T.Y.B.A POLITICS
SEMESTER - V (CBCS)

CONCEPT IN POLITICAL SOCIOLOGY

SUBJECT CODE: 97119

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CONCEPT IN POLITICAL SOCIOLOGY
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UNDERSTANDING POLITICAL SOCIOLOGY

Unit Structure

1.0 OBJECTIVES

- To learn about Weberian Approach and the concepts discussed by Weber like Authority, Bureaucracy.

- To understand Marxian Approach of Class and the role of State according to the approach

- To learn about the Behavioral Approach in Political Sociology.

1.1 INTRODUCTION

In his book Introduction to Political Sociology, Lewis A. Coser discusses about the "political sociology." He asserted that Political Sociology is a subdiscipline of Sociology that is concerned with the social roots and effects of the current power structures within or between the societies, and the resulting social and political conflicts in the distribution of power. It makes an effort to comprehend the connection between the government and the public. Additionally, it highlights the effects of competing social pressures on the social decision-making authority. Political Sociology is a multidisciplinary field of study. The discipline also examines the role of political institutions in social development (and revolution), researching the connections between democracy and industrialization. It also looks into the comparative analyses of welfare systems. Political sociology has also contributed to a better understanding of the state's role in the formation of national identitya1a. Given this background, in this chapter we will be looking into few theoretical approach namely Marxian approach, Weber's approach and Behavioral approach with reference to Political Sociology.

Studying this topic would help in understanding the subject of political sociology in a better way. Both Karl Marx and Weber are classical thinkers whose contribution can be applied even to understand present conditions. These thinkers are the classical thinkers and their theories and concepts can be applied to understand the political situation, structure, complexity and growth too. Let us now look into the different approaches in detail.

1.2 WEBERIAN APPROACH

Max Weber as a thinker emphasized on researching the social component of political issues. According to Weber, a group is considered political if to some extent its administrative staff regularly directs, monitors to maintain its existence and order within a given territorial area like state. Weber also tried to discuss the differences between the study of organizations that make an effort to influence the political organization's activities and of direct agents with the system who use the legal force.

He also discusses the link between economic power and political decision-making, the different ideologies of political movements, interest groups, and the sociopsychological correlates within the political behavior and organization. Let us now look into two of his importance concepts– namely Bureaucracy and Types of Authority. Authorities have power. Hence, Weber discusses about three types of authority.

Traditional Authority –Traditional power is given to people without regard to their credentials. The individual's claim is based purely on their ancestry; hence they are not required to have any unique abilities to exercise it. In many preindustrial civilizations, traditions and custom are highly valued. Even in the modern monarchies where a king, queen, or prince enjoys power because she or he hails from a royal family, are examples of traditional authorities.

The Charismatic Authority – The charismatic individuals possess charisma and have influential capacity. An individual's outstanding personal traits and the power influences the followers. Charismatic people may have power over a whole society or only a small portion of a bigger population. They can exercise power both positively and negatively: Joan of Arc, Adolf Hitler, Mahatma Gandhi, Martin Luther King. Each of these people has outstanding personal attributes that inspired admiration from their followers and compelled them to carry out their requests or directives.

The Rational/ Legal Authority – The individuals who possess legal authority have power which is legally given to them like judge, police man. A conviction in the validity of a society's laws and rules, as well as in the authority of leaders to act in accordance with these laws to make choices and establish policy, is the foundation of rational-legal authority, which emanates from the law. Modern democracies, where power is granted to individuals chosen by voters and the regulations for exercising that power are typically laid out in a constitution, charter, or other written instrument, are characterized by this type of authority.

- **Bureaucracy**

Bureaucracy is a particular type of organization that is characterized by complexity, a clear chain of command, permanency, professional management, hierarchical coordination and control, and legal power. Bureaucracy is best when it is impersonal, logical, and works on the basis of laws rather than on affiliations with family, friends, patriarchal, or charismatic authorities. Both governmental and private institutions use bureaucratic organization.

The most influential bureaucracy theorist is Weber (1864–1920), who wrote about the historical evolution of bureaucratic structures as well as the ideal features of bureaucracies. According to Weber, the characteristics of bureaucracy set it apart from other kinds of organization based on legal sources of power. According to Weber, bureaucracy has the advantage of being the most technically advanced type of organization, with specialized knowledge, certainty, continuity, and unity.

However, Weber's theory of bureaucracy highlights not only its relative technical and competency benefits but also attributes its existence as a type of organization. One of the essential components of bureaucratic organisation is continuity. Uniform rules and practises for written communications and official behaviour are necessary for rational-legal authority. A bureaucracy may follow precedent and standard operating procedures because of its files, or historical records, which provide it organisational memory. By lowering the expenses associated with each transaction, standard operating procedures help companies become more efficient.

Bureaucracies have distinct lines of authority. The hierarchy of bureaucratic authority places responsibility at the top and others with no or less authority at the bottom.

One of the fundamental components of bureaucracy is the professionalisation of management, with full-time employees whose focus is solely on managing the organisation. For example - The group of civil servants, who have earned the posts by the successful completion of tests based on merit, are the ones are one of the responsible groups for professionalisation in government.

In the bureaucratic structure, rules are also essential because they give processes and activities a consistent and logical foundation. The list of rules is available in an organization's files. Codified rules and precedents serve as the foundation for administrative decisions and, more importantly, procedures.

- **State and Bureaucracy**

The rise of the modern nation-state was accompanied by a corresponding elevation in the status of its administration, the bureaucratization of the administration, and the indispensability of its

permanent officialdom. Weber observed bureaucratic forms of administration in ancient Egypt, during the later stages of the Roman Empire, in the Roman Catholic Church, and in imperial China. The state is represented by the bureaucracy, which worked for the crown. Building the state was basically associated with the standing of its permanent officials and the increasing competence of its bureaucratic infrastructure. In the developed countries the bureaucracy functions with more rules, procedures, formal and legal way. However, in developing countries things vary.

Check Your Progress Exercise 1

Note: i) Use the space given below for your answer.

1) What is Political Sociology?

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2) Discuss the Legal Authority in few lines.

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1.3 MARXISM APPROACH

Karl Marx and to some extent Friedrich Engels influenced the school of thought known as Marxism in the middle of the 19th century through their writings. Although Marx was not an economist, sociologist, or political theorist, his ground-breaking theory combines these and other categories into a single, cohesive whole. Therefore, despite the fact that Marx's thought can be said to have economic, political, sociological, and other dimensions, it cannot be reduced to a combination of these approaches or even to reduce his conception of totality to a type of inter- or multi-disciplinarity.

In particular, Marx insists that politics is a historical science and that states, ideologies, and laws are components of larger superstructural relations that serve to fix and reproduce minority rule in class-divided societies. Modern political theory, on the other hand, tends to treat politics as a universal characteristic of human communities. According to this viewpoint, politics is best understood as an epiphenomenon of the relations of production through which one class maintains its control over humanity's productive interaction with nature. It has its origins in the emergence of class societies.

Due to its focus on the interactions between two economic classes—the haves and the have-nots, or the owners and the workers—the Marxian approach is sometimes known as the "class approach." It is predicated on the idea that economic interactions between the two economic classes, which have always existed in every society, affecting political relations. According to Almond and Powell's summary, "Marxist theory advances the argument that the social class structure of a society dictates the structure and functioning of the political system".

Marxist theorists view politics as an outcome of the economic interactions between the haves and the have-nots in society. The haves employ state power—in the form of laws, regulations, and policies—to preserve their system of oppression and exploitation of the have-nots. The haves oversee, supervise, and manage the entire process in order to exploit and maintain the have-nots under their strict control. Economics is the foundation of politics.

Marx views the individual as being separated into two categories: political citizen and economic actor. Political alienation is represented by the dichotomy, which is made worse by how the bourgeois state runs its affairs. Marx developed his theory of the state as the means by which the privileged class subjugated other classes as a result of his observation of society at the start of the 19th century. According to Marx, ideological alienation manifests itself in various ways in economic, philosophical, and legal systems.

- **Marx on state**

  The Marxian approach sees the state as a mechanism of class, a tool used by the wealthy to oppress the poor. At a certain point in social evolution, the rich developed the state as a tool or machine to exploit the poor. The communist society, which is fundamentally a classless and stateless society, does not assign any place to the state under the Marxist paradigm.

  Marxists categorically reject the central assumptions of liberal theories of the state. They believe that regardless "liberal" or "democratic" a state may profess to be, it largely acts as a weapon for the powerful and dominant class to exploit the economically weak class (i.e., the class of the poor and non-owners of the means of production) but actually they are the class of the rich and owners of means of production. In other words, the state primarily functions as

a means of establishing and upholding the hegemony of the wealthy and powerful over the weak. Actually, in a society where classes are at odds with one another, "the State is a political instrument, a means for sustaining the supremacy of one class over another. In a way, there is the political separation from their material existence as producers and consumers was only furthered by the state.

Marxists have in fact claimed that the state and society's economic structure cannot be understood independently and that the state develops from and, in some ways, mirrors the class system (Oladipo, 1991: 165; Heywood, 2007: 94).

According to Marxists, there are few characteristics of the State. which are in contrast to the direct organization of the armed people that existed in tribal society, it is a public power. One characteristic of the state is not its universal ability to impose coercion, which may be found in some form in any society, but rather its public power, which is an ability that does not correspond with the majority of the population and is wielded by a particular class of people.

The levying of taxes necessary for the maintenance of the equipment of power is a precondition of the state organization of society. The maintenance of the State apparatus eats up an increasing amount of society's resources as internal and external conflicts intensify and the State apparatus expands. The subjects of the state are also split based on geography rather than blood ties. A specific territory and its inhabitants are directly under the control of the state, and this territorial division of the populace has an impact on the growth of economic ties and the establishment of political frameworks for their control (Johari, 2005: 72-73).

Check Your Progress Exercise 1

Note: i) Use the space given below for your answer.

1) Who contributed to the development/ emergence of Marxian school.

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1.4 BEHAVIORAL APPROACH

An approach in political science known as behavioralism aims to provide an objective, quantitative method for describing and forecasting political

behavior. It views that the subject matter of political science should be restricted to events that are independently observable and quantifiable. It is seen as one of the prominent approaches emerged in the 1950s and 1960s. Based on the idea that social forces are mostly reflected in political institutions and that society, culture, and public opinion should be studied before politics. Behavioralists do this by establishing statistical correlations between independent factors (causes) and dependent variables using the methods of the social sciences, particularly psychology (presumed effects).

In contrast to studying the characteristics of institutions like legislatures, executive branches, and judicial systems, behavioralists are primarily interested in examining the behavior, activities, and acts of specific individuals. The systematic investigation of every unique form of political behavior is emphasized by behavioralism. Some academics point out that behaviorism requires the careful application of scientific and statistical techniques in order to standardize research procedures. Additionally, it is a test of how to guarantee that the field of politics is studied objectively. Political science should be researched in a manner analogous to the study of natural sciences, it is typically asserted by supporters of the behavioural approach. In this context, behavioral method proponents say that a political scientist's primary responsibility is to gather and analyze factual data in an objective manner.

Political science has moved in a considerably more scientific direction as a result of behavioralists' rise to prominence in the decades following World War II. They frequently compare their studies with those of the so-called traditionalists, who sought to explain politics using unquantified descriptions, anecdotes, historical analogies, ideologies, and philosophy. A behaviouralist might, for instance, study as to why cities dwellers tend to support candidates who are more liberal while people in rural regions prefer to support candidates who are more conservative.

Chicago School's renowned founder, **Charles E. Merriam** is associated closely with the Behavioural school of thought. He was the critical about the conventional political theories, stating that they lacked in-depth scientific investigation. Additionally, he criticised the writings of historians who did not consider the psychological, sociological, and economic factors affecting people's existence. He argued for an interdisciplinary method of studying politics. science, which would give the field a genuine scientific nature. He preferred the study of politics through the application of quantitative methods has inspired political scientists to Consider political behaviour to be the main research question. He was a steadfast admirer, so He tried to use science to spread the message of democracy.

With Behavioural approach election was studied into political science. The Survey Research Center (SRC), established at the University of Michigan in the 1940s, carried out ground-breaking statistical electoral analyses. The findings of the SRC's investigations were used by Angus Campbell, Philip Converse, William Miller, and Donald Stokes to establish the idea of party identification—the sustained psychological connection of a voter to a political party—in The American Voter (1960). They asserted that the

widely acknowledged effects of religion, socioeconomic class, area, and ethnicity only affect voting behaviour inasmuch as the voter has been socialized—primarily by his parents—to identify with a certain party.

