material reality as a veil hiding the true concerns to which humankind should be oriented. **CONFUCIANISM also acted to direct effort away from economic development, as this came to be understood in the West, emphasizing harmony with the world rather than promoting active mastery of it**. Although China was for a long while the most powerful and culturally most developed civilization in the world, its dominant religious values acted as a brake on a strong commitment to economic development for its own sake.

- Weber regarded **CHRISTIANITY** as a salvation religion, involving the belief that human beings can be 'saved' if they adopt the beliefs of the religion and follow its moral tenets. The notions of sin and of being rescued from sinfulness by God's grace are important here. They generate a tension and an emotional dynamism essentially absent from the Eastern religions. Salvation religions have a 'revolutionary' aspect. While the religions of the East cultivate an attitude of passivity in the believes towards the existing order, Christianity involves a constant struggle against sin, and hence can stimulate revolt against the existing order of things. Religious leaders – like Jesus – arise, who reinterpret existing doctrines in such a way as to challenge the prevailing power structure.

Critical assessment of the classical views:

- Marx, Durkheim and Weber each identified some important general characteristics of religion, and in some ways their views complement one another. **KARL MARX SEEMS TO BE RIGHT TO CLAIM THAT RELIGION OFTEN HAS IDEOLOGICAL IMPLICATIONS, SERVING TO JUSTIFY THE INTERESTS OF RULING GROUPS AT THE EXPENSE OF OTHERS: THERE ARE INNUMERABLE INSTANCES OF THIS IN HISTORY.** Take as an **EXAMPLE** the **influence of Christianity on the European colonialists' efforts to subject other cultures of their rule.** The missionaries who sought to convert 'heathen' peoples to Christian beliefs were no doubt sincere, yet the effect of their teachings was to reinforce the destruction of traditional cultures and the imposition of white domination. **The various Christian denominations almost all tolerated, or endorsed, slavery in the United States and other parts of the world up to the nineteenth century.** Doctrines were developed that claimed **slavery was based on divine law, disobedient slaves being guilty of an offence against God as well as their masters.**

- Yet **MAX WEBER WAS CERTAINLY CORRECT TO EMPHASIZE THE UNSETTLING, AND OFTEN REVOLUTIONARY, IMPACT OF RELIGIOUS IDEALS ON PRE-ESTABLISHED SOCIAL ORDERS. FOR EXAMPLE, Despite the churches' early support for slavery in the**

United States, many church leaders later played a key role in the fight to abolish it. Religious beliefs have promoted many social movements seeking to overthrow unjust system of authority, playing a prominent part, for instance, in the civil rights movements of the 1960s in the United States.

- **RELIGION HAS ALSO INFLUENCE SOCIAL CHANGE** – **OFTEN PROVOKING MUCH BLOODSHED** – through the armed clashes and ward fought for religious motives. FOR EXAMPLE, KHALISTAN MOVEMENT, ISIS ETC.

- **THESE DIVISIVE INFLUENCES OF RELIGION,** so prominent in history, find little mention in **DURKHEIM'S WORK.** Durkheim emphasized above all the role of religion in promoting social cohesion. **YET IT IS NOT DIFFICULT TO REDIRECT HIS IDEAS TOWARDS EXPLAINING RELIGIOUS DIVISION, CONFLICT AND CHANGE AS WELL AS SOLIDARITY.** After all, much of the strength of feeling which may be generated against other religious groups drives from the commitment to religious values generated within each community of believers.

- **Among the most valuable aspects of Durkheim's writings is his stress on ritual and ceremony. All religions involve regular assemblies of believers, which ritual activities also mark the major transitions of life – birth, entry to adulthood (rituals associated with puberty are found in many cultures), marriage and death** (Van Gennep 1977).

TYPES OF RELIGIOUS PRACTICES: ANIMISM, MONISM, PLURALISM, SECTS, CULTS

ANIMISM

ANIMISM refers to THE BELIEF/FAITH that NOT ONLY HUMANS, BUT NON-HUMAN ENTITIES ARE SPIRITUAL BEINGS, OR AT LEAST EMBODY SOME KIND OF LIFE-PRINCIPLE. Animism encompasses the beliefs that THERE IS NO SEPARATION BETWEEN THE SPIRITUAL AND PHYSICAL (OR MATERIAL) WORLDS, AND SOULS OR SPIRITS EXIST, NOT ONLY IN HUMANS, BUT ALSO IN ALL OTHER ANIMALS, PLANTS, ROCKS, NATURAL PHENOMENA such as thunder, geographic features such as mountains or rivers, or other entities of the natural environment.

- **ANIMISM IS PARTICULARLY WIDELY FOUND IN THE RELIGIONS OF INDIGENOUS PEOPLES,** perhaps most interestingly in Shinto and Sererism, and some forms of Hinduism, Sikhism, Buddhism, Pantheism, Christianity.

- Throughout European history, **many philosophers such as Aristotle and Thomas Aquinas, among others**, contemplated the **possibility that souls exist in animals, plants, and**

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people. However, the currently accepted definition of animism was only developed in the 19th century by SIR EDWARD B. TYLOR, who created ANIMISM as "one of social anthropology's earliest concepts".

- **According to SIR EDWARD B. TYLOR, ANIMISM MEANS THE BELIEF IN SPIRITS. E.B. TAYLOR** in his famous book **"Primitive Culture"** developed **"the thesis of animism"** and subsequently he developed the distinction between **"magic, religion and science"**. **In his thesis of animism he advocated that 'ANIMA' means 'SPIRIT'. "ANIMISM" refers to "A GIVEN FORM OF RELIGION IN WHICH MAN FINDS THE PRESENCE OF SPIRIT IN EVERY OBJECT THAT SURROUNDS HIM".**

- **According to him, Man's ideas of spirits primarily ORIGINATED from his dreams. In his dreams man, for the first time, encountered with his double**. He realized that his double or duplicate is MORE DYNAMIC AND ELASTIC than his own self. He further considered that his double, though resembled his body, IT IS FAR MORE SUPERIOR IN TERMS OF QUALITY from his body. He generalized further that **the presence of soul in human body is responsible for the elasticity of images in dreams.**

- **Taking this fact into consideration 'PRIMITIVE MIND' CONSIDERED THAT WHEN MAN SLEEPS THE 'ANIMA OR SOUL' MOVES OUT OF THE BODY OF MAN 'TEMPORARILY' AND WHEN HE IS DEAD IT LEAVES OUT THE BODY 'PERMANENTLY'.** Thereafter man generalized that **"EVERY EMBODIMENT, WHICH IS SUBJECTED TO BIRTH, GROWTH AND DECAY, IS OBVIOUSLY ASSOCIATED WITH ANIMA OR SPIRIT". Hence, trees, rivers, mountains, which are greatly subjected to decay and expansion, were considered as the embodiments in which soul is present. Realizing this, "MAN STARTED WORSHIPPING ALL THESE EMBODIMENTS AND THAT IS HOW ANIMISM AS A SPECIFIC FORM OF RELIGIONS CAME INTO BEING".** According to Taylor, the most ancient form of animistic practice is manifested in terms of **ANCESTOR WORSHIP.**

- **Man realized that his ANCESTORS AFTER THEIR DEATH CONVERT INTO SPIRITS OR SOULS WHO MAY BE "BENEVOLENT" OR "MALEVOLENT". Realizing this, in order to convert these 'spirits or souls' as 'protecting spirits', man made them 'periodic offerings'.** In primitive communities this is known as **Ancestor cult and Ghost Worship**.

- **According to TAYLOR,** THE PRIMITIVE MAN WAS NOT IN A CONDITION TO DISTINGUISH BETWEEN **ANIMATE AND INANIMATE OBJECTS**. Therefore, he conceived that like **'life and soul'** associated with human body, they should be associated with every object both animate and inanimate. **Realizing this he started worshipping rocks, trees, streams, everything surrounding him extending the notion of soul and spirit to all of them. Taylor argues that religion in the form of animism originated to satisfy man's intellectual nature to meet his need to make sense of death, dreams and vision.**

- **IN MANY ANIMISTIC WORLD VIEWS, the HUMAN BEING IS OFTEN REGARDED AS ON A ROUGHLY EQUAL FOOTING WITH OTHER ANIMALS, PLANTS, AND NATURAL FORCES.** Therefore, it is morally imperative to treat these agents with respect. **IN THIS WORLD VIEW, humans are considered a part of nature, rather than superior to, or separate from it. In such societies, ritual is considered essential for survival, as it wins the favor of the spirits of one's source of food, shelter, and fertility and wards off malevolent spirits. In more elaborate animistic religions, such as Shinto, there is a greater sense of a special character to humans that sets them apart from the general form of animals and objects, while retaining the necessity of ritual to ensure good luck, favorable harvests, and so on.**

- Most animistic belief systems hold that the spirit survives PHYSICAL DEATH. **In some systems,** the "**ANIMA OR SPIRIT" is believed to pass to an easier world of abundant land or ever-ripe crops**, while in **other systems,** the **spirit remains on earth as a ghost,** often malignant. **Still other systems** combine these two beliefs, **holding that the soul must journey to the world without becoming lost and thus wandering as a ghost**. Funeral, mourning rituals, and ancestor worship performed by those surviving the deceased are often considered necessary for the successful completion of this journey.

- **FROM THE BELIEF IN THE SURVIVAL OF THE DEAD arose the practice of offering food, lighting fires, etc., at the grave, at first, maybe, as an act of friendship or filial piety, later as an act of ancestor worship**. The simple offering of food or shedding of blood at the grave develops into an elaborate system of sacrifice. Even where ancestor worship is not found, the desire to provide the dead with comforts in the future life may lead to the sacrifice of wives, slaves, animals, and so on, to the breaking or burning of objects at the grave or to the provision of the ferryman's toll: a coin put in the mouth of the corpse to pay the traveling expenses of the soul.

- **But all is not finished with the passage of the soul to the land of the dead.** THE SOUL MAY RETURN TO AVENGE ITS DEATH BY HELPING TO DISCOVER THE MURDERER, OR TO WREAK VENGEANCE FOR ITSELF. There is a widespread belief that those who die a violent death become malignant spirits and endanger the lives of those who come near the haunted spot. In Malay folklore, the woman who dies in childbirth becomes a Pontianak, a vampire-like spirit who threatens the life of human beings. People resort to magical or religious means of repelling spiritual dangers from such malignant spirits. **It is not surprising to find that many peoples respect and even worship animals, often regarding them as relatives. It is clear that widespread respect was paid to animals as the abode of dead ancestors, and much of the cults to dangerous animals is traceable to this principle; though there is no need to attribute an animistic origin to it.**

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Contemporary animist traditions

- African traditional religions, a group of beliefs in various spirits of nature,
- In the Canary Islands (Spain), aboriginal Guanches professed an animistic religion.
- Shinto, the traditional religion of Japan, is highly animistic. In Shinto, spirits of nature, or kami, are believed to exist everywhere, from the major (such as the goddess of the sun), which can be considered polytheistic, to the minor, which are more likely to be seen as a form of animism.
- There are some Hindu groups which may be considered animist. The coastal Karnataka has a tradition of praying to spirits.
- The New Age movement commonly purports animism in the form of the existence of nature spirits and fairies. .

