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POLITICAL SOCIOLOGY: IDEAS AND CONCEPTS

**MA [POLITICAL SCIENCE]
[MAPS-103]**



POLITICAL SOCIOLOGY: IDEAS AND CONCEPTS

**MA [Political Science]
MAPS 103**



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SYLLABI-BOOK MAPPING TABLE

Political Sociology: Ideas and Concepts

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Unit-II

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Elite: Theories of Circulation of Elites- Mosca, Pareto, C. Wright Mills;
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INTRODUCTION

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Political Sociology is the study of the relationship between society and politics; more specifically –between civil society and the state. In the 19th century, Political Science and Sociology started to develop as independent and distinct disciplines under the influence of marginalist economics which tried to differentiate the study of the ‘political’ from that of the ‘social’ and the ‘economic’. Political Science concentrated on the analysis of the machinery of government, public administration mechanisms and governance theories. On the other hand, Sociology adopted a more comprehensive definition of its subject matter. Weber provided the theoretical foundation for modern Sociology defined as ‘the interpretative understanding of social action linked to a causal explanation of its course and consequences’. By focusing on the shared influence of social structure on social action, Sociology is at liberty to analyse all kinds of social interaction (varying from sexuality and language to religion and industry).

This book, *Political Sociology: Ideas and Concepts* is an introduction to political sociology. It aims at covering basic theoretical and paradigmatic approaches to political sociology. Its objective is to inspire the students to further enquire into this fascinating subject by creating a distinctive argument about the very core of the subject. The elite theories established by Mosca, Pareto and Mills along with the seminal ideas of Max, Weber, Durkheim and Parsons have also been discussed at lengths in the book.

The learning material in this book has been presented in the self-learning format, wherein each unit begins with an *Introduction* to the topic followed by an outline of the *Unit Objectives*. The detailed content is then presented in a simple, structured and easy-to-grasp style interspersed with ‘*Check Your Progress*’ questions to test the student’s understanding. At the end of each unit, a *Summary* and a list of *Key Terms* have been provided for recapitulation.

UNIT-1 KARL MARX AND MAX WEBER : SEMINAL IDEAS

*Karl Marx and Max Weber :
Seminal Ideas*

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1.0 INTRODUCTION

Public administration emerged as a discipline of political science, the former deals with the output of the Government machinery and the latter with the input. Political science provides the framework within which public administration functions. From the academic perspective, both these subjects share a number of common areas of study like constitutional law, administrative law, delegated legislation, government budgeting and local governments amongst many other. Another important academic field from which public administration heavily borrows and is deeply influenced is Sociology. It is a branch of study which deals with social order, change, class, conflict, problems, associations and institutions.

This unit gives an introduction to public administration in context to the theories espoused by Karl Marx and Max Weber.

1.1 UNIT OBJECTIVES

After going through this unit, you will be able to:

- Discuss Marx's concept of capitalism and freedom
- Analyse Marx's criticism of capitalism
- Discuss the types of legitimate domination espoused by Weber
- Compare and contrast the seminal ideas of Marx and Weber

1.2 POLITICAL SOCIOLOGY: AN INTRODUCTION

Political sociology lies at the intersection of the disciplines of political science and sociology. Giovanni Sartori, an acclaimed Italian political scientist, had suggested that there was an ambiguity in the term 'political sociology' because it could be interpreted as a synonym for 'sociology of politics'. Due to this ambiguity, it became difficult to be precise concerning the objects of study and the approaches of inquiry within the field of Political Sociology. Therefore, there arose the need for clarification.

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1.2.1 Definitions

Political Sociology is a subdiscipline within the broader framework of Sociology. It deals with the social circumstances of politics, that is, how politics is shaped by and shapes other events in societies. It can be safely called the sociology of politics because politics is described only in terms of social factors. Politics is a dependent variable and so it varies according to society. In other words, society comes first and politics comes second.

Dowse and Hughes define it in the following way: ‘political sociology is the study of the interrelation between politics and society.’ Here, both depend on each other, and this definition is also acceptable to political scientists. Society is the pre-condition of politics. Politics takes place when there is society. Without society, we do not see politics. We do not have politics when there is no society, and we cannot find a society without politics. The moment society comes to existence, politics emerges. It should be noted that by society we mean a proper society.

A real political sociology is, then, a cross-disciplinary breakthrough seeking enlarged models which reintroduce as variables the ‘givens’ of each component source.

—Giovanni Sartori

For Sartori, such a clarification would be possible only ‘when the sociological and “politico logical” approaches are combined at their point of intersection.’ This point of intersection is a site of interdisciplinary studies. However, to understand the dynamics of such a site, one must delineate the contours of the two parent disciplines—political science and sociology.

Although the discipline of political science traces its history back to Aristotle, it evolved into an academic field of study in the United States of America. According to Lipset, one of the earliest usages of the term ‘political science’ occurred with the founding of the Faculty of Political Science at Columbia University, New York in the late 19th century. A few years later, in 1903, the American Political Science Association was founded, and, not much later, the first issue of the *American Political Science Review* was published, which is now more than a century old.

Aristotle’s word for ‘politics’ is *politikê*, which is the short form of *politikê episteme* or ‘political science’. The word ‘political’ is derived from *politikos* meaning ‘pertaining to the polis’, where the polis may be understood as a city-state.

—Stanford Encyclopaedia of Philosophy

Gradually, as the 20th century unfolded, political science acquired many a focus. It included a historical study of political thought, an analytic and comparative study of distinct polities as well as a normative approach to politics. Notwithstanding such a broad scope, if one were to narrow down the object of study of the discipline of political science to a single theme, it would be the State.

If political science is largely focussed on the study of the State, sociology may be understood as the study of society. The latter discipline was the consequence of the Enlightenment—an intellectual epoch in the history of Europe that awarded primacy to the critical application of human reason as opposed to blindly following the dictates of human and divine authorities.

Let us look at some more definitions:

- “Political Sociology starts with society and examines how it affects the state”.

— R. Bendix and S.M. Lipset

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- “Political Sociology is that branch of sociology which is concerned with the social causes and consequences of given power distribution within or between societies, and with the social and political conflicts that lead to changes in the allocation of power”.
— *Coser*
- “Political Sociology is the study of the inter-relationship between society and polity, between social structures and political institutions”.
— *S.M. Lipset*
- “Political Sociology is the study of political behaviour within a sociological perspective of framework”.
— *Robert E. Dowse and John Hughes*
- “Political sociology is a subject area which examines the links between politics and society, between social behaviour and political behaviour”.
— *Michael Rush and Phillip Altoff*
- “At its broadest level, political sociology is concerned with the relationship between politics and society. Its distinctiveness within the social sciences lies in its acknowledgement that political actors, including parties, pressure groups and social movements, operate within a wider social context. Political actors therefore inevitably shape, and in turn are shaped by, social structures such as gender, class and nationality. Such social structures ensure that political influence within society is unequal. It follows from this that a key concept in political sociology is that power, where power is defined as the capacity to achieve one’s objectives even when those objectives are in conflict with the interests of another actor. Political sociologists therefore invariably return to the following question: which individuals and groups in society possess the capacity to pursue their interests, and how is this power exercised and institutionalized.”
— *Keith Faulks*

1.2.2 Nature

Political sociology seeks to understand the process of interaction between government and society, decision-making authorities and conflicting social forces and interests. It is the study of interactions and linkages between politics and society; between the political system and its social, economic and cultural environment. It is concerned with problems regarding the management of conflict, the articulation of interest and issues, and political integration and organization. The focal point in all these concerns is the independence of the interplay of socio-cultural, economic and political elements.

The perspective of political sociology is distinguished from that of institutionalism and behaviouralism. The institutionalists have been concerned primarily with institutional types of political organization, and their study has been characterized by legality and formality. The behaviouralists have focussed on the individual actor in the political arena; and their central concern has been the psychological trait, namely, motives, attitudes, perception and the role of individuals. The task of political sociologists is to study the political process as a continuum of interactions between society and its decision-makers, and between the decision-making institutions and social forces.

Political sociology provides a new vista in political analysis. Yet it is closely linked with the issues which have been raised in political philosophy. Political philosophy, as we know, has a rich and long tradition of political thought that began with the ancient Indian and Greek philosophers, and that has amply followed since Machiavelli, who

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made a bold departure from Greek idealism and medieval scholasticism. It was Karl Marx, however, who brought into sharp focus issues concerning the nature of political power and its relationship with social or economic organization.

The Marxist theory of economic determinism of political power laid the foundation for the sociology of politics. Marx was, however, neither the first nor the only thinker to conceive of government as an organ of the dominant economic class. The Arabian scholar Ibn Khaldun and several European predecessors of Marx had argued that ideology and power were superstructures of economy.

The early origins of sociology are often traced to Auguste Comte's six-volume work *Cours de Philosophie Positive* (1830–42). This work offered an encyclopaedic treatment of sciences. It expounded positivism, and initiated the use of the term sociology to signify a certain method of studying human societies. Comte proposed a historical law of social development, and according to this scheme, human societies pass from an initial stage of interpreting phenomena theologically to an intermediate stage of metaphysical interpretation before arriving at the final stage of positivist interpretation. This idea of a historical development of human societies obeying laws of nature was adopted by Karl Marx.

The work of Marx, which emphasized the role of capitalist mode of production, and Marxism in general were important stimuli for the development of sociology. The early Marxist contribution to sociology included the works of Karl Kautsky on the French Revolution; Mehring's analysis of art, literature and intellectual history; and Grunberg's early studies on agrarian history and labour movements. It is important to note that Marxist studies of society also developed independent of universities as it was intimately related to political movements and party organizations.

In the decades following the death of Marx, sociology was gaining ground as an academic discipline, and the critics of Marxism had an important role to play in its development. The most notable critics were Max Weber and Emile Durkheim. Weber's work on capitalism, the State, and methodological writings were largely directed against historical materialism. In the later works of Durkheim, an attempt was made to distinguish the social functions of religion from the explanation provided by historical materialism.

Given the inevitability of political role in society, a body of thinkers from Aristotle to Tocqueville has rightly emphasized the point that instead of deploring the evils of human nature or social circumstances, it is more prudent and worthwhile to accept the 'given' and improve it for the good of man and society. It is wiser to face it and to manage it so as to achieve reconciliation and accommodation. Conflict, though apparently an evil, is a condition of freedom, as it prevents the concentration of power. This kind of political realism recognizes the necessity and utility of the political management of conflict through compromise and adjustment among various social forces and interests. Political sociology aims at understanding the sources and the social bases of conflict, as well as the process of management of conflict.

1.2.3 Scope

The broad aim of political sociology is to study and examine the interactions between social and political structures. The determination of the boundaries of what is social and political, however, raises some questions. The relevant question in delineating the scope of political sociology is that of the kinds of groups which form part of the study of the discipline of political sociology. Some scholars believe that politics depends on some settled order created by the State. Hence, the State is political, and is the subject matter of political sociology, and not the groups.

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There is another school according to which politics is present in almost all social relations. Individuals and small groups try to enforce their preferences on their parent organizations, family, club, or college, and thus indulge in the exercise of 'power'.

Sheldon S. Wolin takes quite a reasonable view of the word 'political', which according to him, means the following three things:

- (i) A form of activity that centres on the quest for competitive advantage between groups, individuals, or societies
- (ii) A form of activity conditioned by the fact that it occurs within a situation of change and relative scarcity
- (iii) A form of activity in which the pursuit of advantage produces consequences of such a magnitude that they affect, in a significant way, the whole society or a substantial portion of it

Two groups of scholars have discussed the scope of political sociology in two different ways. According to Greer and Orleans, political sociology is concerned with the structure of the State; the nature and condition of legitimacy; and nature of the monopoly of force and its use by the State; and the nature of the sub-units and their relation with the State. They treat political sociology in terms of consensus and legitimacy, participation and representation, and the relationship between economic development and political change. By implication, whatever is related to the State is alone held as the subject matter of political sociology. Andreu Effrat takes a broader view of the picture and suggests that political sociology is concerned with the causes, patterns and consequences of the distribution and process of power and authority 'in all social systems'. Among social systems, he includes small groups and families, educational and religious groups, as well as governmental and political institutions.

Lipset and Benedix suggest a more representative catalogue of topics when they describe the main areas of interest to political sociologists, as voting behaviour, concentration of economic power and political decision-making; ideologies of political movement and interest groups; political parties, voluntary associations, the problems of oligarchy and psychological correlates of political behaviour; and the problem of bureaucracy. To Dowse and Hughes, one area of substantive concern for the political sociologist is the problem of social order and political obedience.

Richard G. Braugart has pointed out that political sociologists are concerned with the dynamic association among and between: (a) the social origin of politics, (b) the structure of political process, and (c) the effects of politics on the surrounding society and culture. Political sociology should include four areas that are as follows:

- (i) Political structures (social class/caste, elite, interest groups, bureaucracy, political parties and factions)
- (ii) Political life (electoral process, political communication, opinion formation, etc.)
- (iii) Political leadership (bases, types and operation of community power structure)
- (iv) Political development (concept and indices of its measurement, its social bases and prerequisites and its relationship to social change and modernization)

To illustrate, it can be pointed out that on one hand, sociologists focus their attention on the sub-areas of the social system, and political scientists concentrate on the study of law, local, state and national governments, comparative government, political systems, public administration and international relations. On the other hand, political sociologists ought to be concerned with topics of social stratification and political power: socio-economic systems and political regimes, interest groups, political parties, bureaucracy, political socialization, electoral behaviour, social movements and political mobilization.

A significant concern of political sociology is the analysis of socio-political factors in economic development.

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1.2.4 Importance

There are four main areas of research that are important in present-day political sociology. They are as follows:

- (i) The socio-political formation of the modern state
- (ii) How social inequality between groups (class, race, gender, etc.) influences politics
- (iii) How public personalities, social movements and trends outside of the formal institutions of political power affect politics
- (iv) Power relationships within and between social groups (e.g., families, workplaces, bureaucracy, media, etc.). Contemporary theorists include Robert A. Dahl, Seymour Martin Lipset, Theda Skocpol, Luc Boltanski and Nicos Poulantzas.

This introductory purview of the disciplines of political science and sociology should allow us to now characterize the field of political sociology. The latter may be understood as the study of the varied and multiple relationships between the State and society. In this sense, political sociology evolved into an interdisciplinary field lying between the academic disciplines of political science and sociology.

1.2.5 Evolution of Political Sociology: Some Early Approaches

Modern political sociology has existed for more than a century. According to Ronald Chilcote, the early political sociologists were interested in studying political and social life by incorporating data based on empirical research and an examination of informal institutions and processes. Some of them went beyond the Marxist conception, wherein employers and the propertied class wield political power.

Gaetano Mosca in his *Elementi di Scienza Politica* (1896) distinguished between elites and masses. Mosca's elites comprised of civil servants, managers and intellectuals. These elites formed the political class in parliamentary democracies. However, this class underwent transformation through recruitment of members from the lower strata and new social groups leading to a phenomenon known as the circulation of elites. Vilfredo Pareto sought to differentiate between governing and non-governing elites in his work *Cours d'Economie Politique* (1896-97).

Max Weber in his *The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism* (1921) examined the entrepreneurial drives of individuals in capitalist economies. In his other works, he also analysed the impact of science, technology and the bureaucracy in the evolution of Western civilization. The works of these early political sociologists influenced the studies of American political scientists of the 20th century.

Historical contexts of political sociology

Let us take a look at the historical context from within which political sociology evolved as an important field of interdisciplinary scholarship.

Peter Wagner has sketched a history of political sociology within the larger process of modernity. This sketch is relevant in so far as it allows us to locate the work of political sociologists within intellectual and political contexts. Wagner's scheme comprises three phases:

- (i) Classical sociology and the first crisis of modernity
- (ii) Organized modernity and the consolidation of sociology

- (iii) The second crisis of modernity and the renewed debate on the possibility of sociology

Let us look at the first phase, which outlines the political context of those writings that are now known as ‘classical sociology’. Soon after the American and French revolutions, the philosophy of liberalism dominated intellectual debates. Nonetheless, towards the end of the 19th century, scholars began to realize the inadequacies of liberal theories. These inadequacies contributed to the first crisis of modernity. What were these inadequacies?

Although in theory, liberalism sought to establish principles of liberty, equality and democracy, the reality was different in practice. Women, workers and non-European peoples were not actually ‘free and equal citizens’. In fact, many intellectuals of the first half of the 19th century did not even advocate a totally inclusive liberal society. The ideas of liberalism were restricted largely to male property owners, who were believed to be reasonable and free. Thus, market relations were restricted to economic ties between these individuals.

As this century was drawing to a close, there occurred a gradual erosion of the elements that constituted this society. Migration, growth of industrial cities, struggles for suffrage and the increased strength of the workers’ movements altered the social structure, and consequently, the traditional social identities as well. The ideology of socialism, trade unions and labour parties strengthened the new collective identity of the working class. The works of Durkheim, Weber and Pareto were produced within this context of changing social identities and politics.

Wagner’s sketch highlights certain currents that created discontinuities within the sociological tradition in Europe and the United States following the disillusionment of intellectuals with liberalism. The following points are to be considered:

- The rise of the ‘philosophy of the deed’, which emphasized a strong man and his willpower to rejuvenate the nation.
- The growth of empirical social research towards acquiring strategically useful knowledge about a certain populace.
- The political philosophy of John Dewey, which was linked to the social theory of George Herbert Mead, and the empirical sociology of the Chicago School also reinforced the belief in the human ability to create and recreate one’s own life, both individually and collectively.
- American sociology witnessed a shift of hegemony from the Chicago School to the Columbia School, and the focus shifted to social policy research in the 1960s.

According to Peter Wagner, ‘the social sciences in general, and sociology in particular, were consolidated and modernized in the decades following World War II.’ The goal of the modernizing paradigm was to explain how traditional societies could be modernized, while maintaining societal coherence the same time. This process was called development and its goal is the establishment of a modern society. The works of Talcott Parsons, Gabriel Almond and Sidney Verba are prime examples of the modernization paradigm.

Parsons appropriated elements from classical European intellectual heritage to create a theory of modern societies, which were represented as systems. Each social system, according to this theory, was comprised of subsystems. To maintain stability of the system, Gabriel Almond and Sidney Verba argued that restricted political participation and exclusion of social actors voluntarily or otherwise was a legitimate

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objective for the sake of societal coherence. They recognized that liberal ideals such as liberty and autonomy were not always conducive for stability and coherence of societies.

The work of these systems theorists occurred during a phase described by Peter Wagner as 'organized modernity'. This phase was marked by an unprecedented growth of production and consumption accompanied by a relative stability of authoritative practices. This meant that this period saw limited restrictions to political liberties when compared to other epochs. The presence of economic growth, political stability and nominal liberty was treated as the final goal of all social change. Thus, modernization was defined as the process leading to the achievement of this goal. These circumstances would later provide the ground for an increased faith in those ideologies that proclaimed the 'end of history'.

As organized modernity placed restrictions on human freedom created by the boundaries of convention, certain intellectuals directed their efforts at creating ambivalence in the social structure instead of seeking a well-ordered society. Order, for them, meant placing limitations on human endeavour. So, they worked towards de-conventionalization. This questioning of the goal of a regimented society created a crisis, which Wagner denominates as the second crisis of modernity. This second crisis provided the context for the emergence of the post-modern sociological discourse.

1.2.6 Approaches to Political Sociology

Political sociology is characterized by two approaches: classical approach and behavioural approach. In this section, we will study these approaches in detail:

1. Classical Approaches to Political Sociology

Seymour Martin Lipset's *Political Man* (1960) and Theda Skocpol's *State and Social Revolutions* (1979) are two influential works of political sociology. However, an influential work is not necessarily a 'classic' text. Then, what is a 'classic'? As political sociology lies at the intersection of political science and sociology, some of the classical works and approaches in these two parent disciplines may be considered as classics of political sociology.

What are 'classics' and why should we study these?

A 'classic' work is the one that enjoys a 'privileged position' in a given discipline. The works of William Shakespeare are considered to be classics in the field of literature because these influenced the English literature in particular. Likewise, the works of Plato and Aristotle are considered to be classics of western philosophy. The works of Machiavelli, Hobbes, Locke and Rousseau are some prominent examples of classics of modern political thought.

A classical work enjoys a privileged position because it establishes the fundamental criteria in a particular field. The practitioners of this particular field learn as much from classical work as they do from their contemporary scholars. The privileged position of a classical work is reinforced through their interpretation and re-interpretation by generations of scholars in search of the 'true meaning'. These are some of the important justifications provided by Jeffrey Alexander for studying the classics.

Gianfranco Poggi proposed an alternative justification for studying classics. He believes that the classics of sociology contribute to one's intellectual education because they form the best material produced within the discipline in the course of its history.

Emergence and General Characteristics of Classical Social Theory

The term 'sociology' emerged in the first half of the 19th century, when Comte used the term in a letter of 1824. It reappeared in the volume 4 of his *Cours de Philosophie Positive* (1838) to replace the expression 'physique sociale'.

Blackwell Companion to Social Theory, p. 22

The period between 1890 and 1920 is considered to be the classical period of sociology. During this period, sociology was established as a university discipline with professional journals as well as clear teaching and research aims.

It is believed that classical sociology was a reaction to the French Revolution and Industrial Revolution. Classical social theory gained an epistemic status of its own by consolidating its autonomy from moral and political philosophy as well as by claiming the status of being an area of systematic knowledge.

General characteristics

Before we highlight the contributions of some of the leading classical social theorists, let us first outline the general characteristics of classical social theory:

- Classical social theory was born due to people's critical attitude towards nature and human society. This critical attitude was not merely theoretical but was based on moral and political engagement with society.
- Although classical social theory aimed at social change, it attached primary importance to the realization of human freedom and equality.
- Classical social theory employed conceptual dichotomies for the analysis of societies and social change. These dichotomies are:
 - o Traditional versus modern
 - o Community versus individual
 - o Sacred versus secular
 - o Status versus contract

Are human beings free to choose their own actions or are individuals controlled by predetermined destiny or some superior force? This question is known as the problem of free will versus determinism. It has been one of the perennial problems of Western philosophy.

Structure was understood as one of the fundamental and overarching social systems and institutions like the capitalism, the market and the State. Classical social theory sought to know whether human beings were capable of altering these systems and institutions. In this context, the ability to alter is known as agency.

European Social Theory

Out of many European scholars, who influenced social and political theory since the 19th century, a few thinkers stand out as classical social theorists. There are four major classical social theorists that are discussed in this section, viz., Karl Marx, Emile Durkheim, Max Weber and Alex de Tocqueville. There are specific reasons as to why each one of them is considered to be important.

The question of structure and agency in Marx and Durkheim

Karl Marx and Emile Durkheim are reckoned to be classical social theorists because they distinguished the 'social' as a realm different from 'nature'. Durkheim's distinction of the social is important because he argued that social facts could be explained by

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other social facts. This meant that the study of society was an autonomous venture, therefore, social phenomena could not be explained through biological or psychological data alone.

Gains of Classical Social Theory

Classical social theory questioned the relevance of transcendental entities, whose existence is questionable, as the measure of merits and weaknesses. It also brought into focus a theoretical agenda and empirical themes. While the former is constituted by studying the role of human agency within social structure, the latter deals with such human social institutions like the market, private capital and the modern democratic state.

'Silences' of Classical Social Theory

Classical social theory is largely silent on human societies located outside the West. When, not silent, it is largely condescending and/or Eurocentric. Another area of societal study ignored by classical social theory is the subject of gender relations.

Holton, 'Classical Social Theory' Ibid., pp. 49–50.

Both Marx and Durkheim believed that social structures were not permanent and changed over time. Nonetheless, there were differences in their conceptions. For Marx, social structure was determined by the mode of economic production of a given society, whereas, for Durkheim social structure was regulated by morality and norms.

For Karl Marx, human actors, rather than social structures, make history and constitute a society. However, they do so within social relationships which are overarching structures. These structures do not emerge from ideas but from the material base of social life, which is constituted by modes of production. These modes of production create social groups called classes. Thus, the slave mode of production creates slave owners and serfs, while the feudal system creates lords and serfs, and the capitalist mode of production creates capitalists and wage earners. In brief, the modes of production are determined by ownership of property. The different modes of production alienate human beings from their nature, which lead to class struggles and these struggles become a motor for the evolution of society from one mode to another.

Empirical observation must in each separate instance bring out empirically, and without any mystification and speculation, the connection of the social and political structure with production. The social structure and the state are continually developing out of the life process of definite individuals, but of individuals not as they appear in their own or other people's imagination, but as they really are, i.e., as they are effective, produce materially, and are active under definite material limits, presuppositions, and conditions independent of their will. [...]

[...] Morality, religion, metaphysics, all the rest of ideology and their corresponding forms of consciousness, thus no longer retain the semblance of independence. They have no history, no development; but men, developing their material production and their material intercourse, alter, along with this, their real existence, their thinking and the products of their thinking

Bottomore (1846, trans).

Social action in Weber

If Marx stressed on the material and Durkheim on the normative aspects for explaining the causal factors of social action, Weber attempted a multi-dimensional approach in which structure and agency, material and normative causes, were employed in the study of social action. He arrived at this method by emphasizing the viewpoint of the

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individual instead of the group. This image of the individual actor was a combination of German idealism of Immanuel Kant and the economic individualism of late 19th century neo-classical economics. While Durkheim's structuralism was less voluntaristic than that of Marx, Weber's approach provided for an effective account of social action from the viewpoint of the actor.

Max Weber (1864–1920) was a German social theorist and sociologist. He was born in Berlin and taught Economics at Heidelberg until 1889. He quit this job owing to a nervous breakdown. However, he continued to be active in the public sphere as advisor to various commissions including those that drafted the Treaty of Versailles and the Weimar Constitution. In *Economy and Society* (1914), which is a major work in social theory, Weber provided a methodological introduction to some of the basic concepts of sociology.

Weber's theory of social action is based on the interplay of individual actors, who attach subjective meaning to their actions. He specified four types of actions based on rationality. These are actions of instrumental rationality where the actor chooses the most effective means to an end; value rational actions where a goal is pursued outweighing costs and consequences; traditional action where an actor is governed by norms; and finally, affective action where an actor is prompted by unreflective desire.

Weber is considered a classical social theorist because he brought in subjective perceptions of human actors in the study of society. No account of society was acceptable to Weber if it excluded the meaning of actions of social actors. This is best seen in his explanation of the rise of capitalism. While Marx analysed capitalism in strictly economic terms, Weber emphasized the role of meaning in the development of this economic system. That meaning was in the form of religious or moral values of a certain group of social actors. He argued that values of self-discipline and moral accountability of Protestants during the 17th and 18th centuries had the unintended consequence of being conducive to entrepreneurial activity.

The problem of structure versus agency, which was a central feature of classical social theory, influenced the work of many scholars across disciplines. This will be explained in detail in the further sections. However, let us now move from sociology to political science and look at Alexis de Tocqueville, a figure who made significant strides in comparing political systems. He compared the highly centralized political structure in France to the decentralized democratic system in the United States of America. His *Democracy in America*, which is truly a *magnum opus*, is now considered to be a classic work in political sociology.

Tocqueville's Democratic Theory and Classical Social Theory

The work of Alexis de Tocqueville is integral to classical social theory because of its contribution to the study of democratic polities. Tocqueville believed that the modern democratic state represented a major historical change as it altered previous structures of authority. Prior to the French Revolution, authority in the *ancien regime* was generally parcelled into sovereignties of feudalism, aristocratic rule and the early modern state. With the coming into being of the modern democratic state, political authority became more centralized and was based on the principle of the 'rule of law'.