Behavioral techniques were quickly adopted outside of the US, frequently by academics with ties to US colleges. Election studies were first conducted at Oxford University in the 1960s, and in Political Change in Britain: Forces Shaping Electoral Choice, David Butler and Donald Stokes—one of the writers of The American Voter—adapted a large portion of the American study (1969). They discovered that political generation, or the historical period in which a person was born, and "duration of partisanship," or how long a person has been a partisan, also predict party identification.

They also discovered that party identity, which is initially passed down from parents, can shift in response to historical events. Stein Rokkan, a well-known Norwegian academic, was a pioneer in the use of cross-national quantitative data to study the interaction between party systems and societal divisions based on class, religion, and geography, which together explain a great deal of voting behaviour. According to research by Rokkan, "centre-periphery" tensions are significant because they lead to voting patterns that differ from those of the country's centre of political and economic activity.

The surveys have produced useful information for examining trends over time and have revealed, among other things, that modern European ideological opinion clusters around the political centre, indicating that stable democratic systems have taken root. European behaviouralists have conducted research on a variety of political, social, economic, and cultural issues. Transparency International, which was established in 1993 in Berlin, also carried out global surveys to try and measure corruption. Guillermo O'Donnell and Arturo Valenzuela examined the factors that have undermined democracy in Latin America using public opinion polls, voting, economic, and demographic data.

The influential Political Man: The Social Bases of Politics (1960) by American sociologist and political scientist Seymour Martin Lipset, who used statistical and historical data to show that social class as one of the main determinants of political behaviour, and placed a strong emphasis on the behavioural approach.

Although the approach did not have the same level of domination in international relations as it had in domestic and comparative politics, behaviourism had an impact there as well. The University of Michigan's Correlates of War Project, established in 1963, amassed a wealth of quantitative data and quickly rose to prominence as a premier resource for academics researching the origins of conflict and global unrest. Additionally, behaviouralist made a name for itself in studies of the legal and administrative systems.

Although behavioural science provided valuable insights into people's political behaviour, it frequently offered little in the way of practical administration. Studies on voting, for instance, hardly ever helped people comprehend public policy. Behavioural research was frequently criticised

for being limited to subjects that could be studied quantitatively and for being unrelated to important political matters. Intense methodological discussions among behaviouralists (and within the field more generally) frequently came across as technical and focused on topics of little interest to the majority of people. In many parts of the world, behavioralists' approach was useless since they required quantitative survey and electoral data, which were sometimes unavailable in autocracies or less developed nations.

The fact that behavioural research heavily relies on verbal responses to surveys also raises doubts about its validity. Analysis of survey data has revealed that respondents frequently provide socially acceptable responses and are likely to hide their true sentiments on argumentative issues. In addition, the wording of the questions and the ranking of potential responses can influence the findings, making it challenging to draw firm conclusions.

With time, behavioralism did not take over as the only methodology used in political science, and many behavioralists eventually recognised the value of traditionalists' unquantified insights. By the late 1960s, political scientists had coined the term "post behavioural synthesis" too.

Check Your Progress Exercise 1

Note: i) Use the space given below for your answer.

1) Discuss Behavioural approach as seen by Charles E. Merriam

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1.5 SUMMARY

In this chapter we began with looking into the meaning of Political sociology, Political Sociology is a subdiscipline of Sociology that is concerned with the social roots and effects of the current power structures within or between the societies, and the resulting social and political conflicts in the distribution of power. The chapter also discusses about Max Weber's views on politics and we looked into two concepts discussed by him like Bureaucracy which works like a organization that is organized, elected, formal in nature. On the other hand, Marx views the capitalism and state dominated by class and inequality. According to him the state is influenced by that of the Capitalists and works primarily for the capitalists interest.

1.6 QUESTIONS

1. Discuss the Behavioral Approach in the Political Sociology

2. Explain Marx view on State and his approach

3. Write a note about the Weberian approach towards Political Sociology and discuss the types of authority.

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2

CONCEPT ON POLITICAL SOCIOLOGY

Unit Structure

2.0 OBJECTIVE:

Society and politics are dialectically related to each other on the basis of which we can easily determine how far social variables are affecting the political variables. Catlin rightly said that politics is the study of an organized society. No doubt, if the social instinct are parochial in nature, then it would definitely adversely affect the political phenomena. It is through the study of Political Sociology that starts with society and examines how it actually affects the polity, gives a concrete shape to know about could a political system strengthen itself to attain the goal of social welfare. Hence, in this module, we shall learn about the Basic concepts of Political Sociology that are somehow the four pillars of socio-political study. The concepts like Political Culture, Political Elite, Political Development and Bureaucracy all together has provided a new orientation and a new vista in political analysis.

2.1 INTRODUCTION:

The Political Sociology had its first origin in the European society came into being after thebreakdown of the traditional society which ultimately gave birth to a new modern society and that society exposed to common view to differentiate the state and society. It seeks tounderstand the process of interaction between government and society. It affects decision making authorities and conflicting social forces and interests. It is the study of interactions and linkages between politics and society, between a political system and its social, economicand cultural environment. It is concerned with problems regarding the management of conflict, the articulation of

interests and issues and political integrity and organization. It stands for the interdependence of socio-cultural, economic and political elements. It is identified with the study of the social bases of political behavior and institutions. These political variables were deemed to be dependent upon sociological variables. These social variables like society, class and status are held as independent factors where as the political variables such as the state, law, constitution and political parties are seen as exactly dependent on the social variables. Martin Lipset , a famous American political sociologist rightly identified the social determinants or bases of political behavior. Political institutions and phenomena were held to be studied and analyzed in terms of sociological variables such as class and group. Political sociology starts with society and examines how it affects the state and how it affects the society.

Check Your Progress Exercise 1

Note: i) Use the space given below for your answer.

1.   Briefly explain the meaning of Political Sociology.

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2.2 POLITICAL CULTURE:

Who creates culture? Perhaps its we. To understand the tendencies for present and future behavior in a country, we must know people's values, attitudes, apathy tec. Towards politics and their role in political system. Hence, the widely-shared beliefs, norms, values that people share about their government is political culture. The term 'political culture' is used in the field of social science. It refers to historically-based, widely-shared beliefs, feelings, and values about the nature of political systems, which can serve as a link between citizens and government. It includes moral judgments, political myths, beliefs, and ideas about what makes for a good society. A political culture is a reflection of a government, but it also incorporates elements of history and tradition that may predate the current regime. Political Culture is the manifestation of the psychological and subjective dimensions of politics. It is composed of the attitudes, beliefs, emotions and values of society that relates to the political system and to political issues, as quoted by A.R.Ball. It was Lucian Pye who summarized political culture as the totality of attitudes, beliefs and ideas which give meaning and order to the political process. There are certain historical foundations and symbols attached to this concepts that is perhaps the

founding stone for its sustainability in a political system. The Historical(eg. The Glorious revolution of England,1688 and the French Revolution, 1789) revolutions and the Geographical factors inculcated the feeling of liberty, equality, belongingness, unity and integrity among the people. Other reasons for the growth of political culture are the ethnic differences (migration of Canadians into Europe), socio-economic structure, emotional adherence and also religion and myth. The political culture blurs the distinction between state and society. It presents a rosy picture of the state which uses minimum force and operates largely as a "consensus society'. In the absence of mature political culture, there shall be apathy, less orientations , less participation of the people in thesocio-political system that may lead to degeneration of the society and politics in all sphere. Now a days , political culture has acquired the status of huristic device as a tool of analysis. Ithas indeed become a parameter for the analysis of political system. According to **Almond and Werba** in their work "Civic Culture" had talked about three dimensions of Political Culture. They are Cognitive (to have knowledge and awareness), Affective (a feeling of involvement or detachment) and Evaluative (judgmental attitude). The basic objective thorough which it works is first by means of Input that means the Demand and Supports of the people as per their perceptions to the political system, second way is the means of Feedback that is actually the action and reaction to the Input that goes through a cyclic process and the last one is the Output which is the Decision taken in a political process. In this manner actually the concept of Political Culture works. It is the most essential regulatory force in the political system because none can deny the fact the society comes prior the politics and it is society and its culture the actually shapes the political system so that both can go hand in hand for the better development of the society as a whole.

Different countries have different political culture due to its variety and diversity. It help us to understand how and why their governments are organized in a certain way. It also gives us an idea about the role of ideologies like democracy, monarchy, republic, etc. and to find out the most suitable as per our political culture temperament. The **American** political culture is based on five features. They are liberty, equality, democracy civic duty and individual duty. They contain a number of core ideals and values. The family is peculiarly potent, while formal education according to Almond and Verba is most vital in producing commitment to democratic values. But all Americans does not share similar views. Certain common values of Americans are self-help, competition and free enterprise, future orientation or optimistic innature. Understanding our own political culture can also provide clues to political relationships, such as those we share with each other or our governments. In the United States, we may be tempted to think of political culture in terms of voting status as a Democrat or Republican. However, it's important to understand that political culture differs from political ideology. The term 'political ideology' refers to a code of beliefs or views aboutgovernments and politics that may influence the way we vote or whether or not we support certain legislative actions. For example, two people can share a political culture, but have different political ideologies. In other words, a right-wing conservative can be from the same

political culture as a left-wing liberal. In other words, political culture is something we share, while a political ideology is something we use to define ourselves and make political decisions. Even within the United States, political culture varies from place to place. They have a belief that they consider themselves bound by common values and common hopes. The American political culture that Tocqueville described in the 1830s has changed over the years, but in many ways, it has remained remarkably the same, even after the continent was settled coast to coast. The American view has been characterized by several familiar elements: American political culture puts a special emphasis on hard work, and is rife with stories of successful businessmen and leaders.

If we look into the political culture of **Britain**, we find that it is influenced by the combined nation's history. It's historically Christian religious life, its interaction with the culture of Europe, the traditions of England, Wales, Scotland and Ireland are having a deep impact. Even the British literature is particularly esteemed. To include few other features are equality, regional diversity, humour, customs, conventions, diligence, class etc. The values that the British people cherish are democracy, Rule of Law, mutual respect, tolerance, dignity of those with different faiths and beliefs and many more. Even they encourage sharing as well as collaborating and it is the most significant that their children learn in their early years. They work harder for working together towards a common goal as far as possible. Every country has a political culture , widely shared beliefs, values, and norms that define the relationship between citizens and government, and citizens to one another. Beliefs about economic life are part of the political culture because politics affects economics. A good understanding of a country's political culture can help make sense of the way a country's government is designed, as well as the political decisions its leaders make. For example there is still monarchical form of government in Britain. Although it doesn't have any real political power. So there is a question why not to abolish Monarchy there. Even their Upper House of the legislature i.e. House of Lords is well known for its absentees and elite culture. Still these institutions are there for only one reason it has been in there due to long-lasting traditions and conventions. The British people do not want to break it or to say their sentiments are attached with it. These questions can be puzzling, unless we understand something about the British political culture.

In reference to **Indian** political culture first of all it would be more appropriate to call it a land of "unity in diversity. There exists an amalgamation of both living in confrontation and cooperation. We might give certain examples like bureaucracy in India although it works on the principle of rules and rigidity but at the same time it also keeps in mind the conventions and traditions (peculiar feature of British political culture) prevailing in the society. Similarly, reservation system in politics is too based on caste and tribal division. We also try to keep a strong nexus with our fellow-beings. A unified and interdependent community provides a big support system to an individual. Guru-shisya systems, tribal culture are also extending patronage to our beautiful political culture. The most renowned political and social theorist Ashis Nandy in his Article "Culture, State and the Rediscovery of Indian Politics" highlighted that the

relationship between the state and culture must be viewed in two manners-first to look for the means through which culture can be made and then to look fromthe standpoint of culture. He quoted "As the state grew, the focus of national politics also shifted, from Parliament, with its dialogue between governments and parties, to the media. One victim of this new political culture is democracy itself". Similarly another Indian political scientist Rajni Kothari characterized Indian political system as One Party Dominance and it is the caste that played a vital role in shaping and creating Indian political culture. He led to a new focus on civil society.

Check Your Progress Exercise 2

Note: i) Use the space given below for your answer.