MONISM AND PLURALISM

Monism

Monism is a religious-philosophical worldview in which all of reality can be reduced to one "thing" or "substance." This view is OPPOSED TO DUALISM (in which all of reality is reducible to two substances, e.g., good and evil; light and darkness; form and matter; body and soul) AND PLURALISM (all of reality is comprised of multiple substances). In all of these philosophical views, the word *substance* in a technical sense to mean "essence,"; in other words, something in which properties   adhere.

Many of the early, pre-Socratic philosophers tried to understand the underlying nature of the reality that surrounded them. **THEY WANTED TO DETERMINE WHAT EVERYTHING COULD BE REDUCED TO.** For **THALES (624–546 BC),** the first principle of everything—that from which everything is derived—was water. **FOR ANAXIMENES (585–528 BC)** it was air. Two more well-known monists, **HERACLITUS (535–475 BC) AND PARMENIDES (FL. EARLY 5TH CENTURY BC),** attempted to ground reality in becoming (flux) and being (permanence), respectively. **Heraclitus** observed that all around him was in constant flux (or change); therefore, **all reality was becoming—things changing from one form into another.** His classic example was the observation that one can never step into the same river twice because the water is in constant motion. **Parmenides,** taking the opposite route of Heraclitus, said that ultimate reality can only reside in that which is unchanging; for him, that was **absolute being.**

Moving from a metaphysical analysis to a more religious-spiritual outlook, **MONISM IS THE**

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UNDERLYING WORLDVIEW OF THOSE WHO HOLD TO A FORM OF PANTHEISM. Pantheism is THE WORLDVIEW THAT GOD (NOT NECESSARILY THE CHRISTIAN GOD) IS THE ULTIMATE SOURCE OF BEING, AND THAT ALL OF REALITY IS A MANIFESTATION OF THIS GOD. Pantheism sees no real distinction between God and the universe. PLOTINUS (AD 204–270), the father of neo-Platonism, was a popular pantheist. His brand of metaphysics taught that ultimate being resided in the One. From a series of necessary emanations, out of the One, comes the Divine Mind (Nous). The next level of emanations results in the World Soul (Psyche), and finally the material world (Cosmos). Another famous philosophical pantheist was the 17th-century rationalist philosopher Baruch Spinoza.

MONISM CAN ALSO BE SEEN IN THE SCIENTIFIC REALM in those who subscribe to a naturalistic materialism. According to this view, ALL REALITY IS LIMITED TO THE MATERIAL WORLD. There is no such thing as spirit, soul, or God. ONLY THOSE THINGS THAT CAN BE PERCEIVED BY THE FIVE SENSES ARE REAL. This is the default position of many atheists (at least those who are consistent with their worldview). One can see what happens if one takes this view to its logical conclusion. If everything is essentially matter governed by physical laws, then such things as love, morality, justice, etc., go out the window. What do those things mean in a purely material world? They are basically feeble attempts to construct meaning in a universe that is cold and deterministic.

All of these philosophies—whether monistic, dualistic, or pluralistic—are attempting to deal with the problem of universals (or the problem of the one and the many). The problem of universals can be simply illustrated. Take the example of a chair. We can all conceptualize a chair in our minds and apply that concept to different instances of "chair." All of these particular instances of the concept "chair" may differ—e.g., a simple wooden chair as compared to a fancy office chair with soft cushions and a lift mechanism—but they all share the essential characteristics of what constitutes "chair-ness." The question that arises is what is more real: the concept of "chair" or the particular chairs we see in the world?

- Broadly speaking, the concept of monism refers to faith in one God, one body of ritual, one set of ideology and moral doctrines. DURING MEDIEVAL PERIOD RELIGION OFFERED A FOUNDATION TO THE FORMATION OF POLITICAL STATE. It was believed that religious differences all over the world can only glorify the variations in political identity of the state. FOR EXAMPLE Roman Empire emerged as a Christian state. Middle East gave way to the rise of Islamic states what was known as post Egyptian civilization.

- However during 18th century slave trade, expansion of the territorial boundaries of the state because of warfare gave rise to **THE EMERGENCE OF CULTURALLY PLURALISTIC SOCIETIES**. However the **MAJOR CONCERN OF THE STATE WAS TO TRANSFORM MULTICULTURALISM INTO CULTURAL UNIFORMITY.** Therefore the **state patronized one religion, permitted missionaries to lure ethnic minorities to go for religious conversions. As a result multi ethnic groups because of coercion & persuasion became a part of artificially constructed MONISTIC SOCIETIES.** These monistic societies glorified **one sovereign ruler, one ideology, one culture developing intolerance to cultural distinctions.**

- 18th century Europe explains how cultural minorities were pushed into ghettos identified as **slave race, forced to join warfare and heavy fines were imposed in them on a refusal to commanders dictates.** That subsequently gave way to the rise of **autocratic state striving for cultural unification**.

- After the advent of **INDUSTRY, FREE TRADE, THE CULTURE OF DEMOCRACY IN 19TH CENTURY EUROPE it was essential that people cutting across the boundaries of NATION-STATE should be developing harmonic relationship with each other**. During 19th century Catholic Church, its orthodox values and nexus with state was severely challenged. **As a result new education system, free market, rational political structure made appearance and state which had a written guaranteeing no discrimination to the citizen of a society on the basis of their ethnic & religious identities**.

PLURALISM

- **Religious pluralism generally REFERS TO THE BELIEF IN TWO OR MORE RELIGIOUS WORLDVIEWS AS BEING EQUALLY VALID OR ACCEPTABLE.** More than mere tolerance, **religious pluralism accepts multiple paths to God or gods as a possibility and is usually contrasted with "exclusivism," the idea that there is only one true religion or way to know God.**

Here are four points to begin our thinking:

- **First, pluralism is not diversity alone, but** *the energetic engagement with diversity*. Diversity can and has meant the creation of religious ghettoes with little traffic between or among them. Today, religious diversity is a given, but pluralism is not a given; it is an achievement. Mere diversity without real encounter and relationship will yield increasing tensions in our societies.

- **Second, pluralism is not just tolerance, but** *the active seeking of understanding across lines of difference*. Tolerance is a necessary public virtue, but it does not require Christians and Muslims, Hindus, Jews, and ardent secularists to know anything about one another. Tolerance

is too thin a foundation for a world of religious difference and proximity. It does nothing to remove our ignorance of one another, and leaves in place the stereotype, the half-truth, the fears that underlie old patterns of division and violence. In the world in which we live today, our ignorance of one another will be increasingly costly.

- **Third, pluralism is not relativism, but** *the encounter of commitments***.** The new paradigm of pluralism does not require us to leave our identities and our commitments behind, for pluralism is the encounter of commitments. It means holding our deepest differences, even our religious differences, not in isolation, but in relationship to one another.

- **Fourth, pluralism is** *based on dialogue***. The language of pluralism is that of dialogue and encounter, give and take, criticism and self-criticism.** Dialogue means both speaking and listening, and that process reveals both common understandings and real differences. Dialogue does not mean everyone at the "table" will agree with one another. Pluralism involves the commitment to being at the table -- with one's commitments.

- While religious pluralism has been in existence since at least the seventeenth century, **the concept has become more popular since the latter half of the twentieth century in Western Europe and North America.** Specifically, **the idea of religious ecumenism (religions working together as one) and the recently popularized interfaith movement have led to the increased acceptance of religious pluralism in popular culture.** Studies by the Barna Group and others have noted the growth of ideas related to religious pluralism in American culture in recent years. In many cases, even significant numbers of people identified as Christians believe there is more than one way to heaven.

- **Pluralism is more than the sharing of certain values or agreement on some social issues.** Buddhists and Christians both agree that helping the poor is important, but such limited concord is not pluralism. Pluralism has to do with lending credence to competing truth claims and accepting diverse beliefs regarding God and salvation. **In addition, two or more religions can share** *some* **doctrinal beliefs yet remain fundamentally different as belief systems.** For example, Muslims and Christians agree that there is only one God—yet both religions define God differently and hold many other irreconcilable beliefs.

- **THE EXISTENCE OF RELIGIOUS PLURALISM depends on the existence of freedom of religion. Freedom of religion is when different religions of a particular region possess the same rights of worship and public expression.** Freedom of religion is consequently weakened when one religion is given rights or privileges denied to others, as in certain European countries where Roman Catholicism or regional forms of Protestantism have special status. Religious freedom has not existed at all in some communist countries where the state restricts or prevents the public expression of religious belief and may even actively persecute

individual religions. **Religious pluralism has existed in the Indian Subcontinent since the rise of Buddhism around 500 BC and has widened in the course of several Muslim settlements (Delhi Sultanate1276-1526 AD and the Mughal Empire 1526-1857 AD).** In the 8th century, Zoroastrianism established in India as Zoroastrians fled from Persia to India in large numbers, where they were given refuge. The colonial phase ushered in by the British lasted until 1947 and furthered conversions to Christianity among low caste Hindus.

- **THE RISE OF RELIGIOUS PLURALISM in the modern West is closely associated with the Reformation and the Enlightenment. BLACKLEDGE** and hunt in their book **"From Uniculturalism to Multiculturalism"** advocate that **CULTURAL PLURALISM is foundation to the rise of a multi cultural society. Multi culturalism according to him is A EUROPEAN CONCEPT that did not get much of approval from the African subcontinent where people preferred to go for ethnic diversity**. Cultural uniformity is as a coercive manner was induced into socialist societies and most of the Islamic states of middle-east and the search for a homeland for Jews at Israel glorified the idea of creation of political state on the basis of mono cultural identities. **When Europe went for pluralism this idea did not receive a global endorsement.** As a result **MONISTIC SOCIETIES went for religious revivalism and consolidation emphasizing on religious education, religious laws are emerging as the civil laws of the state**. Hence a great ideological difference between monistic and pluralistic societies.

- **In case of PLURALISTIC SOCIETIES, DEPRIVATION AND INEQUALITY gave way to sectarian mobilizations.** In case of America blacks got unified as a challenge to the political doctrine of pluralism during early 19th century that gave rise to the integration of black immigrants from different parts of the world. Challenge to pluralism comes from sectarian mobilization from within and the glorification of monistic states from outside.

- **Clifford Geertz** in his book **"Islam Observed"** mentions his **case study of Indonesia.** He found out that their exposure to Spanish colonialism, Dutch colonialism and subsequently western values did not offer their commitment to Islamic values. **Therefore instead of multiculturalism cultural monoism made appearance in a big way in Indonesian society.** He asserts that search for monoism is a rebellion and revolution then being a myopic orientation to one's own culture and religion. Islamic revivalism was foundation to their independence therefore cultural monoism came as a predominant force in Indonesia.