Alexis de Tocqueville (1805–59), who was born into a French aristocratic background, rejected the aristocratic regime but nonetheless doubted the efficacy of the French Revolution. He travelled widely to America, England, Switzerland, Ireland and Algeria, and he also wrote extensively. His writings included reports on slavery, poverty, the colonies and penitentiaries. The two volume *Democracy in America* (1st

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vol. 1835; 2nd vol. 1840) and *The Old Regime and the Revolution* (1856) are his most well-known book-length writings. For his writings, he was made a member of the *Academie des sciences morales et politiques* and *Academie francaise*.

Tocqueville identified political science as the art of writing which served the logic of ideas, ingenious and original. However, it was far removed from the art of governance, which was led by passions and commonplaces of the world. Tocqueville was probably speaking from his own experience as a writer of politics and its practitioner.

Tocqueville was also keen on studying the penitentiary system in the US. His work *Democracy in America* was a consequence of this nine month long trip to America. The book was an attempt to portray the 'general traits of democratic societies of which no complete model existed'. The explicit purpose of this book was to explain and narrate how a great democratic revolution has been gradually emerging over a period of nearly seven hundred years. For Tocqueville, a democratic revolution was the gradual emergence of democracy.

Among the new objects that attracted my attention during my stay in the United States, none struck my eye more vividly than the equality of conditions. [...] Then I brought my thinking back to our hemisphere, and it seemed to me, I distinguished something in it analogous to the spectacle the New World offered me. I saw the equality of conditions that, without having reached its extreme limits as it had in the United States, was approaching them more each day; and the same democracy reigning in American societies appeared to me to be advancing rapidly toward power in Europe [...]

Tocqueville, Introduction to *Democracy in America*

How did democracy emerge? For democracy to emerge, the recognition of the principle of equality was necessary. Thus, Tocqueville wonders how this principle came to be established in Europe. He looks at the history of France and discovers the gradual establishment of the principle of equality over the last seven hundred years. He says that power was originally with families owning land. Then, with the emergence of the clergy, the possibility of social mobility was realized. As kings and feudal lords became impoverished in their expensive enterprises, the commoners gained wealth and this wealth became transferable. As wealth spread, people became enlightened and receptive to the arts.

In this classic work, Tocqueville also explains the effects of democratic system on various aspects of the American society. These include the effects on political institutions and rights of citizens; the effects on the denominations of established religions and religious beliefs such as pantheism; the cultivation of the arts like rhetoric, poetry and theatre; the practice of science; the influence of democracy on manners, on girls and women, on family and wages as well as on sentiments.

Tocqueville's work brought into focus the role of political institutions in the study of societies. That is why Tocqueville's study is a classic work of political sociology.

American Social Theory

According to Robert Holton, the most important contributions of American classical social theorists were the theory of the individual in relation to human action and the theory of urban social structure in relation to urban space and subculture.

George Herbert Mead (1863–1931) expanded the social analysis of the self. For him, the self stabilized through social interaction. If the self was not innate but was constructed socially in relation to the views of others, then the study of social groups such as black migrants, juvenile delinquents and others must be located within the spatial setting of the city. Although Mead's achievements were not received well in

Europe and America, where he influenced the school of symbolic interactionism, his study of the self and interpersonal interaction went beyond the work of his European counterparts.

Mead's study of society has parallels with that of Robert Park (1864–1944), who was an important member of the Chicago School of Sociology. Park's empirical research technique of 'participant observation' was employed in the study of community and race relations within urban life. More importantly, his writings significantly influenced later generations of American scholars of sociology.

2. Behavioural Approaches to Political Sociology

Behavioral approach in political sociology came into being after the emergence of the behavioral sciences. This approach examines the actions of individuals rather than the characteristics of institutions in social settings.

Behaviouralists used empirical research and strict methodology to authenticate their study. This approach was important as it changed the purpose of inquiry of social theory. Behaviouralism used a number of methods such as sampling, interviewing, scoring, scaling and statistical analysis to understand political behaviour.

There is a difference between behaviouralism and behaviourism. David Easton was the first political scientist to explain the difference between these two terms. Easton laid down eight 'intellectual foundation stones' of behaviouralism:

- **Regularities:** It deals with the explanation and generalizations of regularities in political behaviour.
- **Commitment to verification:** It means that people should be able to verify generalizations made them.
- **Techniques:** Techniques used for verification should be testable.
- **Quantification:** The result of experiments should be expressed in numbers wherever possible.
- **Values:** Values and explanations should be kept distinct.
- **Systemization:** Theory and research should be interlinked with the help of a proper system.
- **Pure Science:** Political scientists should prefer pure sciences over applied sciences
- **Integration:** Political science should be integrated in such a manner that it becomes interdisciplinary.

Easton also believed that behaviouralism should be 'analytic, not substantive, general rather than particular, and explanatory rather than ethical.'

This approach has been criticized by radicals as well as conservatives. According to Neal Riemer, behaviouralism does not pay attention to 'the task of ethical recommendation'. Christian Bay also criticized this approach on the grounds that it did not represent 'genuine' political research.

1.2.7 Perspectives of Contemporary Sociology

Contemporary sociology focuses on four perspectives, some of which are borrowed from other disciplines. These are as follows:

- (i) Structuralism
- (ii) Functionalism

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(iii) Exchange theory

(iv) Systems theory

Let us study these perspectives in detail:

1. Structuralism

The word 'structure' has its origin in the Latin verb *struo-struxi-structum*, meaning order. The idea of structure was related to the disciplines of geometry and architecture. With the expansion of physical and natural sciences in the 17th century, this idea passed into the realm of modern engineering and biology. Later, it was incorporated in sociology.

The principal feature of the structuralist method is that it takes as its object of investigation a 'system', that is, the reciprocal relations among a set of facts, rather than particular facts considered in isolation. Its basic concepts, according to Jean Piaget, are those of totality, self-regulation and transformation.

Jean Piaget, 1970, *Structuralism*

Structure and Social Structure

Early sociologists borrowed the idea of structure from the physical, chemical and biological sciences. Consequently, social structure was perceived in two ways— as a social organism and as a social mind. In the former, society was considered to be similar to a biological organism and in the latter society appeared akin to a soul. Sociologists who perceived society as a social organism relied on material interdependence, while those who perceived society as a social mind focused on flow of ideas, thus, shaping the 'spirit of a society'.

Emergence of Structuralism

Structuralism rejected the idea of human freedom and choice, and focused on the manner in which various structures determine human behaviour. The earliest work on this subject was Claude Lévi-Strauss's volume *The Elementary Structures of Kinship*. In this work, he analysed kinship systems from a structural viewpoint. In the late 1950s, he published *Structural Anthropology*. By the early 1960s, structuralism developed as a significant movement and some people believed that it provided a single unified approach to human life that included all disciplines.

Roland Barthes and Jacques Derrida studied structuralism in the context of literature. Blending Freud, De Saussure and Jacques Lacan used structuralism in studying psychoanalysis, while Jean Piaget used the concepts of structuralism to study psychology. According to Piaget, structuralism is 'a method and not a doctrine' and 'there exists no structure without a construction, abstract or genetic'. Michel Foucault's book *The Order of Things* analysed the history of science to examine how structures of epistemology or episteme, shaped the manner in which people thought of knowledge and knowing. Similarly, Thomas Kuhn, in his seminal work *The Structure of Scientific Revolutions*, addressed the structural formations of science.

French theorist Louis Althusser blended the theory of Marx and structuralism. He is famous for introducing his own style of structural social analysis that gave rise to 'structural Marxism'. After this, several authors in France and other nations have extended structural analysis to almost every discipline. Thus, the definition of 'structuralism' also changed from time to time.

Structural Marxism

The main structuralist current in Marxist thought has its source in the work of Louis Althusser, a French philosopher. According to Althusser, Marx constructed a science

of human practice in the economic, political, ideological and scientific terrains, which are located within the structure of a social totality.

In *For Marx* (1965) and *Reading capital* (1966), Althusser tried to show that human subjectivity was consciously excluded. This was due to a distinct break that occurred in the development of Marxism around 1845. Althusser's aim seems to have been to convert Marxism into something scientific rather than ideological. He seems to claim that Marxism is complete and does not require intellectual assistance from Existentialists, Phenomenologists or Christian theology---schools of philosophical thought that were then in existence in Europe.

Structuralism within Marxist thought stands opposed to the theories propounded by Georg Lukacs, Antonio Gramsci and the members of the Frankfurt School, all of whom stressed the role of human consciousness and action in determining human history.

Theory of Structuration

The word 'structuration' was introduced by Anthony Giddens into social theory. Structuration theory was the consequence of the theoretical expansion witnessed by social sciences in the 1960s. It was aimed at bringing some kind of order within the theoretical framework of human and social sciences. Specifically, it sought to resolve the problem of 'duality of structuralism', which was the central problem of social theory.

The term 'duality of structure' refers to the relationship between structure and agency. Social structure is used by active human agents to transform social phenomena. Therefore, structuration requires conceptualization of the nature of structure, of the agents who use structure, and the mutual interaction between structure and agency. As the task of sociology is to explain the transformation of social phenomena which are structured, the concept of structuration becomes a core concept. This resulted in the theories of structuration of Anthony Giddens and Pierre Bourdieu in the 1970s.

The theory of structuration is reflected in Anthony Giddens' works such as *Positivism and Sociology* (1974), *New Rules of Sociological Method* (1976), and *Central Problems in Social Theory* (1979). Giddens' structuration theory is the consequence of his belief that classical sociology was limited in its ability to explain the dynamics of the modern world.

The structuration theory of Giddens investigates the intersection of the long-term existence of institutions, the long duration of institutional time and the duration of daily life. Another important element of the structuration theory of Giddens is the duality of structure and agency, because neither of these has an independent existence. The power of agency to influence structure depends on the agent's knowledge of the legacy of structure.

Pierre Bourdieu is another scholar whose work is important to understand the structuration theory, although he preferred to use the term 'generic structuralism' instead of structuration. For Bourdieu, structures are orders of economic, political, social and cultural capital, and beneficiaries of these orders are agents. When agents defend or increase their holding, realignments occur within the distributional structure.

2. Functionalism in Sociology

The functionalist perspective analyses how parts of a society are structured to maintain the stability of the entire society. Functionalists do not make value judgments on social phenomena instead they explain how a particular social phenomenon is reproduced.

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Three kinds of functions are commonly used in the functionalist perspective namely manifest, latent and dysfunctions. The first term refers to openly stated functions of social phenomena; the second refers to unconscious, covert or hidden purposes; and the third refers to those social phenomena that disrupt the social system.

The origins of functionalism in sociology may be traced to Auguste Comte and Herbert Spencer. However, it became a dominant school of analysis in the mid twentieth century .

Structural Functional Approach

Structural functionalism is a broad perspective in sociology and anthropology which interprets society as a structure with interrelated parts. Talcott Parsons', 'structural functionalism' came to describe a particular stage in methodological development of social science rather than a specific school of thought. Parsons called his theory 'action theory' and argued that the term 'structural functionalism' was an inappropriate name for his theory.

Herbert Spencer, a British philosopher, popular for applying the theory of natural selection to society was in many ways the first sociological functionalist. Durkheim is widely considered the most important functionalist.

Talcott

The concept of 'structural functionalism' is derived from the writings of Talcott Parsons. Parsons inserted 'structure' into 'functionalism', i.e., he analysed society as a living entity in a structure of its own. The social system had many sub-systems. The coherent functioning of the sub-systems ensured the stability of the entire social system. A social system could survive only if it was able to adapt to its environment.

As a society needs a sense of belongingness to remain integrated as a community, codes of behaviour and social control were created. The value system is reinforced by the kinship system and other social institutions. It was through the value system that an individual was integrated into a society. The integration took place through socialization, institutions of social control and the efficient performance of social roles by the members of a given society. Like Emile Durkheim, Parsons emphasized the role of morality within the value system.

Parsons tried to show how society functioned as a stable system through patterns of institutionalized culture. Social institutions and values of a particular society are instilled within an individual through roles, norms and expectations in order to ensure the stability of societies.

The works of Parsons has been criticized as being conservative because it failed to explain sudden social upheavals. Many critics believed that his portrayal of the individual in a society appeared to be that of a puppet who does not have any free will.

Robert Merton

Merton tried to deal with the drawbacks of Parsons' theory of functional unity. He tried to make his theory more practical by developing concept of deviance and by demarcating manifest and latent functions.

Merton states that all parts of a society do not work for its functional unity. Some institutions may have some other functions and some of them may be totally dysfunctional. Another possibility is that some institutions might be dysfunctional for some and not for others. This is because not all structures are functional for the whole society. At this point, Merton introduced components of power and coercion which

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may lead to struggle and conflicts. Merton states 'just as the same item may have multiple functions, so the same function be diversely fulfilled by alternative items.' He also states that it is absurd to believe that the existing structures and institutions are indispensable for the society.

Merton's theory of deviance has been originated from Durkheim's *idea of anomie*. To Merton, anomie means discontinuity between cultural goals and accepted methods which are available for reaching the goals.

Merton believes that there are five situations that an individual faces:

- **Rebellion:** This situation occurs when an individual uses his own goals and means without considering the goals and means of his society.
- **Ritualism:** It occurs when an individual continues to do as prescribed but is popular for achieving goals.
- **Tentative:** It occurs when an individual rejects goal and means prescribed by the society in order to achieve his goals.
- **Conformity:** Such situations occur when an individual is able to achieve his cultural goals.
- **Innovation:** It occurs when an individual tries to achieve his goals using unaccepted new methods.

Society tries to negate the changes till the time it can compel an individual but when the individual rebels, society either adapts or faces dissolution. Merton also demarcated manifest and latent functions. Manifest functions are forced as conscious intentions of an individual and latent functions are objective and unintended consequence of their actions.

3. Exchange Theory

Exchange theories are a mixture of utilitarian economics, functional anthropology, conflict sociology and behavioural psychology. In the strict economic sense, human beings are viewed as seeking to maximize material benefits. Exchange theory is one of the prominent perspectives in sociology. It seeks to explain social relations in terms of an exchange of social and material resources that forms the basis of interactions between people. Within exchange theory, two approaches can be identified – collectivist and individualist.

Marcel Mauss insisted that the individuals involved in the exchange actually represent the moral codes of the group. Exchange theories in anthropological studies have collectivist approach. On the other hand, modern exchange theories that emerged in the 1950s and 1960s adopt individualist approach. We shall take a brief look at the exchange theories of George Homans, Peter Blau and Richard Emerson. Their work merge the behaviourist traditions of psychology and the utilitarian school of economics in explaining issues of power, conflict and inequality.

George Homans' work adopts the behaviouristic approach in explaining the actions of individuals. He established certain propositions about human social actions, which are listed as follows:

- **The success proposition:** If the actions of an individual are rewarded, it is likely that he/she would perform that action as often as these actions are rewarded.
- **The stimulus proposition:** If a person has been rewarded in the past for acting under a particular stimulus, or a set of stimuli, then, he is likely to perform that action in the future as well under similar circumstances.

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- **The value proposition:** If the result of an action is valuable to a person, it is likely that he would perform that action more often.
- **The deprivation-satiation proposition:** If a person has received a particular reward in the recent past, any further unit of that reward becomes less valuable for him.
- **The aggression-approval proposition:** This proposition is divided into two parts: part A and part B. Part A: When a person's action does not receive the reward he expected or receives punishments that he did not expect, he is more likely to perform aggressive behaviour. The results of such behaviour become valuable to him. Part B: When a person's action receives rewards he expected, especially a greater reward than he expected, or does not receive punishment that he expected, he would be pleased. He is more likely to perform approving behaviour and the result of such behaviour becomes more valuable to him.
- **The rationality proposition:** In choosing between alternative actions, a person will choose that action in which the probability of getting the desired result is greater.

Homans also recognized that people do not always attempt to maximize profit but tend to seek some profit in exchange relations. Exchanges could be money or things such as approval, esteem, compliance, love, affection and other less materialistic goods.

Peter Blau, in his *Exchange and Power in Social Life* (1964), stated that rewards can be classified into money, social approval, esteem or compliance. Money is often an inappropriate and the least valuable reward. The most valuable class of rewards was the compliance with one's request because it was a sign of power.

Richard Emerson attempts to conceptualize social structure where actors are seen as points in a system of interconnections. Thus, network analysis describes the flow of events among actors.

4. Systems Theory

The word 'system' in political science represents a variety of entities such as legislature, political parties, labour unions, nations and states. Systems are abstractions of real society, thus, any social phenomenon may be viewed as a system. Variables of a system include structures, functions, actors, values, norms, goals, inputs, outputs, response and feedback.

The literature on systems theories dominated the field of comparative politics in the 1950s. David Easton employed the concept of political system in his book *The Political System* (1953). A few years later, Gabriel Almond offered a conceptualization of 'system' in a study titled 'Comparative Political Systems', which was published in the *Journal of Politics* (1956). Some of the recent theorists of systems are Gabriel Almond, David Apter, Leonard Binder, James Coleman, David Easton, S.N. Eisenstadt, Arend Lipjhart, Fred Riggs, Edward Shils and F.X. Sutton. Systems theory in political science has multiple origins. Biology, cybernetics, economics and sociology have especially influenced the works of systems theorists in political science.

David Easton's General Systems Theory

Canadian political scientist, David Easton is currently a Distinguished Research Professor in the Department of Political Science at the University of California, Irvine.

He was once the President of the American Political Science Association and also President of the International Committee on Social Science Documentation. For

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several years he was active in the American Academy of Arts and Sciences. He was one of the primary leaders of the behaviouralist and post-behaviouralist revolutions of political science during the 1950s and 1970s. The most popular definition of politics was given by Easton. He identified the political system with the 'authoritative allocation of values for a society'. He is also known for his application of the systems theory to the study of political science. He has served as a consultant to many prominent organizations and written many influential scholarly publications. He has written many articles and books on the analysis of political systems and modern political theory.

The ostensible purpose of David Easton's classic work *The Political System* was to 'win back for theory its proper and necessary place'. The idea of a political system was a part of his attempt to define political science and awarding it a place as an independent field of study.

Essentially, in defining political science, what we are seeking are concepts to describe the most obvious and encompassing properties of the political system. [...], the idea of a political *system* proves to be an appropriate and indeed unavoidable starting point in this search. [...] a system which is part of the total social system and yet which, for purposes of analysis and research, is temporarily set apart. [...] In short, political life constitutes a concrete political system which is an aspect of the whole social system.

David Easton's systems theory was stimulated by the theoretical work of Charles Merriam, George Catlin and Harold Laswell. Easton sought to extend the domain of political science. His theory was influenced by the works of Talcott Parsons, Merton, Radcliffe-Brown and Malinowski. Thus, Easton's framework for political science was the product of an interdisciplinary exploration.

Gabriel Almond's Structural Functionalism

Gabriel Almond was an American Political Scientist who was best known for his pioneering work on comparative politics as well as political development and culture.

Almond chaired the Social Science Research Council's Committee on Comparative Politics for many years and was also president of the American Political Science Association. He was also the first recipient of the Karl Deutsch Award of the International Political Science Association.

Almond broadened the field of political science in the 1950s by integrating into his work, approaches from sociology, psychology and anthropology. He systematically studied comparative political development and culture as part of his examination of foreign policy. In *Comparative Politics: A Developmental Approach* (1966), Gabriel Almond and co-author G. Bingham Powell suggest several cultural and functional ways to measure the development of societies.

Gabriel Almond's theory of structural functionalism was influenced by David Easton, Max Weber and Talcott Parsons. It evolved through a number of phases. In Almond's formulation, the modern political system is different from the traditional one on two major dimensions. While the modern political system is characterized by structural differentiation and is secular, the traditional one is characterized by structural non-differentiation and is theocratic. Structural differentiation means that there are structures in the political system that have 'a functional distinctiveness, and which tend to perform a regulatory role in relation to that function within the political system as a whole.'

From Easton, Almond adopted the notion of *system* as an 'inclusive concept which covers all of the patterned actions relevant to the making of political decisions.' 'Totality' referred to the system, and 'changing equilibrium' referred to interactions

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among the units of the system. The influence of Weber and Parsons led him to analyse political systems of action. Thus, he did not focus on institutions, organizations or groups rather he focused on roles. Roles were the interacting units of the political system and structures, and represented the patterns of interaction.

While David Easton put forth the framework of inputs, outputs and feedback in political system, Almond reworked it into four inputs and three outputs. The four inputs were political socialization and recruitment, interest articulation, interest aggregation and political communication. The three outputs were rule making, rule application and rule adjudication. The three outputs correspond to the traditional separation of powers within the government, i.e., within the legislature, the executive and the judiciary respectively.

Gabriel Almond and Sidney Verba's book titled *The Civic Culture* (1963) studied and analysed political attitudes and democracy in five countries: the USA, the UK, West Germany, Italy and Mexico. They identified three general types of political culture: participant, subject and parochial culture.

The participant political culture was the one in which individuals were active and involved in the system as a whole, and regarded popular participation as both desirable and effective. In the subject political culture, individuals recognized that their capacity to influence government is limited, thus, they did not participate in the processes of policy-making. The parochial political culture was the one where individuals identified with their locality rather than with the nation, and had low expectations and awareness of government. While the participant culture was the closest to the ideal of democracy, Almond and Verba said that the civic culture was a blend of all the three political cultures.

1.3 SEMINAL IDEAS OF KARL MARX

Karl Marx was born in Trier, Prussia, on 15 May 1818. His father, a lawyer, provided the family with a fairly typical middle class existence. Both parents were from rabbinical families. But for business reasons the father had converted to Lutheranism.

In 1841 Marx received his doctorate in philosophy from the University of Berlin, a school heavily influenced by Hegel and the Young Hegelians, supportive, yet critical, of their master. Marx's doctorate was a dry philosophical treatise that bore little resemblance to his later, more radical and more pragmatic work. After graduation he became a writer for a liberal-radical newspaper and within 10 months became its editor-in-chief. However, because of its political position, the paper was closed shortly thereafter by the government. The early essays published in this period began to reflect a number of standpoints that would guide Marx throughout his life. They were liberally sprinkled with democratic principles, humanism and idealism. He rejected the abstractness of Hegelian philosophy, the naïve and dreaming of utopian communists, and those activists who were urging what he considered to be premature political action. In rejecting these activists, Marx laid the groundwork for his own life's work:

Practical attempts, even by the masses, can be answered with cannon as soon as they become dangerous, but ideas that overcome our conviction, ideas to which reason has riveted our conscience, are chains from which one cannot break loose without breaking one's heart; they are demons that one can only overcome by submitting to them. (Marx, 1842/1977:20)

Marx married in 1843 and soon thereafter left Germany for the more liberal atmosphere of Paris. There he continued to grapple with the ideas of Hegel and the young Hegelians, but he also encountered two new sets of ideas—French socialism and English political economy. It was the unique way in which he combined Hegelianism, socialism and political economy that shaped his intellectual orientation. Also of great

Check Your Progress

1. What is Political Sociology?
2. Name the different approaches to Political Sociology.

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importance at this point was meeting the man who was to become his lifelong friend, benefactor and collaborator—Freidrich Engels (Carver, 1983). The son of a textile manufacturer, Engels had become a socialist, critical of the conditions facing the working class. Much of Marx compassion for the misery of the working class came from his exposure to Engels and his ideas. In 1844 Engels and Marx had a lengthy conversation in a famous café. Engels said, ‘Our complete agreement in all theoretical field became obvious ... and our joint work dates from that time (Mc Lellan, 1973:31) ... during this period Marx produced academic works (many unpublished in his lifetime) that were mainly concerned with sorting out his link to the Hegelian tradition (for example, *The Holy Family* and *The German ideology*), but he also produced *The Economic and Philosophic Manuscripts* of 1844, which better integrated all of the intellectual tradition in which he was immersed and which foreshadowed his increasing preoccupation with the economic domain.

While Marx and Engels shared a theoretical orientation, there were many differences between the two men. Marx tended to be a highly abstract thinker, a disorderly intellectual and very oriented to his family. Engels was a practical thinker, a neat and tidy businessman. They collaborated on books and articles and worked together in radical organization. Engels even helped and supported Marx throughout the rest of his life so that Marx could devote himself to his intellectual and political endeavours.

In spite of the close association of the names of Marx and Engels, Engels made it clear that he was the junior partner:

Marx could very well have done without me. What Marx accomplished I would not have achieved. Marx stood higher, saw farther and took a wider and quicker view than the rest of us. Marx was a genius.

(Engels, cited in McLellan, 1973:131-132)

In fact, many believe that Engels failed to understand many of the subtleties of Marx’s work. After Marx’s death, Engels became the leading spokesperson for Marxian theory and in various ways distorted and oversimplified it.

Since some of his writings had upset the Prussian government, the French government (at the request of the Prussians) expelled Marx in 1845, and he moved to Brussels. His radicalism was growing, and he had become an active member of the international revolutionary movement. He was also associated with the Communist League and was asked to write a document (with Engels) expounding its aims and beliefs. The result was the *Communist Manifesto* of 1848, a work that was characterized by ringing political slogans (for example, ‘working men of all countries, unite!’).

In 1849 Marx moved to London, and, in light of the failure of the political revolutions of 1848, he began to withdraw from active revolutionary activity and to move into serious and detailed research on the working conditions under capitalism. These studies ultimately resulted in the three volumes of *Capital*, the first of which was published in 1867 while the other two were published posthumously. He lived in poverty during these years, barely managing to survive on a small income from his writings and the support of Engels. In 1863 Marx became re-involved in political activity by joining the *International*, an international movement of workers. He soon gained dominance within the movement and devoted a number of years to it. He began to gain fame both as a leader of the *International* and as the author of *Capital*. But the disintegration of the *International* by 1876, the failure of various revolutionary movements, and personal illness took their toll on Marx. His wife died in 1881, daughter died in 1882, and Marx himself expired on 14 March 1883.

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Dialectical Materialism

Many Marxists considered *Dialectical Materialism* as the theoretical source of several types of Marxism. Marx never used this name which refers to the societal and economic transformation born of the material forces. Usually it is seen as the mix of Historical materialism (or the 'materialist conception of history') a name specified to Marx style in the study of society, economics and history. It is usually defined by the two declarations made by Marx: firstly he 'put Hegel's dialectics back on its feet' and secondly 'the history of all hitherto existing society is the history of class struggle' (The communist Manifest, 1848). Fundamentally it is described by the principle that history is the creation of class struggle and follows the universal Hegelian principle of philosophy of history, which is the growth of thesis into anti-thesis which is sustained by the '*Aufheben*' which preserves the thesis and the anti-thesis whereas simultaneously bringing it to an end.