1. **What are the aspects of Political Culture?**

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2. **According to Gabriel Almond and Sydney Verba, what are the three types ofpolitical culture?**

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2.3 POLITICAL ELITE:

Aristotle once said "From the hour of their birth, some are marked out for subjection andsome for command". That is the exact philosophy behind the concept of Political Elite. "Elite" in general terminology means "superior commodity". It is derived from the word "Eligere" which stands for "selection by choice". Thus Political Elite means the superior people (small in number) who are set apart from the rest of the society by their pre-eminence. The three pillars of the concept from the Neo-Mechavellians-Pareto, Ganeto Mosca and Michels had often denoted it with "Triple C" that stands for Cohesiveness, Consciousness and Conspiracy. **Pareto** in his "Mind and Society" talked about social stratification that is a particular feature of every society where some people actually possess extra –ordinary

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qualities within themselves that keeps them some way different from others in the society that owns normal qualities. His views was based upon psychological standpoint where he mentioned about Residues and Derivations. Residues are guided by impulses and sentiments while the Derivatives supported logical motive and justifications. He divided Residues into six parts. They are sociability, expressiveness and integrity (features present in the Non-Governing elites) and the other three are the innovation, consolidation and sex which are supposed to be the features for the Governing elites. The Governing elites possess intelligence, ability, high morale and caliber. But the Non-Governing elites, according to Pareto excel in their distinctive fields. Pareto also gave a very unique significance of political culture in terms of "Circulation of Elites" where always there is seen the changeable position of Elites and Non- Elites on the basis of merit and also through revolutionary change. So, political culture is not static. It give way to innovations and dynamism. But Political Elite is often criticized for its vagueness and unscientific nature. It is also alleged that its hypothesis is not borne out by history. Even it provides inadequate description. It gives over-emphasis on richness and is mechanized atomistic in nature. Another exponent **Mosca** in his book "Ruling Class" categorized the society into two class as Ruler and Rules. He pointed out about certain specific features of the concept other than Pareto. We find some hereditary touch in his viewpoint that separated the ruler from the ruled one. He gave another new concept that was the presence of "sub-elites" in the society other than the elite class. It was **Robert Michells** who in his work "Political Parties" gave an organizational approach to the concept of politicalculture. He highlighted about the role of political parties in shaping political culture. Oligarchy as well as people's apathy were another features that Michels added. Another protagonists of Political Elite are **C.W.Mill, Robert Dahl and Harold Lasswell** who had focused over the power approach attached to it. Mill classified the society into three parts as political leaders, Corporation Heads and Military chiefs who actually were the cohesive groups who were very powerful people in the society. Robert Dahl sais that power is unevenly distributed in the society and is accumulative in nature. He also supported the concept of sub-elites as propounded by Michels. Later Harold Lasswell in his works "Psychopathology of Politics" and "Politics:who gets What, When and How" used to say an elite must have fox like cunningness and lion like strength. Other qualities that are needed included love, affection, rectitude, knowledge, intelligence and skill. Some other supporters of Political Elite were **Marx, Berham, Veblan and Djilas** who main concern was over the economic approach. Marx talked about Haves and Have-not. Berham pointed out about Managerial Revolution. Veblan gave emphasis over the Industrialization of Society while Djilas approach was over Political Bureaucracy.

But the concept of Political Elite is not flawless as observed by its critics. It is alleged that it creates disharmony in society. Even to find out perfect equilibrium is a difficult task. It also negates public opinion. And paves path for social inequality as well as tensions that is the negation of democratic culture. Inspite of these loopholes, one could not deny the fact that Political Elite could be helpful if the Elites are more adaptable to the needs of the

people. But proper alertness and vigilance is too necessary from every arena with the help of knowledgeas well as tactics.

Check Your Progress Exercise 3

Note: i) Use the space given below for your answer.

1. **Examine the psychological approach to the study of Political Elite.**

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2. **To what extent do you think that the power theory of Political Elitedeeply affects the political system?**

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2.4 POLITICAL DEVELOPMENT

Political Development can be defined as the increased differentiation and specialization of political structures and the increased secularization of political culture. According to Lucian Pye it is like adjustment between old patterns of life and the new dimensions. Historically the concepts like Behaviouralism, System approach and also the Structural –Functional approach had a deep impact over its origin. Thus it came into being by the efforts of Pye, Riggs, Coleman, Almond etc. It aims to uphold the weak socio-economic and political strata of the Developing nations of most particularly, Asia. Africa and Latin America. It was **Lucian Pye** who discussed about the characteristics of Political Development in detail. He said there are basically three features. They are Equality (mass participation, universalism, just policy over recruitment), Capacity (output, efficiency, rationality and secularism) and Differentiation (diffusion and specialization of structures). Similarly Almond talked about Autonomy of sub-systems, role of differentiation and secularization. The concept of Political

Development in fact passes through certain stages. According to **Organski** in his work "Stages of Political Development" discussed about four stages. They are political unification of primitive age, industrialization, national welfare and abundance. The concept of Political Development has vast scope. It includes economic development, stability, modernization, democracy, mass participation, mass mobilization, administrative and legal process, nation-state system, social change, industrialization and inclusion of inter-disciplinary approach. But at some point , Political Development meets certain crisis in the way of its sustainability. The scholars had discussed about six crisis that it often faces. They are Identity crisis, legitimacy, penetration, participation, integration and distribution. Other challenges that may be included like lack of precise definition, confusion, lack of universalism, problem of Third World nations and also the undefined role of elites. The problem may persists, but we can not deny the fact that Political Development is a common process of successfully sustaining new demands, goals and organization in a flexible manner. It implies systematic change with reasonable alteration in the political machinery to boost mass participation and over-all development.

Check Your Progress Exercise 4

Note: i) Use the space given below for your answer.

1.   **What are the major issues and concerns in the study of Political Development?**

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2.5 BUREAUCRACY

Bureaucracy is a type of hierarchical organization which is designed rationally to coordinate the works of individuals in the pursuit of large scale of administrative tasks. It is characterized by expertness, impartiality and absence of humanity. It is guided by well- defined rules and regulations untouched with human sensitivity. The term Bureaucracy is derived from the Latin word "Bureau" which means a writing table or desk. In French "La Bure", it signifies a cloth used to cover table of public officials. The term "cratic" is a Greek word that means "to rule". Thus Bureaucracy is a "rule of officials". The term was first used by

Vincent de Gaurney of France (1745) in mid-18th century. It grew out of growing discontentment over absolutism. It was **Max Weber** (Maximilian Karl Emil Weber) who wasa German Sociologist and a political economist

who very systematically discussed about the features of Bureaucracy. He was born in Erfurt, Western Germany on April 21, 1864. He studied law from the University of Heidalberg and also spent a year as junior officer in the German Army. In 1889, he received his Ph.D. His contributions included "The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism", " Economy and Society" and " The Theory of Social and Economic organization". They are emphasis over impersonal rules, clear and specific functions, hierarchy of positions, rule of control, separation between administrative and proprietors, lack of monopoly and existence of written rules, decisions and command.

Karl Marx's thought is interpreted and re- interpreted in several ways by different groups like Frankfurt school, Existentialism, the Structuralisms, Russian Communists, Chinese Communists, Trotskyists. He says that the bureaucracy is the imaginary state of the real state.It is the spiritualism of the state. The bureaucracy has the spiritual being of the society. In its possession it is its private property. It functions like a private property of the state authority. According to Marx, "the general spirit of bureaucracy is secrecy, mystery, preserved inwardly by means of hierarchy and externally as a close corporation". Again Marx says the hierarchy of the bureaucracy is hierarchy of knowledge. According to Marx, the bureaucracy is the state formation of the civil society. It is state's consciousness, the state's will, the state's power as corporation. The mind of bureaucracy is the formal mind of the state. Therefore, it makes the formal mind of the state. The bureaucracy asserts itself to be the final end of the state. The above observations of Marx views on bureaucracy that the bureaucracy protects the interest of the state and the class interest of the state. He pointed out about nation-states that arouse for the first time during 16th century. The existence of kingship failed to control such a large area, thus it gave rise to Bureaucracy that was entrusted with the function of administration that was run by the administrative officials. Other changes also Marx had pointed out that was existing in the contemporary society. He ranked about the dissolution of feudalism and the rise of Capitalism. It meant that more and more people were now taking up jobs in factories owned by the capitalists. They were supposed to even adjust themselves with so many compromises just for the sake of employment and poverty. They were also forced to work at low- salary. Marx had described how even children were exploited in factories in England and soon spread in various European countries during 19th century. Imperialism too was one of the reason for the growing impact of the capitalistic class in the society that kept on draining the wealth of the colonies or under- developed nations. Such exploitation being carried over by them soon started creating frustration in the minds of the labourers. They wanted to get out of such humiliating condition. According to Marx, all value is produced by human labour. But the workers receive only portion of the value produced by them in terms of the wages. The other portion was retained by the capitalists, actually constitute such exploitation. And this exploitation was measured in accordance with the capitalistic relation of production. Under these background, Karl Marx interpreted his views views on Bureaucracy. He argued that Capitalism, like previous socio- economic systems, would inevitably produce internal

tensions which will lead to its destructions. Just as Capitalism replaced feudalism, he believed socialism would replace Capitalism. It will lead to a stateless and classless society. He named it as pure communism. This would emerge after a transitional stage called as " dictatorship of the proletariat", "Worker's state"or " Worker's Democracy" Marx argued that Capitalism will end through the organized actions of an international working class. The conditions of this movement result from "the premises now in existence".

Check Your Progress Exercise 5

Note: i) Use the space given below for your answer.

1.   **What does Bureaucracy mean in Political Sociology?**

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2.   **What is Weberian model of Bureaucracy?**

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2.6 SUMMARY

Hence with the study of these basic concepts of Political Sociology, we get a clear idea how the various aspects of society altogether affects the political system. No one can deny the fact that society comes prior to polity. And apolitical system may not be studied completely by keeping itself separated from social aspects. These social aspects has been deeply influenced by culture, excellence, development as well as administrative ethics. So these concepts of Political Sociology provides a new way of understanding as well as evaluating the political system as a whole.

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3

STRATIFICATION

Unit Structure

3.0   Objectives

3.1   Introduction to the Elite theory of democracy: Origin and characteristics

3.2   Assumptions of Elite Democracy

3.3   Criticism and evaluation

3.4   Conclusion

3.0 OBJECTIVES

To understand the concept of who are elites

To understand the elite theory of democracy

To know the assumptions on which elite theory is based

To critically evaluate the impact of the theory if implemented

3.1 INTRODUCTION TO THE ELITE THEORY OF DEMOCRACY

In the twentieth century political thinkers attacked the classical liberal idea of democracy. The classic theory of democracy gave primacy to individual participation and political equality in government operations. The Pro pounders of elite theory based the idea of democracy on their personal experiences. They asked questions like; how practical it is for the ordinary man to participate in day-to-day politics? Is it possible for an ordinary citizen to stand the pressures of the political life? What impact will of clashing ideologies at individual level in a country, on democracy? The responses to these questions served as the beginning of laying the foundations of the elite theory of democracy.

The two world wars were the reasons that compelled the scholars to relook at the classical theory of democracy. During the two world wars and the changing global scenario after that which included economic depression, rise in fascism, rising international competition and wars on such large scale placed importance on leadership. These changing scenarios removed political decisions from public scrutiny. There was a rise in the belief that only experts can preserve democracy. It was believed that the industrial

society requires more specialized skills to function and thus the role of a common man was reduced in the process of policy making.

Who are elites?

Elite is a term used to describe people who score high on scales of social values, power, wealth, or knowledge. Elite theory of political power talks about the unequal distribution of resources, skills and power. The theory makes an attempt to explain the power relations that exist in the society today. Very often the negotiation between the marginalized groups and the government can be studied through discussions made by elites and the common man.

The Elitist View is a dominant minority that rules regardless of the form of government and this view is supported by some prominent like Pareto, Michels, Mosca and Mills. This means irrespective of the political class that holds the power the real negotiating power lies with the elite class. These scholars were skeptical about democracy because they were not sure if democracy would solve the real purpose because the ultimate power will still lie with the minority.

The core of the elite theory of power is that in any society, there is a minority of the population which makes the major decisions in the society and rules the majority. This minority is called the "governing elite" or "political class" and they have their influence on government decisions and policymaking. The minority gains dominance due to influence through certain social, religious, heredity or personal qualifications/achievements and this is beyond the concept of ordinary elections. It's easier for the minorities to use their influence and navigate through the administrative delays which otherwise are difficult to do for a common man.

Characteristics of elitism

1. Group Cohesion: this means elites can only survive and maintains their dominance when they are united in a society. An individual alone cannot control the majority thus the elites form cartels to retain and exercise their power.

2. Consciousness: Elites are conscious of the fact that power gives access to more power to access more of economic status, social influence, educational advantage etc. This helps the elite maintain their dominance over the majority for even the subsequent generations to come. The elite doctrine believes that the dominant minority cannot be controlled by the majority regardless of the democratic means and processes in place.

3. Conspiracy: Elites work with the elected representatives and other high officials in the hierarchy of the administration to influence the government policies in their favour. Sometimes they have access to

crucial information even before the information is put up for public. This helps them take more informed decisions with less risk and put them at an advantage over the general public or common man.

Pareto's concept of Circulation of elites

Pareto and Mosca have given the concept of circulation of elites. There is a circulation that exists at two levels. One is between the different categories of governing elites and the second is the circulation between the governing elites and common man. Pareto's concept of circulation of elites implies that the process is irregular but incessant as new men of money and power replace the old ones. The circulation of elites is aided and supplemented by raising religious and humanitarian sentiments. In such a time, the existing elite becomes softer, milder, and more humane and less apt to defend its power.