- **R. Robinson** in her book "Sociology of Religion in India" advocates that Gandhi's call for Ramarajya was greatly driven by call for **implicit monism and explicit pluralism** because Gandhi wanted that Hindus and Muslims should stay together as equal partners to modern

India. But he strongly believed that Hindu cultural values can offer a right direction to the people to go for a disciplined life. In a society where monism is close to heart but pluralism becomes the rule of law people driven by emotion will stay committed to religion. She believes that anti conversion movements, communal tensions in the country are the manifestation of glorified monism challenging to state's commitment to pluralistic ideology.

- **Amartya Sen** in his article "Secularism in India" considers that India's pluralism has always been a doctrine of the state that mostly fails to internalize because of illiteracy, rural living and commitment to tradition. He believes that these orientations can only be transformed with the expansion of modern education, rise of modern employment and expansion of urbanism to rural pockets of Indian society.

SECTS AND CULTS

A **SECT** IS A SUBGROUP OF A RELIGIOUS, POLITICAL OR PHILOSOPHICAL BELIEF SYSTEM, USUALLY AN OFFSHOOT OF A LARGER RELIGIOUS GROUP. **The word sect comes from the Latin** SECTA, MEANING AN ORGANIZED RELIGIOUS BODY OR ORGANIZATION, **oriented towards 'a course of action or way of life'.**

In other words, A SECT IS A TYPE OF RELIGIOUS GROUP THAT IS DISTINGUISHED BY HAVING BROKEN AWAY FROM A LARGER ORGANIZATION. MEMBERS OF SECTS ARE PREDOMINANTLY LOWER CLASS AND HAVE USUALLY ATTAINED MEMBERSHIP THROUGH CONVERSION. The power structure in a sect is informal and leaders are untrained and typically chosen by the members. In relation to other religious organizations, sects tend to be nonconformist and oppositional, although they are less so than cults.

- The CHIEF FEATURE of a religious sect is that **IT IS A VOLUNTARY ASSOCIATION**. It is **A SMALL RELIGIOUS GROUP that has BRANCHED OFF OF A LARGER ESTABLISHED RELIGION**. Sects have MANY BELIEFS AND PRACTICES IN COMMON WITH THE RELIGION But they have broken off from, but are DIFFERENTIATED BY **A NUMBER OF DOCTRINAL DIFFERENCES**. Many Sociologists use the word SECT TO REFER TO A RELIGIOUS GROUP WITH A HIGH DEGREE OF TENSION WITH THE SURROUNDING SOCIETY, BUT WHOSE **BELIEFS ARE (WITHIN THE CONTEXT OF THAT SOCIETY) LARGELY TRADITIONAL.**

- **A SECT seeks to impose** A RIGID PATTERN OF IDEAL CONDUCT ON ITS MEMBERS **but seeks toleration rather than change from the larger society. Sects are concerned with PURITY OF DOCTRINE AND WITH THE DEPTH OF GENUINENESS OF RELIGIONS FEELING.** As a result, **demands are made upon the member to be an active participant,**

even a leader or missionary, as a warrant of his faith. The emphasis on **PURITY OF BELIEF** tends to create intolerance toward other groups and moves the sect toward critical assessment of the secular world in accordance with the ideals of the gospel.

Characteristics of Sect:

1) A sect is A RELATIVELY SMALL RELIGIOUS GROUP. It is AN ORGANIZED BODY OF PEOPLE developing A KIND OF RELIGIOUS CONSCIOUSNESS AND RAISING AS A MAJOR CRITIC TO MAINSTREAM RELIGION.

2) Sect is IDEOLOGICALLY AND OPERATIONALLY CLOSED.

3) ITS MEMBERS are usually, though by no means always, DRAWN FROM THE LOWER CLASSES AND THE POOR.

4) Sects often REJECT MANY OF THE NORMS AND VALUES OF THE WIDER SOCIETY AND REPLACE THEM with beliefs and practices which sometimes appear strange to the non-believer.

5) Sect EMERGE AS A CRITIC TO ORIGINAL RELIGION.

6) Sect is INITIALLY LEADER FOCUSSED BUT IT MAY CONTINUE AFTER LEADER'S DEMISE. As a result, sects are, in Peter Berger's words, 'in tension with the larger society and closed against it'.

7) Sects are INSULAR GROUPS WHICH ARE LARGELY CLOSED TO THOSE WHO HAVE NOT GONE THROUGH THE INITIATION PROCEDURES for membership.

8) Sect institute A STRICT PATTERN OF BEHAVIOUR FOR MEMBERS TO FOLLOW AND MAKE STRONG CLAIMS ON THEIR LOYALTY.

9) BELONGING TO A SECT is often the dominant factor in a member's life.

10) The ORGANIZATION OF SECTS TENDS TO BE IN TERMS OF SMALL FACE TO FACE GROUPS, without a hierarchy of paid officials and a bureaucratic structure.

11) Often worship is CHARACTERIZED BY AN INTENSITY AND OPEN COMMITMENT which is lacking in main stream religion.

Origin of Sect:

- **MAX WEBER argues that sects are most likely to arise within groups which are marginal in society.** Members of groups outside the main stream of social life often feel they are not receiving either the prestige and/or the economic rewards they deserve. One solution to this problem is a sect based on what Weber calls a **'THEODICY OF DISPREVILIGED'** (a theodicy is a religious explanation and justification). Such sects contain an explanation for the disprevilige of their members and promise them a 'sense of honour' either in the afterlife or a in a future 'new world' on earth.

- **ACCORDING TO OTHER SOCIOLOGISTS, an explanation of the sects must account for the VARIETY OF SOCIAL BACKGROUND represented in their membership. SECTS ARE NOT CONFINED TO THE LOWER STRATA OF SOCIETY. FOR EXAMPLE,** the Christian Science sect has a largely middle-class membership. The concept of relative deprivation can be applied to members of all social classes. Relative deprivation refers to subjectively perceived deprivation which people actually feel. **In objective terms** the poor are deprived than the middle class. However, in subjective terms certain members of the middle class may feel more deprivation than the poor. **Relative deprivation applies to THE MIDDLE-CLASS HIPPY IN CALIFORNIA who rejects values of materialism and achievement and seeks fulfillment in Transcendental Meditation.** It applies equally to THE UNEMPLOYED BLACK AMERICAN WHO JOINS THE BLACK MUSLIM. Both experience deprivation in terms of their own particular viewpoints. Sects can therefore be seen as one possible response to relative deprivation.

- **SECTS TEND TO ARISE DURING A PERIOD OF RAPID SOCIAL CHANGE.** In this situation traditional norms are disrupted, social relationships tend to lack consistent and coherent meaning and the traditional 'universe of meaning' is undermined. Thus **BRYAN WILSON** sees THE RISE OF METHODISM as A RESPONSE BY THE NEW URBAN WORKING CLASS TO THE 'CHAOS AND UNCERTAINTY OF LIFE IN THE NEWLY SETTLED INDUSTRIAL AREAS'. He argues that, 'newly emergent social groups are , at least in the context of a society in which the religious view of the world dominates, likely to need and to evolve new patterns of religious belief to accommodate themselves to their new situation'. **IN A SITUATION OF CHANGE AND UNCERTAINTY, THE SECTS OFFERS THE SUPPORT OF A CLOSE-KNIT COMMUNITY ORGANIZATION, WELL DEFINED AND STRONGLY SANCTIONED NORMS AND VALUES AND A PROMISE OF SALVATION.** It provides a new and stable 'universe of meaning' which is legitimated by its religious beliefs.

Life Span of Sect:

- <u>According to sociologists **SECTS ARE SHORT LIVED. H. Richard Niebuhr argues that sects are necessarily short-lived for the following reasons:**</u>
    1) the fervour and commitment of members cannot be sustained past the first generation;
    2) the social marginality and isolation of the group, which was a major factor in the formation of the sect, may disappear. Sects with an ascetic creed tend to accumulate wealth which affords them entry into the mainstream of society.

- **The sect then either ceases to exist or develops into a denomination.** Its extreme teachings and rejection of the wider society no longer fit the social situation of its membership. If it changes into a denomination, its beliefs are modified to fit in with those of the mainstream of society; it develops a bureaucratic organization with a hierarchy of paid officials. This is the path

taken by some sects. As the Methodists rose in status during the nineteenth century, the strict disciplines of the sect and its opposition to the wider society were dropped, and it became a denomination.

- If large sects develop in response to major religions it may lead to conflict/religious intolerance and/or rise of a pluralistic society (because of tolerance).

THE CULT

The concept of "cult" was introduced into sociology in 1932 by American sociologist HOWARD P. BECKER as an expansion of German theologian ERNST TROELTSCH'S church-sect typology. Troeltsch's aim was to distinguish between three main types of RELIGIOUS BEHAVIOR: churchly, sectarian and mystical. Becker created four categories out of Troeltsch's first two by splitting church into "ecclesia" and "denomination", and sect into "sect" and "cult". Like Troeltsch's "mystical religion", BECKER'S CULTS WERE SMALL RELIGIOUS GROUPS LACKING IN ORGANIZATION AND EMPHASIZING THE PRIVATE NATURE OF PERSONAL BELIEFS.

- **Later formulations built on these characteristics while placing an additional emphasis on cults AS DEVIANT RELIGIOUS GROUPS "DERIVING THEIR INSPIRATION FROM OUTSIDE OF THE PREDOMINANT RELIGIOUS CULTURE".** This deviation is often thought to lead to a high degree of tension between the group and the more mainstream culture surrounding it, a characteristic shared with religious sects.

- The term often highlights smaller religious movements or movements involving particularly intense religious devotion. **The cult is a VOLUNTARY ORGANISATION OPEN TO ALL WHO WISH TO JOIN OR PARTICIPATE IN IT. According to Johnson,** 'In general the CULTS ARE NOT STRICT EXCEPT IN FINANCIAL MATTERS'. Yet it tends to regulate its members as per its doctrine and system of rituals which are well defined. A CULT EMPHASIZES ONE DOCTRINE (ABOVE ALL OTHERS) OR IT FOCUSES UPON A GOD OR GODDESS WITH CERTAIN DEFINITE CHARACTERISTICS.

Characteristics of Cult:

1) A cult, also has a high degree of tension with the surrounding society, but its beliefs are (within the context of that society) NEW AND INNOVATIVE. It may seek to TRANSFORM SOCIETY BUT MORE OFTEN CONCENTRATE UPON CREATING SATISFYING GROUP EXPERIENCE.

2) Cults are NOT REACTIONARY OR REVOLUTIONARY BUT INSTEAD ARE REVISIONARY. Cult DOES NOT STAND OPPOSITE TO RELIGION.

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3) Cult is A SUPPLEMENTATION OF RELIGION THAN BEING A CHALLENGE TO RELIGION.

4) Cult's EXISTENCE IS GREATLY LINKED TO LIFE SPAN OF CULT LEADER. He or she is a charismatic person for his followers.