Hegel's dialect focuses on the explanation of the growth and development of human history. For him truth was the product of history which passed through various moments including the moment of error or negativity which is the part of the development of truth. Compared to Hegel's idealism, Marxian dialectical materialism considers that history is not the result of spirit but consequence of material class conflict of the social order. Therefore, this presumption has basis in the materiality of societal survival. Dialectical materialism is also known as Diamat (short form for 'dialectical materialism') most likely used in 1887 by Joseph Dietzgen, a socialist tanner who was in touch with Marx. A formal reference to the phrase is also found in Kautsky's *Fredrick Engel* written in the same year, 1887. Georgi Plekhanov, the father of Russian communalism, afterwards used the term and therefore it came into usage in Marxist theory. Marx had stated on the subject of the 'materialistic conception of history' which has afterwards condensed to history materialism by Engels. He uncovered the 'materialist dialectic' not 'dialectical materialism' in his work *Dialectics of Nature* (1883). Diamat was discussed and analysed by a lot of Marxist thinkers, which resulted in a mixture of political and theoretical conflicts in the Marxist faction in universal and in the Comintern specifically.

Foreword

Marxism is a fundamentally materialist philosophy because the foundation of it is the belief that the overall account of everything is matter which is characteristic of reality. If empirical study is able to identify the whole aspects of matter, therefore, matter is accepted as the beginning and ending of all reality. An important part of Marxist thought is matter's independence in forming the course of nature which detaches dialectical materialism (The Hegelian dialectical method.)

Marxism sticks to the triple laws of motion (originally proposed by the Greek thinkers and coded by Hegel). By means of these laws, Marxism tries to respond to the problems associated with both nature and humanity as well as tries to answer the query 'what is the beginning of energy or activity in nature?' Other such queries are:

- What is the basis of the continuous proration in the number of galaxies, solar system, planets, animals and all the realms of nature?
- What is the starting point of life, the beginning of species and the sources of awareness in the mind?
- What is the basis of regulation in society and the direction to which it is headed?
- Does the study of the past include an ending; if it is then what will it be?

By making use of triple laws of dialectics, Marx and Engels responded to all these queries. As an alternative of enforcing upon it, the laws were discovered inside the nature itself.

Laws of Opposites

Marx and Engels began with the impression that everything in reality is a union of opposites. As a case in point, the main feature of electricity is a positive and negative charge. Also, the atoms are made up of protons and electrons united but are in essence opposing forces. So it is befitting to say that humans also have opposite qualities like humbleness and pride, selfishness and altruism and so forth. The Marxist conclusion is that everything 'contains two mutually incompatible and exclusive but nevertheless equally essential and indispensable parts or aspects'. The essential idea is that this union of opposites in natural world is the feature which makes every unit auto-dynamic in nature along with ensuring a continuous drive for movement and transformation. This motion was analysed by George Wilhelm Hegel who stated that 'contradiction in nature is the root of all motion and of all life'.

More often than not this dichotomy exists in the natural world. A star is held collectively by the gravitational pull which is driving every molecule to the core, and an extremely high temperature is forcing the molecules to stay away as distant as feasible from the core. If either of any of the two pulls is totally successful the star cannot survive. If extremely high temperature is triumphant the star blows up into a supernova. Furthermore if gravitational pull is successful it implodes into a neutron star or black hole. Accordingly, live beings endeavour to stabilize inside and outside forces to sustain homeostatic, that is no more than a stabilization of contrasting powers, for example acidity and alkalinity.

Law of Negation

Here is a predisposition in environment towards continuously raising the numerical amount of the entire things. The law of negation was formed to explain this predisposition of natural world. Accordingly, Marx and Engels state that to organize to move forward or replicate a superior number, creatures are inclined in the direction of negating themselves. To say that the nature of opposing forces is inclined to negate the thing itself, at the same time as resulting in divergence in every part and giving them movement. Consequently creatures progress because of this energetic course of beginning and obliteration. This rule is generally made simple as the sequence of thesis, antithesis and synthesis.

Engels frequently referred to the example of the barley seed, which in natural process sprouts (which is the death of a seed or negation) and produces a plant, growing into ripeness and is negated after giving birth to barley seeds. So therefore, the natural world is continuously increasing from beginning to end in series.

In the social order, there is an example of class. The nobility, in this case, was wiped out by bourgeoisie and the proletariat was formed by means of bourgeoisie. This proletariat will eventually wipe out the bourgeoisie. This shows that never ending series of negation where every class produces its 'gravedigger', its heir, no sooner it finishes lying to rest its originator.

Materialism in Dialectical Materialism

The argument of Marx talked about Epicurus and Democritus atomism, which is regarded at the same time as the founder, along with stoicism, of materialist viewpoint.

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Lucretius theory was well known to him. Dominance of material world is emphasized and matter-lead thinking is the focal point of materialism. Also materialism affirms that the world is material, and all occurrences in the creation are due to 'matter in motion'. Further, all things are interdependent and interconnected and develop in accordance with natural laws. It also holds that the world exists outside us which is independent of our perception of it, and the content we think is the reflection of the materialism in our mind; and that the world is in principle predictable. 'The ideal is nothing else than the material world reflected by the human mind and translated into forms of thought,' Karl Marx stated in *Das Kapital* (Vol 1). Against Hegel's idealism, Marx endorsed a materialist philosophy; he 'turned Hegel's dialectics upside down'.

Therefore, Marx approved materialist values in opposition to Hegel's idealism. One should not be perplexed with straightforward materialism as Marx's materialist thinking; in reality Marx disapproved of classic materialism as an additional idealist thinking. According to the famous *Theses on Feuerbach* (1845), thinking had to discontinue 'interpreting' the humanity in never-ending metaphysical arguments, for 'transforming' the earth. This 'transforming' of the humankind was occurring because of the increase in the workforce activity as perceived by Engels in England (Chartist movement) and by Marx in France and Germany. Therefore, the dominance of class struggle lies in historical materialism. The wisdom of Marx's materialism thinking is that the philosophy must take position in the class struggle, or it will get reduced to religious idealism (such as Kant or Hegel's philosophies) which in fact comprises just principles, i.e., the material result of societal survival. Therefore, Marx's materialism made the way for Frankfurt School's critical theory, resulting in the combination of the values with the social sciences in an attempt to analyse the disorders of society. Nevertheless, dialectical materialism may be summarized to the Diamat conventional theory.

Dialectics in Dialectical Materialism

As a prescribed approach, the foremost notion of 'dialectical opposition or contradiction' has to be appreciated as 'some sense' disagreement between the objects involved in an openly related context. 'Dialectical contradiction' is not reduced to simple 'opposites' or 'negation'. This is the discipline of the common and theoretical rules of growth of nature, society and thought. The major traits are:

1. Interdependences of the things as the creation is not a detached combination of things isolated from each other but a vital whole.
2. Cosmos, nature and the natural world is in a condition of continued movement.

All nature, from the smallest thing to the biggest, from a grain of sand to the sun, from the protozoa to man, is in a constant state of coming into being and going out of being, in a constant flux, in a ceaseless state of movement and change.

Friedrich Engels, *Dialectics of Nature*.

3. Irrelevant and unnoticeable quantitative changes lead to essential, qualitative changes in the process of development. The qualitative changes occur not gradually, but rapidly and abruptly in the form, rising from one state to another. For example water becomes steam at 100 degree (qualitative change) with a one degree increase in temperature (quantitative change). 'Merely qualitative differences, beyond a certain point, pass into qualitative changes,' Karl Marx, *Capital*, Vol. 1
4. Everything has within it the inner dialectical negations, which are the crucial source of activity, transformation and growth in the world.

Marxist Criticism of Dialectical Materialism

Dialectical materialism was criticized by many Marxist academicians including Marxist thinkers like Louis Althusser or Antonio Gramsci who propounded a Marxist 'philosophy of praxis' in its place. Rest of the scholars in Marxist thinking returned to the original manuscripts of Marx and Engels and produced new Marxist theoretical proposals and ideas substituting dialectical materialism. In 1937, Mao Zedong propounded one more explanation in his essay *On Contradiction*, in which he discarded the 'laws of dialectics' and persisted on the complication of the negation. His manuscript motivated Althusser's effort on negation and it was a motivating subject matter for his famous essay *For Marx* (1965). Althusser tried to tone the Marxist thought of 'contradiction' by making use of the notion of 'overdetermination' from psychoanalysis. The teleological interpretation of Marx compared to Hegel's idealism was disapproved by him. Althusser built the notion of 'random materialism' (*matérialisme aléatoire*) compared to dialectical materialism, a shift which came from Althusser's scheme of 'anti-humanism', or the 'philosophy of the subject'. In an effort to solve the dilemma in a different way, Italian thinker Ludovico Geymonat made a historical epistemology from dialectical materialism. Althusser shortly supported the epistemological method and focused on the denial of the division among subject and object which resulted in making Marx's theory mismatched with its antecedents.

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Alienation and Capitalism

Marx's thinking on this topic is rich and resists neat systematization. According to Marx, what is vital for the self-worth of human beings and the meaningfulness of their lives is the development and exercise of their essential human powers, whose focus is labour or production. Since these powers are historical in character, varying from society to society and (on the whole) expanding in the course of history, the degree to which alienation is a systematic social phenomenon also varies, as a function both of what society's productive capacities are and of the extent to which the human potentialities they represent have been incorporated into the lives of actual men and women. Generally speaking, the degree of systematic, socially caused alienation in a society will be proportional to the gap which exists in that society between the human potentialities contained virtually in society's productive powers and the actualization of these members. Thus the possibilities for alienation increase along with the productive powers of society. For as these powers expand, there is more and more room for a discrepancy between what human life is and what it might be. There is more and more pressure on social arrangements to allow for the lives of individual human beings to share the wealth of human capacities which belong to social labour. Marx's criticism of capitalism makes it clear that he regards it as a social system in which social arrangements have failed utterly to accommodate the potentialities for self-actualization which the social powers of production have put within people's reach.

According to the *Communist Manifesto*:

The bourgeoisie during scarcely a hundred years of its rule has created productive powers more massive and colossal than all past generations together. The subjection of nature's powers, machinery, application of chemistry to industry and agriculture, steam navigation, railways ... what earlier century dreamed that such productive powers slumbered in the womb of social labor? (1) In contrast to this unprecedented progress at the level of social production, capitalism has utterly failed to translate its expanded powers into expanded opportunities for individual self-actualization. It has diminished rather than increased the extent to which individual laborers, their intelligence, skills and powers, participate in the potentialities of social production, as well as sharply limiting the extent to which the laboring masses

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share in its fruits. As Marx puts it in *Capital*: Within the capitalist system all methods of raising the productive power of labor are effected at the cost of the individual laborer ... they mutilate the laborer into a fragment of a human being, degrade him to an appendage of a machine, annihilate the content of this labor by turning it into torture; they alienate from him the mental and spiritual potentialities of the labor process in the same measure as science is incorporated into it as an independent power. (2) How do capitalist social relations frustrate the human need for self-actualization? Self-actualization and spiritual fulfillment usually do not mean much to people whose more basic physical needs are still unsatisfied. And it is an important tenet of Marx's theory that capitalism cannot exist without imposing a brutalizing poverty on a sizeable proportion of the human race. There are a number of passages in which Marx appears to be saying that the downfall of capitalism is inevitable not because under capitalism people are alienated or spiritually unfulfilled, but simply because beyond a certain point capitalism will prove incapable of supplying the working population with the basic conditions for physical survival. The bourgeoisie, he says, becomes 'incapable of ruling because it is incapable of securing its slaves even their existence within their slavery'. The proletariat will overthrow capitalism (and with it alienation) not in order to lead more fulfilling lives but merely in order to be certain of survival. Marx does, however, identify some features of capitalist social relations which lead specifically to the crippling of people's powers and the frustration of their needs for self-actualization. One principal theme in Marx's account of the way capitalism 'robs workers of all life content' is the special manner in which it accentuates the division of labor. Modern capitalist manufacture, says Marx, is carried on increasingly by a 'collective laborer', whose actions are the carefully engineered result of the activities of many men, women and children. The labor process is carefully analyzed, its various operations are 'separated', 'isolated', 'rendered independent', and then 'laborers are classified and grouped according to their predominant properties. If their natural specificities are the basis for grafting them onto the division of labor, manufacture, once it is introduced, develops labor powers which are by nature fitted only to a one-sided special functioning.' In this way, 'the individual laborers are appropriated by a one-sided function and annexed to it for life ... The habit of a one-sided function transforms them into its unfailing organ, while their connection with the collective mechanism compels them to operate with the regularity of the parts of a machine.' Yet 'the one-sidedness and even the imperfection of the detail laborer comes to be his perfection as a member of his collective laborer'. But the process of capitalist manufacture not on of the well-rounded variety of powers and activities which they need to be full human beings; it also tends to render their specialties themselves more and more mechanical, dehumanizing in nature, less and less a matter of developed skills or powers: 'Every process of production is conditioned by certain simple manipulations of which every human being who stands and walks is capable. They too are cut off from their fluid connection with the content-possessing moments of activity and ossified into exclusive functions.' Consequently, capitalist manufacture creates a positive need for mechanical, 'unskilled' labor, a need unknown to pre-capitalist handicraft manufacture: 'If it develops a one-sided specialty into virtuosity at the cost of the whole laboring faculty, (capitalist manufacture) also makes the absence of development into a specialty ... In (capitalist) manufacture the enrichment of the collective laborer, and hence of capital, is conditioned by the impoverishment of the laborer in his individual productive powers.' It is plain that Marx blames capitalist social relations, and not the technical requirements of modern industry, for the fragmentation of human beings and the impoverishment of their individual powers.

Capitalist society is characterized fundamentally by the fact that the means of production are privately owned by a minority of the members of society who, acting largely independently of one another, tend to employ these means in such a way as to maximize the profit each earns on the investment. The nature of the means of production, moreover, is to a considerable extent at the discretion of this capitalist class, since their investment choices ultimately determine the selection

of these means from the range of possibilities afforded by the technical capabilities of society, and even exercise a certain influence on the rate and direction of technical developments. These choices, moreover, are in the long run not arbitrary or at the mercy of individual capitalists, but are tightly constrained through competition with other capitalists by the requirement of profit maximization. Those capitalists who choose methods of production which maximize profits will survive and flourish; those who make different choices will lose their capital and the social power it represents. But the division of labor and the nature of individual laboring activity are largely determined by the means and techniques labor must employ. Hence under capitalism the factors which determine the life activities of the laboring majority are not in its hands but in the hands of a minority whose interests are opposed to its own; and the choices made by this minority are constrained by a principle (profit maximization) which deprives people of the well-rounded variety of powers and activities which they need to be full human beings; it also tends to render their specialties themselves more and more mechanical, dehumanizing in nature, less and less a matter of developed skills or powers. Consequently, capitalist manufacture creates a positive need for mechanical, 'unskilled' labor, a need unknown to pre-capitalist handicraft manufacture. It is plain that Marx blames capitalist social relations, and not the technical requirements of modern industry, for the fragmentation of human beings and the impoverishment of their individual powers.

In *Capital*, Marx argues in detail that there is no such happy coincidence, that it is just the kind of production dictated by profit maximization which has led to the alienating division of labor he describes. Marx believes that far from being incompatible with the technical requirements of modern industry, the potentiality for varied, well rounded human activity is inherent in modern scientific manufacture itself, and will begin to appear naturally as soon as production comes to be regulated consciously by the workers instead of being driven blindly by dead capital's vampire-like thirst for profit at the expense of human life. 'The nature of large industry', he says, 'conditions change of labor, fluidity of function, all-sided mobility of the laborer'. Every step in technical progress demonstrates this fact by changing the laboring function required for manufacture, thus rendering whole categories of detail laborers (who have been trained only for one function) productively superfluous, and (under capitalist conditions) doing away with their only marketable skill. 'Change of labor' and 'fluidity of function' are not, however, inherently destructive or crippling. On the contrary, they represent precisely the potentiality for all-sided human development whose suppression under capitalism is a chief cause of alienation: But if change of labor now imposes itself as an overpowering natural law ... large industry through its catastrophes makes it a question of life or death to recognize the change of labor and hence the greatest possible many-sidedness of the laborer as a universal law of social production, and adapt its relation to the normal actuality of this law; ... to replace the partial individual, the mere carrier of a detail function, with the totally developed individual, fit for the changing demands of labor, for whom different social functions are only so many modes of activity relieving one another.

Capitalism and Freedom

Marx's adherence to this notion of freedom is explicit: to be free 'in the materialistic sense' is to be 'free not through the negative power of avoiding this and that, but through the positive might of making one's true individuality count'.

In most modern thinkers before Marx, however, the conception of positive freedom is given a predominantly individualistic and moralistic interpretation. To be sure, they note that the exercise of this freedom requires the satisfaction of certain social (especially political) conditions. But they conceive self-determination itself chiefly as the inner volitional disposition of individual human agents, their mastery over their impulses and passions through rational self-knowledge and moral fortitude. Given Marx's

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Check Your Progress

3. When was Karl Marx born?
4. What is a capitalist society?
5. Why is Marxism considered a fundamentally materialist philosophy?

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materialist conception of human beings as socially productive beings, he cannot be content with an introverted, spiritualistic sort of self-determination. For Marx, true self-determination must rather consist in the imposition of human control on the social conditions of human production.

Marx insisted that social institutions and relations of production are not facts of nature but historically transient social forms which are the products of human activity every bit as much as wheat, cloth or machinery. He does so in part to give the lie to those who would defend existing institutions by declaring them unalterable; but his purpose is also to make clear how much is required if human beings are to have genuine freedom or self-determination. If social relations are human products, then people cannot be accounted free until they create these relations with full consciousness of what they be (as Locke says) subject to the arbitrary will of others; it requires also that the social relations in which they stand should be products of their own will. To recognize this fully is already to see through the sophistry which represents capitalist society as free because its relationships result not from coercive laws or the will of rulers but (apparently) by accident, from unregulated economic decisions made by individuals.

Freedom for Marx requires the conscious production of people's social relations, it is something which can be achieved only in community with others, and cannot be attained by retreating into oneself or by the exercise of one's self-determination within the confines of a jealously guarded 'private domain' in which society does not interfere. Yet Marx does not neglect to emphasize the complementary point that no society can be free unless it 'gives to each the social room for his essential life expression'. There can be no genuine freedom unless men and women have the opportunity to exercise choice over their own lives and develop their individuality fully and freely. Marx is the consistent foe of political repression, press censorship and other such measures which curb the free development and expression of individuals. He has only contempt for any brand of communism which would turn the state or community into 'the universal capitalist' by imposing a uniform, impoverished mode of life on all members of society alike. There can be no doubt that for Marx individual liberty is necessary to a free society. But it is equally evident, to Marx at least, that the liberty proclaimed by bourgeois liberalism is not sufficient for genuine (that is, positive) freedom. Human freedom can be attained only when people's social relations are subject to conscious human control.

Therefore, it is only in communist society that people can be truly free, because human control over social relations can only be collective control, and only in communist society can this control be exercised by and for all members of society: Communism, says Marx, 'consciously treats all natural (*naturwüchsig*) presuppositions as creations of earlier human beings, divesting them of their natural character (*Naturwüchsigkeit*) and subjecting them to the might of the united individuals'. Only communist society can do this, because communist society will be a classless society, in it people will 'participate in society just as individuals.

Further, because individual self-expression and self-actualization are possible only through the capitalist division of labour, even individual freedom will become possible only with the collective human control over people's conditions of life. Only within the community has each individual the means of cultivating his abilities on all sides; hence personal freedom becomes possible only within the community. Marx does not conceive of social control over the means of production as the exclusion of individuals from ownership of what they produce and use. On the contrary, it is capitalism which involves such exclusion, since it delivers the means and objects of production over to a class of non-workers. Communism, as Marx sees it, will be a system of 'individual

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property for the producer', based on 'cooperation and the possession in common of land and the means of production'. The means of production must be owned collectively, because in modern industry labour is directly social, and the disposition of the means of production is always an act affecting society as a whole. Such acts, in Marx's communism, will be performed consciously. Decisions about them will be made democratically, by society as a whole, and not by a privileged class, acting contrary to the interests of the labouring majority and subject to the alien constraint of profit-maximization. Marx's critique of capitalism is based on some familiar philosophical value conceptions such as self-actualization and positive freedom.

Most of these issues are empirical ones, but this does not mean that they are clear cut or easily resolved. Any assessment seasoned with the proper scholarly caution would probably be inconclusive. It is unlikely that anyone, in Marx's time or today, knows enough to be entitled to a strong opinion for or against what Marx says about alienation and its social causes. If many people do hold strong opinions, this is largely because the only alternative to committing oneself in practice for or against Marx would be to take no effective stand whatever on the social reality around us.

Marx's account of alienation in capitalist society aims at substantiating three principal theses:

1. The vast majority of people living under capitalism are alienated.
2. The chief causes of this alienation cannot be removed so long as the capitalist mode of production prevails.
3. Alienation as a pervasive social phenomenon can and will be abolished in a post capitalist (socialist or communist) mode of production.

These three theses are obviously interrelated. Here, (1) is more or less presupposed by both (2) and (3). But (1) itself, as Marx understands it, is also dependent on (2) and (3), and on his grounds for holding them. In support of (1), a Marxist might cite widespread feelings of disorientation and dissatisfaction among people living in capitalist societies, or he might point to the preoccupation of philosophers, artists, social thinkers and popular consciousness with the problem of alienation, whether in an overtly Marxian or in various non-Marxian forms. But these considerations, however well substantiated, would not strictly show that alienation, as Marx understands it, exists in capitalist society.

By the same token, a critic of Marx cannot successfully rebut merely by arguing that people in capitalist societies are on the whole satisfied with their lives, even if a convincing case for this could be made out. Alienation, as Marx conceives of it, is not fundamentally a matter of consciousness or of how people in fact feel about themselves or their lives. Alienation is rather a state of objective unfulfillment of the frustration of really existing human needs and potentialities. The consciousness people have of this unfulfillment is merely a reflection of alienation, at most a symptom or evidence of it. Marx's real grounds for believing that people in capitalist society are alienated is not that they are conscious of being alienated, but rather the objective existence of potentialities for human fulfillment that must be frustrated as long as the capitalist mode of production prevails. Marx has no very definite conception of post-capitalist society or of the possibilities for fulfillment which he believes will be actualized in it. Hence Marx does not believe in it because he has some clear idea of the ways in which socialism or communism will provide people with opportunities for self-actualization. Rather, he seems to believe because he is confident that people can achieve a fulfilling life when the main obstacles to it are removed, and because he thinks he has identified these obstacles: they are the outmoded social relations of the bourgeois society.

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Marx's confidence in the human potential of modern science and technology is initially plausible. To reject it is to embrace the paradox that increasing people's powers, their self-understanding and their interdependence has no tendency to enrich their lives, their freedom and their community. The burden of proof seems to be on anyone who would defend such paradoxes. It is not obvious that events in our century have rendered them more defensible than they were in Marx's time. Especially important for Marx's conception of our potentialities for freedom is his belief that the values of individuality and community are reconcilable, that post-capitalist society can simultaneously achieve greater individual autonomy and greater social unity than people's productive powers and social relations have hitherto permitted.

Marx's critics have been particularly suspicious of his silence concerning the social decision procedures through which free individuals are to achieve the rational collective regulation of their associated labour. At least since Rousseau, philosophers and political theorists have set themselves the problem of finding a form of human association which could unite individuals, putting the common might of society at the disposal of each while at the same time leaving all completely free to follow a self-chosen plan of life.

Marx does say very little about the political or administrative structure of post-capitalist society, beyond insisting that it will be democratic, and will involve control by 'society itself' rather than by a separate political mechanism or state bureaucracy. Fundamentally, nonetheless, he does not view the problem as a procedural one. For Marx, the main impediment both to individual freedom and social unity is the division of society into oppressed and oppressing classes. Evidently, as long as we tacitly assume a class society, the objectives of freedom and community will look both disjointedly unattainable and diametrically antagonistic. In a society where one individual's freedom is not essentially another's slavery, and where people have no objectives to use community as an excuse for advancing some people's interests at the expense of others, questions of social decision-making will not appear to people in the form of theoretical paradoxes or unsolvable technical problems.

Marx also refuses to address himself to procedural questions because he regards them as premature. Such questions presuppose that we who ask them are all people of good will, pursuing a disinterested search for the right way to live together. They presuppose also that the object of such a search is, at least in its fundamentals, something which can be determined independently of detailed information about the technical resources available to society as regards its material production. Both presuppositions, in Marx's view, are false. As long as class society persists, the viability of any political mechanism will necessarily be a function not of its suitability for promoting genuine liberty or community, but only of the class interests it serves. Only after the abolition of class society can people begin to decide, on the basis of the productive capacities then at their disposal, how they will live together as free individuals. We have been considering challenges to Marx's account of capitalist alienation based on the denial that people in capitalist society are really alienated. But many of Marx's critics might be prepared to admit that alienation is a serious problem of modern society. The question remains whether it is capitalist social relations as such which are responsible for it.

Marx does believe that alienation can be overcome in a modern, complex and industrialized society. But he is not necessarily committed to denying that there might be causes of alienation other than those specifically identified by his theory. The main burden of Marx's message is that capitalist social relations are the most pervasive and

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obvious cause of alienation, which must be abolished first, before lesser or more hidden causes can be dealt with. But there is no reason why Marx might not grant that such traditional social ills as religious fanaticism, racism and sexual oppression also contribute to alienation, and would have to be fought against even under socialism. Marx's explanation of alienation might also be challenged in some of its details. It is arguable, for instance, that Marx's views about the capitalist division of labour, whatever truth they might have had in his own century, are now obsolete.

Certainly it would be difficult to maintain that capitalism still exhibits a tendency to turn all labour into the unskilled mechanical sort, to 'make the absence of development into a specialty'. But even if this point is no longer defensible, Marx's explanation of alienation in terms of the capitalist division of labour may still be tenable. For the constraint of profit-maximization may still exercise a powerful (and harmful) effect on the nature of labouring activity, and inhibit the development of a well-rounded humanity on the part of workers. If this is so, then Marx's explanation of alienation in terms of the capitalist division of labour may still be essentially correct, even if the specific details of his account are not. Marx is always the first to insist that capitalism is not an immutable system, but one which is undergoing constant change. It would not be inconsistent with his views to recognize that his account of alienation in 19th century capitalist society might not be applicable in detail to its descendants in later centuries.

Commodity Production

The basis of all of Marx's work on social structures, and the place in which that work is most clearly tied to his views on human potential, is in his analysis of commodities. As Georg Lukacs put it, 'the problem of commodities ... central, structural problem of capitalist society' (1922/1968:83).

Marx's conception of commodity was rooted in his materialist orientation with its focus on the productive activities of actors. As we saw earlier, it was Marx's view that in their interaction with nature and with other actors, people always produce the objects that they need in order to survive; objectifications is a necessary and universal aspect of human life. These objects are produced for use by oneself or by others in the immediate environment—they are use values. The objects are the products of human labour and cannot achieve an independent existence because they are controlled by the actors.

However, in capitalism this process of objectification takes on a new and dangerous form. Instead of producing for themselves or their immediate associates, the actors produce for someone else (the capitalist). The products, instead of being used immediately, are exchanged in the open market for money (exchange values). While people produce objects in capitalism, their role in producing commodities, and their control over them, becomes mystified. Initially they are led to assume that these objects and the market for them possess an independent existence. Thereafter this belief changes into reality as the objects and their market become real and independent phenomena. 'The commodity becomes an independent, almost mystical external reality' (Marx/ 1967:35).