According to Pareto and Mosco there are two classes of the power structure in all societies – A class that rules and a class that is ruled. The management of public affairs is generally in the hands of the influential minority of people which the majority has to accept whether willingly or unwillingly. The majority which does not hold much power has very less influence over the public policy.

Robert Micheles in his book, "Political Parties" propounded the "iron law of oligarchy". He was influenced by the theory of Max Webber and Pareto. He contended that organizational oligarchy resulted from the priorities of modern organization which are: skilled leadership, central power, and the distribution of tasks within a pro bureaucracy. The rule by an elite or oligarchy is unavoidable as an "iron law" within any democratic organization as a part of the tactical and technical necessities of the organization. No matter how democracies develop, they eventually become oligarchies.

The elite theory briefly believes in following:

• The division of society in higher and lower is a Universal fact because people are born unequal in abilities and capacities.

• An elite is able to influence his power and effectiveness due to his merits as an intelligence and qualification.

• Elites survive in groups and these groups keep changing. New elites spring up and old ones lose their power and ultimately vanish. Sometimes by the way of revolutions the entire elite class is replaced by a new one.

• The general public has a neutral stance on politics and they need leadership in political matters. Elites provide this leadership.

- In the contemporary times the elites are formed by three types of people: intellectual. Managerial and administrators. C.Right Mills called these elites as power elites. He mentioned three main elite, they are economic, military, and political.

Questions:

1) Explain the elite theory of democracy?

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3.2 ASSUMPTIONS OF ELITE DEMOCRACY

Elite theory of democracy limits the public participation in the process of governance. Elite theory is based on the following assumptions.

1. The elite theory is based on the assumption that a common man is incapable of ruling. The idea of a common citizen being politically active is a myth.

2. According to elite theory, running a democracy is a very technical process. It requires skills to take right decisions and some prescribed methods are to be followed and the common man is not trained in it.

3. One of the most important assumptions is that different elite groups share common understanding of democratic value.

4. It is assumed that excessive political participation in a democracy is actually a threat to democracy as, if the untrained people would participate in the politics the entire structure will collapse.

5. Elites assume that the idea of democracy was never to increase the participation of common man in the process of governance in fact the goal was to create an efficiently functioning society.

Questions:

1) Explain the various assumptions on which the elite theory is based.

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3.3 CRITICISM AND EVALUATION

1. Elite theory is highly assumption based. It ignores the core concepts of a democracy. According to Barry Holden if we do not allow the

participation of people in the democracy, we cannot be fully democratic.

2. Elite theory changes the very definition of democracy and combines the idea of growth with democracy. It reduces democracy to just numbers. It wants to focus only on managing the industries and other economic activities effectively. It rips democracy of its moral values.

3. For any democracy to d-function we require the spirit of fraternity and sense of belongingness to the community. But if we follow the guidance of elite theory and reduce democracy to just voting once in a while then this idea of community welfare and connectedness would vanish.

4. The elite theory does not want to take any risks. The main objective is to provide political stability at the cost of democratic values.

Conclusion

The elite theory of democracy challenges the classic theory of democracy which advocated for individual participation in the process of governance. It advocated a democracy where the powerful minority provides leadership with interference from the common people. It gives primacy to political stability than people's participation. The idea of elite theory is very extreme and we cannot eliminate people and their opinions from the structure of democracy. At the same time, we cannot ignore the fact that in the globalized world cartels of elites exist but the aim of the democracy in the contemporary times should be to ensure peaceful existence of elite groups and people's participation.

Question:

1) Critically evaluate the elite theory of democracy and its impact on the democratic structures if implemented.

3.2 CASTE

Structure

- Introduction

- Understanding cate system in India

- Caste and politics: Scope

- Issues in caste Politics

- Caste and electoral politics

- Conclusion

Introduction

Caste plays a very decisive role in Indian politics. Political parties and caste organizations have been often seen mobilizing caste to address their concerns. Post-independence Indian political landscape has undergone some significant changes and these changes in turn have affected the caste system and its role in Indian politics. Caste's traditional role was limited to the field of occupation and social structure. After independence with introduction to electoral politics and democracy its role was further expanded. There are a number of reasons for changes in the role of caste like state policies such as land reforms, welfare schemes for backward classes, reservation and infrastructural development. Over the years the presence of OBCs have become significant in Indian politics. Today's scenario is very different from that of immediately after independence when politics was dominated by people who belonged to higher castes. The relation between caste and politics is two ways, it's not just the politics that impacts caste but the caste also affects the politics. If we analyze various political parties especially the regional ones, it can be notices that a lot of them can be associated with one caste or another. This Unit will focus on explaining the role caste plays in Indian political system and its impact on the electoral politics.

Understanding the caste system in India

Caste can be defined as a hereditary endogamous group, having a common name, common traditional culture, common occupation, relative rigidity in matters of mobility, distinctiveness of status and forming a single homogeneous community. Caste system in India is a system of stratification which assigns a caste to every individual at the time of their birth. This classification is done into four hierarchically ranked occupational groups which are called varna. In the varna system, at the top of the hierarchical order are Brahmins. They are usually the priestly and the scholarly class. Next in line are Kshatriyas. They are usually the political class or the soldiers. They are followed in line by Vaishyas who are merchants. The lowest in the order are Shudras. They are usually labourers, servants, peasants or artists. Varna system has also introduced the practice of untouchability in India according to which some castes are impure and others should maintain appropriate physical distance from them. Each varna also includes within itself several sub castes, making this system even more complex.

The cate system witnessed many changes since the second half of nineteenth century India. There were a lot of socio-religious movements which were carried out by prominent personalities and organizations. These movements were aimed at reforming the idea of caste in the people's mind so that the evil practices like untouchability can be eradicated and society becomes more egalitarian. Some of the Prominet organizations include Brahmo Samaj, Arya Samaj, Prarthana Samaj, Ramkrishna Mission and Theosophical Society. Some of the important personalities who led these protests and movements were Satya Sodhak Samaj movement led by Jyoti Rao Phule in Puna, the non-Brahmin movement led by E.V. Ramaswamy Naicker, known as Periyar in Madras and anti-untouchability movements led by Dr. B.R. Ambedkar and Mahatma Gandhi.

After Independence the policy makers made conscious efforts to blur the lines of caste in the society. Constitutional provisions to safeguard the rights of lower castes were introduces, Fundamental Rights (Articles 14, 15, 16, 17) and Directive Principles of State Policy also contributed to transformation of the caste system. Gradually the process of urbanization, spread of modern education, growth of market economy and westernization led to transformation of the structure of caste. Especially education played a very prominent role in the process of transformation. People became more rational in their thought process. It made the society more liberal and broader minded. All this ultimately led to relaxation in the rules of caste system. Caste no longer restricted the freedom of an individual to choose her profession. InterCast interactions in various social spheres has increased during the contemporary times.

Check your progress Exercise 1

1) Explain the caste system as is prevalent in India. Also explain the constitutional provisions preventing discrimination based on caste.

Caste and Politics Scope

The scope of caste and politics covers the issues related to different castes and caste institutions that mobilize them. These institutions also include political parties. The main issue that is the foundation of the discussion and analysis is the relationship that the lower and the upper castes have in the society, caste-based violence, reservation based on caste in the public institutions and their social and cultural recognition in the society. The center of the conflict is the competition amongst different castes and sub castes in order to get more share in the power structure. This conflict amongst castes translates into competition amongst political parties. The political parties then make strategies to mobilize people on the issues of caste to gain popular support and win elections. getting representation in various state institutions leads to the empowerment of the castes. Being part of Various public institutions like Lok Sabha, Vidhan Sabha, Vidhan Parishad, Local self-government bodies and various educational institutions lead to wide exposure to the castes which were historically denied access to these institutions. The upliftment of the lowers castes was possible due to state's intervening social welfare policies. Broadly speaking the scope of castes and politics includes mobilization of various castes by the political parties in electoral and non-electoral issues. India has a quasi-federal structure and thus relation of caste with politics can be understood at various levels of the federal structure.

Issues in caste politics

There are various issues related to caste and politics which include caste-based violence, reservation and the concept of redistributive justice and the view of higher castes on it.

1. Reservation

Reservation is a form of affirmative action aimed at providing representation to the marginalized sections in the public institutions. here we will focus on the political dimension of the reservation of only one of the many marginalized groups that is caste. In India the scheduled castes and OBCs are entitled to reservation in public institutions for jobs, admission in educational institutions, institutions of local self-governance and legislative bodies. The issue of reservation in reference to caste is the most vibrant issue in caste politics. Different castes are involved in the politics of reservation. The castes which are excluded from receiving the benefits of reservation demand those benefits or they want certain other castes to be excluded. The castes which are entitled to these benefits want to retain them. There are issues within the castes that receive the benefits of reservation.

The scheduled castes and OBCs also consist of different sub castes which vary on different educational, social and economic levels. There are conflicts amongst different sub groups as some claim that they have not been able to take full advantage of the reservation. There is a demand that the reservation quotas should be sub divided keeping in mind the disparities between different SCs so that the dominant castes do not take away all the benefits. For example, the farming communities such as the Jats in Rajasthan in 1999 and in Haryana in 2009, Maratha in Maharashtra in 2016 and Patels in Gujarat in 2015 launched agitation for their inclusion in the OBC category. As a result of the agitations Jats were included in the list of OBCs by the BJP government in Delhi and UP and by Congress government in Rajasthan. There were heated debates around the decision. The opponents of the reservation argued that the criteria to provide reservation should be based on merit or economic condition as otherwise it would affect the efficiency of the governance. Some castes included in the list of OBC are economically well off and politically dominant. The supporters of caste-based reservation argue that caste-based discrimination still exists and reservation is important to help these castes get the due share of respect in the society. It is also argued that caste-based reservation was meant for socially and educationally backward communities. Improvement in their economic status does not make them socially forward in the society. Hence constitutionally they are entitled to reservation.

Difference of opinion amongst supporter and opponents of reservation has often led to agitations and counter agitations. These agitations have also turned violent sometimes marked by destruction of public property. Examples of some such agitations are: the implementation of mandal commission report which provided reservation in jobs to the OBCs in the central government institutions, the anti-reservation agitations in Gujarat in 1981 and 1985, in Bihar

in the year 1970s. The agitation against the Mandal Commission report affected a huge geographical area. It was spread to Delhi, Uttar Pradesh, Rajasthan and Bihar. In one such extreme incident during the agitation a student of Delhi University named Rajeev Goswami self-immolated himself.

2. **Violence**

Incidents of violence related to caste and politics are more than often related to caste-based discrimination that may include exploitation of women, economic exploitation, access to public spaces or denial of access, celebration of caste-based leaders to name a few reasons.

There are various examples from different parts of the country where lower castes had become victims due to unequal social status and economic inequalities. Oliver Mendelsohn and Marika Vicziany in their work "The Untouchables: Subordination, Poverty and the state of Modern India" (1998) and Dag-Erik Berg in his work "Dynamics of Caste and Law: Dalits, Oppression and Constitutional Democracy (2020) have discussed some cases of caste violence in Andhra Pradesh and Bihar. In Bihar a number of caste-based organizations emerged in 1970's and 1080's which often indulge in caste disputes which turned violent most of the times. A common issue that could be traced which led to such conflicts was the ownership of land titles between Dalits and higher castes. One of such disputes which caught national attention occurred in Pipra village of Punpun Division of Patna district in February 1980. The dispute was over the ownership of a piece of land. Two Dalits families were shot dead and houses of Dalits I the village were burnt. A similar incident took place in the year 1968 in Karmachedu village in Andhra Pradesh. The reason that led to the violence was the upward mobility of Dalits and control on political powers by lower castes. These incidents have deeper roots of anger and envy amongst the castes but the violence is usually triggered by a petty incident. In the above mentioned Karmachedu massacre the immediate cause behind the incident was when a Dalit boy was caught washing his buffalo in the water tank from where the upper caste drew water, he was beaten to death. This incident spiraled into large scale violence in the village. This incident was politicized by various parties in Andhra Pradesh.

3. **Caste Symbolism and Politics**

Various caste symbols like historical figures, mythological tales and caste icons are important symbols to mobilize people on the basis of caste. People of a particular caste associate themselves with these symbols and it generates a sense of unity amongst them. One such example of the usage of caste symbol in state politics is in Uttar Pradesh by the Mayawati led government over years. the government has identified several villages in UP as Ambedkar Villages. These villages have substantial Dalit population and the government focuses on their welfare. These villages were given priority in the

developmental process. Mayawati Government also constructed Ambedkar Park in Lucknow and several other monuments and figures relating to socially backward classes. UP is not an isolated example. Almost all states in India have similar practices of glorifying caste symbols to please a certain section of society.