5) Cults are ENGAGED IN CATERING TO DAY-TO-DAY PROBLEMS OF PEOPLE. Cult may have inherent contradictions but various questions posed by followers are addressed by charismatic cult leader.

6) OVER A PERIOD CULT MAY DEVELOP INTO A SECT i.e. Calvinism to Protestantism.

7) In Indian society, according to K.M. Pannikar it was during Mughals rule that sectarian division among Brahmins was greatly glorified i.e. SHAIVISM AND VAISNAVISM, because Hinduism was loosing its great tradition because of loss of political patronage.

8) If there is Distance between between people and Religion, people endorses various cults

Origin of Cult:

- Sociologists still maintain that unlike sects, which are products of religious schism and therefore maintain continuity with traditional beliefs and practices, **"CULTS" ARISE SPONTANEOUSLY AROUND NOVEL BELIEFS AND PRACTICES.**

- **The social reality of cult is essentially rooted in HEROIC ACT**. This act is a system of worship, a complex of feeling and attitudes of symbol (gestures, words, rites and rituals) and primarily a relationship with sacred object and the world beyond. It involves **CO-ACTIVITY AND A SOCIAL BOUNDARY.** In it, the relationship between the deity and clergy is not negligible but secondary.

- **Cult seems to flourish in METROPOLITAN CENTRES WHERE CULTURALLY HETEROGENEOUS POPULATIONS ARE THROWN TOGETHER AND THEY WIDELY FEEL THE IMPACT OF MOST RAPIDLY IMPINGING SOCIAL CHANGE**. It crates situation of contingency and powerlessness and thus the problem of adjustment. The cult of meet that situation..

RELIGION IN MODERN SOCIETY: RELIGION AND SCIENCE, SECULARIZATION, RELIGIOUS REVIVALISM, FUNDAMENTALISM

RELIGION AND SCIENCE

Religion does not need science and science does not need religion but man needs both. There are thinkers who believe that SCIENCE & RELIGION ARE INCOMPATIBLE WITH EACH

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OTHER, whereas the other thinks otherwise. There are two major opinions regarding the relationship between science and religion-"**RELIGION AND SCIENCE ARE MUTUALLY CONFLICTING**" and "**SCIENCE AND RELIGION ARE NOT MUTUALLY OPPOSING**".

- **Those who believe RELIGION ARE NOT MUTUALLY OPPOSING**". **say that**

    1) **RELIGION IS BASED ON FAITH AND RITUALS whereas SCIENCE DEPENDS ON OBSERVATION, EXPERIMENTS, VERIFICATIONS,PROOFS AND FACTS.**
    2) **Science deals with THE KNOWN OR THE EMPIRICAL WORLD. But religion is concerned with the UNKNOWN OR SUPERNATURAL WORLD.**
    3) For **Sumner and Keller it is difficult to find any type of religion which has welcomed free enquiry.**
    4) **Science insists that all phenomenon that is observed should not be accepted at face value.** Its value and meaning can be discovered through experimentation. All factors (time, place, person, equipment) that can affect the result of such experiments are controlled in laboratory conditions.
    5) **SCIENCE DIFFERS FROM RELIGION BECAUSE IT BELIEVES IN NEUTRALITY AND OBJECTIVITY.** Scientific method is claimed to have annulled the subjective biases. SCIENCE BELIEVES IN PRECISION AND MEASUREMENT WHICH IS NOT POSSIBLE FOR RELIGION.
    6) **SCIENCE BRINGS THE UNKNOWN TO THE LEVEL OF OBSERVABLE REALITY. RELIGION CANNOT BRING GOD TO THE LEVEL TO OBSERVABLE PHENOMENA**. Scientific knowledge has more concrete application in the form of the technology which might help in manipulating nature. RELIGION CANNOT ESTABLISH SUCH CONCRETE AND IMMEDIATE RESULT.
    7) SCIENTIFIC KNOWLEDGE AND METHOD ARE VALID UNIVERSALLY WHEREAS PRINCIPLE OF RELIGIOUS LIFE DIFFERS FROM SOCIETY TO SOCIETY.
    8) **KINGSLEY DAVIS** advocates that religion withers like a leaf before a flame when the scientific attitude is brought to bear on it.

 However those who say that SCIENCE AND RELIGION ARE NOT OPPOSING believe that :

    1) **SCIENCE DEALS WITH WHAT IS KNOWN**. It is potential knowledge based on sensory evidences. Religious beliefs **REFER TO THE WORLD BEYOND THE SENSES. THE**

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KNOWLEDGE which cannot be proved by the methods of science, cannot be disproved also.

2) **RELIGION IS SOCIAL REALITY. The persistence of religion throughout the ages is proof of its survival value. It has RENDERED UNDENIABLE SERVICES TO THE HUMANITY AND IS STILL SERVING**. Religion like other institutions has ITS ROOTS IN CERTAIN HUMAN NEEDS. Hence it was felt to be a necessity and continues to be a necessary thing. IF RELIGION IS CONSTRUED AS NOTHING BUT BELIEF IN SUPERHUMAN FORCE OR POWER IT REMAINS INCOMPATIBLE WITH SCIENCE. If on the other hand it is understood as a kind of ethical philosophy serving the cause of humanity then THE SCIENCE AND RELIGION ARE COMPATIBLE.

- **H.E. Barnes** says that **EVEN IF THERE EXISTS CONFLICT BETWEEN FUNDAMENTALS OF RELIGION AND MODERN SCIENCE none exists between THE LATER AND HUMANISM because the HUMANISTS FRANKLY BASE THEIR RELIGION UPON THE FINDINGS OF THE SCIENCE.**

- **Religion in its real sense is not conflicting with science. IT IS ONLY THE DOGMA OR THEOLOGY OR THE DISTORTED VERSION OF RELIGION THAT CONFLICTS WITH SCIENCE.** If the religion respects and accepts the values of science and if science recognizes and accepts the reality and necessity of religion then there could be no conflict between religion and science.

- **EVEN IF THERE IS CONFLICT BETWEEN RELIGION AND SCIENCE, THE MAIN CAUSE OF CONFLICT is that boundary between the two is shifting what was unknown yesterday is known today. The SCIENTIFIC PURSUIT OF EMPIRICAL TRUTH is OPPOSED TO RELIGIOUS PURSUIT OF NON EMPIRICAL TRUTH.**

- **BOTH ARE TWO FACETS OF LIFE. One touches soul while other indicates material advancement. Religion gives peace to scientifically advanced and worried society.** BOTH TRY TO PIERCE INTO THE REALM OF UNKNOWN. Thus CONFLICTS AND COMPATIBILITY OF RELIGION AND SCIENCE CAN NOT BE STUDIED IS AN ISOLATED MANNER as development of science can provide base for the interpretation of ideas of religion. **Science is a search for knowledge as well as method of solving problems.**

- **BOTH RELIGION AND SCIENCE ARE FORMS OF HUMAN UNDERSTANDING.** Both **science and religion are human ways to relating themselves to reality**.

- BOTH **SCIENCE AND RELIGION TRY TO MAKE EXPLICIT THE WORLD OF UNKNOWN**. **RELIGION IS MORE COLLECTIVELY ORIENTED THAN SCIENCE, BUT SCIENCE TOO EMPHASIZES TEAM SPIRIT AND COOPERATION OF SCIENTIFIC COMMUNITY.** Both **science and religion claim access to truth.**

- **ON MANY OCCASIONS IN PAST AS WELL AS PRESENT, BOTH SCIENCE AS WELL RELIGION HAVE ACTED AGAINST HUMAN KIND.** Both religion and science prescribe qualification for their personnel.

- Max **Weber too** considers religion as the root cause of rise of capitalism subsequent to industrialization and technological development.

- **According to Marx………………(To be Discussed in Class)**

- **According to Emile Durkheim….(To be Discussed in Class)**

- **According to Parsons…………....(To be Discussed in Class)**

- **According to R K Merton……….(To be Discussed in Class)**

SECULARIZATION

BRYAN WILSON defines **SECULARIZATION** as '**THE PROCESS WHEREBY RELIGIOUS THINKING, PRACTICE AND INSTITUTIONS LOSE SOCIAL SIGNIFICANCE'**. Like all key concepts in sociology, the concept of secularization has been used in a variety of ways.

- In other words **SECULARIZATION** IS **THE PROCESS IN WHICH SOCIAL INSTITUTIONS GAIN CONSIDERABLE AUTONOMY AND RELIGIOUS CONSCIOUSNESS DECLINES** whereby instead of being the pervasive, religion becomes **"a deportment of the social order". WILSON** gives **THREE FEATURES** of a **SECULAR SOCIETY:**

  1) The prevalence of Instrumental Values
  2) The prevalence of Rational Procedures
  3) The prevalence of Technological Methods.

- **PETER BERGER** defines SECULARIZATION as the **"PROCESS BY WHICH SECTORS OF SOCIETY AND CULTURE ARE REMOVED FROM THE DOMINATION OF RELIGIOUS INSTITUTIONS AND SYMBOLS".**

- **HARVEY COX** gave the following **Key characteristics of secularization,**

  1) Urbanization
  2) Pragmatism
  3) This worldliness attitude
  4) Pluralism
  5) Tolerance.

In General Secularization is indicative of the following changes:

  (i) Withdrawal of religion from social spheres like education, marriage etc.

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(ii)   Development of pluralism in world views

(iii) Emergence of rational and scientific view

(iv)   Development of critical consciousness.

SECULARISM

SECULARISM on the other hand, can be defined on the basis of three perspectives

- **People-Centric,**
- **State-centric and**
- **India-centric (in the context of India)**

1) **PEOPLE-CENTRIC** secularism emphasizes on **the idea of separating religion from politics, economy, education, social life and culture.**

2) **STATE-CENTRIC** secularism emphasis on the need to keep the state protector to all religions.

3) **INDIA-CENTRIC secularism** underlines the importance of the unity of all people against communalism.

SECULARISM being an ideology consists of the following five ideas:

(a)   IT STRESSES ON HUMAN AUTONOMY. It recognizes INDIVIDUAL TO BE MASTER OF HIS OWN LIFE. Human beings are responsible for their own destinies. It places faith on human rationale, rather than divine guidance.

(b)   IT ASSERTS THAT SEPARATION OF RELIGION FROM STATES and stresses that family relations, education, morality, knowledge and values are also **free** from clutches of religion.

(c)   IT PUTS STRESS ON REASON and INQUIRY.

(d)   SECULARISM WELCOMES PLURALISM AND RELIGIOUS TOLERATION. Pluralism of religion is supported by an attitude of tolerance towards other religions.

(e)   IT IS NOT ANTI-RELIGION.

SECULARISM : EUROPEAN EXPERIENCE :

SECULARISM WAS THE MAIN GOAL OF REFORMATION AND THE RENAISSENCE THAT TOOK PLACE IN EUROPE in 15th and 16th centuries. MARTIN LUTHER, the principal initiator of the protestant reformation, had advocated that it is the right of individual to understand the words of God without taking the guidance of the church.