Fetishism of Commodities

With the development of commodities, arrives the process labelled by Marx as the fetishism of commodities. The basis of this process is the labour which gives commodities their value. The fetishism of commodities comprises the process by which actors forget that it is their labour which provides the commodities their value. They start

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believing that value is generated by the natural properties of the things themselves or that the impersonal operation of the market is the source of commodities value. Thus the market takes on a function in the eyes of the actors that in Marx's terms, 'A definite social relation between men ... assumes, in their eyes, the fantastic form of a relation between things' (1867/1967:72). Granting reality to commodities and the market, the individual in capitalism progressively loses control over them.

Therefore, a commodity possesses a mysterious nature, just because in it the social character of men's labour appears to them as an objective character imprinted on the product of that labour. It is because the relations of the producers to the sum total of their own labour are presented to them in the form of social relations that do not exist between themselves, but between the products of their labour.

The beauty of Marx's discussion of commodities and their fetishism is that it takes us from the level of the individual actor and action to the level of large-scale social structures. That is, people endowed with creative minds interact with other people and nature to produce objects, but this natural process results in something grotesque in capitalism. The fetishism of commodities imparts to them and to the marketplace an independent objective reality that is external to, and coercive of, the actor.

Reification

The concepts of commodities and fetishism of commodities would appear to be of limited socio-political use. The concepts seem to be restricted to the economic realm, i.e., to the end result of productive activity. Yet productive activity can—indeed must—be looked at more broadly if we are to grasp the whole of Marx's meaning as well as its application to sociology. We need to understand that people produce not only economic objects (food, clothing, shelters) but also social relationships and, ultimately, social structures. Looked at in this way, the fetishism of commodities is translated into the broad concept of reification (Lukacs, 1922/1968). Reification can be thought of as the process of coming to believe that humanly created social forms are natural, universal and absolute and, as a result, those social forms do in fact acquire these characteristics. The concept of reification implies that people believe that social structures are beyond their control and unchangeable. This belief often comes to be a self-fulfilling prophecy. Then the structures actually do acquire the character people endowed them with. By using this concept, we can see that people reify not only commodities but also the whole range of social structures.

We can find the groundwork for a broader concept of reification in Marx's own discussion of labour. Basically Marx argued that as a social phenomenon, labour becomes a commodity under the peculiar circumstances of capitalism. 'Labor-power can appear in the market as a commodity, only if and so far as, its processor, the individual whose labor-power it is, offers it for sale, or sells it, as a commodity' (1867/1967:168). Once we admit the possibility of one social phenomenon (labour) becoming reified, it becomes possible for a wide range of other social phenomena to take on the same characteristic (Lefebvre, 1968:16). Just as people reify commodities and other economic phenomena (for example, the division of labour (Rattansi, 1982; Walliman, 1981) they also reify religious (Barbalet, 1983:47), political and organization structures. Marx made this point in reference to the state: 'And out of this very contradiction between the individual and the community the latter takes an independent form as the State, divorced from the real interest individual and community' (cited in Bender, 1970:176).

Marx had a few things to say about the range of reified social structures but he focused primarily on the structural components of the economy. It is these economic

structures that Marx saw as causing alienation by breaking down the natural interconnectedness of people and nature.

Capital

The most general economic structural element in Marx's work is capital or the capitalist system. As an independent structure, capital (through the actors who operate on his behalf, the bourgeoisie) exploits the workers, who were and are responsible for its creation. Marx talked of the power of capital appearing a power endowed by Nature—a productive power that is immanent in 'Capital' (1867/1967). Thus people tend to reify capital by believing that it is natural for the capitalist system that they have forgotten they produced through their labour and have the capacity to change 'by means of its conversion into an automation, the instrument of labor confronts the laborer, during the labor process, in the shape of capital, of dead labor, that dominates, and pump away, living labor-power' (Marx, 1867/1967:423). This is what led Marx to conclude that capitalism is an inverted world.

Before we get to a discussion of some of Marx's economic ideas, the reader should be reminded that this is a book in sociological, not economic, theory. Thus, the economic ideas are introduced in order to illustrate underlying and more basic sociological ideas.

Circulation of Commodities

Marx discussed not only the character of capital in general but also the character of more specific components of the capitalist system. For example, Marx examined the circulation of commodities, which he considered 'the starting-point of capital' (1867/1967:146). Marx discussed two types of circulation of commodities. Both represent the sum total of patterned economic relationships that are external to, and coercive of, the actor. One of these types of circulation—Money-Commodities-Money (M-C-M)—is characteristic of capital; the other—Commodities-Money-Commodities (C-M-C)—is not.

In the simple circulation of commodities, the circuit C-M-C predominates. An example of C-M-C would be the fisherman who sells his catch and then uses the money to buy bread. In a society characterized by the simple circulation of commodities, exchange is accomplished by 'the conversion of the commodity into money, and the re-conversion of the money into a commodity' (Marx, 1867/1967:105). This circuit, however, does not exist in isolation; it is inextricably interrelated to similar circuits involving other commodities. This type of exchange process 'develops a whole network of social relations spontaneous in their growth and entirely beyond the control of the actors' (Marx, 1867/1967:112).

The simple circulation of commodities that is characterized by the circuit C-M-C can be considered the second historical type of circulation of commodities. Barter is the first historical form. Both of these circuits eventually lead to the circulation of commodities under capitalism, which is characterized by the circuit M-C-M.

In the capitalist circuit, referred to by Marx as 'buying in order to sell' (1867/1967:147), the individual actor buys a commodity with money and in turn exchanges it for money. Here our hypothetical fisherman buys new nets with his profits in order to increase his future profits. This circuit, similar to the circuit under the simple circulation of commodities, is characterized by two antithetical yet complementary phases. At one and the same time, one person's purchase is another's sale. The circulation of commodities under capitalism begins with a purchase is another's sale. The circulation of commodities under capitalism begins with a purchase (new nets) and ends with a

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sale (a large catch of fish). Furthermore, the end of this circuit is not the consumption of the use value, as it is in the simple circulation of commodities. The end is money in an expanded form, money that is qualitatively identical to that at the beginning of the circuit but quantitatively different (Marx, 1867/1967:150).

The importance of the M-C-M circuit, from our point of view, is that it is an even more abstract process than C-M-C. The ‘real’ commodity declines in significance with the result that the essence of capital is reduced ultimately to the ‘unreal’ circulation of money. This greater abstractness makes reification easier, with the result that the system is even more likely to become external to and coercive of actors.

Private Property

Marx also analysed the process by which private property becomes reified capitalism. In his view, of course private property, like the other structure components of capitalism, is derived from the labour of workers. ‘Private property is thus the product, the result, the necessary consequences, of alienated labour of the external relation of the worker to nature and to himself’ (Marx, 1932/1964:117). However, workers lose sight of, ultimately control over, this fact instead of controlling private property; the workers are controlled by it. As with all other structural components of Marx’s work, his conception of private property was directly related to his early work on human potential and action as well as to his political goals. In relating private property to his earlier work Marx made it clear that not only is private property the product of alienated labour but, once in existence, it in turn exacerbates alienation by imposing itself between people and the production process. If people are to realize their human potential, they must overthrow private property as well as all the other structural components of capitalist society: ‘the positive transcendence of all estrangement —that is to say, the return of man no religion, family, state etc., to his human, i.e., social existence’ (Marx, 1932/1964:136).

Class Conflict

According to Marxism, it can be easily stated that ‘class is not than to say what *class is.*’ A collection of persons having familiar characteristics is not a class. A case in point, the proletariat cannot be labelled as a collection of people ‘as against capital’. In societal setting, class is not organizational or related particular ‘place’ (a position in society which a person may possibly ‘occupy’ or persons might be ‘interpolated’, etc.). The dissimilarity is insignificant one among ‘empiricist’ and ‘structuralist’ Marxism, which treat classes as crowds of persons or as ‘places’. For the desire of an extra suitable expression we shall study the analysis which takes care of classes either as crowd of people or places as the ‘sociological’ formation of class.

For Marxists class was considered as a societal bonding ‘like capital itself’ (Marx 1965, 766). A bond is neither a collection of people even when there may be bonding in a specified collection of people or a position where a group may be formed or situated. Keeping away such ideas, it can be said that class is *the relation itself* (like the relationship between capital and labour) more particularly, *a relation of struggle*.

Therefore, classes as identified bodies in social context do not take part in the conflict. In fact the basic principle of *class* is *class struggle*. Even better, ‘class struggle is class itself’. (This is the way Marx established ‘class’ in the beginning of *The Communist Manifesto*.) Marx noted that ‘class struggle’ is fundamental to ‘class’ by emphasizing that survival ‘for itself’—which is the conflicting survival under pressure—is fundamental to the survival of ‘class’ (Marx 1969, 173).

Check Your Progress

6. What is meant by fetishism of commodities?
7. What according to Marx are the two types of circulation of commodities?
8. What is the process of reification?

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Here we will talk about the origin of class as a bonding (a bonding of conflict) as the 'Marxist' origin of class: where, in addition to, it is easier to use this term. And on the other hand, disgracefully, the sociological origin of class comes up with the awkwardness that every person of bourgeois society is not clearly the integral part of the groups labelled 'capitalists' and 'proletarians'. The awkwardness is produced by the origin of classes as 'groups' or 'places' and to get away from this awkwardness sociological Marxism has taken refuge in labels like 'middle strata', 'middle classes' and so on and these labels are residual or consisting of the collection of people and are academic fabrications created by poor theoretical system. On the other hand, Marxist origin of class comes across no such problems, which considers class-bonding (for example, capital-labour bonding) as organizing the lives of dissimilar persons in dissimilar ways.

What type of qualitative appearances can the composition of life take as a result of capital-labour bonding (which is again, a bond of conflict)? The type referred by Marx was that of 'exploitation/expropriation'. Additional varieties consist of 'inclusion/exclusion' (Foucault), along with 'incorporation/refusal', 'appropriation/expenditure' in addition to 'homogeneity/heterogeneity' (Bataille) and (Marcuse, Tronti). The listing is 'phenomenologically' long and indefinite.

There is a disparity among the Marxists and sociological analysis. As shown previously, Marxist observes the 'pure' labour (positioned at the farthest left-hand region), whose societal position (every one of dissimilar 'intermediate' forms) is not in any way at odds and in opposition to him, and he is by no means 'methodologically' advantaged; nor the 'pure' industrialist. Together they somewhat are viewed merely as forms fused together with each other in differently arranged multitude. Alternatively, the sociological observation takes care of the 'pure' labour in addition to the 'pure' industrialist like 'methodological pillars' suspended among the network of transitional classes.

According to Marx, this dissimilarity is significant as the 'pure' worker or labour does not exist. This is not for the reason of comparative reduction of the size of the 'traditional working class' (even if the particular hypothetically imagined collection of people is distinct). In fact, the opposite is true as the income bonding is a 'bourgeois and mystifying form' (Marx 1965 Part VI). And whosoever stays within its parameter, even and particularly the industrialist, who is a manufacturer of 'surplus value', lives a life separated with himself. His roots stay caught up in exploiting the labour while he dreams of idealist 'bourgeois' reality. Therefore, the series of class conflict goes all the way through the person who produces 'surplus-value'. Again, for the Marxist origin of class, there is no awkwardness in concerning the particular methods in which capital-labour bonding organizes in a hostile way. On the other hand, absence of the working class in its pristine form reduces the sociological origin of the class and brings it to the lowest level.

An additional marked divergence among the both formats of the Marxist view which states about a single class bonding (specifically, the capital-worker bonding) occurring in the present social order but the sociological proposal recognize numerous associations equal to the number of probable connections among societal space or collection of people. On this basis, the 'sociologists' lay blame on the 'Marxists' of decreasing societal divisions. In fact, sociologists have to be blamed of the charge of decreasing on these lines. The sociologists desire to place every person explicitly with no remnants in single or otherwise extra particular crowds or situations: a 'cross categorical' person is not capable of emerging within the depiction drawn by the sociologists.

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The basis of sociologists' increase of societal divisions into various levels like 'middle class' 'new petty bourgeoisies', and so on is to search a clearly consigned slot for every person. Therefore, there exist specifically the patterns in which the expressions of class and the persons are alienated among themselves—the numerical complexity of the pattern system in which the 'geological fracture-line' of the conflict of class is present throughout is not just among person but casts a shadow on the hypothesis as well.

An associated position of Marxist origin is—different from that of sociologists'—that class is not interpreted in the expression of attitude having anyone of various societal responsibilities. Since his earliest work '*On the Jewish Question*' and beyond, Marx criticized any societal environment where classification of the responsibilities is acquired as 'alienated' and not liberated. Far from marking the classification of responsibilities as a procedural theory, Marxian outlook of class portrays the person as a location of conflict; the individual conflict results in not merely as the 'universal' (attitude of responsibility and collectively alike), however in addition 'particular' (distinctive and in social context diverse) proportion of individualism participation. Neither theoretically nor practically has the classification of responsibilities liked 'proletarian' or 'bourgeois' (otherwise definitely 'man' or 'woman' or 'citizen') symbolizes the explanation of Marx; quite oppositely they form at the same time as one amongst the many tribulations which 'class' within its descriptions is proposed to solve.

While among the Marxist and the sociological origins of class, again one more spot of dissimilarity is, naturally, political. The sociological outlook promotes policy of coalitions among classes and portions of class: along with it gives emphasis to the 'pure' labourer's class an advantaged—important and dominant—political character. In Marxist outlook, there is impossibility of these types of coalitions. The 'pure' labourer class (a person in a job as compared to jobless, the 'direct' manufacturers of 'surplus value' compared to the 'indirect' manufacturers, the 'proletariat' compared to the '*lumpen proletariat*') does not have politically a procedural advantaged position, as these 'places' do not subsist. There is no issue of assigning to 'rising' as compared to 'declining' classes to domination of radical significance or power: these terms only make sense as soon as classes are viewed as positions or as collectivity of people. Lastly, the entire idea of forefront political party (added with its watered down variations) is reversed as the dissimilarities among 'advanced' plus 'backward' class fundamentally fade away amid the sociological origin of class.

However, classes are not collectivity of people or positions except bonds of conflict, therefore radical struggle obtains the shape of struggle among the collectivity (for all times it happens improperly and contaminatedly) which is implicitly the result of class conflict. It is not implicitly sociological as in the case, the appearance of 'pre given' classes—next to very last—interested more in already known academic and opinionated 'truth'. The issue facing the person is not on *whose* region however relatively, on *which* region (which region of class bonding) he or she is situated; and yet this concluding query is not implicitly the collective preference among the surviving positions or responsibilities. Not merely, in terms of quantity as well as in terms of quality, the characteristic feature of conflict of class is natural inconsistency. The focal point of the Marxist origin of class penetrating the question of alternatives by means of which class conflict deals with us and in this procedure forbids plea to whichever responsibility or position or collectivity of people in which (according to sociology) we are by now situated *prior to* whatsoever our decisive promise we want to make.

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One can obtain sociological knowledge from Marx's manuscripts if there is a desire. Marx was not at all times a socialist, positively and particularly in his political works. In the 'two great camps' origin of class promoted in *Communist Manifesto*, the consequences of building the Marxist origin of class lie in outrightly sociological logic. A long time before his detractors and 'revisionists' criticized, it was Marx who wrote that with the growth of capitalism it was expected that the 'middle classes' would numerically increase. Marx, nevertheless, wrote a book labelled *Capital*, which had a single class bonding (the capital-labour bonding) which was academically 'object' addressed. This mystery can be solved merely by focusing on his comment regarding the 'middle classes' to be sociological and by means of evaluating the major argument of *Capital* as Marxist in the above mentioned logic.

The sociological origin of class, every time it needs to set up Marxist identification, forever turns into 'economic-determinist'. This is for the reason that the single 'indicator' of class link ('class' at this point being viewed again as a position or collectivity of people) is, according to Marx's work, the universal bonding to the 'means of production'. In addition to being bonded to the 'means of production', nevertheless persons are part of a class, and locate themselves bonded to the state and to 'ideology' and also to the local church and so on. Therefore, the sociological origin of class produces a system of detached societal 'levels' or 'practices' or 'instances' (Althusser) and has to tackle query of how these 'levels' are linked. The reply is familiar: in the last instance 'the economic movement asserts itself as necessary'. In additional terminology, sociological Marxism totals to a fiscal conclusion with lengthy and intricate 'deterministic' series. To assert that, as Althusser did, such a premise is no longer fiscal is like maintaining that a machine is no longer machine due to the asset of number of cogwheels its motor drives.

The whole thing is dissimilar to the Marxist origin of class. Marx's difference among class 'in itself' and 'for itself' is in use as unique, not among the ranks of society but among the sociological and the Marxist origins of class itself: if a class turns out to be as soon as it is 'for itself' subsequently *political struggle* by means of all its erratic consequences and growth and expenses previously put together into what sociological Marxists identify as fiscal 'base'. While sociological Marxists try to unify ranks which it presumes to be separate and on the foundation of the threshold and difficulty can rely on the cause and effect and *external* associations nevertheless 'structural' (Althusser) variety; Marxist Marxism travels in the reverse direction and illustrates differences contained by an opposing entirety, i.e., inside an internally and destructively associated sum total: 'The concrete is concrete because it is the concentration of many determinations, hence the unity of the diverse' (Marx 1973, 101). The *totality* of the class-relation which is specific to, for example, bourgeois society (the capital-labour relation) is present—wholly present, though in qualitatively different ways—in each of the individuals who form that society's *moments* or part. The essential thing was said long ago by the early Lukács: 'It is not the primacy of the economic motives in historical explanation that constitutes the decisive difference between Marxism and bourgeois thought, but the point of view of totality' (Lukács 1971, 27).

Alongside with 'the point of view of the totality', a completely new origin of *class politics* is initiated. Previously 'politics' is perceived as a separate societal rank; the confirming assessment of the survival of class 'for itself' develops into creation of a political association of almost traditional—meaning to say: 'a bourgeois'-type. It is viewed that still a forefront party is perceived to different 'bourgeois' idea. Nevertheless,

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the 'bourgeois' social order, not Marx differentiates among the ranks of political state and general social order—'On the Jewish Question'—and recommends the previous as the ground where the societal collection of people in their readiness may participate. In the added terms, Marxist origin of class, 'the point of view of totality' discards specifically the narrowness of the formation of politics which the sociological origin of class necessitates. On top of the Marxist perception, the classification of politics develops into extensive variety in which class conflicts erratically take place. Not only no subject is disqualified from the political program; the idea of political program is itself disqualified as this type of program disqualifies and brings to periphery all that which is not part of some tentatively conventional political sphere of influence.

The already mentioned explanations do not assert to the wholeness or to the condition of a justification of the origin of the class which have been tried systematically to be retold. They aspire to, somewhat, make it lucid about what the Marxist perception of class involves. As for the consideration of the assessment of this perception, the proposition may possibly be dangerous that the only possible way of analytical inquiry which appears to be productive that which enquires is the 'capital-labour relation' is the only and exclusive such bonding of conflict which, in every part of its fulfillment, constitutes our lives. And at this point there can be no doubt of replacing Marx: additional types of bonding (sexual and racial bonds, for example) are arbitrated all the way through the 'capital relation' just as for its fractions; it subsists as arbitrated all the way through them.

The first and foremost sociologist and economist of the capitalist regime was Marx. He had a certain notion of that regime, of the fate it imposed upon men, and of the progression it would go through. As sociologist-economist of the system, he had the capitalist view of the sociological issues; he had no exact image of what the socialist system would be, and he repeatedly said that man cannot know the future in advance.

From 1848 until the end of his life, Marx apparently ceased to be a philosopher and became a sociologist and, more of, an economist. He had received an excellent economic education and knew the economic thinking of his time a few men did. He was, and wanted to be, an economist in the strict and precise sense of the word.

The Communist Manifesto is a propaganda pamphlet in which Marx and Engels presented some of their scientific thoughts in combined form. The vital theme is the class struggle. They maintain that all history is the history of the class struggle: free men and slaves, patricians and plebeians, barons and serfs, master artisans and journeymen. In short, the oppressors and oppressed have been in perpetual conflict with one another and have carried on a relentless struggle, at times covert, at times open. It has always ended with a revolutionary change of the whole society or with the mutual devastation of the warring classes. Human history is characterized by the struggle of human groups called 'social classes', which are characterized in the first place by an antagonism between oppressors and oppressed and in the second place by an inclination towards a polarization into two blocs. All societies having been divided into warring classes, contemporary capitalist society does not vary from those that preceded it. However, the ruling and exploiting class of contemporary society, namely the bourgeoisie, presents certain characteristics which are without precedent.

The bourgeoisie is unable to maintain its superiority without permanently revolutionizing the instruments of production. According to Marx, the bourgeoisie has developed the forces of production more in a few decades than previous societies have done in many centuries. Engaged in heartless competition, the capitalists have revolutionized the means of production. The bourgeoisie is creating a global market; it is destroying the leftovers of the feudal system and the traditional communities. But

just as the forces of production which gave birth to the capitalist regime had developed in the heart of feudal society, so the forces of production which will give birth to the socialist regime are ripening in the heart of modern society.

Marx did not deny that among capitalist and proletarians there are presently various in-between groups—artisans, petite bourgeoisie, merchants and peasant landowners. However, he made two statements. First, along with the development of the capitalist regime there will be an inclination towards crystallization of social relations into two groups: the capitalists on the one hand, and the proletarians on the other. Two classes, and only two, represent the possibility for a political system and an idea of a social system. On the day of the decisive conflict, everyone will be indebted to join either the capitalists or the proletarians. On the day when the proletarian class seizes power, there will be a final split with the course of all previous history. In fact, the hostile nature of all known societies will disappear.

Marx regarded politics and the state as phenomena less important to what is occurring within the society itself. He presented political power as the appearance of social conflicts. Political power is the means by which the ruling class, the exploiting class, maintains its control and its exploitation. The abolition of class contradictions must logically entail the disappearance of politics and of the state, because politics and the state are seemingly the by-products or the expressions of social conflicts.

The idea is that men enter into specific relations that are independent of their will; in other words, we can follow the progress of history by analysing the structure of societies, the forces of productions and the relations of production, and not by basing our explanation on men's ways of thinking about themselves.

In every society there can be a notable economic base, or infrastructure, as it has come to be called, and the superstructure. The infrastructure consists basically of the forces and relations of production, while within the superstructure there are the legal and political institutions as well as ways of thinking, ideologies and philosophies. The instrument of the historical movement is the opposition between the forces and the relations of production. The forces of production seem to be basically a given society's capability to produce, a capability which is a function of scientific knowledge, technological equipment and the organization of combined labour. The relations of production seem to be basically distinguished by relation of property. However, relations of production need not be known with relations of property; or at any rate relations of production may contain, in addition to property relations and distribution of national income (which is itself more or less strictly determined by property relations).

Now, let us turn from these conceptual formulas to the understanding of capitalism. In capitalist society, the bourgeoisie is attached to personal ownership of the means of production and therefore to a certain allotment of national income. On the other hand, the proletariat, which constitutes the opposite pole of society and represents another association of the collectivity, becomes, at certain moment in history, the representative of a new social organization which will be more progressive than the capitalist organization. This new organization will mark a later phase of the historical process, a more development of the forces of production, a stage in the path of a progressive history. This dialectic of the forces and relations to production also implies a theory of revolution. Revolutions are not political accidents, but the expressions of a historical necessity. Revolutions carry out crucial functions. They take place when the conditions for them are ripe.

Capitalist associations of production were first developed in the womb of feudal society. The French Revolution occurred when the new capitalist relations of production

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had achieved a certain level of maturity. And, at least in this passage, Marx foresaw an analogous course for the change from capitalism to socialism. The forces of production must be developed in the womb of capitalist society; socialist relations of production mature in the womb of the present society before the revolution which will mark the end of 'prehistory' is to take place. Mankind said Marx always takes up only such problem as it can solve. Marx not only distinguished infrastructure and superstructure; he also opposed social reality to consciousness. It is not men's consciousness that determines truth; on the contrary, it is the social reality that determines their consciousness. It results in an overall beginning in which men's ways of thinking must be explained in terms of social relations which they are a part of.

Finally Marx outlined the stages of human history. Like Auguste Comte differentiated stages of human growth on the basis of ways of thinking, so also Marx differentiated stages of human history on the basis of their economic regimes; and he distinguished four of these or, in his expressions, four modes of production which he labelled as the Asiatic, the ancient, the feudal and the bourgeois. The ancient, feudal and bourgeois modes of production have been realized in the history of the West. The ancient mode of production is characterized by slavery; the feudal mode of production is characterized by slavery and the serfdom; and the bourgeois mode of production by income earning. They form their different modes of man's exploitation by man. The bourgeois mode of production constitutes the last opposed social formation because, or rather to the level that, the socialist mode of production, i.e., the connection of producer, no longer involves man's exploitation by man or the subordination of manual labourers to a class wielding both possession of the means of production and political power.

On the other hand, the Asiatic mode of production does not seem to form a period in Western history. The Asiatic mode of production characterizes a civilization different from the West. The Asiatic mode of production does not seem to be distinguished by the subordination of slaves, serfs or wage earners to a class possessing the means of production, but by the subordination of all the workers to the State. If this understanding of the Asiatic mode of production is accurate, the social organization would be characterized not by class struggle in the Western sense of the term, but by the exploitation of the whole society by the state or the bureaucratic class. We must accept the fact that according to Marx, in view of that each society is characterized by its infrastructure or mode of production, distinguished four modes of production, or four stages in the history of the mankind, preceding to the socialist mode of production, which is situated beyond prehistory.

1.3.1 Marxism on Class, Autonomy of State, Capitalism and, Revolution

Permanent Revolution is a term within Marxist theory, which was first used by Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels between 1845 and 1850 but has since become most closely associated with Leon Trotsky. The use of the term by different theorists is not identical. Marx used it to describe the strategy of revolutionary class to continue to pursue its class interests independently and without compromise, despite overtures for political alliances, and despite the political dominance of opposing sections of society. Trotsky put forward his conception of 'permanent revolution' and explanation of how socialist revolutions could occur in societies that had not achieved advanced capitalism. Part of his theory is the impossibility of 'socialism in one country' - a view also held by Marx, but not integrated into his conception of permanent revolution. Trotsky's theory also argues, first, that the bourgeoisie in late-developing capitalist countries are incapable

of developing the productive forces in such a manner as to achieve the sort of advanced capitalism which will fully develop and industrial proletariat. Second, that the proletariat can and must, therefore, seize social, economic and political power, leading an alliance with peasantry.

The term has also been used to describe Thomas Jefferson's endorsement of periodic rebellion as 'medicine necessary for the sound health of government'.

Marxism

Marxism is the movement founded by Karl Marx and Frederick Engels which fights for the self emancipation of the working class, subjecting all forms of domination by the bourgeoisie, its institutions and its ideology, to theoretical and practical critique.

Standing for the destruction of the capitalist state by the organized working class, Marxism opposes all forms of reformism and 'gradualism' or 'evolutionary socialism'; Marxism is revolutionary. Marxism shares with other progressive social movements an uncompromising hostility to all forms of domination—sexism, racism, and so on, but what marks Marxism out from other progressive movements is that Marxists struggle always to overcome the manifold forms of domination and exploitation in and through the self- emancipation of the working class. Thus Marxism is Revolutionary Socialism.

While Marxism stands for the destruction of the capitalist state, and all forms of institutionalized violence, Marxists not only support the right of the working class to exercise a domination over the bourgeoisie, they actively fight for that since the dictatorship of the proletariat is the possible way to destroy bourgeois rule and open the way to the disappearance of all classes, including the class of wage-slaves. Marxism has its origins in the struggle for this perspective, in opposition to anarchism which seeks to undermine all forms of authority and seeks destruction of the capitalist state without promoting and preparing the working class for the seizure and holding of public political power.