Check your progress Exercise 2

1)   Explain the role of caste in Indian Politics and the issues related to it.

Caste and Electoral Practices

Caste is one of the major determinants in the electoral behavior. Several studies have hinted that the co relation between the caste and electoral politics has undergone tremendous changes since the first general elections in 1952. After independence for the first decade politics was dominated by the dominant castes of different regions, in the country. Although the constitution gave right to vote to each and every adult irrespective of their caste yet there were incidents reported where the upper caste or the dominant caste did not allow the socially backward classes to cast their vote. This practice was popularly called booth capturing. During the decades of 1950s and 1060s when congress was the dominant party in the Indian political landscape, it enjoyed the support of multiple castes. It was supported by castes across the social hierarchy although the leadership during congress's rule was provided by the upper and middle castes in the hierarchy. Paul R. Brass argues that congress party was a coalition of castes. After 1970 congress was not the dominant party in the electoral politics. India saw rise of multiple regional parties representing regional issues and aspirations. These parties usually represented the lower castes and were more inclusive while providing leadership through lower caste members.

Lower castes form a huge vote bank for politicians and political parties. Sometimes the political parties indulge themselves in activities to glorify some caste symbols to please the members of a particular caste and get hold of their votes. It is a common practice to assign some portfolios in the cabinet only to certain members of socially backward classes as a symbol to appeal to that caste. The candidates are chosen by the various political parties on caste considerations to woe the voters. In the context of Indian politics caste is a very sensitive which can affect the election outcome significantly.

Check Your Progress Exercise 3.

1)   What is the impact caste on electoral politics in India?

Conclusion

Caste and politics are inter-related and they both influence each other with equal intensity. Caste plays an important role at national state and local level politics. The impact and effect of caste on the politics is such that some political parties are organized on lines of caste. Some of the national and regional parties that may not be founded on lines of cast yet they choose

candidates for certain regions based on the dominant caste in that region to increase their chances to win. The reservation policy has enhanced the role of caste in the electoral politics. However, caste based violent incidents have been the worst outcome of focusing too much on caste as it is a complex social issue in India. Despite India being a secular country caste does play an important role in the politics sometimes even divisive.

3.3 GENDER

Structure

- Introduction

- Gender responsive governance

- Various laws and legislations for political participation of women in India

- Obstacles and barrier

- Way forward

- conclusion

Objectives

- To understand the position of women with respect to political participation

- To help understand various women empowering laws that exist in India.

- To better understand the challenges in the process of achieving equal political status for women

Introduction

Since the mid twentieth century the issue of gender in politics had gained prominence. Under the issue of gender and politics we discuss the representation and participation of women in the field of politics. The impact of having in the male dominated field of politics is one of the objectives of this discussion. Gender issues can also be traced from gender differences in political attitudes, knowledge, and socialization and in women's social movement activism, as these concepts help inform our understanding of women's formal political outcomes.

The world bank identifies women empowerment as one of the main elements of social development. The Millenium Development Goals and the Sustainable development goals highlight the need for gender parity especially in the field of politics. Depending on the socio-economic framework and the cultural landscape every country requires a different program to realize the goal of equal female participation in the society and political space. Empowerment means when one can become an active

decision maker. Empowering the women allows them to exercise their will while taking decisions.

In the developed countries women have more possibilities to engage actively in the political areas where as in the developing countries like India, owing to various religious beliefs, integrated culture and social beliefs about the position of female in the society it becomes difficult for women to enjoy equal status in the field of politics.

Gender Responsive Governance

The Concept Paper on Gender Responsive Governance examines the manner in which governance processes can be understood through a gendered framework. It discusses the evolving and expanding notion of governance.

Gender responsiveness in governance means …

- Equal participation of women and men in decision making

- Equal opportunities in influencing the management of economic, political and social affairs

- Equal access to benefits

Some important elements of gender responsive governance are

- legislation including the national budget should be more women centric

- Women should be given equal access to make the decisions that affect them, their families, communities and country.

- Women's capacities should be built to claim their rights as well as training them as legislators and decision makers to be more gender-sensitive in their work.

- All the stakeholders including civil society should be involved in the process of women empowerment.

Since independence various governments who have been in power have taken multiple initiatives to enhance the political participation of women in India. Womens participation is regarded as an essential element in the process of development. India has a policy of reservation of seats for women in the local self-government bodies. The 73rd and 74th amendment act increased the participation of women from marginalized communities. From the very first day from independence women have been assigned an equal status to that of men in the Indian society. Right to vote was extended to all after India became independent. Despite these attempts to empower women there are challenges that we need to overcome in order realize the goal of women empowerment.

Various Laws and Legislations for Political Participation of women in India

The preamble: the preamble in the beginning of the constitution itself proclaims to give women an equal status on all spheres: - political social and economic landscape. The preamble is the essence of the constitution and has been quoted in multiple high court and supreme court judgements which examining the constitutional validity of a law.

Part III of the Indian Constitution guarantees the Fundamental Rights of men and women. Article 14 guarantees the right to equality. According to it there shall be no discrimination by law or administration under normal circumstances. Article 15 clearly mentions that there shall be no discrimination on the basis of religion, race, sex or place of birth. This puts women at an equal footing to that of men and protects them from any form of unfair treatment. According to Article 15 part 3, there shall be nothing which shall prevent the country from making any special provisions for the benefit and upliftment of women. Article 16 confers the right of equality of opportunity in the matters of public employment. No citizen shall, on grounds of religion, race, sex, decent, place of birth or residence be eligible for, or discriminated against in respect of any employment or office under the State. Fundamental rights are justiciable in nature which means if they are violated the aggrieved party can approach high court or even supreme court directly.

Part IV of the Constitution contains the Directives Principles of State Policy and the Directive Principles which are of the concern for the women directly and bear upon their status are: Article 39(a)—Right to an adequate means of livelihood equally for men and women. Article 39(d)—Equal pay for equal work for both men and women.

The 73rd and 74th constitutional Amendment act of 1992 added the third tier to the political system of the country. Panchayati raj institutions at rural level and Municipal corporation in the urban areas were introduced as local self-governing bodies. The act makes a compulsory provision for reserving at least 33% seats in all these bodies for women candidates. Some states have reserved up to 50% of the seats. Some case studies have proved that women led villages have progressed immensely on indicators of women, health education and autonomy.

The Indian Parliament has also enacted various statutes dealing with the problems of women in accordance with various international and regional agreements. A number of the important legislations are enacted for safeguarding the interests of women before as well as after independence.

Question

1)   Explain in detail various legal provision available in India to enhance women's participation in politics.

Obstacles and Barriers

The key factors responsible for low participation rates of women in politics are discussed as follows:

1. **Illiteracy**

    One of the main obstacles in realizing the goal of women empowerment is high illiteracy rates in India amongst men and women. Illiteracy limits the ability of woemn to understand the political system so that they can participate in it. It keeps them away from the current political developments and sometimes they remain ignorant to political issues. Due to illiteracy, many women are left out of the voters list and due to this they are not able to exercise their political right. It has been noticed that even the women who are elected representatives but are illiterate are not able to handle the office efficiently. Despite having all the sources of communication and information they are not able to utilize it to its utmost potential and take appropriate political decisions.

2. **Poverty:**

    Poverty is another barrier to political participation of women -. Often poor people do not give much importance to politics and participation in political events. They are more concerned about meeting ends on daily basis. Poor people are often influenced by the rich and well-off politicians. It been often noticed that the political parties and candidates offer free Bies to the poor people just before the elections to get the outcome in their favour. Recently there has been a heated debate in the country highlighting the concern around promising of free electricity, televisions etc by various political parties to the people of a state on condition of coming to power after elections. Its highly difficult to persuade the women from these marginalized poor families to actively participate in the politics.

3. **The Institution of Marriage:**

    The institution of marriage is another barrier which leads to less political participation of women in India. After marriage the political decisions of a women are often seen to be influenced by her family if she is not conscious enough to make political decisions. Politics is considered to be a male dominated and aggressive field and families usually do not prefer women to enter it. Clash in the political ideologies within a family also act barrier for women to take autonomous decisions. The domestic chores are usually not shared by the men and thus the responsibility to take care of the family lies soley on women.

4. **The issue of Proxy panchayat heads:**

    In the recent times some incidents have come to light where the elected women panchayat head was seen taking a back seat and her male relatives, usually father or husband taking charge as an active head and fulfilling all the official duties of a sarpanch. This is a way

in which the reservation for women is bypassed. When the male members of a family cannot contest from the seat reserved for women in that case, they nominate the women member of the family to contest the elections. When the women come to power the male members of the family exercise their official powers.

- **Questions**

1) Explain in detail various issues related to women's participation in politics.

Way Forward

Following are some of the suggestions that can help increase the role of women in the political landscape in India.

1. Government along with think tanks and civil society should conduct survey to find out what are the reasons behind women lacking will to participate in active politics. These reasons should be studied in detail and appropriate policy decisions should be taken to improve the situation. We should try and understand what motivates women to participate and take initiative in this field.

2. Bringing about behavioral changes in the society can help us achieve the desired results. These behavioral changes should be initiated at the school level where boys and girls should be made aware about their equal roles in the society and their shared responsibility towards their country.

3. There should be appropriate laws and their strict implementation to stop the male members to act as proxy heads of panchayats in the place of the female family member. Such acts should be condemned by the government and heavy fined.

4. Women elected representatives should be asked about the problems they are facing while being in power. The government should try and address these issues which will encourage other women to participate in politics and governance.

5. Welfare schemes especially the ones which impact women' education, health and independence should be diligently implemented so that they feel empowered to make their own decisions.

Conclusion

Women participation in the field of politics is very limited especially in the developing countries. In India government has taken various steps to improve the situation like making constitutional provisions related to equal participation of women and ensuring them fundamental rights at same footing as men. Yet there are a number of socio-cultural factors that prevent women from freely participating in political domain. Government should involve all the stakeholders and take appropriate policy decisions to help resolve the issues that act as obstacles in women's participation in the field of politics.

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4

SOCIAL AND POLITICAL DYNAMICS

Unit Structure

4.0 OBJECTIVES:

After going through this unit, you will able to:

- Students will understand the meaning and definition of political culture, socialization and participation.

- Students will know the nature of culture, nature of Indian political culture and determinants of political culture.

- Students will be able to analyse the nature and agents of political socialization.

- Students will be able to understand the types, Level of Political Participation and Factors affecting Political Participation.

4.1 INTRODUCTION:

This unit will familiarize the students with the concepts like culture, socialization and political participation. In this unit we shall discuss different functions, nature, determinants and types of political culture. Further we will discuss the relationship between socialization and political socialization as well as different agencies of political socialization. Socialization is a process through which a child learns different social qualities and succeeds to become a social being.

Political participation is important aspect for the successful and effective functioning of democracy. Democracy would not exist without regular and active participation of citizen in the political process of the country.

4.2 POLITICAL CULTURE – VARIOUS DEFINITION OF POLITICAL CULTURE, DETERMINANTS, TYPES

Political Culture is a term of recent origin. This terms was coined by Gabriel Almond in celebrated article "Comparative Political Systems". The system theorists asserts that one political system is distinguished from another not only in terms of its structure but also respect of the Political Culture in which it lays embedded.

4.2.1 Meaning and Definition of Political Culture:

A Political Culture "is composed of the attitudes, Beliefs, emotions and values of society that relates to the political system and to political issues." It is defined as "the pattern of individual attitudes and orientations towards politics among the members of a political system". The common human nature expresses itself in the form of certain values, beliefs and emotional attitudes which are transmitted from one generation to another, though with greater and lesser modifications and thus constitute the general culture of that society.

The Political Culture can be seen "as the overall distribution of citizen's orientation to political objects". Robert Dahl has singled out Political Culture as a factor explaining different patterns of political opposition whose salient elements are

1.   Orientations of problem solving

2.   Orientations to collective action

3.   Orientations to the political system

4.   Orientations to other people

Lucian Pye has studied the meaning of Political Culture in the context of his concept of political development relating to the case of new states of the Third World. The concept of Political Culture finds place in the subjective realm. According to Almond and Powell, such individual orientations involve three components.

a.   Cognitive orientations implying knowledge accurate or otherwise, of the political systems.

b.   Affective orientations implying feelings of attachment, involvement, rejection and the like about political objects and,

c.   Evaluate orientations, implying judgments and opinions about the political objects, which usually involve applying value standards to political objects and events.

A Political Culture hinging on the fact that people's attitudes and beliefs towards the political system whether homogeneous or heterogeneous is a product of several inter related factors, historical, geographical and socio-

economic. The three factors that constitute the foundations of the Political Culture are;

1. A study of history offers ample authentic evidence to prove the continuity or discontinuity of a political system behind which the foundations of a political culture can well be found out such as the Indians learn from their British masters the values of parliamentary democracy and efficiency of the constitutional means.