- Reformation was basically a religious movement which later on becomes reactionary. Two important features or effects of reformation were:

(i)   it did not produce more toleration and religious liberty.

(ii)   Illiterate masses i.e. popular masses were unaware of the reformation process religion continued to be a mainstay of talk.

- The renaissance advocated rational thinking and challenged the theological uses of cosmos. To make this idea reachable to people, mass education, free press and social movement were used. **CHARLES BRADLAUGH,** the great secularist, belived that extensive propaganda played crucial role in ensuring secularization.

Secularization Process:

Secularization for its development required social milieu. It can be further elaborated in the following way.

- **In the context of feudal lords and bourgeoisie:** In England and the Netherland, the conflict between feudal lands and bourgeoisie started in eighteenth century. Feudal lords led a lavish life. They made huge donation to religious institutions and these institution prayed to God for lord's well-being.

  Bourgeoisie in order to attack feudal lords took the help of scientific and rational outlook. As a result of which, feudal privileges based on heredity, oppression on the basis of sovereignty the "divine rights" of feudal lords to rule was challenged on rational grounds.

- **In the content of the capitalist class and the wage-earners :**

  Disraeli divided the capitalist society into two nations viz. the wage earners and the capitalists. The wage-earners were devoid of means of ownership of production. After being paid a subsistence wage, these workers were alienated from the fruits of their labour. They welcomed religion in order to tolerate such a harsh situation.

  Capitalists also made use of religion to bullet their brutal deeds. They also used religion to pacify violent wage earners.

  However, in the emerging modern nation states, democracy was proclaimed in England, France etc. The right of freedom of conscience was granted to them which happened to pass through three stages.

  1)   In first stage people struggled for religious tolerance

  2)   In second stage religious freedom of conscience was asserted.

  3)   In third stage genuine freedom of conscience was accomplished.

Secularization and Other Institutions:

- The Church of England is subordinate to the British sovereign.

- French government shows no preference for any religious group and prohibits clerics from teaching in the public schools.

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- Monaco, where Catholics comprised 92% of the population in 2000, has implemented the most anti-clergy legislation in the west.

- Church property belongs to the state.

- Worship services outside the church were forbidden.

- The government can open any place of worship and determine the number of clerics in it.

- The clergy cannot vote, participate in politics.

- The Church cannot own radio and television stations.

STUDIES OF SECULARIZATION have been classified in terms of some of the many ways in which process has been conceptualized and measured.

1) THE DECLINE IN ORGANIZED RELIGIOUS PARTICIPATION:

- **Some researchers** have seen RELIGIOUS INSTITUTIONS AND ACTIVITY ASSOCIATED WITH THEM AS THE KEY ELEMENT IN RELIGIOUS BEHAVIOUR. From this viewpoint they have measured THE IMPORTANCE OF RELIGION IN SOCIETY in terms of factors such as church attendance and marriages performed in church. **From such measures they argue that secularization is occurring in most Western societies**. **WILSON argues that,** 'THE DECLINE IN ORGANIZED RELIGIOUS PARTICIPATION INDICATES THE WAY IN WHICH THE CHURCHES ARE LOSING DIRECT INFLUENCE OVER THE IDEAS AND ACTIVITIES OF MAN'.

- **However** THE DECLINE IN PARTICIPATION IN INSTITUTIONAL RELIGION can be interpreted in a number of ways. **DAVID MARTIN argues that** in Victorian times, Church attendance was more strongly motivated by non-religious factors such **as middle-class respectability. Today, church attendance is no longer an indication of respectability for many members of the middle class. Thus, their absence from church may have nothing to do with a change in their religious beliefs.** **ROBERT N. BELLAH** argues that the decline in institutional religion cannot be taken as an indication of a decline in religious belief and commitment. Religion today may simply be expressed in a different way. Bellah argues that **THERE HAS BEEN A MOVE FROM COLLECTIVE WORSHIP TO PRIVATIZED WORSHIP AND FROM CLERICAL TO INDIVIDUAL INTERPRETATION OF DOCTRINE.** He claims that, 'The assumption in most of the major Protestant denominations is that the Church member can be considered responsible for himself'. While there is little dispute that participation in institutional religion has declined over the past century in most European countries, there is considerable disagreement over the interpretation of this process.

2) DISENGAGEMENT AND DIFFERENTIATION:

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- **A DISENGAGEMENT OF THE RELIGIOUS ORGANIZATIONS FROM THE WIDER SOCIETY is seen as secularization. COMPARED TO ITS ROLE IN MEDIEVAL EUROPE, THE CHURCH IN CONTEMPORARY WESTERN SOCIETY HAS UNDERGONE A PROCESS OF DISENGAGEMENT. In the middle Ages, there was a union of church and state. Today, apart from the right of bishops to sit in the British House of Lords, the church is hardly represented in government**. **ECCLESIASTICAL CONTROL OF EDUCATION AND SOCIAL WELFARE HAS BEEN SUPERSEDED BY SECULAR ORGANIZATIONS UNDER STATE CONTROL.** CHURCH PATRONAGE OF THE ARTS & ARCHITECTURE was reflected by the fact that most art in the Middle Ages was based on religious themes. **Today secular themes predominate.**

- **BRYAN WILSON argues that** the **CHURCH OF ENGLAND TODAY PROVIDES LITTLE MORE THAN TRADITIONAL RITUAL** to dramatize important turning points in the life cycle, namely, birth marriage and death. He sees its DISENGAGEMENT FROM THE WIDER SOCIETY AS EVIDENCE OF SECULARIZATION. An alternative to the view that disengagement equals secularization is provided by

- **TALCOTT PARSONS** agrees that **THE CHURCH AS AN INSTITUTION HAS LOST MANY OF ITS FORMER FUNCTIONS. He argues that THE EVOLUTION OF SOCIETY INVOLVES A PROCESS OF STRUCTURAL DIFFERENTIATION. Various parts of the social system become more specialized and so perform fewer functions.**

- **However, the differentiation of the units of the social system does not necessarily lessen their importance. Parsons argues that religious beliefs still give meaning and significance to life**. Churches are still the fount of religious ethics and values. **As religious institutions become increasingly specialized, Parsons maintains that their ethics and values become increasingly generalized.** In American society they have become the basis for more general social values. Thus many of the values of American society are at once Christian and American. This has resulted in the **'endowment of secular life with a new order of religious legitimation'.**

3) **RELIGIOUS PLURALISM:**

- **Some researchers imply that the TRULY RELIGIOUS SOCIETY HAS ONE FAITH AND ONE CHURCH. Thus picture is influenced by the situation in some small scale, non-literate societies, such as the Australian aborigines, where the community is a religious community.** IN TERMS OF DURKHEIM'S VIEW OF RELIGION, THE COMMUNITY IS THE CHURCH. Medieval European societies provide a similar picture. THERE THE ESTABLISHED CHURCH MINISTERED TO THE WHOLE SOCIETY. BUT NOW A **MULTIPLICITY OF DENOMINATIONS AND SECTS has replaced common faith and the established church. In**

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particular, it has been argued that a range of competing religious institutions has reduced the power of religion in society.

- **Bryan Wilson** argues that if THERE ARE A NUMBER OF DENOMINATIONS IN SOCIETY, EACH WITH ITS OWN VERSION OF THE TRUTH, THEY CAN AT BEST ONLY REFLECT AND LEGITIMATE THE BELIEFS OF A SECTION OF THE POPULATION. In this way, 'RELIGIOUS VALUES CEASE NOW TO BE COMMUNITY VALUES'. Religion no longer expresses and reinforces the values of society as a whole and so ceases to perform its traditional function of promoting social solidarity.

- **BERGER AND LUCKMANN** make a similar point. Instead of one religious institution with a single, unchallenged view of the supernatural, there are now many with divergent views. **BERGER** argue that **the emergence of denominations weakens the influence of religion. No longer is a single 'universe of meaning' provided for all members of society.** The continuing proliferation of sects has been interpreted by some researchers in much the same way as the spread of denominations. IT HAS BEEN SEEN AS A FURTHER FRAGMENTATION OF INSTITUTIONAL RELIGION AND THE THEREFORE AS EVIDENCE OF THE WEAKENING HOLD OF RELIGION OVER SOCIETY.

- **PETER BERGER** sees the **CONTINUING VITALITY OF SECTS AS EVIDENCE OF A SECULAR SOCIETY. He argues that belief in the supernatural can only survive in a sectarian form in a secular society. In order to maintain a strong religious belief and commitment, individuals must cut themselves off from the secularizing influences of the wider society, and seek out the support of others of like mind.** The sect, with its close-knit community organization, provides a context where this is possible. From this viewpoint, the sect is the last refuge of the supernatural in a secular society. SECTS ARE THEREFORE EVIDENCE OF SECULARIZATION.

- **BRYAN WILSON** takes a similar view maintaining that SECTS ARE 'A FEATURE OF SOCIETIES EXPERIENCING SECULARIZATION, AND THEY MAY BE SEEN AS A RESPONSE TO A SITUATION IN WHICH RELIGIOUS VALUES HAVE LOST SOCIAL PRE-EMINENCE'. Sects are therefore the last outpost of religion in societies where religious beliefs and values have little consequence. **BRYAN WILSON** is particularly scathing in **his dismissal of the religious movements of the young in the West, such as Krishna Consciousness, which emerged during the 1960s in the USA. He regards them as 'almost irrelevant' to society as a whole claiming that, 'They add nothing towards the culture by which a society might live'**. By comparison, Methodism, in its early days as sects, provided standards and values for the new urban working class, which helped to integrate its members within the wider society. In addition, its beliefs 'steadily diffused through a much wider

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body of the population'. The new religious movements show no such promise. Their members live in their own enclosed, encapsulated little worlds. There they emphasize 'hedonism, the validity of present pleasure, the abandonment of restraint and the ethic of "do your own thing". **Wilson is scornful of their 'exotic novelty' which he believes offers little more than self-indulgence, titillation and short lived thrills.** He believes that movements which seek for truth in Asian religions and emphasize the exploration of the inner self, for example Krishna Consciousness, can give little to Western society. They simply 'offer another way of life for the self-selected few rather than an alternative culture for mankind'. Rather than contributing to a new moral reintegration of society, they simply provide a religious setting for 'dropouts'. They do not halt the continuing process of secularization and are 'likely to be no more than transient and volatile gestures of defiance' in the face of a secular society.