Social power and relations of domination are transmitted in many different forms, aside from the state, nevertheless 'concentrated force is required to overthrow concentrated force,' so Marxists always struggle to develop the organized strength of the workers movement. Freedom is always limited by the opportunities that the community provides for the development of a personality. Freedom is not enhanced simply by the removal of limitations on the autonomy of individuals. Marxists aim to enhance the freedom of working class people chiefly by expanding the scope of collective action and the possibilities for individual growth and creativity within that.

Marxism is a tendency within the workers movement and it is concerned with both theoretical and practical critique. By 'Practical critique' it is meant political action which undermines and 'exposes' the object and mobilizes opposition to it. In the history of the movement, these two sides- the object and mobilizes opposition to it. In the history of the movement, these two sides—the theoretical and the practical- have from time to time become separated from one another; one the one side 'academic Marxism' working on theoretical questions in relative isolation from the workers' movement, on the other genuine communists doing battle for the working class, but isolated from the creative development of revolutionary Marxist ideas.

Furthermore, although Marxism is a movement rather than simply a tendency, within the workers movement, and a movement which at certain point in its history has been organized in a single world-wide organization in 1864, 1889 and 1919), this is not the case today; Marxism is a movement which is fragmented into many parts and tendencies, none of which completely embody the history and achievements of the

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Marxist movement, but all of which in one way or another are connected in the 150 — year history of the movement since it was founded in 1848 with the publication of the Communist Manifesto.

There is no set of principles and beliefs which can be set out once and for all and stamped with the name of ‘Marxism’. Marxism is a movement, and as such can only be understood through a critical examination of its history. While this movement bears the name of its founder, Karl Marx, Marxism is not a movement of followers, but it is nevertheless a movement which is integrally concerned with an interconnected body of theoretical and political writing which traces its origins back to Marx.

Genesis of Marxism

In terms of practical political struggle, Marxism arose in the mid-nineteenth century in opposition to three main opposing tendencies in the workers’ movement: Anarchism, Utopian or Doctrinaire socialism, and overly bourgeois tendencies. In terms of its theoretical roots, to use Lenin’s famous words, the three sources of Marxism are: British political economy, French Socialism and German idealist philosophy. At that time, the advocates of socialism were relatively charismatic individuals who promoted some particular vision of a future society and an associated body of doctrine who each collected a following around them. These groups shared a more or less common vision of a socialist future and participated in the struggles of the day, but the movement lacked any scientific basis in existing conditions and furthermore, offered to teach the workers about socialism, but had no conception of socialism as the self-emancipation of the working class.

Frustrated with this lack of theoretical seriousness, Marx and Engels made a decisive turn towards critique of the existing ideology in order to be able to found a revolutionary working class movement upon a sound basis. The very way in which Marx approached the critical assimilation and transcendence of philosophy, socialism and political economy was itself gained from these same intellectual sources in bourgeois society.

The pre-eminent philosopher of Marx’s youth was G W F Hegel. However, ten years after Hegel’s death, i.e., in 1841, Hegel was unceremoniously dumped by the Prussian ruling class and came under attack from all sides. After 1841, Hegel was decidedly unfashionable.

Hegel’s great achievement to show the forms by which human beings grasp reality are themselves historical products. In other words, the history of philosophy contained within it an on-going critique of all the cultural and ideological forms that have succeeded one another through human history, a practical critique which was the work, not just of professional philosophers, but engaged by all aspects of the life of society.

For Hegel however, this history was the work not of living human beings, but rather of a Spirit which acted ‘behind the backs’ of the actors in history, unbeknown to them, In this sense, Marx said that Hegel took ‘the standpoint of political economy.’ That is , that Hegel, just like Adam Smith, saw people as slaves of an invisible hand, of laws which governed the outcome of social action independently of the intention of individuals and what is more that the fundamental relations of person to person by means of which this spirit acted in history, was the property relation. The first positive insight into the fallacy of this view was provided by Ludwig Feuerbach, who showed that Hegel had created a kind of theology, and that far from people being governed by either God or Hegel’s Absolute Spirit, these concepts were created by people as

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reflections of the way they lived; for Feuerbach, the truth of religion and philosophy lay in anthropology and physiology. Meanwhile, the French socialists had already taken this a step further by showing that science and religion not only had their origins in human history, but was themselves weapons and instruments of social struggle. Consequently, People should not be seen simply as creatures of the social system of which they were a part (the standpoint of anthropology) nor as simply products of Nature, but rather that people were both products and creators of the world they lived in, and the struggle over ideas was an integral part of the political and social struggle.

It should be noted at this point that Marx did not claim, and nor do Marxists today claim, to be the originator of some brand new kind of knowledge. Marx's own claim to original ideas was extremely modest. We stand on the shoulders of the achievements of those who have gone before; but we subject the theories and ideas active in society to critique. That is to say, we understand ideas as products and a part of social relation, which function in one way or another to sustain the social relations that they reflect. In particular, attention is directed to the social relations by means of whom people produce and reproduce their livelihood and the labour activity itself through which people live, this is after the foundation upon which the basis for the entire superstructure of society is erected, and which underlies all forms of thought and culture.

By critique is meant the disclosure of this ideological kernel, the social interest which is expressed in and sustained by this or that form of thought, which actually connects it to the material life of people.

What then was Marx's attitude to philosophy, political economy and socialism? According to Marx, a philosopher is an 'alienated human being', a kind of theologian, who is dealing with ideal entities as if they had some existence separate from the material life of human beings. Philosophy had been developed to such a high degree in Germany precisely because Germany was a social and political backwater in Europe; while Revolution was being made in France and the English making an Industrial revolution—and lots of money —Germany remained fragmented and unable to break the hold of the nobility; so the great social transformations taking place in France and England were reflected in Germany in art, science and philosophy. By subjecting these generalizations and theories to specialized study, the study of philosophy gives us a deeper window into the nature of the social reality from which theoretical ideas have been abstracted. Philosophy does not talk about social reality; rather, it is the purified voice of reality. Marx's concern was not to do more philosophy, but rather, it is the purified voice of philosophy of his day, to expose the ideological content of the day-to-day ideas through which class rule is maintained. What is the day-to-day reality of bourgeois society? Marx found in the theories of the political economists a distilled essence of the ideology and ethics which actually govern the way people live under capitalism, which make market relations appear natural, and allow people to actively give their consent to their own exploitation, entering into relations of exchange of commodities as if this was non-political value-free activity.

From the very beginning of his study, Marx almost single-mindedly pursued his critique of political economy; his first work **Comments on James Mill** was written in 1844, while Volume III of *Capital* was published after his death, in 1894. In his critique of political economy, Marx brought out the internal contradictions within the political economist's notion of value and showed how this contradiction had its roots in the nature of commodity production itself, and in turn demonstrated that the commodity relation—working in order to earn a living and buying in order to make a profit—lay the very germ of bourgeois society and the accumulation of capital. And in the

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‘naturalization’ of the commodity relation, the conception of material objects having social powers-the ‘fetishism of commodities’, laid the essential foundation of bourgeois ideology.

Marx did not confine himself to literary work, but was an active participant and leader in the struggles of the working-class of his day. His efforts saw him deported and /or jailed on a number of occasions and he had to settle in London to avoid continued persecution. The construction of the First and Second Internationals were concrete leaps forward in the self organization of the working class, uniting workers in many countries in a single organization. Marxism aims not to teach the working class, but to understand and give voice to the strivings of its most advanced sections and generalize that striving both theoretically and practically. The first major working class political struggle of Marx and Engels ‘ lifetime were the out-break in 1848, right across Europe, of independent movements of the working class, pressing their own demands within the upheavals which saw the downfall of the old order in Europe. Marx and Engels published a daily newspaper, the Neue Rheinische Zeitung throughout this period, agitating, advocating and organizing for the workers’ movement.

The second major working class struggle of their time was the Paris Commune—the first time in history when the working class seized state power. From a critical examination of the Commune, Marxism develops its ideas about democracy, the state and revolution. Even the Communist Manifesto of 1848 was amended to include the gains of the Commune, principally that the working class could not simply take over the state machine, but had to utterly smash it. And build its own organs of class rule, based on proletarian democracy. During the latter part of their lives, the works of Marx and Engels were translated into many languages, and through the work of the Second International, Marxism became known and understood in all corners of the world and deeply entered the heart of the organized working class, now united across the world in a single organization.

1.4 SEMINAL IDEAS OF MAX WEBER

In the contemporary history, generalist versus specialist controversy has reached its climax. The specialist commonly termed as technocrats strongly feel that they are not being given due place in the administration though on account of their expertise and technical qualification, they happen to be superior to the so-called generalists. Before we come to any conclusion as to whether or not their claim is worth consideration, it’s essential to explain the meaning of the terms specialist and the generalists reveal the background which accorded the latter a higher status in our democracy.

Concepts

Specialists and generalists terms are well understood terms in science and technology. Generalist is one who has a bird’s eye knowledge of science or technology. He takes a comprehensive view of the problem in science or technology and can render advice in general. He is in a position to provide the bridge between the various branches and sectors of science or technology and thus enable the workers in the various branches and sectors to work towards a concrete progressing of science or technology as a whole. From the view of Dr L.D. White, ‘a generalist is a career person within the executive branch who by the breadth of his experience and the quality of his mind is competent to deal executively with complex problems of relationship among agencies or officials and to apply judgment of a high discriminating character to difficult and obstinate problems.

Check Your Progress

9. What is meant by the Asiatic mode of production?
10. What was the second major working class struggle during the time of Marx?
11. How did Marx define a philosopher?

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He is in a position to command detail while avoiding responsibility for detail and seeing far behind it. Generally he functions in the higher levels of middle management or in the lower levels of top management.' In Great Britain, such a class of services is called administrative class. In the US, there is no special category of such officers through they are scattered through the entire large department. Occasionally, some of this administrative generalist may rise to political positions. Generally they remain firmly anchored in the career service.

Specialist, on the other hand, is equipped with knowledge of science or technology in depth in one particular branch or sector. He is usually providing in depth in his limited field. He is not bothered about the place of his work in science or technology as a whole. In other words, the specialist by the nature of his work is myopic. His interest lies only in a small sector of science or technology and he persistently probes into that sector in depth. He does not look at science or technology from a broad angle at all. He can view problems only from his limited angle. Unlike that of a generalist, he cannot go down from the whole to the part. The specialist has been described in somewhat derogatory terms as a man who knows more and more about less and less.

Difference in methods

The approach or the method of the generalist, though in the new and challenging horizon, is ever comprehensive. He goes down from the whole to the part. His training is in overseeing and not in spar sector equalization. He has to see the interplay between several sectors that is to be developed to utilize the finding in any one of the sectors. Hence, the approach of the generalist is co-coordinative as against the intensive approach of the specialist. The generalist may occasionally take to the study in depth of some particular sector of his field but that does not affect change in his normal approach. The method of the specialist, on the other hand, is intensive and not co-coordinative approach of the generalist. However, this branch of specialist is a rarity.

Genesis of Controversy

The controversy of the role of the generalist and the specialist in administration is as old as administration itself. However, the generalist administrator is generally underlined as the legacy of the British who used to employ young men of aristocratic families equipped with a liberal education which could help them to maintain the imperial governance in the country. The new generations belonging to the Indian Civil Services were hence the guardian of the Empire in its remotest corner. They were trained to be autocrats and keep up the dignity of their prestigious positions. The Indian Civil Service Cadre of the British days has been succeeded by the I.A.S. The new cadre of these officers was however not visualized as a successor to the I.C.S. in spirit. They were considered to be pivotal in promoting national integration, nation building process and neutralizing the divergent regional pulls. It was decided that there Civil Services officers would move districts to state capitals, from there to the Central Secretariat and then back again. It was made clear from the starting that at least half of such officers belonging to a particular state cadre should belong to other states. These plans were quite laudable.

1.4.1 Max Weber: Power, Domination, Legitimacy and Authority

According to Max Weber power is an aspect of social relationships and refers to the likelihood of imposing one's will upon the behaviour of another person(s). He stated that power is present in social interactions and generates circumstances of inequality because the one who possesses power imposes it on others. The consequences of

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power vary among different circumstances. In one way, it depends on the ability of the powerful individual to exercise power. In another way, it depends upon the degree to which it is resisted or opposed by others. Weber states that power may be exercised in almost all walks of life.

Weber (1914, 1920) stated that 'power' (*macht*) as a common concept is different from 'domination' (*herrschaft*) as a definite phenomenon. Power is referred as an actor's probability to impose his/her will on another (even if opposed by the latter) in social relationships. We can say that 'power is the chance of a man or a number of men to realize their own will in a communal action even against the resistance of others who are participating in the action' (1958:926). The essential proposition of the Weberian theory of power is that the extent of power depends upon the nature of compliance over the one on whom it is being exercised. In other words, the extent of power is more if the prospect of submission to the will of the one who holds it is greater. It can be securely stated that the power of an individual(s) is measured in terms of the prospect(s) of imposing the will.

Karl Emil Maximilian Max Weber

21 April 1864-14 June 1920) was a German sociologist and political economist. He deeply influenced social theory, social research and the discipline of sociology itself. A major advocate of social action through interpretive understanding on the basis of understanding the meaning and objective that individuals attach to their own actions, Weber is usually cited, with Emile Durkheim and Karl Marx, as one of the three key architects of modern social science. In his '*Politics as a Vocation*', Weber defined the state 'as an entity which successfully claims a monopoly on the legitimate use of violence'. He was the first one to classify social authority into discrete forms, which were termed as charismatic, traditional and rational-legal. His analysis of bureaucracy highlighted that modern state institutions are progressively more based on rational-legal authority. Weber also made several other contributions to economic history, economic theory and methodology. Weber's ideas on modernity and rationalization immensely facilitated the critical theory of Frankfurt School.

Concepts: Bureaucracy, Ideal Type, Iron Cage, Life Chances, Rationalization, Methodological Individualism, Monopoly on Violence, Social Action, Protestant Work Ethics, Verstehen, Tripartite Classification of Authority.

Weber distinguishes three types of authority:

- 1. Rational-legal authority:** It is based on ordinances, norms and legality of the offices/institutions of those who exercise authority, e.g., the authority exercised by the policemen, tax collectors and bosses in the office.
- 2. Traditional authority:** It is based on a faith in the sacred nature of long-held traditions and in the legality of those who exercise authority, e.g., the authority of the eldest individual the family.
- 3. Charismatic authority:** It is based on loyalty to the sacred attribute, heroic force or commendable character of an individual, e.g., authority of god men (Aron, 1967).

Weber: Sources of Power

Weber states two discrete sources of power:

- 1. Common interest:** Under this source, power is drawn from an assortment of interests which evolve in formally free market. For instance, a group of textile producers controls and directs the supply of production in the market for profit maximization.

2. **An established system of authority:** This source of power allocates the right to command and the duty/responsibility to obey. For instance, in the army, a soldier is under obligation to obey the senior's command. The officer draws his powers through an established/institutionalized system of authority.

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Power and Domination

According to Weber, power is the 'chance that an individual in a social relationship can achieve his or her own will even against the resistance of others'. It is a very wide definition and incorporates a broad range of types of power. Some of the important highlights of Weberian thought on the issue of power and domination are summarized below:

- According to Weber 'domination' is 'the probability that certain specific commands (or all commands) will be obeyed by a given group of persons' (Weber, p. 212).
- There are certain key features of domination, e.g., interest, obedience, belief and regularity.
- Weber maintains that 'every genuine form of domination implies a minimum of voluntary compliance, that is, an *interest* (based on ulterior motives or genuine acceptance) in obedience' (Weber, p. 212).
- Instances of dominance may include employer–employee relationships, teacher–student relationships, parent–child relationships or the relation between a priest and church member, authority within a family, political rule which is commonly obeyed and accepted, etc.
- If dominance persists for a substantial amount of time, it transforms into a structured phenomenon. Further, the forms of dominance become social structures.
- Temporary or momentary types of power are not generally considered as dominance.
- The definition of domination also excludes those kinds of power which are based on absolute force, since force might not result in approval of the dominant group or voluntary observance of its orders.
- Basic elements of domination are as follows:
 - o Deliberate conformity or obedience means that individuals are not compelled to obey, rather do it voluntarily.
 - o Those who obey do it since they have an interest in doing so, or at any rate believe that they have such an interest.
 - o The belief in legitimacy of the actions/policies of the central individual or group is present (although it is defined by Weber as authority), i.e., 'the particular claim to legitimacy is to a significant degree and according to its type treated as "valid"' (Weber, p. 214).
 - o Conformity or **obedience** is not random or associated with a short-term social relationship; instead it is a sustained relationship of dominance and subordination in order that customary patterns of inequality are established.

Power and Legitimacy

When power attains legitimacy or justification it is known as authority. It may be noted that a person who has authority may exercise command or control over other persons. For example, a senior bureaucrat who assigns tasks to his/her subordinates and may

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even transfer some of them to another city. The reason behind this is that the bureaucrat has the authority to take this type of decision by virtue of his/her position and status in the government machinery. In formal organizations authority is clearly specified, and distributed under the ambit of rules and laws of the organizations. It may be understood at this stage that the exercise of authority does not necessarily imply the superiority of the person who commands. A Professor may be a better scholar than the Vice Chancellor of the University who dismisses him/her. It is simply because of the authority, which vests with the Vice Chancellor that he/she may suspend a teacher. Power may, therefore, be executed in formal organizations as institutionalized authority and as institutionalized power in informal organizations.

Power, Legitimacy and Authority

The idea of political legitimacy and effectiveness is associated with the name of a German sociologist of the present century, Max Weber. As we can notice in Weber's ideology, any discourse of power takes us to the questions about its legitimacy. According to Weber, legitimacy constitutes the core of authority. He said that in any type of legitimate dominion, legitimacy is based on belief and elicits obedience. In this way, the ruling group in a state must be legitimate. Weber states that authority is the legitimate form of domination, i.e., those forms of domination which are considered to be legitimate by the followers or subordinates. The expression 'legitimate' does not essentially mean any sense of rationality, rightness or natural justice; rather, domination is lawful when the subordinates admit, comply with, and consider domination to be desirable, or at least endurable and not worth challenging. It is not so much 'the actions of the dominant that create this, but rather the willingness of those who subordinate to believe in the legitimacy of the claims of the dominant'.

Bases of Legitimacy

The veracity of legitimacy may be assigned to an order by those acting subject to it in the following manner:

- By virtue of tradition, i.e., belief in the legality of what has all the time existed.
- By virtue of logical belief in its supreme value, hence lending the validity of an absolute and final commitment.
- By virtue of affectual attitudes, particularly emotional, for instance, legitimizing the soundness of what is recently revealed or is a model to emulate.
- Legality, i.e., willingness to conform to formally correct rules which have been imposed by accepted procedure. It has accomplished in a way that is accepted to be this legality and may be treated as legitimate.

Weber: Authority/Types of Legitimate Domination

Famous sociologist Max Weber gave a theory of authority that included three types of authority. He laid down a path towards understanding how authority gets legitimized as a belief system. The English translation of his essay '*The three types of legitimate rule*' was published posthumously in 1958. It is the most lucid explanation on the issue.

Weber demarcates three fundamental types of legitimate domination: (i) traditional, (ii) charismatic and (iii) legal or rational. These three forms do not comprise the entirety of domination types but they represent how it is feasible for some individuals to exercise power over others. Authority broadens and maintains power and proves that a study of its origins can show how people get ready to accept this domination as a customary

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and structured phenomenon. It is noteworthy that these are ideal types, with any real use of power being prone to have aspects of more than one kinds of authority, and may be even other forms of power like the use of force or intimidation. Hence Weber's classification of legitimacy is taken as the basis of a righteous investigation of the nature of authority in the modern-day civilization. He states three types of legitimate authority as shown in the figure 1.1.



Fig. 1.1 Weberian Types of Authority

Traditional Authority

Throughout history the traditional authority has existed in various societies. The sanctity of tradition legitimizes the traditional authority. Usually the capability and the right to rule are passed down through heredity. However, it does not assist social change. On the other hand, it tends to be inconsistent and irrational, and perpetuates the status quo. Weber analyzed why this particular form of authority was maintained, and what were the obstructions to the development of more logical or legal forms of authority characteristic of the Western societies. Specifically, Weber was focused upon how these traditional forms of authority restricted the development of capitalism in non-Western societies.

Weber stated that traditional authority is a means through which inequality gets created and preserved. If there is no challenge to the authority of the traditional leader or group, the leader is expected to stay dominant. Traditional form of authority is derived from an established faith in the sanctity of age-old traditions and the legality of the status of those wielding authority over them. In this kind of authority, the traditional rights of an influential and dominant individual or group are accepted and are not challenged by the subordinate individuals.

Weber stated that this traditionalist domination 'rests upon a belief in the sanctity of everyday routines' (Gerth and Mills, p. 297). Ritzer states that 'traditional authority is based on a claim by the leaders, and a belief on the part of the followers, that there is virtue in the sanctity of age-old rules and powers' (p. 132). These rights can be (i) religious, sacred or spiritual forms, (ii) well-established and gradually changing culture, or (ii) tribal, family or clan type structures.

The types of traditional authority are as follows:

- (i) Gerontocracy or rule by elders.
- (ii) Patriarchy wherein positions are inherited.
- (iii) Patrimonialism or rule by an administration or military force that are entirely personal instruments of the master.
- (iv) Feudalism type of authority was important historically. It is a more routinized form of rule, with 'contractual relationships between leader and subordinate'.

Check Your Progress

12. How did Max Weber define power?
13. What is traditional authority?
14. State two basic elements of domination.

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Traditional authority is characteristically embodied in feudalism or patrimonialism. In an entirely patriarchal structure, 'the servants are completely and personally dependent upon the lord'. On the other hand, in an estate system (i.e., feudalism), 'the servants are not personal servants of the lord but independent men' (Weber, 1958:4). However, in both cases the system of authority does not change or evolve.

Hence gerontocracy and patrimonialism are the forms of traditional authority. Gerontocracy means the rule by elders, and patrimonialism stands for the rule by someone designated by inheritance. There is still a common idea of everybody being a member of the group, although there is by no means equal distribution of power. A patrimonial retainer may be supported through: maintenance at his lords table, allowances from the chief (mainly in kind), rights of land use in lieu of services, and appropriation of property income, fees or taxes by fiefs.

Charismatic Authority

Charismatic authority is possessed by a leader whose vision and mission is capable of inspiring others. Its roots are found in the perceived astonishing characteristics of a person. Weber defined a charismatic leader as the leader of a new social movement, and the one endowed with divine or supernatural powers, e.g., a religious prophet. According to him, charismatic authority subsists on the devotion to the explicit and exceptional heroism, sanctity or commendable character of a person and of the normative patterns of order revealed or ordained by him.

Charisma stands for the quality of an individual personality which is viewed as extraordinary. The followers might view this quality to be endowed with supernatural, superhuman or exceptional qualities or powers. Whether such powers exist in reality or not is not relevant—the mere fact that followers believe that such powers exist is more significant. Weber views charisma as a driving and creative force that rushes through traditional authority and established rules. The singular basis of charismatic authority is the acceptance or recognition of the claims of the leader by the followers. 'While it is unreasonable, in that it is not computable or systematic, it can be revolutionary, breaking traditional rule and may even put up a challenge to the legal authority' (Giddens, p. 160–161).

A particular leader might possess extraordinary characteristics which make him/her a leader. It may relate to an extraordinary gift of a leader, a distinguishing speaking style and acting, or astonishing qualities, for instance personalities like Gandhi, Martin Luther King, Abraham Lincoln, Hitler and so on. The charismatic leader attains and maintains authority exclusively by proving his mettle in life. If he desires to be a prophet, he should perform miracles; if he wants to be a warlord, he should perform heroic acts. Finally, nonetheless, his divine mission should 'prove' itself in that those who devotedly surrender to him must fare well. In case they do not fare well, he is perceptibly not the master sent by the Gods.

Charisma has deficiencies as a long-term source of authority. However, it may be really effective during the lifetime of the charismatic leader. If it has to be continued, it should be transformed into a legal or traditional form of authority. Further, it might be exercised in an illogical way, preventing the development of more rational forms, particularly the ones leading to capitalism. Also, there is a chance that administration of charismatic authority results in the development of legal and rational authority. Charismatic authority gets 'routinized' in various ways. According to Weber, 'Orders are traditionalized, the staff or followers change into legal or "estate-like" (traditional) staff, or the meaning of charisma itself may undergo change.'

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It would be appropriate to discuss the process of the routinization of charisma. In basic form, charismatic authority exists just in the process of originating. It turns either rationalized or traditionalized, or a combination of both for the following reasons: ideal and material interests of the followers in the repeated reactivation of the community interests of the administrative staff, followers or disciples of the charismatic leader in maintaining their positions, so that their own standing is established on a day-to-day basis. Huge masses of people exist; it paves the way for the forces of daily routine. There is an objective requirement of patterns of order and organization of the administrative staff to fulfill the normal, everyday needs and conditions of running the administration. Further, there is a craving for security, needing legitimization of positions of authority and social prestige and economic advantages held by the followers.

Thus the process of routinization is not limited to the succession problem, and does not come to an end when it is solved. The most basic problem is the changeover from the charismatic administrative staff and its administrative mode to one which can tackle everyday circumstances. Following are the possible types of solution:

- Search for new charismatic leader on the basis of criteria that will entitle him for the position of authority.
- Revelation through oracles, lots, etc. Legitimacy is then dependent upon the technique of selection, which represents a form of legalization.
- By the leader designating his successor.
- The designation of a successor by the charismatically qualified staff, and the successor's recognition by the community. The legitimacy may come to depend upon the technique of selection.
- Hereditary charisma which may lead to either traditionalization or legalization (divine right, etc.).
- The charisma transmitted through ritual means from one bearer to another, or created in a new individual, which might become the charisma of office (e.g., the Big Potato, the Pope himself).

In one form routinization also appropriates the powers of control and economic advantages by the disciples. Further, it may be either legal or traditional, on the basis of whether or not legislation of some kind is involved.

Rational-Legal Authority

Legal-rational authority gets empowered by a formalistic belief in the content of the law (legal) or natural law (rationality). A specific individual leader does not get entitled to obedience by the people—whether charismatic or traditional—but a set of uniform principles is put at his/her disposal. According to Weber, bureaucracy (political or economic) was the best example of legal-rational authority. This kind of authority is commonly found in the modern state, city governments, private and public corporations, and many voluntary associations. Rational-legal authority or legitimate domination resting on 'rational grounds—resting on a belief in the legality of enacted rules and the right of those elevated to authority under such rules to issue commands' (Weber, p. 215).

It is stated to subsist upon a faith in the legality patterns of normative rules and the right of those elevated to the authority under such rules to issue commands. It might also be stated that rational legitimacy—identified with legality by Weber—is the only kind of legitimacy to survive in the contemporary world. All the bearers of the power of command are legitimated in so far as these correspond with the norms.

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There are numerous ways through which legal authority may establish. These are:

- Systems of convention
- Laws and regulation evolve in various societies
- Various principles of legality occurring around

The evolution of law in the West goes on to establish a legal system which ensures that there is a rule of law, written legal codes, legal rights and rules, and the 'professionalized administration of justice by persons who have received their legal training formally and systematically' (Ritzer, p. 129).