2. Geography has its own part in laying the foundations of a political culture. In case the ethnic differences are allowed to develop in the direction of hostile Political Culture, national integration suffers heavily and different people in the name of their different nationalities struggle for their separate sovereign states.

3. Lastly, the determinant of socio-economic development. A predominantly urban industrialized society is a more complex society putting a premium on rapid communication. Rural societies are not geared to change and innovation and state with a predominantly peasant population are more conservative.

Allied with this is the subject of secularization of the Political Culture. It has two attributes;

a. Pragmatic and empirical orientations and ,

b. Movement from diffuseness to specificity of cultural orientations. Times changes and so changes the beliefs and values of the people and this change should be in a pragmatic and empirical direction and that too in a way from diffuseness to specificity. The process of the secularization of Political Culture means increasing political awareness of the people enabling them to have a growing information about their political system and their role as a political actor in it.

4.2.2 Nature of Indian Political Culture: The Indian Political Culture today may be described as low participation, with pragmatism personalized and parochial character.

a. Low Political Participation: Political participation in our country is characterized by; (i) Political Apathy and (ii) Voting

b. Pragmatic Political Culture: The historical factors and forces have contributed to the development of pragmatic and not ideological nature of Political Culture in our country. The ruling party in India keep adopting pragmatic orientation to their policies and programmes.

c. Personalised Political Culture: The personalized nature of the Indian Political Culture is the result of incongruence between public interests and the private interests. Unfortunately politics in India has not established itself as "a professional activity" for promotion and realization of political interests. It has remained an activity for promotion of personal interests and for settlement of personal scores and issues. Hence, very often political processes and norms are

sacrificed and completely set aside only for formation of personal and private interest, at the cost of national or public interests.

d. Parochial Character: The personalized nature invariably results into the parochial character of Indian Political Culture. Secular and modern aspects of political behaviours are conspicuously absent in our country. There is an ever growing tendency on the part of those who occupy positions and offices of power and command, to grab the gains of political activity for themselves and to restrict them to their own immediate and close circles.

Check your progress Exercise 1:

1) Write the nature of Indian Political Culture?

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4.2.3 Nature of Political Culture:

a. Culture and Political Culture: Political Culture is only a part of the longer general culture. Political Culture is only the set of political values, attitudes and beliefs held by the society. The culture is all-pervasive and covers all aspects of our life where as political culture is a part of the totality of beliefs and value system of a society.

b. Restricted Nature: Political Culture consists of only those beliefs and sentiments, political and non-political that give order and form to the political process. Political Culture refers to the politically relevant orientations.

c. Content of Political Culture: Content of Political Culture differs from society to society. Political Culture of India is very much different from Political Culture of UK or USA. Some similar point can be there in countries political culture but not fully similar. Every country must define Political Culture for its society, the generally accepted scope of politics and legitimate boundaries between public and private sphere of life. The scope involves the kind of participation of the people. Secondly the range of political issues is important. In some countries one particular issue can be considered as political in other country it may not.

d. Sub-Culture: In every society the differences between different sections of population exists. Most Political Culture are in fact heterogeneous. The differences is one of degree that is in some societies. The differences are due to different orientations to politics of different groups. A sub-culture is not a distinct set of attitude,

beliefs and values, but a set of attitudes some of which are different from the rest.

e. Symbols of Political Culture: Political attitudes, values and beliefs are symbolized in societies, certain of these symbols and symbolic activities like the national flag, the national anthem, national identity and to enforce it. The function of such symbols is to sustain commitment to the nation.

f. Ever-developing concept: Political Culture is not rigid, or fixed but it responds to new ideas generated from within or imported from outside. The nature of Political Culture of a society may change from time to time due to the development of new ideas, industrialization, spread of education etc. In the past colonial period, the Political Culture of Afro-Asian and Latin American countries has undergone radical transformation.

4.2.4 Types of Political Culture

Political system functions within the framework of a set of values, beliefs and purpose which are described by Almond as the Political Culture of a society. Almond outlines three basic models of Political Culture which characterize the various attitudes towards political activity found among individuals in different societies. The three fold classification of Political Culture as given by Almond is as follows;

1. **Parochial Political Culture:** It exists in simple traditional societies in which there is very little specialization and where actors fulfil a combination of political, economic and religious roles, for example, the clan chief of a tribal society fulfils political religious or cultural roles at one and the same time. The individual members lack political consciousness, political knowledge and information. In the absence of knowledge, individual members have no feeling or opinion on the system as a whole.

2. **Subject Political Culture:** It exist where there is high frequency of orientations to the system as a whole and to its specifically output aspects. Here the individual members possess adequate knowledge about the system as a whole as well as its input and output processes, but have no possibility of influencing the system. The individual members have no opportunities of playing active role in politics. They play passive role. This results in lack of efficacy towards authority. Individual members obediently follow the instructions of political leaders. The society is viewed as a permanent hierarchical structure in which every individual and group has a well-defined place with which they ought to be content that it is believed that rulers are born and not made, that is certain people are born to rule and most other to be ruled.

3. **Participant Political Culture:** It exist is highly developed societies where people take active part in the political sphere by considering themselves as active members of the polity. They are well conscious

of their rights and duties. Almond makes it clear that as Political Culture are more politically homogeneous, individuals should not be taken as uniformly oriented to political actions.

In addition to this, Almond points out two more variables that should be taken into account. Firstly, he refers to the Political Culture of a systematically mixed variety. He deals with situations where there are significant proportions of more than one pattern of orientations. Thus he lays down four varieties;

a. Parochial-Subject Political Culture

b. Subject-Participation Political Culture

c. Parochial-Participation Political Culture

d. Civic Political Culture

Secondly, Political Culture and political structures are never stationary and the process of congruence and incongruence operates over a period of time owing to rapid scientific and technological changes. The degree of emphasis placed on particular values and attitudes provides key to understand cultural pattern in a society. The citizens are encouraged to join group which take an active part in politics. The ruling class assumes obedience from the governed and conformity to the directives of the organs of government.

Check your progress Exercise 2:

1) Discuss different types of political culture?

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4.2.5 Determinants of Political Culture

A Political Culture is a product of many interrelated factors. According to Eric Rowe "Politics is an activity carried on in human environmental and is a product of the economy, the society and geography. These factors are regarded as determinants of Political Culture.

1. Physical Factors: Political processes takes place in distinct physical environment. A given political unit has a physical location. The physical distance between East and West Pakistan were responsible for the emergence of a distinct sub-culture in Pakistan which assumed the form of a separatist movement and led to disintegration of Pakistan and led to the formation of Bangladesh.

2. Historical Factors: The contemporary political system is rooted in the past. The traditions and conventions are regarded as sacrosanct and any change in the ruling party does not affect the tradition, values and belief systems.

3. Ethnic Factors: The ethnic or racial composition of a country is a significant determinant of its Political Culture. The ethnic differences in the US have adversely affected the political assimilation process.

4. Religion: Religion homogeneity contributes to the evaluation of homogeneous political culture whereas religious differences retarded its development. Thus the distrust in religious aspect is a major hindrance to the evolution of homogeneous political culture in India.

5. Class Structure: An industrialized society will have a complex class structure and each class group will have a distinct sub-culture of its own.

6. Caste Structure: Caste system is a distinct institution of Indian society. The Indian society is divided in between numerous castes and sub-castes. In present time more and more caste groups are organized into caste associations and each caste group possesses its distinct sub-culture which in turn moulds the value system of the members of the caste group.

7. Socio-Economic Structure: A predominantly urban industrialized society is relatively more complex in comparison to an agrarian society. The Political Culture of both the societies is bound to be different. According to Alan Ball, rural societies are not geared to change and innovation. Thus the level of socio-economic development has repercussions for the Political Culture of a society.

8. Social Value System: The prevalent social value system also moulds Political Culture of a society. In some societies the key process of socialization tends to provide people with a strongly optimistic view of life and a deep sense of basic trust in human relations. While the later stage of political socialization emphasise on political actors.

9. Nature of Economy: The Political Culture of a community is also affected by its economy which may be basically agricultural or industrial and can be combination of both; one economy may provide mere subsistence for the population and another provides a higher standard of living. A particular economy will create particular possibilities. The industrialization and urbanization have weakened the hold of traditional values like caste system in India.

4.2.6 Importance of Political Culture:

The relevance of Political Culture is indicated by ever increasing emphasis on the study.

1. Political Culture is link between micro and macro politics: The study of Political Culture enables us to link private socialization process of working public institutions. The relationship between the attitudes and motivations of individuals and the character and performance of

the system can be systematically traced through the concept of Political Culture.

2. Political Culture is a link between socio-economic forces and political processes: Political Culture does not merely understand the connection between individual and system but also the connection between socio-economic factors and political development. The study of Political Culture brings out the significant not political dimensions of their impact on the political behavior of the individual.

3. Perspective on value system: The study of Political Culture gives correct perspective on the value system and it enables to make a rational choice between different values.

4. Useful in comparative study of governments: The study of Political Culture enables us to understand the different manner of working of some political and constitutional phenomena in different states. The study of Political Culture enables us to understand the differences in the working of constitutional and political institutions in different countries.

5. Useful in understanding attitude of people: Political Culture enables us to understand the attitudes of the citizens to the political system. It enables us to understand the process of formation of demands and responses of elite to such demands.

6. Framework to study Political Development: It provides us the framework to study a variety of political phenomena such as political values, attitudes, ideologies, national character etc.

7. Useful in study of Political Changes: An understanding of relationship between Political Culture and performance of political systems enables us to appreciate means by which progressive changes might be affected.

8. Useful in cross-national studies: The concept of Political Culture helps us in making cross-national studies. It helps us to explain why similar political phenomena produce dissimilar results of different political systems.

9. Understanding Political process in the countries of the Third World: The rise of the new countries of the Third World has made problem of tradition to modernity to central concern of mankind. For understanding problems of transitional societies, a study of their transitional Political Culture is essential.

4.3 POLITICAL SOCIALIZATION – DEFINITION, NATURE OF POLITICAL SOCIALIZATION, AGENCIES OF POLITICAL SOCIALIZATION:

Political Socialization is a branch of a tree called Socialization. Two disciplines are combined to form a term called Political Socialization. Political Socialization is the most important link between the social and political system.

4.3.1 What is Socialization?

Socialization has been conceived as a continuous life-long process of learning and mutual process that is routed primarily in social interactions.

It is seen that individual are socialized in the general value-system and behavioural pattern of the society.

But, at the same time they also instill values and norms of specific other processes which takes place within the society chiefly because of the existence and functioning of other system in it. One of such important process is Political Socialisation which happens to be a significant 'input function' of the political system that regulates the society and in turn political culture is sustained through the process of Political Socialisation. This is the process whereby political attitudes and values are inculcated, as children become adults and as adults are recruited into new roles. Political Culture is shaped both at individual and community levels and is transmitted from one period to another (one generation to another generation) because of the process of Political Socialisation.

Political Socialisation is a concept concerning the 'study of the developmental process by which children and adolescents acquire political cognition, attitudes and behaviours'.

Political Socialisation refers to a learning process by which norms and behaviours acceptable to a well running political system are transmitted from one generation to another. It is through the performance of this function individual are inducted into the political culture and their orientations towards political object are formed.

4.3.2 Nature and essential elements of Political Socialisation:

Lasswell says that political socialization 'unquestionable meets the criterion of significance in as much as it is an important feature of every past, present and the future body of politics. Every community transmits with varying degrees of success the mature practice of its culture to the immature. Every stable sub-culture engage in a parallel process since it also distinguishes between participation by the mature and the immature'.

Political Socialisation 'is the process by which political culture are maintained and changed through the performance of this function individuals are inducted into the political culture, their orientations towards political objects are formed'. In other words it refers 'is the process by which political culture are maintained and changed through the performance of this function individuals are inducted into the political culture, their orientations towards political objects are formed'. In other words it refers to the learning process by which norms and behaviour appropriate to a well running political system are transferred from one generation to another. Thus the aim of this concept is to train or develop the individual in a way that they become well-functioning members of a political community. Obviously it has a peculiarly psychological dimension in the sense that it is the gradual learning of the norms, attitude and behavior

acceptable to an ongoing political system. The process of political socialization generally acts in a casual or imperceptible manner. The study of this concept is the means by which people learn political values and morals not simply during active political participation but also in the stage before they involve in an explicitly political activity. Thus its seen that political socialisation would integrate all political learning whether formal or informal, or whether deliberate and unplanned at each stage of the cycle of his life, including not only explicitly political leaning which affect political behavior such as the learning which affect political behavior such as the learning of the politically irrelevant social attitudes and the acquisition of politically relevant personal characteristics.