4) **THE SECULARIZATION OF RELIGIOUS INSTITUTIONS:**

- To **HERGBERG**, 'authentic religion' means an emphasis on the supernatural, a deep inner conviction of the reality of supernatural power, a serious commitment to religious teachings, a strong element of theological doctrine and a refusal to compromise religious beliefs and values with those of the wider society. This is just what **HERGBERG** does not find in the established denominations in America. He claims that, 'DENOMINATIONAL PLURALISM, ON THE AMERICAN PLAN MEANS THOROUGH-GOING SECULARIZATION'. THE MAJOR DENOMINATIONS HAVE INCREASINGLY EMPHASIZED THIS WORLD AS OPPOSED TO THE OTHER WORLD, THEY HAVE MOVED AWAY FROM TRADITIONAL DOCTRINE AND CONCERN WITH THE SUPERNATURAL, THEY HAVE COMPROMISED THEIR RELIGIOUS BELIEFS TO FIT IN WITH THE WIDER SOCIETY. Because of this, they have become more like the secular society in which they are set.

- **Despite this relatively high level of participation in religious institutions, Herberg argues that it is directed by secular rather than religious concerns.** Herberg claims that the major denominations in America have undergone a process of secularization. They increasingly reflect the American Way of Life rather than the word of God. For the typical churchgoer, religion is 'something that reassures him about the essential rightness of everything American, his nature, his and himself'. But from Herberg's viewpoint, this has little to do with the real meaning of religion.

- **BERGER AND LUCKMANN** are in general agreement with Herberg's thesis. Luckmann argues that DENOMINATIONS WERE FORCED TO UNDERGO A 'PROCESS OF INTERNAL SECULARIZATION' IN ORDER TO SURVIVE AND PROSPER IN A SECULAR SOCIETY. If they retained their traditional teachings, their beliefs would no longer have a 'plausibility structure' in a changed society. They would appear irrational, irrelevant or contradictory in a

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new social setting. Denominations have adapted to society and their teachings have, therefore, remained 'plausible'. However, this has required a sacrifice of considerable religious content.

- **PETER BERGER** likens American religious institutions to commodities sold in the market place. A successful sales campaign means that ''the "supernatural" elements are pushed into the background, while the institution is "sold" under the label of values congenial to secularized consciousness'. **DENOMINATIONS HAVE SUCCEEDED IN ATTRACTING FULL HOUSES 'BY MODIFYING THEIR PRODUCT IN ACCORDANCE WITH CONSUMER DEMANDS' THAT IS THE DEMANDS OF A SECULAR SOCIETY**. This accounts for the differences in participation in organized religion between Europe and America. In Europe, religious institutions have remained largely unchanged in the context of changing societies. The result is empty churches. In the USA, religious institutions have adapted to a changing society and the result is full churches.

- HERBERG'S VIEWS ON AMERICAN RELIGION have been criticized by **SEYMOUR M. LIPSET**. He argues that there is some evidence to suggest that **Evangelical Christianity is growing at a faster rate than the traditional denominations.** The debate on the secularization of religious institutions rests ultimately on the observer's judgment of 'authentic religion'. Herberg's view may reveal as much if not more about his beliefs and values than it does about the nature of the religion in the USA.

There is little question among sociologists that considered as a long-term trend, religion in the traditional church has declined in most Western countries – with the notable exception of the USA. The influence of religion has diminished much as nineteenth – century sociologists predicted it would.

HAS THE APPEAL OF RELIGION LOST ITS GRASP WITH THE DEEPENING OF MODERNITY? Such a conclusion would be questionable for a number of reasons:

1. **First,** the present position of religion in Britain and other Western countries is much more complex than supporters of the secularization thesis suggest. RELIGIOUS AND SPIRITUAL BELIEF REMAIN POWERFUL AND MOTIVATING FORCES IN MANY PEOPLE'S LIVES, EVEN IF THEY DO NOT CHOOSE TO WORSHIP FORMALLY THROUGH THE FRAMEWORK OF THE TRADITIONAL CHURCH. Some scholars have suggested that there has been a move towards **'believing without belonging' (**Davie) – people maintain a belief in God or a higher force, but practice and develop their faith outside institutionalized forms of religion.

2. **Second,** secularization cannot be measured according to membership in main stream Trinitarian church by the Communist leadership. This enthusiastic support for religion

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around the globe is, unfortunately, mirrored by religiously inspired conflicts as well. Just as religion can be a source of solace and support, it has also been and continues to be at the origin of intense social struggles and conflicts.

- **One can point to evidence both in favour of and against the idea of secularization**. It seems clear that secularization as a concept is most useful in explaining changes that are occurring within the traditional religion today- both in terms of the declining power and influence and in regard to internal secularizing processes affecting, for example, the role of women and gays. Modernizing forces in society at large are being felt within many traditional religious institutions.

- **Above all,** however, religion in the late modern world should be evaluated against a backdrop of rapid change, instability and diversity. **Even if traditional forms of religion are receding to a degree, religion still remains a critical force in our social world.** The appeal of religion, in its traditional and novel forms, is likely to be long-lasting. Religion provides many people with insights into complex question about life and meaning that cannot be answered satisfactorily with rationalist perspectives.

Religious revivalism (& Secularisation)

Religious revivalism is term applied to mass movements which are based upon intense religious upheaval. **PERIODIC RELIGIOUS REVIVALS** which seek **TO RESTORE COMMITMENT AND ATTACHMENT TO THE GROUP** are a regular observable feature of religious traditions.

- **REVIVALISM happened in 18th century in WESTERN SOCIETY among METHODISTS**. In India **ARYA SAMAJ** is one of the most important **REVIVALIST MOVEMENTS** which were based on **SHUDHI MOVEMENT**. It aimed at converting Hindus back to the fold who had converted to other religions. This had profound impact on Hindu especially lower caste Hindus. They sought to other religions to improve their social status. They also gave equality to women especially in education.

- **One view shared by early sociological thinkers was that traditional religion would become more and more marginal to the modern world. MARX, DURKHEIM AND WEBER all believed that a process of secularization was bound to occur as societies modernized and became more reliant on science and technology to control and explain the social world.**

SECULARIZATION describes the process whereby religion loses its influence over the various spheres of social life.

- The debate over the secularization thesis is one of the most complex areas in the sociology of religion. In the most basic terms, there is disagreement between **supporters of the secularization thesis who agree with sociology's founding fathers** and see religion as diminishing in power and importance in the modern world and **opponents of the concept, who argue that religion remains a significant force, albeit often in new and unfamiliar forms.**

- **THE ENDURING POPULARITY OF NEW RELIGIOUS MOVEMENTS presents a challenge to the secularization thesis. Opponents of the thesis point to the diversity and dynamism of new religious movements and argue that religion and spirituality remains a central facet of modern life.**

- **AS TRADITIONAL RELIGIONS LOSE THEIR HOLD, RELIGION IS NOT DISAPPEARING, BUT IS BEING CHANNELED IN NEW DIRECTIONS.** Not all scholars agree, however. **PROPONENTS OF THE IDEA OF SECULARIZATION POINT OUT THAT THESE MOVEMENTS REMAIN PERIPHERAL TO SOCIETY** as a whole even if they make a profound impact on the lives of their individual followers. **New religious movements are fragmented and relatively unorganized; they also suffer from high turnover rates as people are attracted to a movement for some time and then move on to something new. COMPARED TO A SERIOUS RELIGIOUS COMMITMENT, THEY ARGUE, PARTICIPATION IN A NEW RELIGIOUS MOVEMENT APPEARS LITTLE MORE THAN A HOBBY LIFESTYLE CHOICE.**

- **REVIVALISM OF CATHOLICISM IN CASE OF AMERICA, GLORIFIED HINDUTVA IDEOLOGY IN CASE OF INDIA ARE EMERGING AS THE MAJOR CHALLENGES TO THE PLURALISTIC DOCTRINE OF MODERN SOCIETY.** Therefore **RODNEYSTARK** rightly points out that religion **is not only providing a source for integration. It is instrumental for the social division as well**. Taking this view point into consideration one can offer a critic to **COMETIAN ARGUMENT** that in modern society use of science will continue for the decline of religion. **In reality religion is a universal force, it appears in different forms in the history of human society differently influencing to political, social & cultural life of man in a multidimensional manner.**

- **IN CONTEMPORARY CONTEXT** the rise of religious consciousness or the growth of religious revivalism is offering a major challenge to the **pluralistic secular & egalitarian character of the civil society.**

Causes of Religious Revivalism:

- New insecurities and alienation that arise out of migration and urbanisation in a globalised world are driving more people to religion as a way of establishing their identities and validating their experiences

- There is a revival of institutional religions across the world. In different parts of the world religion has become more visible, both in its institutional form and as an assertion of identity. This increasing prominence of religion and new forms of religious formations can be located in the social psychology of communities and people who are undergoing socio-economic and cultural transitions.

- One of these transitions is the unprecedented migration of communities and the increasing perception that there is socio-cultural and economic inequality across the world. There is an increasing sense of multiple layers and a process of alienation emerging out of multiple levels of 'dislocations' of the self, community and identity. The increasing trends of urbanisation, of migrations within and beyond country borders, consumerism and the aggressive construction of images in the context of globalisation of the media, have created a new sense of individual and collective insecurity and alienation.

- However, the relative visibility of institutional religion may be due also to the increasing role of the 'image' industry, rather than true conversion or transformation of people from one faith to another. Religion has many manifestations and we often tend to confuse institutionalised religion with other aspects of religion (personal experience, belief, theology etc).

- The revival of institutionalised religion is partly due to the high visibility it has gained in the media explosion of the last ten years. As institutionalised religions are historically strong in terms of institutionalised resources (money, network, people, structures etc) they can make greater use of the new media, particularly television, to acquire more visibility. The number of genuine Christians (in terms of personal experience of a preferred personal faith) might not have increased, but certainly TV marketing of faith has increased manifold. And the new visibility of 'images' can create new delusions and illusions of an accentuated religion without the necessary 'spiritual' transformation in the lives of people.

- Then there are new insecurities arising out of social, economic and political transitions and the consequent feeling of alienation they engender. For example, there is enough evidence that those who belong to migrant communities tend to be more religious. The reasons could be partly sociological and cultural. The same way I feel happy to meet an Indian or South Asian in Oslo, a Sudanese would like to meet fellow Sudanese. The nodal points of such an identity network often tend to be religious venues. So, Tamil people residing abroad may come to know each other in a temple, Bangladeshis in a Bengali mosque etc. This is to do with relative marginalisation (in terms of space, cultural comfort zone etc) of migrant communities.

- There are also economic and social insecurities that arise out of the tension of losing a job or being alone in a multicultural environment. These too add to the quest for a 'sense of belonging', and 'identity' gets accentuated when one feels marginalised in a given context. So many of the first generation of Malayali migrants often feel more strongly about 'being a Malayali' than those who live in Kerala. Hence the proliferation of Malayali organisations in the Gulf countries and elsewhere (and many literary awards and Malayalam blogs etc). This also often takes a religious/denominational (caste, creed etc) dimension among newly urbanised or migrant communities.

- There is a new sense of alienation due to increased 'individuation', and the consequent feeling of being lonely and insecure. This has an age-related dimension -- when one is too young (increased anxiety about jobs) and when one is into middle age (the fear of losing a job, falling sick etc).