As the political or legal system develops in this logical way, authority adopts a legal shape. Those governing or ruling either possess, or seem to possess, a lawful legal right to do so. The subordinates within this system recognize the legality of the rulers, with a belief that they possess the lawful right to exercise power. Those with power then use it on the basis of this right of legitimacy.

As the rational legal system develops, there has to be a political system that becomes rationalized in a similar manner. The constitutions, codified documents and established offices, streamlined means of representation, regular elections and political procedures are the basic elements of this systematization. These are developed in opposition to earlier systems like monarchies or other traditional forms, where there are no established sets of rules. This rational-legal form of authority might be challenged by the ones who are in a subordinate position. This opposition is usually not likely to bring about dramatic changes in the system's nature very rapidly.

Weber stated that in future the rational-legal types of authority will become more and more dominant. A charismatic leader or movement may occupy the scene, but the predominant tendency will be for the organizations to become more routinized, rational and bureaucratic in nature. The legal authority can be interpreted in this sense. In contemporary societies, authority is in big part exercised on the basis of bureaucracies.

Inter-relationships between Traditional, Charismatic and Rational-Legal Authority

Weber's theory of authority is very comprehensive and elaborate in nature. Weber and several other political sociologists have denoted various interesting relationships and processes taking place between the different types. The three types of authority may be consolidated by the characteristics that distinguish them from others.

- Charismatic authority is dynamic (unlike tradition) and non-rational (again, unlike legal-rational).
- Traditional authority is impersonal (unlike charisma) and non-rational (unlike legal-rational).
- Legal-rational authority is dynamic (unlike tradition) and impersonal (unlike charisma).

However, Blau (1974) stated that 'traditional authority is un-dynamic, charismatic authority is personal, and legal-rational is rational'. The possibility of retaining a specific type of authority might depend on the ability of that authority system to maintain the features which make it exceptional and reject the characteristics that make it more beneficial for another type of authority.

Further, it has been observed that a specific kind of authority may lose its power to—and hence transition into—other kind of authority in the following manner. For

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instance, revolutionary ideals may be advocated by a charismatic leader or the logical pursuit of ends through abstract formal principles can both deteriorate traditional authority. The revolutionary charismatic movements may be crystallized into a traditional order or bureaucratized into a logical formal organization. Ultimately, the illogical forces and powers of tradition or charisma may lessen the position of legal-rational authority. It has also been observed that Weber's three kinds of authority are comparable to his three categories of inequality: (i) class, (ii) status groups and (iii) parties. Traditional authority is the basis for status groups. Charismatic authority depends on a market scheme (like the potential for life chances), and Weber viewed it to be the result of class. Ultimately, parties are the codification of legal-rational authority, particularly in the case of bureaucracies.

Distinction between Power, Authority and Legitimacy

The expression 'authority' stands for an abstract concept possessing both sociological and psychological components. Hence it is very difficult to differentiate these concepts. In fact, the ideas of power, authority and legitimacy are basically interrelated. It is a concern not just in the abstract sense in terms of how these three are related, but also in the concrete since scholars themselves are usually accountable for entangling them. One is defined as the function of the other and vice-versa till the reader doesn't understand where to turn anymore to get help.

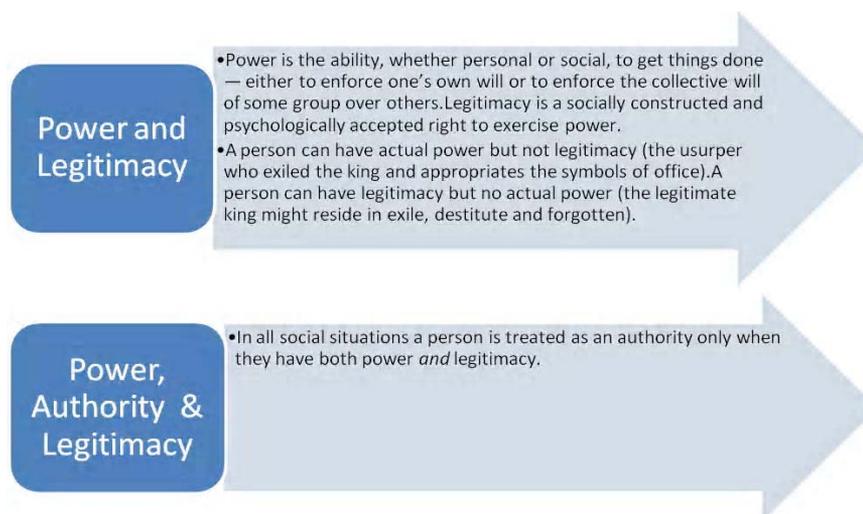


Fig. 1.2 Distinctions between Power, Authority and Legitimacy

1.5 SUMMARY

- Karl Marx was born in Trier, Prussia, on 15 May 1818. His father, a lawyer, provided the family with a fairly typical middle class existence.
- Marx married in 1843 and soon thereafter left Germany for the more liberal atmosphere of Paris.
- There he continued to grapple with the ideas of Hegel and the young Hegelians, but he also encountered two new sets of ideas—French socialism and English political economy.
- While Marx and Engels shared a theoretical orientation, there were many differences between the two men. Marx tended to be a highly abstract thinker, a disorderly intellectual and very oriented to his family.

Check Your Progress

15. In what way can legal authority be established?
16. What is the difference between traditional authority and charismatic authority?

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- Engels was a practical thinker, a neat and tidy businessman. They collaborated on books and articles and worked together in radical organization.
- In 1849, Marx moved to London, and, in light of the failure of the political revolutions of 1848, he began to withdraw from active revolutionary activity and to move into serious and detailed research on the workings conditions under capitalism.
- Marxism is a fundamentally materialist philosophy because the foundation of it is the belief that the overall account of everything is matter which is characteristic of reality.
- Marx and Engels began with the impression that everything in reality is a union of opposites. As a case in point, the main feature of electricity is a positive and negative charge.
- The argument of Marx talked about Epicurus and Democritus atomism, which is regarded at the same time as the founder, along with stoicism, of materialist viewpoint.
- Althusser tried to tone the Marxist thought of 'contradiction' by making use of the notion of 'overdetermination' from psychoanalysis.
- Marx's adherence to this notion of freedom is explicit: to be free 'in the materialistic sense' is to be 'free not through the negative power of avoiding this and that, but through the positive might of making one's true individuality count'.
- With the development of commodities, arrives the process labelled by Marx as the fetishism of commodities. The basis of this process is the labour which gives commodities their value.
- Marx also analysed the process by which private property becomes reified capitalism. In his view, of course private property, like the other structure components of capitalism, is derived from the labour of workers.
- The sociological origin of class, every time it needs to set up Marxist identification, forever turns into 'economic-determinist'. This is for the reason that the single 'indicator' of class link ('class' at this point being viewed again as a position or collectivity of people) is, according to Marx's work, the universal bonding to the 'means of production'.
- Marx did not confine himself to literary work, but was an active participant and leader in the struggles of the working-class of his day. His efforts saw him deported and /or jailed on a number of occasions and he had to settle in London to avoid continued persecution.
- According to Max Weber power is an aspect of social relationships and refers to the likelihood of imposing one's will upon the behaviour of another person(s).
- As we can notice in Weber's ideology, any discourse of power takes us to the questions about its legitimacy. According to Weber, legitimacy constitutes the core of authority. He said that in any type of legitimate dominion, legitimacy is based on belief and elicits obedience.
- Weber demarcates three fundamental types of legitimate domination: (i) traditional, (ii) charismatic and (iii) legal or rational.
- These three forms do not comprise the entirety of domination types but they represent how it is feasible for some individuals to exercise power over others.

1.6 ANSWERS TO ‘CHECK YOUR PROGRESS’

*Karl Marx and Max Weber :
Seminal Ideas*

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1. Political Sociology is a sub discipline within the broader framework of Sociology. It deals with the social circumstances of politics, that is, how politics is shaped by and shapes other events in societies. Political sociology seeks to understand the process of interaction between government and society, decision-making authorities and conflicting social forces and interests. It is the study of interactions and linkages between politics and society; between the political system and its social, economic and cultural environment.
2. The different approaches are:
 - Classical Approach
 - Behavioural Approach
3. Karl Marx was born in Trier, Prussia, on 15 May 1818.
4. Capitalist society is characterized fundamentally by the fact that the means of production are privately owned by a minority of the members of society who, acting largely independently of one another, tend to employ these means in such a way as to maximize the profit each earns on the investment.
5. Marxism is a fundamentally materialist philosophy because the foundation of it is the belief that the overall account of everything is matter which is characteristic of reality.
6. The fetishism of commodities comprises the process by which actors forget that it is their labour which provides the commodities their value.
7. One of these types of circulation—Money-Commodities-Money (M-C-M)—is characteristic of capital; the other—Commodities-Money-Commodities (C-M-C)—is not.
8. Reification can be thought of as the process of coming to believe that humanly created social forms are natural, universal and absolute and, as a result, those social forms do in fact acquire these characteristics.
9. The Asiatic mode of production characterizes a civilization different from the West. The Asiatic mode of production does not seem to be distinguished by the subordination of slaves, serfs or wage earners to a class possessing the means of production, but by the subordination of all the workers to the State.
10. The second major working class struggle of their time was the Paris Commune—the first time in history when the working class seized state power.
11. According to Marx, a philosopher is an ‘alienated human being’, a kind of theologian, who is dealing with ideal entities as if they had some existence separate from the material life of human beings.
12. According to Max Weber power is an aspect of social relationships and refers to the likelihood of imposing one’s will upon the behaviour of another person(s).
13. Traditional authority is based on a faith in the sacred nature of long-held traditions and in the legality of those who exercise authority, e.g., the authority of the eldest individual the family.
14. Two basic elements of domination are:
 - Deliberate conformity or obedience means that individuals are not compelled to obey, rather do it voluntarily.
 - Those who obey, do so since they have an interest in doing so, or at any rate believe that they have such an interest.

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15. There are numerous ways through which legal authority may establish. These are:
 1. Systems of convention
 2. Laws and regulation evolve in various societies
 3. Various principles of legality occurring around
16. 'Traditional authority is undynamic while charismatic authority is personal, and legal-rational is rational'.

1.7 KEY TERMS

- **Dialectical materialism:** It is a philosophy of science and nature, based on the writings of Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels, and developed largely in Russia and the Soviet Union.
- **Reification:** In Marxism, it is the *thingification* of social relations or of those involved in them, to the extent that the nature of social relationships is expressed by the relationships between traded objects

1.8 QUESTIONS AND EXERCISES

Short-Answer Questions

1. What are the dialectics in dialectical materialism?
2. What are the Laws of Opposites as developed by Marx and Engels?
3. State the process by which private property becomes reified capitalism?
4. What according to Weber are the two discrete sources of power?

Long-Answer Questions

1. Discuss Marx's adherence to the notion of freedom? Why did Marx criticize capitalism?
2. For Marxists, class was considered as a societal bonding 'like capital itself'. Discuss.
3. Discuss in detail the three types of legitimate domination espoused by Weber.

1.9 FURTHER READING

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UNIT-2 EMILE DURKHEIM AND TALCOTT PARSONS: SOCIOLOGICAL IDEAS

Emile Durkheim and Talcott Parsons: Sociological Ideas

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Structure

- 2.0 Introduction
- 2.1 Unit Objectives
- 2.2 Sociological Ideas of Emile Durkheim
 - 2.2.1 Sociology as a Science
- 2.3 Sociological Ideas of Talcott Parsons
 - 2.3.1 Talcott Parsons' Systematic View of Society
- 2.4 Summary
- 2.5 Answers To 'Check Your Progress'
- 2.6 Key Terms
- 2.7 Questions and Exercises
- 2.8 Further Reading

2.0 INTRODUCTION

Both Durkheim and Parsons saw the people of society as passive 'actors' to the ever-changing social structures. Durkheim viewed the continuing changes in the division of labour and differentiation in society as part of a process that led to the increase in solidarity and social density in society. Parsons on the other hand created a system of two subsystems, – economic and cultural. By simplifying the system, Parsons avoided the unnecessary compounding of different problems.

In this unit, you will study about the sociological ideas of Durkheim and Parsons, analyse sociology as a science and also understand various theories of Parsons and Durkheim.

2.1 UNIT OBJECTIVES

After going through this unit, you will be able to:

- Describe the theories of organization with reference to Emile Durkheim and Talcott Parsons
- Discuss the sociological ideas of Durkheim and Parsons
- Analyse sociology as a science
- Discuss Durkheim's study of suicide
- Describe Parson's theory of social systems

2.2 SOCIOLOGICAL IDEAS OF EMILE DURKHEIM

Emile Durkheim was born on 15 April 1858 in Epinal, France. He was the descendent of a long line of rabbis and himself studied to be a rabbi. However, by the time he was in his teens, he rejected his heritage and became an agnostic. Now onwards, his lifelong interest in religion was academic instead of theological. He was not satisfied with his religious training. The same was the case with his general education and its focus on literary and aesthetic matters. He wanted schooling in scientific methods and in the moral principles required to direct the social life. He did not opt for a traditional academic career in philosophy and instead strived to acquire the scientific training for contributing to the moral guidance of society. Even though he was interested in scientific sociology, there were no specific fields of sociology at that time. So between 1882 and 1887 he taught philosophy in a number of provincial schools.

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His appetite for science was whetted further by a trip to Germany, where he was exposed to the scientific psychology being pioneered by Wilhelm Wundt. In the years immediately after his visit to Germany, Durkheim published a good deal of works, basing his concepts, in part, on his experience there. These publications helped him gain a position in the department of philosophy at the University of Bordeaux in 1887. There Durkheim offered the first course in social science in a French University. This was a particularly impressive accomplishment because only a decade earlier, a furor had erupted in a French University by the mentioned Auguste Comte in a student dissertation. Durkheim's main responsibility, however, was the teaching of courses in education to school teachers, and his most important course was the area of moral education. His goal was to communicate a moral system to the educators who he hoped would then pass it to young people in an effort to help reverse the moral degeneration he saw around him in French Society.

The years that followed were characterized by a series of personal successes for Durkheim. In 1893 he published his French doctoral thesis, *The Division of Labour in Society*, as well as thesis on Montesquieu. His major methodological statement, *The Rules of Sociological Method* appeared in 1895, followed (in 1897) by his empirical application of those methods in the study *Suicide*. By 1896 he had become a full-time professor at Bordeaux. In 1902 he was called to the famous French university, the Sorbonne, and in 1906 he was named as 'the professor of the science of education', a title which was changed in 1913 to 'professor of the science of education and sociology'. His other famous work, *The Elementary Forms of Religious Life*, was published in 1912.

Presently, Durkheim is most often thought of as a political conservative, and his influence within sociology certainly has been a conservative one. However during his time, he was considered as a liberal. This was exemplified by the active public role he played in the defense of Alfred Dreyfus, and Jewish army captain whose court-martial for treason was felt by many to be anti-Semitic.

Durkheim was deeply offended by the Dreyfus affair, particularly its anti-Semitism. However, Durkheim did not attribute this anti-Semitism to racism among the French people. Characteristically, he saw it as a symptom of the moral sickness confronting French society as a whole. He said:

When society undergoes suffering it feels the need to find someone whom it can hold responsible for its sickness, on whom it can avenge its misfortunes; and those against whom public opinion already discriminates are naturally designated for this role. These are in pariahs who serve as expiatory victims. What confirms me in this interpretation is the way in which the result of Dreyfus's trial was greeted in 1894. There was a surge of joy in the boulevards. People celebrated as a triumph what should have been a cause for public mourning. At least they knew whom to blame for the charge: economic troubles and moral distress in which they lived. The trouble came from the Jews. The charge had been officially proved. By this very fact alone, things already seemed to be getting better and people felt consoled.

Thus, Durkheim's interest in the Dreyfus affair stemmed from his deep and lifelong interest in morality and the moral crisis confronting modern society. To Durkheim, the answer to the Dreyfus affair and crises like it lay in ending the moral disorder in society. Since it could not be done quickly or easily, Durkheim suggested government efforts to show the public how it is being misled. He urged people to 'have the courage to proclaim aloud what they think, and to unite together in order to achieve victory in the struggle against public madness' (Lukes, 1972; 347).

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‘Durkheim’s (1928/1962) interest in socialism is also taken as evidence against the idea that he was a conservative, but his kind of socialism was very different from that of an out-of-date hypotheses’ (Lukes, 1972; 323). To Durkheim, socialism represented a movement aimed at the moral regeneration of society through scientific morality; and he was not interested in short-term political methods or the economic aspects of socialism. He did not see the proletariat as the salvation of society, and he was greatly opposed to agitation or violence. Socialism for Durkheim was very different from what we usually think of as socialism; it simply represented a system in which the moral principles discovered by scientific sociology were to be applied.

Durkheim, had a profound influence on the development of sociology, but his influence was not restricted to it only. Much of his impact on other fields came through the journal *L’Annee Sociologique*, which he founded in 1898. An intellectual circle arose around the journal with Durkheim at its centre. Through it, he and his ideas influenced such fields as anthropology, history, linguistics and—somewhat ironically, considering his early attacks on the field—psychology.

Durkheim died on 15 November 1917, as a celebrated figure in French intellectual circles. However, it was not until over twenty years later, with the publication of Talcott Parsons’ *The Structure of Social Action* (1937), that his work became a significant influence on American sociology.

2.2.1 Sociology as a Science

The basic feature of Durkheim’s sociology is its steady foundation in a very substantial and definite epistemology. Actually, the intellectual career of the French sociologist was highlighted by the incessant effort to build a sociological science with a solid epistemological foundation (in fact, the epistemological concerns form the core of his research interests). In Durkheim’s sociology, we can spot two general principles: (i) sociology must be a science with a similar methodology to the physical-natural sciences on the basis of positivism, and (ii) this positivist science of society is opposed to philosophy and psychology.

The positivism newly formulated by one of the founders of Sociology, Auguste Comte, is taken as a model of ‘science’ by Durkheim. It is essential to keep in mind that Comte left a huge influence on Durkheim’s sociology. One must not forget also that Comte’s thought defended a positive progression of all the sciences whose last stage will be sociology (to what initially he gave the name of social physics)—the most sophisticated positive science, because it integrated in its study object (the man like social being or the Humanity) all the contributions of the preceding sciences.

Durkheim assumes the science to deal with ‘things, rather than with ‘ideas’ or ‘concepts’. Hence his initial point is usually the sensation, the sensitive information, the exterior of the things: ‘Since it is for the sensation for which is given us the exterior of the things, it therefore can be said in short: science, in order to be objective, it should start, not from concepts that have been formed without her, but from sensation. It is of the sensitive data of those that it should take the elements of its initial definitions directly.’ Certainly this positivism is what leads to the formulation of one of his most popular and polemic epistemological ‘rules’ (*regles*): the social fact (*faits*) should be considered as ‘things’. When the French sociologist uses the expression ‘thing’, he does this in its purely realistic sense: ‘It is a thing, indeed, all what is given, all what offers or, rather, it is imposed to the observation. To treat the phenomena like things, it is to treat them in quality of data that constitute the starting point of science.’ So for Durkheim the expression ‘thing’ does not possess a ‘material’ meaning as it was said

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usually. In fact, the use of the expression ‘thing’ has as a substantial potential to be opposed to ‘idea’. The reason being not that sociology should deal with ‘material things’, but because sociology has to do away with the ‘preconceived ideas’. Hence, it needs to move away from a sociological idealism, which would be restricted to an analysis of a priori ideas that are taken as the beginning point of research and according to which needs are to be adjusted to the reality. In spite of the semantic ambiguity of the expression ‘thing’, Durkheim claims it has two goals:

- Firstly, following the positivist paradigm of the physical-natural sciences, ensure a clearly objective and truly scientific character of sociology. Sociology—like physics or astronomy—takes as the subject matter for its researchers a set of evidently limited facts which can be, so to speak, ‘indicated by the finger’ (*montrer du doigt*). Therefore, sociology does not deal with illusions or speculative frenzies.
- Secondly, what more clearly makes the term ‘thing’ clear is the fact that the sociologist arrives at a reality—social and historically built—which has crystallized and that, therefore, is imposed on us. Surely, the social reality is constructed; however it becomes reified and ends up compelling or constraining us. It is the real meaning of ‘thing’: a social fact that, although it is created by human, it comes to us given as such and the sociologist just has to scrutinize it, to describe and explain it. From a methodological point of view, the crucial thing is that—according to Durkheim—sociology, like any other science, is based on the ‘observation’. So the social facts, considered as ‘things’, have a double quality perceptible through scientific observation: ‘They are external to the individual and they have a coercive character over him.’

Durkheim’s aim was to preserve philosophy in the secondary education. However, for this he wanted philosophy not to be just abstract literature (*littérature abstraite*); a mere rhetoric based on an artist talent ‘that consists of combing the ideas as the artist combines the image and the forms, for seducing the pleasure and not satisfying the reason, for waking up aesthetic impressions and not expressing things’. He wanted philosophy to become more scientific by moving away from metaphysical deductions. In fact, rejection of metaphysics is one of fundamental guiding principles of Durkheim epistemology and it will be made clear in the study of religion, with an emphatic denial of the supernatural, as we will see onwards in the unit. Lastly, his disagreement with philosophy has an objective to make sociology something more than an unclear social philosophy meant to give a positivist consistency to the study of social facts.

The Durkheim apprehension about the ground of morality led him to presume—because of his rejection of posing the problem from a supernatural or metaphysical point of view—a social reality which was playing the role of moral ground: like Kant who introduced God as the ‘postulate of practical reason’.

The individual considers the social facts to be external and coercive because they originate neither from him/her nor his/her authority, but from society as a *sui generis* reality. Although Durkheim does not deny that society is made up of people: truly, society has a ‘substratum’ in the form of individuals but is not reduced to them: ‘If it is possible to say, in certain way, that the collective representations are exterior to the individual consciences, it is because they do not derive from isolate individuals, but of his grouping; what is very different.’ The model he uses for exemplifying his thesis is that of the chemical synthesis, which is not reduced to the sum of its constituent elements but provides new properties to the making-up parts. It is obvious that in the sociologism there is a fundamental conflict with Gabriel Tarde, who limited sociology to the study of the individual consciences and the collective behaviour to the social

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contagion through imitation. Durkheim aimed that sociology should have a proper subject matter different from psychology and for it he introduces his theory of society as *sui generis* reality and, therefore, as the creator of the social facts which sociology studies.

Division of Labour and Forms of Solidarity

As discussed earlier, the first major book of Durkheim was *De la division du travail social*, which was his doctoral thesis also and was highly influenced by Auguste Comte. The relation between individuals and the collective is the theme of this book which seeks to know 'how can a multiplicity of individuals achieve what is the condition of social existence namely a consensus?' Durkheim states the distinction between the two forms of solidarity, mechanical solidarity and organic solidarity as the answer to this question. In 'mechanical solidarity', resemblance is the main feature. Individuals differ from one another as little as possible in mechanical-solidarity-based society. The members of this solidarity, of the same collectivity, feel the same emotions, cherish the same values and hold same things sacred, and therefore resemble each other.

On the contrary, in organic solidarity, consensus is on the coherent unity of the collectivity which happens by expressing differentiation. In this solidarity, the individuals are different and the reason for the consensus is the difference of the individuals. Why does Durkheim call solidarity based on, or resulting from, differentiation of the individuals, organic? Here living organism is compared to this form of solidarity. For instance, heart and lungs are different but are extremely essential for the proper functioning of the organism.

Durkheim thought that in the two forms of solidarity, the societies which were called primitive during Durkheim's time are today characterized by the predominance of mechanical solidarity. As the individuals of a clan can be interchanged, so the individual does not come first, historically; the awareness of oneself as an individual is born of the historical development of the collective self, according to Durkheim. In primitive societies each man is the same as the others; in the consciousness of each, collective feelings predominate in number and intensity.

According to Durkheim a segment is like a social group in which the individual is tightly placed and this segment is locally situated and relatively isolated as it leads its own life. The main feature of the segment is mechanical solidarity of resemblance; and is separated from the outside world. This segment is self-sufficient having little communication with what is outside. Segmental organization contradicts the phenomena of differentiation designated by the term 'organic solidarity'. It is possible that in certain societies with very advanced form of economic division of labour segmental structure may still persist.

In continuation of local autonomies and in the force of custom, the idea of segmental structure is not, therefore, recognized with solidarity of resemblance. It implies the force of tradition. The concept of segmental structure is not, therefore, identified with solidarity of resemblance. It implies the comparative segregation and self-sufficiency of a variety of elements, which are comparable to the rings of an earthworm. Thus one can imagine a complete society, extended out over a large space, which would be nothing more than a combination of segments, all alike, all autarchic. One can visualize the combination of a large number of clans, or tribes, or regionally independent groups, perhaps even subject to a central authority, without the unity of resemblance of the segment being disturbed, without that demarcation of function characteristic of organic solidarity operating on the level of the whole society.

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The division of labour which Durkheim is trying to understand and define is not to be confused with the one envisaged by economists. Demarcation of occupations and multiplication of industrial activities are an expression, as it were, of the social differentiation which Durkheim regards as taking precedence. The beginning of social differentiation is the collapse of mechanical solidarity and of segmental structures.

Collective consciousness is 'the body of beliefs and sentiments common to the average members of a society'. Durkheim states that the system of these belief and sentiments has an existence of its own. The collective consciousness, whose continuation depends on the sentiments and beliefs present in individual consciousness, is nevertheless separable, at least logically, from individual consciousness; it evolves according to its own laws; it is not just the expression or result of individual consciousness.

The collective consciousness varies in degree and force from one social order to another. In societies wherever mechanical solidarity is dominant, the collective consciousness embraces the greater part of individual consciousness. In societies of which difference between individuals is a trait, everyone is free to believe, to desire and to act according to his own choices in a large number of circumstances. In societies with mechanical solidarity, the greater part of existence is governed by social imperatives and interdicts. At this time in Durkheim's deliberation, the adjective 'social' means only that these prohibitions and imperatives are forced, on average, on the majority of the members of the group; that they begin with the group, and not with the individual, and that the individual submits to these imperatives and restrictions as to a higher authority.

The force of this collective consciousness coincides with its degree. In primitive societies, not only the resentment against the crime, i.e., against violation of the social imperative, the collective consciousness is also particularized. Each of the acts of social existence, especially religious rites, is characterized by an intense accuracy. It is the details of what must be done and what ought to be thought which are forced by the collective consciousness.

On the other hand, Durkheim finds in organic solidarity a lessening of the sphere of existence held by the collective consciousness, a declining of collective reaction against infringement of prohibition, and above all a greater margin for the individual analysis of social imperative.

Let us take a simple example. What justice demands in a primitive society will be determined by collective sentiments with a great accuracy? What justice demands in societies where division of labour is highly developed is formulated by the collective consciousness only in a concept and, so to speak, general manner. In the first example, justice means that a given individual receives a given thing; in the second, what justice demands is that each receives his due. But of what does this 'due consist'? Of many probable things, no one of which is in absolute sense free from doubt or unambiguously fixed.