The main emphasis of the concept of Political Socialisation is on the transmission of political moral from one generation to another. Political Socialisation desires to achieve the goals of political stabilization. It stands in the premise that a political system cannot function smoothly unless the process of the internalization of political norms and values are at work simultaneously.

Check your progress Exercise 3:

1)   What is Socialisation? Discuss the nature and essential elements of Political Socialisation?

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4.3.3 Agents of Political Socialisation:

The process of Political Socialisation takes place through following agents.

1.   **Family:** Family is the primary socialization structure encountered by the individuals. It sets the entire socializaing process in motion and retains an impact on the child over a long period of time. Family plays a distinctive role in shaping child's attitudes towards authority. An early experience of participation in decision making process increases the child sense of political competence provides him with skills for political interactions and as such enhances the probability of his actual participation in the political system when the child becomes an adult. Family of the chile forms future political viewpoints by pushing the individual in a gigantic social world.

2.   **School:** School structure is the second powerful influence in political socialization. School provides the adolescent citizen with knowledge about the political world and the role in it to be played. It provides

children with more concrete perceptions of political institutions and relationship. Generally the schooling pattern is turned in conformity to the political ideology of the country. In practically all the state schools form the basis of the socio-political system which not only educate but also train the future responsible members of the nation. Schools can play an important role in shaping attitudes about the unwritten rules of the political game, as the traditional British Public Schools instill the values of public duty, informal political relations and political integrity. Other higher educational institutions like college and universities also play an important role in bringing about political socialization among the grown up children.

3. **Peer Group:** The early childhood friends in the neighbourhood are first person with whom children interact outside the family and they appreciate their friends and their friend circle to a great extent. Friends share in a conspicuous way and affect the actions of the children and in building their socio-political actions. A peer-group by its activities wants to influence the individual or puts pressure on him to accept its ideas and attitudes an individual may become involved in political activities because of the influence of his close friends.

4. **Work Place:** Work place experience in jobs occupations in formal and informal organization also play remarkable role in the process of political socialization. Participation in strikes collective demonstration and other union activities help the individual in shaping his political ideology, value stance and group behavior.

5. **Political Parties:** The role played by the government mechanism and the political parties in the process of political socialization can't be ignored. Individual's direct link with the functioning of government structures effectively shapes his attitudes towards the political system. The role of political parties that is more diffuse because of their need to win wider support. The role of the government as a whole must be looked into particularly in countries like West Germany and Russia where financial support is given by the state to voluntary youth groups and organization to encourage political education.

6. **Mass Media:** The role of mass media which today have become the major instrument in mass media communication system. Exposure to mass media is very important for the development of political orientation among the individual. People get excessive information about politics from mass media. Mass communication has gained importance today so far as it has been trying to maintain feedback mechanism and research techniques for the assessment and interpretation of public opinion. Mass media have been considered as surveillance of the environment and its 'watchdog roles'. Doing so the mass media assist in encouraging political values along with social values. They serve as the store house of political information distributor of political message and powerful makes of public opinion.

4.4 POLITICAL PARTICIPATION- DEFINITION, TYPES, LEVEL OF POLITICAL PARTICIPATION, FACTORS AFFECTING POLITICAL PARTICIPATION:

Literally 'political involvement' means taking part in political activities. A compulsory element in every political system is political participation. In other words, political participation is a necessary ingredient of every political system. Man is a social animal and necessarily a political animal. Political participation refers to voluntary activities of people. By involving in the different matters of the state, political participation fosters stability, order by reinforcing the legitimacy of political authority. A society which consists of substantial part of the people, their participation is highly explosive. In a non-democratic system political participation seems to be well nurtured. Political participation assumes greater importance in a democratic set up. Participation is a principal means by which consent is granted or withdrawn in a democracy and the rules are made accountable to the ruled. Political participation are always very high in modern stable democracies. Political participation is too much complex phenomenon liable to be influenced by variety of variables. Variable have a great impact on the nature and extent of political participation. The main objective of participation is to influence decision making.

Political involvement or participation is an important concept of research and analysis by social scientists. It is the distinguishing mark of the modern state. People participate in politics and are affected by politics. Modern society is participant society whereas traditional society is non-participant. In democracy we witness high level of political participation. Political acts includes many more things such as obeying laws, paying taxes, expressing support for government, working in a government projects, voting in elections etc. are sometimes considered participatory acts. For political participation will or intention is more important. The main aim of participation is to influence the decision making process. Political participation can be analysed from both the broader and narrower angles. In broader sense citizens participate in variety of issues. In particular we do not limit our concern to the citizens participation in the electoral process through voting and campaigning, citizens also control government officials. They act as the instruments of control. Citizens try to influence government decisions in relation to specific problems that concern them. There are number of opportunities in modern democratic societies to participate in politics. They participate in elections, become member of political parties, freedom of speech, freedom of assembly and freedom of press. People share in the selection of the rulers directly and indirectly, have role in the formation of public policy. These activities include voting, seeking information, discussing, attending public meetings, contributing financially and communicating with representatives, speech writing, speech making, registering voters, working in campaign etc. In the traditional societies only the tribal heads, chiefs, regional leaders and landlords participated. They simply engaged in political activity designed by someone else.

The main purpose of participation in brief are;

1.   Trying to influence the government- national and local.

2.   Promoting individual and family welfare.

3.   Promoting neighborhood facilities.

Who are politically active? An activist in politics is a person:

1.   Better educated more well-to-do are much more likely to be active.

2.   Who is a member of political organization

3.   Who gives money to a political candidate.

4.   Who frequently attends political meetings.

5.   Who takes part in electoral campaigns.

6.   Who writes letters, articles on political topics.

7.   Who talks about politics to the people,

8.   Participation in processions and demonstration.

9.   Distributing campaign literature.

10.   Raising or collecting funds.

11.   Getting out the voter.

12.   Contacting party leaders and government officials for help in solving problems, and

13.   Voting.

Prof. Milbrath classifies individuals on the basis of their political participation into four categories, namely-gladiators, transitional, spectator and apathetic. Ranking them in a descending order, he describes the most highly politically active individuals as gladiators. They enthusiastically participate in the functioning of political parties, contest various types of elections and manage election campaigns. Next come transitionals who only attend party meetings, contribute subscription to them and do such other things. Following them are the spectators who do not only cast their vote, but also participate in processions, carry party flags etc. At the lowest rung are the apathetic, these are persons who are politically indifferent and disinterested. We in India too have all these types of persons among us.

4.4.1 Activities of Political Participation:

According to J.L. Woodword and F. Robert, political participation involves;

1.   **Voting at the Polls:** The most important participation in a democracy is the right of adult franchise. In the absence of this right democracy is not possible. Thus in democracy the adult male and female have the right to participate in elections. The age of participation however varies in different countries from 18 to 21 years.

2. **Communication by Legislators:** Modern democracies are generally indirect the member of the people are so large that they cannot directly participate in the political activities. Hence in most of the countries people elect members of legislature. Before elections the candidate contact the voters, educate them and ask for their votes. After elections successful candidates to the legislatures will constantly maintain contact with the people. The voters also maintain direct personal contact with the legislators since they have elected them for the solution of their own problems. Some of them even threaten the legislators that if they do not, solve their problems they will not allow them to win future elections. The legislators who fail to do so or who do not maintain public contact should not hope for victory in future elections.

3. **Participation in Political Party:** Every democracy has two or more political parties. Each political party has a specific ideology and it constantly propagates. This propagation is done by political workers who are active members of a political party. Most of the political parties have their network of workers in every village of the country. Some political parties, however, are regional in character. Democracy allows people to form any political party and actively participate in any political group.

4. **Propaganda of Public Opinion:** Before elections and almost all the time after it every political party tries to propagate its ideology more and more. Each party as a right to propagate its ideas everywhere through newspaper, magazines, platform and other means of communication. Most of the propagation is done through the lectures by political leaders.

The above discussion makes it clear that in every state political participation affective all the time and everywhere. In every country some political activities are happening all the time and this is carried out by the newspapers. Political movement are waged and activities of political participation increased. No party ever sits idle. Those who are elected to legislatures are busy in acting for their political party. Each political party has political leaders from the village to the national level who are always busy in political activities involving hundreds and thousands and sometimes millions of persons. This may be seen in India. Before the election the speed of political participation very much increases. From time to time the local and national political issues are taken up to maintain activity, not only the political issues but even non-political problems become the base of political movements. Meetings are organized, processions taken out, memoranda submitted and demonstrations are held. This type of political participation is going on in every city in some form or the other almost all the time.

Check your progress Exercise 4:

1)   Write different activities of Political Participation?

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4.4.2 Types of Political Participation:

Milbrath's classification tends to show that political participation basically is of four types.

1. **Active:** Active participation is one where people are able to bear the costs. Costs in terms of money, time, resources, energy and so on. If these costs are easily beared it is an active participation.

2. **Passive:** All people do not want to devote time, energy or money in political activities. These people cannot be called as active participants. They are known as passive participants. They are only spectators. There are differences in income and resources. It is not possible to all the people to bear these costs. They are not easily available to all the people. Due to lack of resources, peoples participation is not direct and active but it is negative and passive. The people develops a sense of remoteness. Participation is passive in the sense they are unable to participate. Participation is possible only to the rich people. They have resources, income leisure. Men differs in terms of money and resources. So, political participation also differs in men. All the people do not want to devote their time, energy or money in political activities. These people cannot be called as active participants. In other words, they are only spectators.

3. **Instrumental:** Instrumental political participation is essentially directed to the achievement of concrete goals like securing party victory or the passing of a Bill of just a rise in one's status or influence. Such type of participation is called as instrumental. In instrumental participation the person aims of achieving definite purposes.

4. **Expressive:** It does not aim at the realization of any concrete goal. It is concerned with some immediate satisfaction or a mere release of feeling. It is directed towards a feeling of satisfaction. Expressive participation does not have any definite objects. It only aims at satisfaction. It is concerned with some immediate satisfaction. People vote not to get any benefit from it but because they get satisfaction. They participate because they have voting rights. There is no concrete goal, no profit and no reward. It is a feeling of satisfaction that we voted. Voting in the elections itself is a feeling of satisfaction. It is in the sense that they gets satisfaction. Many voters vote for the satisfaction. They are least worried about the victory of the candidate. Thus some vote not because they are much interested in the political results flowing from the elections.

Classification of the voters as given by Verba and Nie: According to Verba and Nie voters are divided into six types. These provide basis for political participation.

1. Inactive: They constitute 22%. These inactive do not take part or involved in political life at all. They constitutes political apathies or political inactiveness.

2. The Voting Specialists: They constitute 21%. They simply vote and do not do anything other than voting. They are voting specialists or experts. They do not know extra.

3. The Parochial Participation: They constitute 4%. These persons only vote but also maintain contacts or relations with the government of public officials for achieving or securing special benefits with selfish motives. They expect something from officials.

4. The Communalists: They constitute 20%. They not only vote, but also engage in community actions for collective benefits. They vote and also engage in community actions.

5. The Campaigners: They constitute 15%. They engage only in campaigning elections, but not in other activities.

6. The Complete Activists: They constitute 11%. They engage in all activities of political life. They are complete activists. They actively involved in public life and political life.

Check your progress Exercise 5:

1) Discuss the classification of the voters as given by Verba and Nie?

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4.4.3 Factors of Political Participation:

Political participation is a complex phenomenon which cannot be expressed so easily. It is too complex. Too many variables work behind political participation. It is the outcome of complex psychological, social and political factors. These factors both promote and retard one's will to participate in political activities. By and large we can give the following factors of political participation.

1. **Psychological Factors:**

    a. **Urge for Power:** Participation provides psychological satisfaction to man. Man is a curious animal. Men are

psychologically motivated to be in power and to seek power. Men always seek power because of his happiness. He feel that happiness in being powerful. Generally he seeks power to achieve justice and to protect and safeguard the interests of all. Power serves many ends. Political leaders seeks satisfaction from political activities. Consciously or unconsciously political leaders seeks satisfaction from the political activities. He has a sense of power, pride and achieves social regard. In a society where political activities are valuable more people will take a recourse to political participation. Therefore it is a natural that there is tough competition in the political filed.

b. **Loneliness:** Politics may offer new and many opportunities to the lonely man. The excuse may be politics. Individual participates in politics due to loneliness. Men does not want to live and lead an isolated life or lonely life. He wants the friendship and company of others. His anger, sympathy, emotions these are all introduced by his participation. Common activities create bonds of friendship. Psychology is more important. It is the study of mind. Without the company of others it is very difficult to lead a life. Politics offer lonely man many opportunities. Aristotle, father of political science long ago said 'a man who wants to live alone be may be either a beast of a God. He may be sub-human or a super-human. If a man lives in isolation his anger, wants, tensions and emotions are not said by other. They will be found very much lonely. Formerly, they used to be surrounded by people all the time. They feel frustration, this is no more. He finds a life a lonely burden. Further political participation is determined by unconscious conflicts and tensions. Politics is the important means of releasing unconscious tensions and conflicts. Politics removes or releases internal conflicts and tensions. Politics keeps him free from mental conflict. Conflicts may arise either in his family or social circle.