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- This sense of insecurity has something to do with the new consumerism and globalisation of the economy, where expectations about oneself (as a consumer who would like to 'possess' certain comforts) and the consequent insecurity that emanates from the new 'hire and fire' culture of globalisation creates new insecurity. So here too one often finds more young people and those who cross middle age tending to seek solace in new spiritual markets of various sorts -- from Deepak Chopra to the tele-marketing of pop-gurus of various sorts.

- In the case of countries and communities where there is a social disintegration of erstwhile collective institutional structures (eg tribal communities in Africa, or joint families, or the old neighbourhood parish or temple) there is scope for new network-based identity formation. It is in such a space that networked religion and cell-churches grew exponentially. This process of social disintegration of erstwhile structures and the process of 'collective spaces of sharing' also happened due to the unprecedented trend of urbanisation and the movement/migration of people across countries and the world. So the shifts from joint families to post-nuclear families and tribal collectivism also created new forms of individuation and multiple forms of dislocation and resultant alienation.

- It is in this context that institutionalised religions get transformed into 'spiritual' or 'solace' or 'feel-good' modules of customised products in the spiritual marketplace. This network mode of marketing helps to get consumers hooked on psycho-pills of well-packaged and customised religion of various sorts. In the context of Christianity, the Charismatic movement and its network forms 'customised', 'personalised' and 'flexible' modules of packaged and commodified 'spiritualism' which is lapped up by a new market of relatively more 'lonely' and insecure people. That is one of the reasons why prosperity gospel is doing so well in relatively poor African communities in Africa as well as America. Prosperity gospels and 'healing' ministries and 'miracle' crusades all work on the new insecurities among people and communities who are in a state of transition.

- We are in the midst of an unprecedented transition in the history of the world and in terms of sociological and cultural shifts. In such phases of transition insecurities and alienation take on new forms -- social, economic and political. This also creates a new sense of inequality. At an individual level, the most convenient thing is to find one's own sense of 'belonging' by identifying with communities who have a shared sense of belonging. Such belonging can be based on colour, creed or religion. The biggest and oldest institutionalised structure of belonging happens to be institutionalised religion. Adapted to the new technology, media, and globalised network, institutionalised religion thus 'services' its new 'clients' by using the same old pill but with new modes of delivery.

- Then there is also a new sense of political insecurity that emanates from 'accentuated identities' (majority and minority) that create a sense of insecurity (for example when young Australians find it difficult to find jobs, they may feel that Indians are stealing their jobs and then Indians begin to mobilise on the basis of being Indians).

- Such accentuated identities often become defensive in the minority context. So, a young Muslim in Europe or UK may feel more 'Muslim' than the Muslim in Dubai. Christians in Europe may feel 'less Christian' than the Christians in India or China. The ongoing war in Afghanistan and Iraq, or the new political tensions with Iran or North Korea, are all a residual accentuation of the post-cold war period of the new geo-politics. And here, too, recent history is replayed in multiple forms of colonialism and imperialism.

- Post-cold war politics moved from 'ideological' war to 'identity'-based contestations in many cases. The political economy of such identities gets accentuated among migrant communities. When identity, in its soft or hard form, tends to be the sub-text of macro and micro politics, ordinary people often fall back on the most convenient and accessible network of identity. So there is an increasing assertion of 'Muslim' identity even among those Muslims who have a

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rather moderate or liberal approach to religion. There is an assertion of 'Hindu' identity where Hindus are in a minority. Such assertions of identity are often cultural defence mechanisms that emanate from social and cultural insecurities and a sense of alienation.

FUNDAMENTALISM

FUNDAMENTALISM STRESSES THE INFALLIBILITY OF A SCRIPTURE (e.g. the Bible, the Granths, the Gita or the Quran) IN ALL MATTERS OF FAITH AND DOCTRINE. The believers accept it as a literal historical record. The result is that sometimes a militant stand is taken by the followers, often preceded or followed by a desire for a separate homeland. At times, this too is taken as a prophecy in the scriptures.

- **Fundamentalism separates a certain community from the mainstream. However, society, by its various arms (the police, army and so on), attempts to suppress or eliminate the fundamentalist. This is especially so when they begin acting outside of the law. Communalism is associated with eruption of violence and riots these conflagrations may not have any particular aim or goal (apart from communal ascendancy or supremacy).**

- **Fundamentalism however is an organized all encompassing movement which aims to promotion of society goals especially in the light of religious enshrinements. Operational strategy includes peaceful as well as war-like uses and movements.**

- Social Anthropologist **LIONEL CAPLAN (1987)** defines fundamentalism as **a belief in the timelessness of sacred writings and a belief that such writings apply to all kinds of environments.** In its popular usage, the term fundamentalism is applied to a wide array of religious groups around the world.

- **THE MOST IMPORTANT CHARACTERISTIC OF FUNDAMENTALISTS** is **their belief that a relationship with God, Allah, or some other supernatural force provides answers to personal and social problems.** In addition, fundamentalists often **wish to "bring the wider culture back to its religious roots."**

- **FUNDAMENTALISTS** USUALLY CONCEIVE OF HISTORY as a **"process of decline from an original ideal state,"** which includes the "betrayal of fundamental principles".

- Fundamentalists do not distinguish between what is sacred and what is profane in their day-to-day lives. Religious principles govern all areas

- **It is not surprising then, that during times of rapid change, many people look for and finds answers and calm in religion. Fundamentalism is perhaps the clearest example of this phenomenon.** Yet, increasingly, religious responses to change are occurring in new and unfamiliar forms: new religious movements, cults, sects and 'New Age' activities. While these groups may not 'look like' forms of religion on the surface, many critics of the secularization

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hypothesis believe that they represent transformations of religious belief in the face of profound social change.

- **THE STRENGTH OF RELIGIOUS FUNDAMENTALISM IS ANOTHER INDICATION THAT SECULARIZATION HAS NOT TRIUMPHED IN THE MODERN WORLD. The term fundamentalism can be applied in many different contexts to describe strict adherence to a set of principles or beliefs**. Religious fundamentalism describes the approach taken by religious groups which call for the literal interpretation of basic scriptures or tests and believe that the doctrines which emerge from such readings should be applied to all aspects of social, economic and political life.

- **RELIGIOUS FUNDAMENTALISTS BELIEVE THAT ONLY NEW VIEW – THEIR OWN – OF THE WORLD IS POSSIBLE AND THAT THIS VIEW IS THE CORRECT ONE: THERE IS NO ROOM FOR AMBIGUITY OR MULTIPLE INTERPRETATIONS.** Within religious fundamentalist movements, access to the exact meanings of scriptures is restricted to a set of **privileged 'interpreters'** – such as priests, clergy or other religious leaders. **This gives these leaders a great amount of authority – not only in religious matters, but in secular ones as well.** Religious fundamentalists have become powerful political figures in opposition movements, within mainstream political parties (including in the United States) and as heads of state (for example in Iran).

- **RELIGIOUS FUNDAMENTALISM IS A RELATIVELY NEW PHENOMENON – IT IS ONLY IN THE LAST TWO TO THREE DECADES THAT TERM HAS ENTERED COMMON USAGE**. It has arisen largely in response to **globalization**. As the forces of **modernization** progressively undermine traditional elements of the social world – such as the nuclear family and the domination of women by men fundamentalism has arisen in defense of tradition.

ASPECTS OF FUNDAMENTALISM:

- **Fundamentalism as a concept was first used in 1910-1915 when anonymous authors published 12 volumes of literature called them 'The Fundamentals'.** In the early 20s the print media used this word with reference to conservative protestant group in North America. These groups were concerned about liberal interpretations of the Bible**. Alarmed by liberal interpretations the conservative insisted on some "fundamentals" of faith. These included belief in the virgin birth divinity, the physical resurrection of Jesus Christ and the infallibility of the scripture**. As mentioned these and other fundamentals were published in 12 pamphlets called The Fundamentals between 1910-1915. **Thus began the specialized usage of the concept of "fundamentalism".** Thus a fundamental movement is one which takes infallibility of a scripture as a basic issue and as a guide to life. Some fundamentalists add that there is no need to even interpret the scripture as meaning in it is self-evident. This often

amounts to intolerance of any form of disagreement or dissent. This there is an apprehension that fundamentalists are narrow, and bigoted.

- **T.N. Madan (1993) has pointed out that the word Fundamentalism has gained wide currency in the contemporary world. According to him it REFERS TO A VARIETY OF NORMS, VALUES ATTITUDES WHICH EITHER JUDGE THE FUNDAMENTALIST OR CONDEMN THEM OUTRIGHT. THIS WORD IS SOMETIMES ERRONEOUSLY USED IN PLACE OF COMMUNALISM. IN FACT THE WORD FUNDAMENTALISM HAS BECOME A BLANKET TERM. That is to say that various fundamental movements across the world are actually not identical but differ in various ways. But they are linked by a 'family' resemblance.**

- **FUNDAMENTALIST MOVEMENTS are of a COLLECTIVE CHARACTER.** They are often **LED BY CHARISMATIC LEADERS WHO ARE USUALLY MEN**. Thus the 1979 Iranian movement was led by Ayatollah Khomeini, and the Sikh fundamentalist upsurge by Sant Bhinderanwale (Madan). **FUNDAMENTALIST LEADERS NEED NOT BE RELIGIOUS LEADERS.** Thus Maulana Maududi, founder of the Jamati Islami in India was a journalist. K.B. Hedgewar, founder of the Rashtriya Sewak Sangh was a physician.

- **THE FUNDAMENTALISTS ARE A PRACTICAL PEOPLE AND TRY TO PURGE THE WAY OF LIFE ALL IMPURITIES (RELIGIOUSLY SPEAKING).** They reject all corrupt lifestyles. An example of this is Swami Dayanands critique of the traditional, superstition filled way of life. Thus Maududi criticised the present Muslim way of life as 'ignorant' and Bhindranwale talked of the 'fallen' Sikhs who shave off their beards, out their hair and do not observe the traditional Sikh way of life. **THUS FUNDAMENTAL MOVEMENTS ARE NOT ONLY ABOUT RELIGIOUS AND PRACTICES, BUT LIFESTYLES GENERALLY.**

- **THUS FUNDAMENTALIST MOVEMENTS ARE REACTIVE AND RESPONSE TO WHAT THE PERSON INVOLVED-THE LEADERS AND PARTICIPANTS, CONSIDER A CRISIS**. The crisis calls for urgent remedies. The basic programme is presented as a return to the original tradition. That is to say to the contemporarily redefined fundamentals. Which cover the present-day needs. This usually involves a selective retrieval of tradition. **The case of Dayanand illustrates this very well. He tried to evolve a semitised Hinduism in response to the challenge for conversion by Christian missionaries. He claimed that the Vedas were the only true form of Hinduism and his call was back to the Vedas. In Iran Khomeini developed on Islamic state based on the guardianship of jurists.** Again **Bhindranwale gave a selective emphasis to Guru Gobind Singh's teaching rather than those of his immediate successors.** Assertion of spiritual authority and criticising the culture are two aspects of fundamentalism. A third crucial element is that of the pursuit of political power.