From this sort of scrutiny, Durkheim derived a proposal which he maintained all his life, a thought which is, as it were at the core of his entire sociology, that is to say, that individual is born of society, and not society of individual. The historical priority of societies in which the individuals resemble one another, are so to speak lost in the whole, over societies whose members have acquired both awareness in their individuality and the capability to express it. Collectivist societies, societies in which each one resembles everyone else, come first in time. From this historical priority there arises a rationale of priority in the justification of social phenomena. Many

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economists will explain the division of labour by the gain that individual find out in dividing the task among them so as to increase the amount produced of the collectivity. However, this clarification in terms of understanding of individual behaviour strikes Durkheim as a reversal of a true order. To hold that men separated the work between themselves, and assigned everyone his own job in order to increase the usefulness of the collective output, is to presume that individuals are different from one another and conscious of their difference before social differentiation. If Durkheim's historical idea is true, their awareness of individuality could not survive before organic solidarity and division of labour. Therefore, the rational pursuit of increased output cannot explain social differentiation, since this pursuit presupposes that very social differentiation which it should explain. The outline of what is to be one of Durkheim's central ideas throughout his career—the idea with which he defines sociology—namely, the priority of the whole over the parts, or again, the irreducibility of the social entity to the sum of its elements, the explanation of the elements by the entity and not of the entity by the elements.

In his study of the division of labour, Durkheim discovered two vital ideas: the historical priority of societies in which individual consciousness is entirely outside itself, and the collectivity, and not the state of the collectivity by individual phenomena. The division of labour, Durkheim talks about is an arrangement of the society as a whole, of which technical or economic division of labour is just an expression. To study a social phenomenon scientifically, one must study it without bias, i.e., from the outside; one must find the method by which the states of awareness not directly apprehensible may be recognized and understood. These symptoms or expressions of the phenomena of consciousness are found in legal phenomena in *De la division du travail social*.

Durkheim differentiates two kinds of law, each of which is an attribute of one of the types of solidarity—repressive law, which punishes offenses or crimes; and restitutive or cooperative law, whose spirit is not to punish violations of social rules, but to restore things to order, when an offense has been committed or to organize cooperation among the individuals.

Repressive law is the catalog of the collective consciousness in societies with mechanical solidarity, since by the very fact that it multiplies punishments, it reveals the force of widespread sentiments, their scope and their particularization. The more prevalent, strong and particularized the collective conscience, the more crimes there will be; crime being defined simply as the progression of an imperative or prohibition. A crime, in the sociological sense of the term, is simply an act forbidden by the collective consciousness. That this act seems innocent in the eyes of observers located several centuries after the event or belonging to different societies, is of no importance. In a sociological study, crime can only be defined from the outside and in term of the condition of the collective consciousness of the society in question. This is the prototype of the objective and therefore of the relativists' definition of crime. Sociologically, to label someone as a criminal does not mean that we considered him guilty in relation to God or to our conception of justice. The criminal is simply the man in society who has refused to obey the laws of the city. In this sense, it was proudly just to consider Socrates as a criminal.

Having outlined the theory of crime, Durkheim in addition offers a theory of punishments. He dismisses the classic explanations wherein the function of punishments is to prevent the recurrence of the guilty act. According to him, the purpose and meaning of punishment is not to frighten and deter. The rationale of punishment is to

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satisfy the common consciousness. The act committed by one of the members of the collectivity offends the collective consciousness which demands compensation, and the punishment of the guilty is the compensation offered to the feelings of all. Durkheim considered this theory of punishments more satisfactory than the rationalist explanation of punishment as prevention. It is probable that in sociological terms he is right to a great degree. However, we must not ignore the fact that if this is so, if punishment is above all compensation offered to the collective consciousness, the status of justice and authority of punishments are not improved.

The second kind of law is the one Durkheim usually refers to as restitutive. The point is no longer to punish but to reestablish the condition of things as it should have been in harmony with justice. A man who has not settled his debt must pay it. Nonetheless, this restitutive law, of which commercial law is an example, is not the only type of law characteristics of societies with organic solidarity. At any rate, we must understand restitutive law in a very broad sense whereby it includes all aspects of legislation aiming to bring upon cooperation among individuals, administrative law and constitutional law which belong to the same token to the group of cooperative legislation. They are less the expression of the sentiments common to a collectivity than the organization of regular and ordered coexistence among individual who are already differentiated.

Modern society is not based on agreement anymore than the division of labour is explained by the rational decision of individual to increase the common productivity by dividing the task among them. If modern society were a contractualist society, then it would explain in terms of individual behaviour, and it is exactly the opposite of what Durkheim desires to show. While opposing contractualists like Spencer, as well as the economists, Durkheim does not reject that in modern societies an increasing responsibility is indeed played by contracts freely accomplished among individuals. However, this contractual agreement is a derivative of the arrangement of the society and a derivative of the state of the collective consciousness in modern society. In order for an increasingly wider sphere to exist in which individuals may freely reach agreement between themselves society must foremost have a legal structure which authorizes free choice on the part of individual. In other words, inter-individual contracts take place within a social background which are not determined by the persons themselves. It is the division of labour by differentiation which is the original condition for the existence of sphere of agreement. Contracts are accomplished between individuals, but the order and set of laws according to which these agreements are concluded are determinant by the legislation which in turn expresses the idea shared by the whole society of the just and the unjust, the permissible and the prohibited.

The society in which the organic type of solidarity exists is not therefore defined by the replacement of agreement for community. Nor is modern society defined by the substitution of the industrial type for the military type. Modern society is defined first and foremost by the phenomenon of social demarcation of which contractualism is the result and appearance. Now we must look for the reason of the phenomenon we are studying, the reason of the organic solidarity or of social differentiation scene as an arrangement characteristic of modern societies. It is not *a priori*, and it may even be unsightly that one can indeed find the reason of the phenomenon which is not simple and isolable but which is rather an aspect of the whole of society. Durkheim, however, wants to decide the reason of phenomenon through which he has examined the growth of division of labour in modern societies.

As we have seen, we are dealing here with a basically social phenomenon. When the phenomenon to be explained is essentially social, the reason, in harmony with the

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principal of homogeneity of cause and effect, also ought to be social. Thus we do away with the individualist explanation. Curiously, Durkheim gets rid of an explanation which Comte had also considered as eliminated, i.e., the explanation whereby vital factor in social growth was held to be boredom, or the effort to overcome or avoid boredom. He also discusses the search for happiness as an explanation, for, he says, nothing proves that men in modern societies are happier than men in archaic societies.

Division of labour cannot be explained by boredom or by the chase of happiness or by the increase of pleasure or by the wish to increase the productivity of collective labour. Division of collective labour, being a social phenomenon, can only be explained by another social phenomenon is a mixture of the quantity, the material density and moral density of the society.

The quantity of a society is simply the number of individuals belonging to a particular society collectivity. However, quantity only is not the basis of social differentiation. In order for quantity—increase in number—to bring about differentiation, there must also be both material and moral density. Density in the material sense is the number of individuals on a particular ground surface. Moral density, it seems, is approximately the intensity of communication between individuals, the intensity of interaction. The extra communication there is between individuals, the extra they work together, the extra trade or competition they have with one another, the greater the density together; and social differentiation will result.

Durkheim describes an idea made fashionable by Darwin in the second half of the 19th century—the fight for survival. Why does the growing amount of interaction between individuals, itself created by material density, produce social differentiation? Because the more individuals there are trying to live together, the more intense the struggle for survival. Social demarcation is, so to speak, the peaceful way out to the fight for survival. Instead of somebody getting eliminated, so that others may survive, as in the animal kingdom, social differentiation enables a greater number of individuals to survive by differentiation. Each man ceases to be in rivalry with all, each man is only in opposition with a few of his fellows, each man is in a position to inhabit his place, to play his role, to execute visuals once they are no longer alike but different: each contributing on his own unusual manner to the survival of all.

This type of explanation is in keeping with what Durkheim considered a tenet of the sociological method: the clarification of a social phenomenon by another social phenomenon, rather than the justification of a social phenomenon by individual phenomena.

The Study of Suicide

Durkheim's best known book is his study of suicide. His aim was not only to provide an account of suicide but also to illustrate how his methodology could be applied to even the most individual of acts. Durkheim in this book showed that to what extent the individuals are determined by the collective reality. Durkheim demonstrated that the taking of one's life, apparently the most individual and personal of acts, was socially patterned. He showed that social forces existing outside the individual shaped the likelihood that a person would commit suicide.

We can define suicide as a positive or negative act performed by the victim himself and which strives to produce a result directly or indirectly in the form of death. An example of a 'positive act' would be to shoot oneself in the temple or to hang oneself. And an example to show that suicide is committed in a negative act would be to remain in a burning building or to refuse all nourishment so as to starve oneself to

Check Your Progress

1. When was Emile Durkheim born?
2. What is the basic feature of Durkheim's philosophy?
3. Durkheim differentiates between two kinds of law. Name them.

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death. According to Durkheim's definition, we can also take an example of a hunger strike carried out until death as suicide. The distinction between directly or indirectly refers to the comparison between positive and negative. Death is produced directly if a gunshot is put in the temple; but if someone refuses to eat anything or if someone deliberately stays in a burning building then these negative acts would bring about the desired result, i.e., death, indirectly or in the near future.

The study of suicide deals both with a pathological aspect of modern societies and with a phenomenon illuminating in the most striking way the relation of the individual to the collectivity. Individuals are determined by the collective reality as anxiously shown by Durkheim. An extraordinary force is now being related to this phenomenon of suicide, since the fact of taking one's own life is considered to be most supremely individual. According to Durkheim if he found out that the society is governed by this phenomenon, then he would have proved it with the truth of his own thesis by the very case unfavourable to it. Durkheim says that it is the society which governs the solitary act of a desperate individual who wants to end his life at any cost. The concept of suicide is not only recognized as such, but taking an example of an officer who lets himself be blown up rather than surrender his fosters on his ship can be concluded as suicide. Suicide can be regarded as the instances of voluntary death surrounded by glory and aura of heroism. And these so-called common suicides are not inclined to class when viewed for the first time by us, like the trapped criminal, the ruined banker and those of the despairing lover.

Now taking a look at the statistics after defining the phenomenon, proceeding to the second stage. The suicide rate is relatively constant when its frequency is studied in a given population. And this characteristic can be found in a region, or a province, or a whole society. According to Durkheim's analysis, suicide rate can be termed as the social phenomenon. The distinction between relation of the social phenomenon (the suicide rates) and the individual phenomenon (suicide) is the most important thing from the point of view of theory.

Psychological explanation is dismissed by Durkheim. However, he says that there is psychological predisposition to suicide, and this predisposition can be explained in psychological or psychopathological terms. Individuals suffering from brain disorders are more likely to kill themselves under certain given circumstances. Nonetheless, it is the social force that determines the suicide not psychological as said by Durkheim. The distinction must be considered carefully between social determination and psychological predisposition. The scientific discussion will focus on these two terms.

To prove the formula—psychological predisposition, sociological determination—classical method of concomitant variations is used by Durkheim. He also tries to prove that there is no correlation between the frequency of psychopathological states and that of suicides and he also examines certain variations in the suicide rate in different populations. No correlation is found between the hereditary tendencies and the suicide rate. The hypothesis that the efficient cause of suicide is transmitted by heredity can be hardly compared with the increase in the percentage of suicides with age. Interpretation of cases of suicide in the same family can be denied in this way. Nonetheless, a predisposition to suicide may be transmitted by heredity as there were cases of multiple suicides in the same family. However, Durkheim dismisses both the hypotheses and the interpretation of suicide as deriving from the phenomenon of imitation. The keystone of the social order was considered to be imitation as viewed by Gabriel Tarde. The term imitation consists of three confusing phenomena. Firstly, the mutual sentiments experienced by a large number of people would be called the fusion of consciousness. Revolutionary mob can be taken as the typical example for

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this. The identities of the consciousness of the individuals tend to lose in the revolutionary mob: the emotions felt are same for each one as the next; mutual sentiments are stirred into the individuals. Passion, acts and beliefs belong to each because they belong to all. Collectivity itself is the basis of the phenomenon and not one or more individuals.

However, there is not true fusion of consciousness, as the individual often adapts himself to the collectivity and he behaves like others. The individual wishes simply not to be conspicuous and he yields to social imperatives which are more or less diffused, watered-down form of social imperative that can be taken as fashion. If a person wore a different dress other than what fashion required for that particular season, then he would feel devaluated and humiliated. So, in this case we found that there was submission of the individual to the collective rule instead of having imitation. So, finally we can say the designation imitation is the only strict value in the sense 'and act which has for its immediate antecedent the representation of a similar act, previously performed by another, without the intervention, between representation and execution, of any explicit or implicit intellectual operation relating to the intrinsic character of the act performed'.

The above sentence is the textual quotation. To understand the above lines one needs to refer to the example of an individual who starts coughing and sneezing and a form of contagion is formed in the course of a tedious lecture, and then the individual comes across more or less mechanical reactions which sometimes occur in large gatherings. Contagion and epidemic are taken as two phenomena. These two are typically Durkheim, so the distinction is quite useful. Firstly contagion—as in the case of coughing—should be called an inter-individual one, or even individual phenomenon. This type of phenomenon proceeds from one individual to another. However, as in the case of an epidemic, there is something else besides the process of contagion that comes into play. The epidemic is a collective phenomenon whose basis is the whole of the society but it may be transmitted by contagion.

The phenomenon of imitation is the determining factor in the conception of the suicide rate, as statically analysed by Durkheim after the above formal analysis. The process of refutation is as follows. According to the process, if we consider suicide to be contagion, then we would be able to see the geographical distribution of suicide as shown by a man that the radiation were particularly high in the venture where the suicide rate is higher and it was spreading to other regions. But nothing of this sort is shown in the analyses on the geographical maps of suicide. The region where the suicide rate is particularly low appears next to the region where the suicide rate is particularly high. So, the hypothesis of contagion is thereby incompatible with the irregular distribution of suicide rates. But in certain cases contagion may come into play. Taking an example of a region on the eve of a defeat, when the city is about to be captured; but this phenomenon cannot explain the suicides rate or its variations.

According to Durkheim, incomplete and partial statistics dealing moreover with only small number are taken by him as the suicide statistics. Every year the suicide rate varies from one hundred to three hundred. It is important to have an idea of the magnitude of these figures, for skeptical reasons, the doctors have maintained that the study of variations in the suicide rate is almost without consequence in view of the small numbers considered as well as the possible inaccuracies in the statistics. With a certain number of circumstances, the suicide rate varies as observed by Durkheim, which he then takes into consideration. The statistical correlations can determine the social types of suicides as believed by him.

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There are three types of suicides that Durkheim has defined:

1. Egoist suicide
2. Altruist suicide
3. Anomic suicide

The correlation between the suicide rate and integrating social context like family and religion, is the double form of marriage and children and results in the first type of suicide, i.e., egoist suicide. Generally speaking the suicide rates vary with age, it is found to be higher in men than in women and it also increases with age. According to Durkheim's German statistics, he analysed that the suicide rates also vary with religion. He established that the frequency of suicide in the population of catholic religion is less than that the population of suicide in the population of protestant religion. Going ahead in this topic Durkheim compares the situation between the single or widowed men and women and that of married men and women. Simple statistical methods are used to establishment these comparisons. Frequency of suicides in married and single men of the same age is compared in order to establish the coefficient of preservation as called by Durkheim. As a result of marriage, there is reduction in the frequency of suicide at a given age. Similarly, for single or married women, for widows and widower, he establishes the coefficient of preservation or coefficient of aggravation. According to certain statistics, married women suffer with a coefficient of aggravation; if they are childless, they will not enjoy the coefficient of preservation. And to give it an exact name, today's psychologists have defined this type of situation in women as frustration about not having a child. The disproportion between expectation and fulfillment is too great.

Egoist men and women, who think primarily of themselves only, when they are not integrated into a social group, when the desires that motivate them, are not limited to the measure compatible with human destiny by the social authority of the group. Such persons commit suicide more often than others when they come across these situations. The second type of suicide is the 'altruist suicide'. There are two principle examples given in Durkheim's book. The first example is required by the collectivity, which is observed in ancient societies; that is, after the death of her husband the widow who agrees takes her place on the pyre to be burned alive with her dead husband. In this example, the suicide that is attempted is through the complete disappearance of the individual into group, and the suicide does not take place through excess of individualism. The individual does not even think of asserting his right to live, but instead chooses death in conformity with social imperatives.

Similarity, altruist suicide can be said to be committed by the captain of the ship who chooses not to survive its loss. The individual suppresses his own instinct of self-preservation; he obeys the orders of the group to sacrifice himself to the internalized social imperatives. Taking an example of modern times, we can look at the increase in the member of suicide rate in the professional body, the army. Suicide is committed a little more often by the soldiers than the civilians of the same age and class. Soldiers especially who are non-commissioned officers, or who belong to a strongly integrated group who commit suicide do not come into the category of the egoist suicide. Here commissioned officers are listed because enlisted men may regard their military status as temporary and they may combine obedience with a very great liberty in their evaluation of the system. The final major form of suicide discussed by Durkheim is anomic suicide which interests him the most because of its characteristics of the modern day society. The statistical correlation between frequency of suicide and economic crisis can be indicated by this type of anomic suicide. A tendency in periods of economic crisis is indicated by the statistics. According to the statistical numbers,

one can find a reduction in the frequency of suicides in time of great political events. For example, the number of suicides during war time is smaller.

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During the economic crisis, the frequency of anomic suicide increases; and also with the rise in divorce rates the frequency of suicide goes up. The influence of divorce on both men and women with regard to the frequency of suicide is studied extensively by Durkheim. The divorced woman is less likely to be threatened by suicide as compared to divorced man who is more likely to be threatened by suicide. Because of the tolerance of custom, man retains a certain freedom and finds equilibrium and discipline in marriage. Women on the other hand were more apt to find discipline than freedom in marriage as it was written by Durkheim in a previous article. After divorce the man returns to indiscipline, to the disparity between desires and satisfaction. On the other hand, woman after divorce feels more free and independent, this partly compensates for the loss of familial protection. There is endless competition among individuals as the social existence is not ruled by customs anymore. The expectations are high from life and also there is a great deal of demand from it. The disproportion between the desires and satisfactions is found to be in continual rising mode leading to more sufferings at the mental and physical levels. Therefore, the suicidogenic impulse is on the rise; it is the result of restlessness and dissatisfaction prevailing in the atmosphere.

There is another fourth type of suicide which is mentioned briefly as a footnote in Durkheim's work. This type of suicide is fatalistic suicide. Anomic suicide is more likely to occur in situations in which regulations are too weak, whereas fatalistic suicide is more likely to occur in situations in which regulation is excessive. According to Durkheim, the persons who are more likely to commit fatalistic suicide are the 'persons with futures pitilessly blocked and passions violently choked by oppressive discipline' (1897/1951:276). The perfect example for this type of suicide will be of a slave who takes his own life because of the hopelessness related to the oppressive regulations of his actions.

The causes of suicide are essentially social even if it is an individual phenomenon. There are social forces, 'suicidogenic impulses', occurring through society whose beginning is not from the individual but the collectivity. These forces are real and the determining cause of suicide. Of course, says Durkheim, these 'suicidogenic impulses' are not present in any human being taken at random. If a human being commits suicide, it is in all probability because he was likely to behave in a particular way by his psychological makeup, nervous weakness or neurotic imbalance. The psychological predispositions are created by the 'suicidogenic impulses' which are the creation of social circumstances, because human beings living in modern society have a great risk of hurting their sensibilities.

The true causes are the social forces. These social forces differ from one another; from one religion to another; and from one group to another. This gets us back to the main concept of Durkheim society, according to which the societies are by nature heterogeneous in relation to individuals; that there are phenomena forces, whose foundation is the collectivity and not the totality of the individuals. Phenomena or forces which can be explained only when taken as a whole were generated by the individuals together. Therefore, we can say that individual phenomena are governed specially by social phenomena; each person believing that he is obeying himself to end their lives is the most impressive example of the social forces which motivate individuals to their deaths.

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Theory of Religion

The various characteristics of modern society are social differentiation, organic solidarity, density of population, intensity of communications and the struggle for survival. All these phenomena should not be regarded as abnormal as they are related to the essence of modern society.

Modern societies do present certain pathological symptoms, above all, insufficient integration of the individual into the collectivity. According to Durkheim, this type of suicide is called anomic, the type corresponding to an increase in the suicide rate in periods of economic crisis as well as in periods of prosperity, i.e., when there is exaggeration of activity, an amplification of intercourse and competition which are inseparable from the society in which we live but which beyond certain limits become pathological.

Durkheim says religion cannot help in solving the problem of anomic suicides. Religion cannot provide remedies required to curb the pathological type of suicide. Durkheim's fundamental requirement for the group which is to the means of reintegration is discipline. Individuals must try and limit their desires; to obey imperatives that both fix the objectives they may set themselves and indicate the means they may rightly use. In modern societies, religions are increasingly being abstract and have an intellectual character; in a sense although they have partially lost their function of social constraint, they encourage individuals to transcend their passions, to live according to spiritual law, but they are no longer capable of specifying the objection or rules which one should obey in his secular life.

Durkheim feels modern religions are no longer capable of ensuring discipline to the degree they were in the past. They have little authority over morals as of now. Durkheim feels that when man is left to himself he is motivated by unlimited desires. Usually a person is a bunch of desires, while the first necessity of morality and of society is discipline. Man needs to be disciplined by a superior force which ought to have the following two characteristics: firstly, it should be commanding; secondly, it should be lovable. According to Durkheim, this force which at once compels as well as attracts can only come from society itself. A general theory of religion is derived from an analysis of the simplest, most primitive religious institutions. This statement gives us Durkheim's leading idea—he believed that it is legitimate and possible to base the valid theory of higher religious values on a study of the primitive forms of religion.

According to Durkheim, science is the supreme intellectual and moral authority in the present day societies. Our societies are individualist and rationalist. Although one can transcend science but its teaching or challenges can't be ignored. We have also seen that it is society itself which not only determines but also favours the growth of individualism and nationalism. Every society requires common belief but apparently these beliefs can no longer be provided by traditional religion, since religion doesn't meet the requirement of the scientific spirit. A solution which Durkheim feels is simple is that science itself reveals that religion is, at the bottom, not contradictory to science. He suggests discovering the underlying reality of all religions. A religion is not recreated by science but it gives us the confidence in the capacity of the society to provide itself in every age with whatever goods it needs. Durkheim has used the following expressions to describe this: 'Religious interests are merely the symbolic form of social and moral interests.' The essence of religion lies in the establishment of the division of the world into two kinds of phenomena. The first one being sacred and the second profane. The essence of religion is not, thus, a belief in a transcendent god; there are religions in fact higher religions which are without god, e.g., in Buddhism the

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idea of the supernatural can't precede the idea, itself recent, of a natural order. The sacred consists of a body of things, beliefs and rites. The body of corresponding beliefs and rites, when a number of sacred things maintain relations of coordination and subordination with one another so as to form a system of the same kind, constitutes a religion.

According to Durkheim, the definition of religion is: 'A religion is an interdependent system of beliefs and practices regarding things which are sacred, that is to say, apart, forbidden, beliefs and practices which unite all those who follow them in a single moral community called a church.'

The second step of the study dismisses interpretations contrary to those Durkheim offers. The two interpretations mentioned in his book are animism and naturism. According to animism, religious beliefs are held to be in spirits; these spirits being the transfiguration of the experience men have about their two-fold nature of body and soul. Naturism means human being worshipping transfigured natural forces. Durkheim says religion would amount to a kind of collective hallucination either to love spirits whose unreality he/she affirms, or to love natural forces transfigured merely by the means of fear. For if man worships society transfigured, he worships an authentic reality, real forces, for what he asks is more realistic than the forces of the collective itself.

Durkheim aims at establishing the reality of the object of faith without accepting the intellectual object of faith and the intellectual content of traditional religions. Traditional religions are doomed in his eyes by the development of scientific nationalism, but it will save what it seems to be destroying by showing that in the last analysis men never worshipped anything other than their own society.

Durkheim refers to Tylor's theory, fashionable in his day. This theory began with the phenomena of the dream. In dreams men see themselves where they are not; thus they conserve, as it were, a double of themselves. It is easy for men to imagine this. When a person dies this double detaches itself and takes the form of a floating spirit that is a good or bad genre. According to this interpretation, early man had difficulty in differentiating the animate from the inanimate. Durkheim's refutation takes up the elements of this interpretation one by one. Why should one give so much importance to the phenomenon of the dream? Assuming that we do conceive that each of us has a double, why is this double made a sacred one? Why is it assigned as an extraordinary import? Durkheim adds ancestor worship is not a primitive cult; moreover, it is false that the cults of primitive people are addressed particularly to the dead—the cult of the dead.

Having pronounced that the fundamental nature of religion is sacred, Durkheim does not have much difficulty in showing the weaknesses of the animist explanation. This explanation may, strictly speaking, explain the formation of the world of spirits; but in Durkheim's eyes the world of spirits is not the world of the sacred.

Durkheim regards that the science of religions presupposes the unreality of the transcendent as a subject of principle. The transcendent, being mystical, is automatically expelled by the scientific method. Thus the trouble is to rediscover the reality of a religion after having abolished the supernatural from it.

An idea which is of intense significance in Durkheim's thought is the idea that 'totemism is the simplest religion'. To say that totemism is the simplest religion means an evolutionist origin of religious history. In the perspective of a non-evolutionist viewpoint, totemism would be one religion among others—one simple religion among

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others. If Durkheim asserts that it is the simplest, most elementary religion, he is implicitly acknowledging that religion has a progression from a single origin.

Of what does that simple religion consist? The main ideas used by Durkheim are those of clan and totem.

The clan is a kindred group which is not based on the ties of consanguinity. The clan is a human group which stamps its identity by connecting itself with a plant or animal, with a genus or type of plant or animal. The transmission of the totem recognized with the clan is effectuated in a variety of ways. The most common way of transmission is through the mother, but it is not a case of absolute regularity or of law. There are clan totems, but there are also individual totems and totems of more widespread groups like matrimonial classes.

Every totem has its emblem or blazon. In nearly all clans there are objects, pieces of wood or polished stones, which bear a symbolic representation of the totem. Ordinary objects, which are referred to as *churinga*, are transfigured once they bear the emblem of the totem; they share the holy quality that is associated with the totem. In modern societies, the flag maybe considered as the equivalent of the *churinga* of the Australians. The flag of a collectivity shares the sacrosanct value which we attribute to the native land; and the profanation of the flag. It is the equivalent of certain phenomena studied by Durkheim. Totemic things, bearing the insignia of the totem, give rise to behaviour distinctive of the religious order, i.e., either the practice of nonparticipation or positive practices. The members of the clan must desist from eating or touching the totem or the objects which share the holy quality of the totem; or, they have to exhibit with regard to the totem a number of explicit forms of respect.

A sphere of holy things includes first the plants or animals which are themselves totem; then the items which bear the representation of the totem; eventually, the revered quality is communicated to individuals. There is a whole area of holy things: plants, animals, representations of these plants and animals, individuals who are connected, through clan involvement, with these sacred things. This realm of sacred things is prepared more or less methodically. Then there are profane things towards which one behaves in a manner we might call economic: economic activity being the model of profane action itself.

Durkheim dismisses the explanation that totemism is descended from ancestor worship; the explanation he seeks is that primitive phenomenon in animal worship; interpretations that give individual totemism as anterior to clan totemism. He dismisses interpretations according to which local totemism, i.e., the attribution of a totem to a fixed locality, is the basic phenomenon. That is for him, historically and logically, the totemism of the clan.