If he wants psychological satisfaction he has to participate. Whatever strikes men it strikes that to mind. He gets psychological satisfaction if he is with others, with his fellow beings. He becomes frustrated if he lives alone. There is a psychological upset. Where is the sympathy of others when man gets angry. He should live in the company of others so as to lead a better and the happy life. Friendship, contacts comes only through the common activities. Common activities create the bonds of friendship. Everyone wants psychological satisfaction. Man is a social, political as well as curious animal and curiosity is the mother of invention. An isolated life is the most worst and frustrated life. That is why psychological environment or stimuli is the basis of political participation. Participation may be attributed to conscious or unconscious psychological elements.

2. **Social Factors:**

Besides psychological factors, social factors, are also important basis of political participation. Social environment comprises one's own religion, language, caste etc. The most important social factors are education, occupation, income, age, residence, mobility, sex, religion, race, class and so on and so forth. Thus it contains number of elements.

a. **Education:** It is the most important factor influencing political participation. Education widens or increase man's field of interests. The educated person is more conscious towards his duties and responsibilities. Educated man is respected and honoured everywhere. He has more self-confidence and ability and therefore he can easily propagate his ideas. Thus he has more ability of political participation. Education undoubtedly is a very important factor of political participation. The higher level of literacy, the larger is the turnout in elections.

b. **Occupation:** People who holds high posts or occupation or profession there is a higher level of participation in political life of public life. And those persons who holds the post of clerks, attenders, peons their participation is low because they do not get any leisure. They do not have time. That is why they cannot show the higher rate of political participation. The same is true in the case of labourers, manual worker etc. A clerical job is the lowest or worst job. It denies the clerk to participate in public life. They have less security in their work. As the clerical staff work for long hours their political participation in such cases is bound to be low. But as goes on high posts there is a higher level of political participation. They have the time to discuss about politics. There is leisure. They enjoy both the leisure and pleasure. No overtime. That is why the teachers and the government servants participates maximum in the political life in almost every country. In occupation most of the persons have to face identical problems which brings them near to each other. Occupation provides more occasions for political participation. Teachers, government employees exhibit maximum participation.

c. **Women:** Male members participates more in politics than the woman why? By and large women in developing countries like India are dominated by men. In other words, they are male dominated. Further they are less informed about political issues and public figures. Women are tradition lovers. Women have number of responsibilities at home. Silence is here virtue. Women are more involved in their families. So she is engaged more in the family activities. The most important obstacle is her children. They do not have the leisure as husbands have. Her preoccupation is with the family. They are more busy in their family affairs. Women have to face number of problems that is

family problem, husband problem, children's problems and her own problems. That accounts for their low participation. Their mobility is too low. They are more submissive to culture, politically less competent. Further they are detached and are less interested in politics. She is controlled by her husband father in law and mother in laws. Females are generally more conservative. Husband and other members of the family does not permit her to participate in politics. They have higher ethics, more stability, higher cultural values which makes them misfit or unfit in politics. Still, there are some women who participates more in politics.

d. **Age:** Persons who have reached or attained the age of 55 and above participate less in politics. That marks the end of their active life. They lose self-confidence and thereby affects the rate of participation. They do not, want to participate in political life. No interest they take in politics with the age their mental and physical abilities decreases. We find lower participation among retired persons. They do not maintain political contacts. Their interest definitely decrease. Their participation is too low. Among the old and retired persons their mental and physical abilities decrease with age but their political status influence and power increases. This is found even in the developing countries like India. But with the increase of age political participation and political interest definitely decreases. We find lower participation among the retired persons.

e. **Residence:** People who belong to the well-to-do sections of society, high level of income and education, live in sophisticated houses and respectable localities takes greater interest in political activities. It is a common phenomenon that outsiders are not allowed to lead in the politics of the village, city or constituency. As a rule, the leaders should have permanent residence within the field of his leadership. Permanent residence introduces him to local politics and extends the period of contact with the local persons. His manners, habits, conduct, language, problems, ambitions and ways of thinking and behaving are according to local patterns. Therefore he has more occasions for political participation. Those who are outsiders have very few occasions to participate in local politics. As a general rule rural leaders are not as much affective in urban areas. Thus, permanent residence along with permanent occupation influences political participation. Those who have occasionally change residence, face transfers are so much involved in solving their personal problems and they are left with little interest for political participation.

f. **Income:** Besides education, occupation, sex, income has an important influence upon political participation. Higher income provides leisure, diminishes his worries and give more occasions for political contacts. They become naturally more

active in politics. Income influences political participation. Thus higher income group persons participate more in politics than lower income groups. And those who are highly oppressed by the problems of bread and butter and they do not have either time for understanding of political process. The level of political participation of such people are generally very low.

3. **Political Factors:**

Besides the social factors, the political factors are also an important determinants of political participation.

a. **Attitudes of Government:** If the field of politics is too vast, if the political map of the country is too large, if the machinery of political communication does not function properly, if the government rules are rigid, if the institutions are too complicated with rigid rules then participation is low or falls. Then people develops somewhat a feeling of remoteness and that seriously affects the rate of their political participation. On the other hand, if the election rules are simple, participation is high and easy. People will take more part in elections. If there are more open competition, if government institutions are based on well-established rules and procedures then participation is high. If government encourages vote they vote in large numbers. On the other hand, if the government discourages people the rate of political participation falls. Too much or too low confidence in the government lowers the rate of political participation. National and international crisis increase political participation. Conductive atmosphere automatically inculcate in the people an urge to take part in political affairs of the society. Political participation is high in West Austria, New Zealand, England rather than third world countries like Iraq, Iran, Bangladesh, Pakistan, Nepal, Sri Lanka etc.

b. **Political Parties:** Political parties also play an important role in political participation. They play both expressive and instrumental roles. In other words, their role is partly expressive and partly instrumental. Political parties are the 'Association of men'. They bring about awakening among the people. They also induce people to participation in political activities. 'No parties, no democracy'. Political parties take the opinion of the people to the government. They are the media of expression of the demands of the people. Then extend political education. They bring about political awareness and awakening among the people. They are the media. They always attempt to capture power. They aims at bringing social consciousness. Political parties encourage people to participate in politics. They highlight political problems and suggest remedies. It arouses symbolic force among its members. It plays a bit of practical role in bringing people closer to the process. At the time of elections, they choose the candidate propagate in the election

constituencies, explain the process of voting and extend physical cooperation in making the election a success.

Thus political parties are closely related to the political participation. Sometimes political parties wage movements. Different types of political movements increase political participation. Each party has a large literature which is distributed among the people on nominal payment. By reading this literature the people increase their political knowledge. They formulates programmes of action called 'manifestos', nominate candidates, conduct election campaign and so on and so forth. Thus political parties educate and train the people to participate in political life. They are the important vehicles to communicate the political opinions, ideology, principles to the masses. Their diverse and varied activities stimulate the common man's interest in politics, provide an opportunity and to act as a forum to participate in politics.

c. **Elections:** Free, fair and fearless election is the foundation or corner stone of democracy. Besides political parties election also influence political participation. Through elections one may understand what are the central issues in current national politics, how to judge them, who are the candidates in the elections, where to find voter's register, how to search one's name in it, which polling station one would have to go and what is the procedure of casting one's vote. Thus elections looks like a very convincing.

Besides these factors, other factors are also there which influences political participation.

4. **Bureaucracy:**

Another important institution which has contributed to the rise in the level of political participation is bureaucracy. It is a government by experts of specialists. Bureaucracy manages numerous types of operations, regulatory and developmental in nature. Bureaucracy is based on documents and files. It has enabled to villagers to develop a meaningful interaction with the world outside. To them, a development officer, a tahsildar or even a police officer rings a ray of modernity. Their actions their way of living and conducting are limited by the villagers. Their role is important in solving of some of economic development and social problems. It induces them to participate in the political affairs of the community. It is playing a very important role in the community development programmes in which people participate. That helped them forget or cast off their traditional ignorance, lethargy and political indifference. As a result villagers are now mixing with all types of activity including political one. It may be however, be mentioned at the end that the improvement in the villages, political participation does not entirely owe itself to bureaucracy. The role of other factors, of course cannot be forgotten.

5.   **Populist Politics:**

Another booster is the populistic nature of politics. It has a well-established political strategy of the leaders. In this populistic political issues and slogans plays a very important role. These slogans catch the sentiments of even the layman in the street and if possible arouse his sentiments and emotions. These catchy, issues and slogans stimulate the interests of the people in politics of the society. In this connections, we may refer to Gandhiji's 'Salt Satyagraha'. The British had banned the manufacture of salt by the people. Gandhiji was a great psychologist and he choose this commodity not because it is cheap, but because it was used by each and every person in the country. He led the historic 'Dandi March' to the sea and violated the ban by making the salt himself. His march aroused a lot of enthusiasm of the people. This single issue of salt contributed to the democratic feature of political participation to an extent the extent that no amount of speech making and resolution passing could do.

When decisions are taken in open, democratic manner, people treat them as their own decisions and willingly and voluntarily accept them, popular decisions command greater acceptability and are less liable to be violated by the people. In recent years, late Mrs. Indira Gandhi raised the 'Garibi Hatao' slogan and remarkably swept the polls. Thus we find that populistics politics or policies constitute a very important factor capable of pushing the people into the politics. Slogans like 'Jai Hind' (long live India), Garibi Hatao'(remove poverty), 'Chhota Parivar Sukhi Parivar' (small family happy family), 'Ham do- Hamare do', (we two- ours two), 'Jiyo aur Jine Do' (live and let live), 'Mera Bharat Mahan' (our India is great), are some of the popular slogans emerged in the recent years.

6.   **Democratic Decentralisation:**

Still another institutional device which has relevance to political participation is that of democratic decentralization. When power is decentralized and vested in villages, towns and their elected councils the residents of those localities feel interested in decision making process. Their pleasure and enthusiasm increases. These bodies immediately, touch upon their welfare. There is not direction and command of any outside authority. Their interest gradually increases. By and large they begin participating in the political activities of the higher decision making councils.

At the village there is an institution called 'Gram Sabha' and it has been established in the context of the Panchayati Raj. The Gram Sabha is a body of the whole adult population of the village. It holds its sessions periodically and discusses and disposes of all the relevant issues concerning the welfare of the local community. To sum up, democratic decentralization is a significant institutional device or method to enhance the people's sense of participation in political actives.

7.   **Issues and Ideologies:**

Sometimes certain issues or situations emerge which deeply affect the functioning and the wellbeing of the system. They are widely defeated attracting attention of everyone. Sometimes, debates are so serious that individuals becomes active. These issues emerges suddenly. And they have a great impact on the nature and level of political participation. Political participation is associated with political awareness. Voters may not be aware of the multiple and complex issues. Some are strongly motivated by a single issue or some important issues. Awareness affects the quality and amount of participation. Political activities are likely to be aware of political issues as compared to the ordinary citizens. For eg. internal emergency declared the Mrs. Indira Gandhi. It was declared in June 1975 and lasted till the beginning of the year 1977. The whole phenomena of emergency in general and family planning issue in particular had become highly controversial. As a result voters turnout at the Lok Sabha poll jumped. It was 55.22 percent in 1971, but turnout in 1977 rose to 60.54 percent, issues like ideologies also play a significant role in boosting up the level of political participation. In this context, a reference may be made of communist ideology. It has created the awareness and sensitiveness among the workers and the village farmers and makes them to take an increasing interest in political activities.

4.5 LET'S SUM UP

The concept of Political Culture had developed after the 2nd World War, it is important for any political system as it shapes the attitude, beliefs, opinions and ideas of people towards the political system. The political system of a country is influenced by its political culture.

Agents of political socialization influence, in one degree or another, the individual's political opinions. Such agents are family, peer groups, media, educational institution etc. Political socialization is a concept concerning the study of the developmental process by which children acquire political cognition, attitudes and behaviour. Mostly political opinions are formed during once childhood and political ideologies are influenced by the family members.

Political participation not only deals with engagement with government and the state but also with the active involvement in civil society. In modern democracy, people govern themselves through their elected representatives.

4.6 MODEL QUESTIONS:

1.   Briefly describe the term political socialisation and describe the agents of political socialization?

2.   What is political culture write its importance?

3. Define political participation. Explain various types of political participation in a democracy.

4. Explain the Determinants of Political Culture?

Write Short note on:

1. Political Culture.

2. Level of political participation.

3. Agencies of Political Socialisation.

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