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- **THE PURSUIT OF POLITICAL POWER IS VERY IMPORTANT ASPECT OF FUNDAMENTALISM, FOR WITHOUT IT WE WOULD BE PRESENTED WITH A CASE FOR REVIVALISM**. The Samajists were ardent nationalists in North India, and the movement had its political overtones. Again the RSS which has been described as cultural organisation has had close links with political parties and contemporarily with the Sangh Parivar. This covers both cultural and political aspects of Hindu nationalism. This explains why fundamentalist movements often turn violent, and the ideology of secularism is rejected. They are totalitarian and do not tolerate dissent. However these movements also perform a particular role in modern society which cannot be ignored.

  Thus an objective intellectual analysis should consider fundamentalism as a distinctive category. It is not theocracy or backward communalism.

- **POLITICS, RELIGION AND EDUCATION VS FUNDAMENTALISM:** The fundamentalist's critisise the idea of separation of religion from politics and state. They say God is omnipotent and political rule comes under his domain, how can then the state be outside religious realm? **THEY INSIST ON RELIGIOUS CONTROL ON EDUCATION IMPORTANT IN SCHOOLS AND COLLEGES.** The fundamentalists advocate boycott of modern state-run schools where teaching is not through traditional religious system. **THE MUSLIM FUNDAMENTALISTS DEMAND THAT ALL LAWS MUST BE DESIRED FROM THE KORAN AND THE SUNNAH.** They suggest harsh punishments like emulation of hands and feet, public flogging etc. for crime done. **THE AMERICAN FUNDAMENTALISTS** suggest death penalty for murder adultery sodomy, rape, homosexuality, kidnapping, etc. FUNDAMENTALISM IS ANTI SCIENCE AND DENIES THE VALIDITY OF HUMAN KNOWLEDGE WHICH IS OUTSIDE THE RELIGIOUS REALM.

- **EQUALITY OF RELIGIONS VS. FUNDAMENTALISM:** The fundamentalists do not believe in the equality of all religions. They say how on false religions be treated as equal to the true religion. On the similar line, they oppose the concept of the unity of all religions. They are opposed to reason, rationalism, humanism and secularism. The fundamentalists are also opposed to the idea of sovereignty, democracy and constitutional government.

Fundamentalism in relation to communalism:

Communalism can best be described in the context of Indian scenario. Communalism developed in India through three stages:

(a) First stage: It began during the last quarter of 19th century. It was put forward that followers of a religion not only have religion in common but also political, economic, social and cultural interests. It led to the notion that in India, Hindu, Muslims, Sikhs and Christians form district communities and hence Indian Nation is made up of these communities.

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(b) **Second stage:** It began during the start of 20th century. The communists argued that followers of a religion have different economic and political interests to these of other religions. At the same time some liberal communalists argued that different religious people also have some common economic and political interests.

(c) **Third stage :** In this stage, the notion which permeated was that Hindu and Muslim could never live together. They can never form one nation. Actually, what was good for Hindus was bad for Muslims, what was good for Muslims was bad for Hindus and so on.

Similarities between fundamentalism and Communalism:

(i)   Both attack the concept of separation of religion from politics and the state.

(ii)   Both oppose unity of all religions.

(iii) Both advocate control over education.

(iv)   Both believe in restoration of the past values and greatness.

(v)   Both share the notion that founding of religion led to the achievement of near-human perfection.

(vi)   Both oppose secularism:

Differences of perception:

In a multi-religious society, a fundamentalist tends to be communal while communalist are not fundamentalists. As, in India, the Hindu Mahasabha, the RSS, the BJP, the Akali Dal, etc. are communal parties but are not fundamentalists:

(i)   Fundamentalists seriously urge for the actual revival of the pristine past whereas communalists though appeal, they are more focused on modern world.

(ii)   Fundamentalists are deeply religious and put their entire ideology on religion whereas communalists use religion just to give political power.

(iii) Fundamentalists want to Christianize or Islamize or Hinduige the whole world. Communalists just want to communalize their own society.

Fundamentalism in the global context:

(a) **Fundamentalism in Iran :**

In the 19th century in Iran, Pahalvi dynasty was founded and with the help of Britishers, colonel Rajja Khan was made the king. Iran being on oil rich country attracted Britishers as they needed oil. For the purpose of exploitation of this resource, they employed their own men which erected dissatisfaction among Iranian masses. Meanwhile, America also joined and triangular co-operation developed with the support of British and America, king KHAN, started modernizing the state in which Madrassa's and Maqatab were put under the control of Central administration.

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All such actions caused great disenchantment among many Iranian. To protect their interest they took shelter in the religious places. Under the guidance of Ayyatullah Khomeini, their collective Action dethroned king Khan and a new set up was created in which religion got a special place marking the beginning of fundamentalism.

(b) In America :

Non-Religious Right Movement in America: Protestant Fundamentalism: the motto of this movement was to spread the importance of protestant religion and to stop modern practices as they were highly vulgar. They were causing harm to national values and mobility. Their slogan was "Bring Back America Again". This shows American fundamentalism.

(c) Taliban regime:

Afghanistan could be cited as the most recent example of fundamentalism. A lot of hardships were inflicted upon women. Entire regime was politically, economically and socially crippled only Religion existed.

(d) Pakistan:

Fundamentalism kept on surfacing time to time in Pakistan but the some was to a large extent counterpoised by democratic government.

Conclusion

The phenomenon of fundamentalism is not confined to one religion but is freely and widely found among Christians, Muslims, Jains, Hindu and Sikhs. Fundamentalists asks for return to the fundamental tenets of a religion, to its original formulations and meanings that were given to the religion in its first text. No interpretation is allowed. Any interpretation made should be wiped out. These texts are God's own words. Therefore, they are circular, unambiguous and changeless. For example, for Christian fundamentalists old and new testaments are God's own words, for Muslim fundamentalist Karan and Sunnah, for Hindus the Vedas, for Sikh the Gurbabni. Infact, the fundamentalists regard any interpretation of such text as blasphemous act. Fundamentalists considers that the life should be governed by the religion as written in the tests. Gary North, one of the American fundamentalist said that Bible contains solutions to all problems a person faces today in his/her daily. According to Abdul-Jawed Yasin, religion is the divine way drawn by God for man to solve his economic affairs, social affairs, political affairs, legislative affairs, psychological affairs, internal affairs, external affairs and any other affair that it may have. A muslim fundamentalist say "God's final religion contains all the legislation required".

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293

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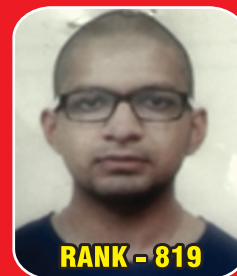
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I believe Civil Services is more a test of your values and beliefs rather than expertise. Vikash Ranjan Sir instilled in me the right values to persevere and work hard towards serving the Nation. He has been a guiding light academically, spiritually and emotionally. I wish all the very best to all aspirants in all their endeavors. May we together build a strong and vibrant Nation!

His approach towards Sociology is very relatable and novel and that makes him one-of-a-kind teacher. I have benefitted immensely from his constant support, detail-oriented advice and his unflinching faith in his students.

– Aparna Gautam
10-07-2015

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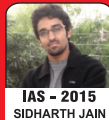
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| Rank 613 Anil Kumar | Rank 763 Amit K. Anand | Rank 614 Kiran KG Jadhav | Rank 674 Pavan M. Bansod | Rank 829 Bhushan B Bhirud | Rank 865 Manoj Kr M E | Rank 1035 Dondapti V. Harish | Rank 375 Shantanu Aggarwal | Rank 441 Kartik Singh | Rank 237 Satya Prakash | Rank 355 Minhajuddin | Rank 318 Dr. G. Sudhir | 95+ Selections |

Final Selections From INTERVIEW GUIDANCE PROGRAMME : IGP-2015

| 5 Shashank Tripathi | 15 Pratap Singh | 36 Abhinav Goel | 37 Vaithinathan | 43 Kumar Harsh | 56 Srikanth H S | 63 Aayush Garg | 71 Kumar Abhishek | 80 Vivek Kumar | 91 Rakesh Kumar | 102 Amarpreet Kaur Sandhu | 129 Vasumana Pant | 148 Anjanianjan | 210 Bidisha | 216 Dr. Venkateswar |

| 226 Jaya Lakhwani | 243 Sundeep Ahuja | 274 Nivya P Shetty | 285 Ayushman Shukla | 315 Rajeev Garg | 321 Prateek Singh | 324 Sudhakar | 330 Aditya bajpai | 368 Kumar Sanuyraj | 373 Chandan Kumar | 401 Aditya Dachabwal | 407 SHARMA SURYAPRAKASH | 454 Sagar Bagmar | 468 Achin Garg | 490 Amit Asery |

| 509 Rahul | 540 Kriti Das Thokchom | 565 Gaurav Kumar | 586 Haridas Rajkumar | 623 Yashivir Yadav | 630 Sanjay R. Kumeni | 668 Mohan Lal Meena | 883 Prem Prakash | 888 Vindhya Nupur | 909 Sidhartha Kr. Barally | 985 Shalini Sushmita | 998 Pradeep Kumar | 1051 Tika Ram Meena | 123 Saurabh | .... and many others |

Selections From SOCIOLOGY, ESSAY & INTERVIEW FOR IAS COURSES in Previous Years

| RANK 177 SAUMYA MISHRA CSE - 2014 | RANK 262 Dr. ANKIT KR. AGGARWAL CSE - 2014 | RANK 292 KUMBHAR AJIT BALASO CSE 2014 | RANK 648 TANU JAIN CSE 2013 | IAS - 2013 SHASANKA ALA B. Tech. IIT Madras | CSE-2012, IAS-2012 ANSHUL GUPTA CSE 2012, IIT BHU | IPS - 2012 ANURAG VATS B.Tech DCE, DELHI | IRTS-2012 RAJU B.Tech, DCE, DELHI | RANK 207 BHAVNA GUPTA CSE 2012 | RANK 272 MRIDUL CHOWDHARY CSE 2013 | RANK 338 SUDEEP DABAS CSE 2013 |

| RANK 939 UMESH RATHOD CSE - 2013 | RANK 1037 MIHIR DEV CSE 2013 | RANK 24 UJJWAL KUMAR CSE - 2012 | RANK 32 AMIT ARORA CSE 2012 | RANK 126 ANKIT AGGARWAL CSE 2012 | RANK 138 ANURAG VERMA CSE 2012 | RANK 242 MANVENDRA PRATAP CSE 2012 | RANK 447 ABHAS CSE 2012 | RANK 649 Md. IMETYAZ ALAM CSE 2012 | RANK 878 VENKAT RAJA CSE 2012 | And Many More |

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