According to him, what the Australians identify as outside the world of profane things first and primarily is an anonymous, impersonal force that is personified indiscriminately in a plant, an animal or the representation of a plant or an animal. It is towards this impersonal and anonymous force, that belief and worship are directed.

According to Durkheim, society favours the rise of values because persons, brought together and living in communication with one another, are able through the exaltation of festivals to make the divine, as it were, to create a religion.

Durkheim alludes to the revolutionary cult. On the occasion of the French Revolution, individuals were also seized with a kind of sacred eagerness. The terminology nation, liberty and revolution were charged with a blessed value. Such periods of turmoil are favourable to the collective exaltations which give rise to the sacred. Durkheim acknowledges that the exaltation at the occasion of the French

Revolution was not enough to produce a new religion. But, he says, other turmoil will occur, the moment will come when modern societies will once again be seized by the sacred passion, and out of it new religions will be born.

Thus, the sociological understanding of religion takes two forms. One of these is expressed by the following plan: in totemism, men worship their own society without understanding it; or, the quality of holiness is connected first of all to the collective and impersonal force which is a symbol of society itself. The second version of the theory is that societies are disposed to create gods or religions when they are in a condition of exaltation, an exaltation which occurs when society moves in a direction to strengthen itself. In the Australian tribes this exaltation occurs on the event of rituals which we can still view today. In modern societies, Durkheim proposes, without making a precise theory of it, we must have disaster in order to view the equivalent of the dances of the Australian societies.

Religion involves a body of beliefs, and these beliefs themselves are expressed orally and assume the form of a system of thought.

Durkheim also laid emphasis on the importance of two kinds of social phenomena, symbols and rites. Much of social behaviour is addressed not to things themselves but to the symbols of things. In totemism, prohibitions apply not only to the totemic animals or plants represented. Similarly our social behaviour is continuously addressed not only to things themselves but to the symbols of these things as well.

Durkheim also works out an elaborate theory of rites; he distinguishes the different types of rites and their general functions. He differentiates three kinds of rites: negative rites, positive rites, and rites which he calls odd or rites of compensation. Negative rites are essentially interdicts, e.g., ban against eating or touching. They develop in the direction of all religious practices of asceticism. Positive rites, on the other hand, are rites of communion; they are intended to promote fecundity, reproduction, etc. Durkheim also studies the mimetic or representative rites, which try to emulate the things one seeks to bring about.

These rites, whether negative, positive or peculiar, all have one main purpose of a social order. Their aim is to support the community, to renew the sense of belonging to the group, to sustain belief and faith, etc. A religion continues to exist only by practices which are both symbols of the belief and traditions of renewing them.

Durkheim seeks to comprehend not only the religious attitude and practices of the Australian tribes, but also the habits of thinking which are associated with these beliefs. He develops a sociological theory of knowledge from his study of Australian totemism. In his eyes, religion is the original core from which not only ethical and religious rules in the strict sense have materialized through differentiation, but from which scientific thought, too, has resulted.

Thus in conclusion we can say that Durkheim saw religion as the most fundamental social institution of humankind, and one that gave rise to other social forms. It was the religion that gave humanity the strongest sense of collective consciousness. He saw the religion as a force that emerged in the early hunter and gatherer societies, as the emotions collective effervescence run high in the growing groups, forcing them to act in new ways, and giving them a sense of some hidden force driving them. Over time, as emotions became symbolized and interactions ritualized, religion became more organized, giving a rise to the division between the sacred and the profane. However, other social facts would eventually begin to eclipse the religion, and Durkheim believed that religion is becoming less important, and superseded by science and the cult of an individual. However, even if the religion is losing its importance, it still laid the foundation

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of our modern society and interactions that govern it. And despite the advent of alternative forces, Durkheim argues that no replacement for the force of religion has yet been created, and expresses his doubt about the modernity, seeing the modern times as 'a period of transition and moral mediocrity'.

Durkheim also argued that our primary categories for understanding the world have their origins in religion. It is religion, Durkheim writes, that gave rise to most if not all other social constructs, including the larger society. Durkheim argued that categories are produced by the society, and thus are collective creations. Thus as people create societies, they also create categories; but at the same time, they do so unconsciously, and the categories are prior to any individual's experience. In this way, Durkheim attempted to bridge the divide between seeing categories as constructed out of human experience and as logically prior to that experience. Our understanding of the world is shaped by social facts; for example, the notion of time is defined by being measured through a calendar, which in turn was created to allow us to keep track of our social gatherings and rituals; those in turn on their most basic level originated from religion. In the end, even the most logical and rational pursuit of science can trace its origins to religion. Durkheim states that 'religion gave birth to all that is essential in the society'.

System of Classification

All sophisticated classifications are systems of hierarchized notions. Things are not simply arranged by themselves in the form of isolated groups, but these groups stand in fixed relationships to each other and together form a single whole. Moreover, these systems, like those of science, have a purely speculative purpose. Their object is not to facilitate action, but to advance understanding, to make intelligible the relations which exist between things. Given certain concepts which are considered to be fundamental, the mind feels the need to connect to them the ideas which it forms about knowledge; as they may be said without inexactitude to be scientific, and to constitute a first philosophy of nature. As such they are very clearly distinguished from what might be called technological classifications. It is probable that man has always classified, more or less clearly, the things on which he lived, according to the means he used to get them; for example, animals living in the water, or in the air or on the ground. But at first such groups were not connected with each other or systematized. They were divisions, distinctions of ideas, not schemes of classification. Moreover, it is evident that these distinctions are closely linked to practical concerns, of which they merely express certain aspects. The Australian does not classify the universe between the totems of his tribe with a view to regulate his conduct or even to justify his practice; it is because, the idea of the totem being fundamental for him, he is under an obligation to place everything else that he knows in relation to it. Therefore, we may think that the conditions on which these very ancient classifications are based may have played a key role in the origin of the classificatory function in general.

It is very simple to analyse how these classifications were modelled on the closest and most basic form of social organization. However it is not going far enough. Society was not just a model followed by the classificatory thought. It comprised its own divisions that served as divisions for the classification system. Social categories were the first logical categories; classes of men were the first classes of things into which these things were brought into integration. It happened because men grouped and identified themselves in the form of groups. Further, in their ideas they grouped other things, and in the beginning the two means of grouping were merged to the point of becoming indistinguishable. Moieties were the first genera—clans, the first species. Things were supposed to be essential parts of society, and their place in society

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determined their place in nature. One may even wonder whether the schematic manner in which genera are usually conceived may not have depended in part on the same influences. It is a fact of current observation that the things that they comprise are commonly imagined as placed in a kind of ideational milieu, with a more or less plainly delimited spatial circumscription. It is definitely not without cause that concepts and their interrelations have so usually been represented by concentric and eccentric circles, interior and exterior to each other, etc.

Not just the external forms of classes, but also the relations uniting them among themselves possess social origin. Since human groups fit one into another—the sub-clan into the moiety, the moiety into the tribe—hence the groups of things are ordered in the similar manner. Their regular reduction in span, from genus to species, species to variety, and so forth, stems from the equally diminishing extent presented by social groups as one leaves the largest and oldest and reaches the more recent and the more derivative. If the totality of things is viewed as a single system, it is because the society itself is viewed in the similar manner. It is a whole; or rather it is the exclusive whole to which everything is related. Hence logical hierarchy is just another aspect of social hierarchy, and the unity of knowledge is nothing more than the very unity of the collectivity, enlarged to the universe.

Additionally, the ties that unite the things within a group or different groups to each other are themselves viewed as social ties. The expressions by which we refer to these relations still possess a moral implication; but whereas for us they are barely more than metaphors, initially they meant what they said. Things belonging to the same class were actually taken as relatives of the individuals of the same social groups, and hence, as a result, of each other. They are of the same flesh and the same family. Thus, logical relations are, in a sense, domestic relations. Sometimes, they can be compared at all points with the one existing between a master and an object possessed, and between a chief and his subjects. One may even wonder whether the idea of the pre-eminence of genus over species, so strange from a positivistic view point, may not be conceived here in its rudimentary form. Among the Zuni the animals symbolizing the six main clans are set in sovereign charge over their respective sub-clans and over creatures of all kinds that are grouped with them.

But if the foregoing has allowed us to understand how the notion of classes, linked to each other in a single system, could have been born, we still do not know what the forces were which induced men to divide things as they did between the classes. From the fact that the external form of the classification was furnished by society, it does not necessarily follow that the way in which the framework was used is due to reasons of the same origin. A priori it is very possible that motives of a quite different order should have determined the way in which things were connected and merged, or else, on the contrary, distinguished and opposed.

We can classify things other than concepts and otherwise than in agreement with the laws of pure understanding. For in order for it to be possible for ideas to be systematically arranged for sentimental reasons, it is essential that they should not be pure ideas, instead they should themselves be the products of sentiments. For those who are termed as 'primitives', a species of things is not just a common object of knowledge but corresponds above all to a specific sentimental approach. All types of affective elements unite in the representation made of it. Religious emotions, particularly, not just give it a unique trace, but provide it the most basic properties it is constituted of. Above all, things are sacred or profane, pure or impure, friends or enemies, favourable or unfavourable, i.e., their most elemental characteristics are just expressions of the manner in which they influence social sensibility. The differences and similarities that determine the fashion in which they are grouped are more affective than intellectual.

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It has usually been stated that man began to consider things by relating them to himself. It enables us to see more accurately what this anthropocentrism, which may better be termed as sociocentrism, consists of. Individual is not the centre of the first schemes of nature; rather it is society. It is this which gets objectified, not man. Nothing proves this more noticeably than the manner in which the Sioux retain the whole universe, in a way, within the limits of tribal space. Also, we have seen how universal space itself is nothing else than the site occupied by the tribe, only indefinitely extended beyond its real limits. By the virtue of same mental disposition so many people have placed the centre of the world, 'the navel of the earth', in their own political or religious capital, i.e., at the place which is the centre of their moral life. Similarly, but in another order of ideas, the creative force of the universe and everything in it was initially conceived as a mythical ancestor, the generator of the society.

Classification of concepts is a logical classification. Now a concept is the notion of a clearly determined group of things; its limits may be marked precisely. Emotion, on the contrary, is something essentially fluid and inconsistent. Its contagious influence spreads far beyond its point of origin, extending to everything about it, so that it is not possible to say where its power of propagation ends. States of an emotional nature necessarily possess the same characteristic. It is not possible to say where they begin or where they end; they lose themselves in each other, and mingle their properties in such a way that they cannot be rigorously categorized. The pressure put forward by the group on all its members does not allow the individuals to freely evaluate the notions which society itself has elaborated and in which it has placed something of its personality. These constructs are sacred for the individuals. So the history of scientific classification is, in the final analysis, the history of the stages by which this element of social affectivity has progressively weakened, giving more and more room to the individuals for the reflective thought. However, it is not the case that these distant influences which we have just studied have ceased to be felt presently. They have left behind them an effect that is surviving; it is the very cadre of all classification. It is the assembly of mental habits by virtue of which we envisage things and facts in the form of coordinated or hierarchized groups.

2.3 SOCIOLOGICAL IDEAS OF TALCOTT PARSONS

Talcott Edgar Frederick Parsons was the best well renowned sociologist of US. Talcott's work was quite impressive during 1950s and through 1960s as well, especially in the US, however his work didn't get appreciation later on. Parsons worked as a faculty of Harvard University during 1927-1973. He was known as a central figure at Harvard's Department of Sociology, and afterwards at its Department of Social Relations (established by Parsons to show his thoughts of an integrated social science). He also established a general theory based system for research and analysis of society which started to be known as structural functionalism.

A very noticeable attempt to modify Parsonian thinking, under the rubric 'neofunctionalism', has been contributed by sociologist Jeffrey Alexander, right now at the Yale University.

Talcott Edgar Frederick Parsons was born on 13 December 1902; at Colorado Springs. His father was a Congregationalist Minister and afterwards President of Marietta College at Ohio. When Talcott was an undergraduate, he studied philosophy and biology at Amherst College and he completed his B.A. in the year 1924. Then he studied at the London School of Economics for one year, where he explored about the work of Harold Laski, R.H. Tawney, Bronislaw Malinowski, and Leonard Trelwany

Check Your Progress

4. State the three types of suicides defined by Durkheim.
5. What are the three types of rites discussed by Durkheim?

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Hobhouse. Later he went to the University of Heidelberg, where he completed his Ph.D in economics and sociology. At the Heidelberg University he explored the theories of Max Weber, and worked unknown to American social theorists. Later he translated many of Weber's theories into English language. During the year 1923-1924, he taught at Amherst for a year. He got a position at the Harvard, first in economics and in sociology. He made the achievement of receiving important recognition with the Publication of *The Structure of Social Action* during 1937, his first most major synthesis; it contained the ideas of Durkheim, Weber, and Pareto, among other theorists. He was very active at the Harvard, in formation of Department of Social Relations, a combination disciplinary venture of sociology, anthropology, and psychology. Nationally, he was a thorough professional of sociology and its related expansion with American academia. He got elected president of American Sociological Association in the year 1949 and he worked as a secretary during 1960-1965. He took retirement from Harvard University in 1973, but continued to work as a teacher at various other universities as a visiting professor and continued to write until his death in 1979, during a trip to Germany.

Ideas

Parsons was the person behind the establishment of 'grand theory', it was an attempt to combine and develop all available social sciences (rather than anthropology) into a perfect multi-dimensional combination theory based framework. Parson's earlier work, *The great Structure of Social Action* collected the output from great theorists, especially Max Weber, Vilfredo Pareto, and Emile Durkheim, and attempted to generate from a single 'action theory' based on perceptions that human action is done intentionally, willingly, with expressing it with symbols. Then afterwards, he got involved and influenced with a number of astonishing variety of fields, from medical sociology (he established the concept of the sick role, to psychoanalysis- he himself underwent complete training of a lay analyst), to anthropology, to small group based dynamics (he worked efficiently with Robert Freed bales).

2.3.1 Talcott Parsons' Systematic View of Society

Talcott Parsons saw the social world in terms of people's ideas, particularly their norms and values. 'Norms' are the socially accepted rules which people employ in deciding on their actions. 'Values' can best be described as people's beliefs about what the world should be like, as they have to determine the effect on their actions. The most important social processes are seen as the communication of meanings, symbols and information for Parsons. He was concerned with the organization of individual actions into systems of actions, employing the holistic and individualistic approaches at the same time.

The idea of social life as a system—a network of different parts—explains the 'structural' part of the structural functionalist label that is usually attached to Parsons' work. The analogy with a biological system explains the 'functionalist' part. If we take the human body as a system, it can be seen as having certain needs, for example, food and a number of interrelated parts (the digestive system, the stomach, the intestines, etc.) which function to meet those needs. Parsons perceived the social system of action as comprising needs which had to be met in order to survive. The system was made up of a number of parts each having their own function. All living systems are seen as tending towards equilibrium, a stable and balanced relationship between the different parts, and maintaining themselves separately from other systems (a tendency to 'boundary maintenance').

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Parsons emphasized on stability and order, and indeed he viewed social theory as attempting to answer the question ‘how is social order possible?’—a problem often associated with the philosopher Thomas Hobbes, who formulated it in its clearest form. It presupposes that in the ‘natural state’ human beings are entirely self-seeking, that they are at war among themselves, and this natural tendency has to be moulded and limited by social organizations.

Action Theory

Parsons’ early contributions were based on the conviction that the appropriate subject matter of sociology is social action, a view reflecting the strong influence of Max Weber, and to some extent, Thomas. In *The Structure of Social Action*, Parsons presents an extremely complicated theory of social action in which it is held to be *voluntaristic behaviour*. The analysis is largely based on the means and ends scheme. Such a complex formulation of theory of social action representing an ambitious but early effort by Parsons is interwoven with a detailed analysis of the theories of Weber, Durkheim, Pareto and Alfred Marshall. Parsons’ voluntaristic Theory of Action emerged from two different traditions—the tradition of *positivistic utilitarianism* on one hand, and the tradition of *idealism* on the other.

Action, according to Parsons, does not take place in isolation. It involves an actor, a situation and the orientation of the actor to the situation. To him, the concept of action is derived from behaviour of human being as living organism. So, social action is that behaviour by which man reacts to the external forces after understanding and interpreting them. It is motivated and directed by the meanings which the actor discerns in the external world, which he takes into account and to which he responds. So, the essential feature of social action is the actor’s sensitivity to the meaning of the people and things around him, his perception of these meanings, and his reactions to the meanings. Any behaviour becomes action when:

- It is oriented to attainment of ends or goals.
- It occurs in situations.
- It is regulated by norms and values of society.
- It involves an investment of energy or motivation or effort.

So, Parsons, while focusing on actors’ orientation, speaks about the two components in orientation: motivational and value orientations. Motivational orientation which supplies energy to be spent in social action is threefold:

- *Cognitive*, corresponding to that which the actor perceives in a situation, in relation to his system of need-dispositions.
- *Cathetic*, involving a process through which an actor invests an object with affective or emotional significance.
- *Evaluative*, by means of which an actor allocates his energy to various interests among which he must choose.

Value orientation, on the other hand, points to the observance of certain social norms or standards in contradiction to needs which are focal in the motivational orientation. Again, there are three modes of value orientation:

- (i) The value orientation which deals with the validity of judgment or *cognitive* orientation.
- (ii) Orientation which helps actors judge whether the response to the surrounding objects are appropriate or consistent, and is known as ‘*appreciative* orientation’.

- (iii) The orientation that helps an actor commit to his objects is known as 'moral orientation'.

Emile Durkheim and Talcott Parsons: Sociological Ideas

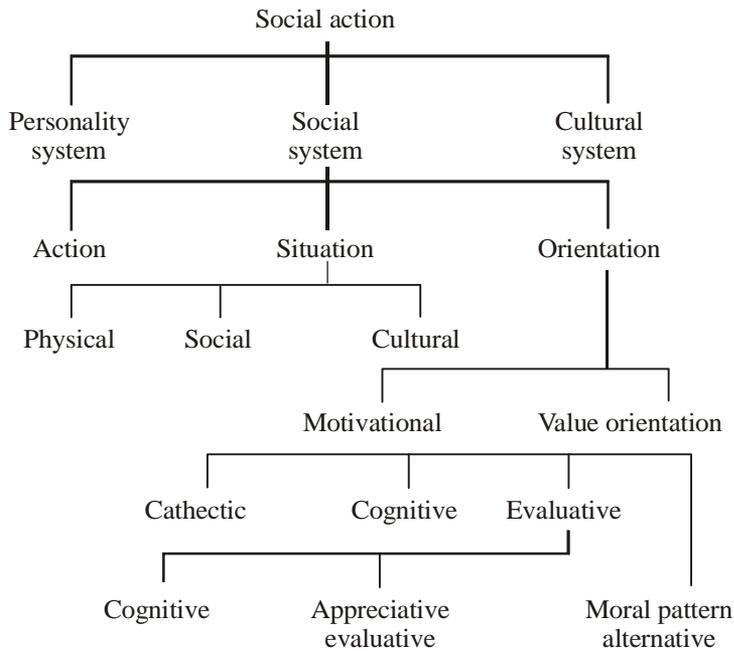


Fig 2.1 Parsons' Analysis of Social Action

The three analytical systems, viz., the personality system, the social system and the cultural systems are all based on Parsons' schemes. Thus, behavioural and cultural aspects of role expectations are defined by the motivational and value orientations.

Pattern Variables

Pattern variables first emerged as a conceptual scheme for classifying types of roles in social systems starting with the distinction between professional and business roles. Later, the scheme was revised and its relevance extended from role analysis in the social system to the analysis of all types of systems of action. In Parsons' words, 'The pattern variable scheme defines a set of fine dichotomies. Any course of action by an actor involves a pattern of choices with respect to these five sets of alternatives' and again, 'a pattern variable is a dichotomy, one side of which must be chosen by an actor before he can act with respect to that situation.'

So, these five pattern variables derive directly from the frame of reference of Theory of Action, and that they constitute a system. With the help of pattern variables, one can categorize the orientation of personality types, values in cultures and standard models of the social structure. The pattern variables are:

- (i) **Affectivity–affective neutrality:** This concerns with the amount of emotion or effect that is appropriate in a given interaction situation.
- (ii) **Self orientation–collective orientation:** Every action has a reason and a direction. The level or extent till which an action may be directed towards realizing individual or group goals is the self-orientation and collective orientation.
- (iii) **Universalism–particularism:** This orientation points to the problem of whether evaluation and judgment of others in an interaction situation is to apply to all actors or whether all actors be assessed in terms of the same standards.

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Check Your Progress

6. When was Talcott Parsons born? What was his full name?
7. Under which situations does behaviour become action?
8. What are the three analytical systems?

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(iv) **Ascription–achievement:** This particular orientation deals with the issue of how to assess an actor, whether in terms of performance or on the basis of inborn qualities, such as sex, age, race and family status. So, basically this orientation debates whether an actor should assess another actor on the basis of his performance, or on the attributes and qualities he has.

(v) **Specificity–diffuseness:** This orientation denotes the issues of how far reaching obligation in an interaction situation should be. Should the obligations be narrow and specific, or should they be extensive and diffused?

Thus, the pattern variables, apart from being dilemmas of choice that every actor confronts are also characteristics of value standards and a scheme for the formulation of value standards. These pattern variables are also categories for description of value orientations, crucial components in the definition of role expectations, characterizations of differences of empirical structure of personalities or social systems. These are inherent patterns of cultural value orientation. A pattern variable in its cultural aspect is a normative pattern; in its personality aspect, a need, a disposition; and in its social system aspect a role expectation.

Explaining the relationship between pattern variables, Parsons is of the opinion that the first three derive from the problems of primacy among the modes of orientation; the last two from indeterminate object situation. Parsons considers pattern variables to describe all kinds of social relationships. Business relationships and family relationships are, for example, polar opposites, differing in each set of variables.

Business relationships are characterized by affective neutrality, specificity, universalism, performance-orientation and self-orientation. Family relationships are characterized by affectivity, diffuseness, particularism, quality and collective orientation.

Theory of Social Systems

The social system is closely related to Parsons' earlier work, *The Structure of Social Action*. Here in the social system, the focus is an empirical generalization or methodology. Drawing from Max Weber's typological approach, Parsons views actors as oriented to situations in terms of motives. The social system is an attempt to bring together in systematic and generalized form, the main outlines of a conceptual scheme for the analysis of structure and processes of social system.

Parsons conceives of an actor who acts in terms of means and conditions and this actor has an object towards the act. He maintained that individuals interact in conditions where the process becomes easy to investigate in a scientific sense. Then it is analysed using the same techniques that other sciences use to carry out their investigations. Parsons' notion of social system varies with different places. Social system, according to him, is defined as a plurality of individual actors interacting with one another. Again, the social system is described as a plurality of individuals who are motivated by a tendency to optimum gratification.

Individuals also have relation to this situation that is defined in terms of a system of culturally structured and shared patterns. There are three types of motives. These are: (i) *cognitive* (ii) *cathectic* and (iii) *evaluative*. There are three corresponding types of values: (i) *cognitive* (ii) *appreciative* and (iii) *moral*. These modes of orientation create a composite type of action such as:

- **Instrumental:** These are action oriented to realize explicit goals efficiently.
- **Expressive:** In this type of orientation, action is directed at realizing emotional satisfaction.

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- **Moral:** This type of orientation deals with actions concerned with realizing standards of right and wrong. Thus, the unit acts involve motivational and value orientation and have a general direction as a consequence of which combination of values and motives prevails for an actor.

According to Parsons, as variously oriented actors (in terms of their configuration of motivational and value orientation) interacted, they came to develop agreements and sustain patterns of interaction which became standards. Such standard patterns can be looked at as a social system. Actions may be composed of three 'interpenetrating action system'—the *cultural*, the *social* and the *personality*. Following both Durkheim and Radcliffe-Brown's lead, Parsons viewed integration within and among the action system as a basic requisite for survival.

Parsons was concerned with the integration within the social system itself and between social system and cultural patterns on the one hand, and between the social system and the personality system on the other. And for such integration to occur, at least two functional requisites had to be met:

- A social system must have a sufficient proportion of its component actor adequately motivated to act in accordance with the requirements of its role system.
- Social system must avoid commitment to cultural patterns which either fail to define a minimum of order or which place impossible demands on people, and thereby generate deviance and conflict.

Parsons was mainly concerned with cultural systems insofar as they affect social systems and personality. So a social system, according to him, is a mode of organization of *action elements* relative to the persistence or ordered processes of change of the interactive patterns of a plurality of individual actors. First, act is mentioned as a unit of social system. This act becomes a unit insofar as it becomes a process of interaction between its author and another actor. Secondly, for more macroscopic analysis of the social system, a higher order unit than an act, called the *status-role* is used.

Parsons maintained that all actors are involved in a number of interactions with other actors in a social system, giving rise to a complementary style of functioning. Thus, this participation of an actor in multiple relationships with systematic patterns makes up an important unit of social system. This participation, in turn, has two principal aspects. On one hand, there is a *positional aspect*, i.e., where the actor is located in the social system which is called his *status*; on the other hand, there is a processual aspect, i.e., what the actor does in his relations with others seen in context of functional significance for the social system. This is called his *role*. The status role bundles are not, in general, attributes of the actors, but are units of the social system. An actor himself is considered as a unit of the social system as he holds a status or performs a role. So there are three different units of the social system. These are:

- The social act, performed by an actor and oriented to one or more actors on objects.
- The actor's status-role.
- The actor himself as a social unit.

AGIL, a function, is 'a complex of activities directed towards meeting a need or needs of the system'. Using this definition, Parsons believed that there are four functional imperatives necessary for (characteristic of) all systems.

Parsons designed the AGIL scheme to be used at all levels in his theoretical system. We will illustrate how Parsons uses AGIL in the discussion below on the four action systems.

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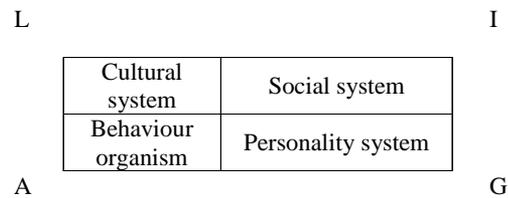


Fig 2.2 Structure of the General Action System

The *biological organism* is the action system that handles the adaptation function by adjusting to and transforming the external world. The *personality system* performs the goal attainment function by defining system goals and mobilizing resources to attain them. The *social system* copes with the integration function by controlling its component parts. Finally, the *cultural system* performs the latency function by providing actors with the norms and values that motivate them for action. Figure 2.2 summarizes the structure of the action system in terms of the AGIL schema.

The functional prerequisites of social systems according to Parsons are:

- (i) **Adaptation:** This prerequisite refers to the relationship between the system and its environment. It involves the problem of securing, from the environment, sufficient facilities and then distributing these facilities throughout the system. At a minimum, food and shelter must be provided to fulfil physical needs. The economy is the institution primarily concerned with this function.
- (ii) **Goal attainment:** This particular prerequisite involves the determination of goals and motivating the members of the system to attain these goals. It also helps in mobilizing the members and of their energies for the achievement of these goals. Procedures for establishing goals and deciding on priorities between goals are standardized in the form of political system.
- (iii) **Integration:** Integration refers primarily to the adjustment of conflict. It denotes the problem of coordinating and maintaining viable interrelations among system units. The law is the main institution which meets this need. Legal norms define and standardize relations between individuals and between institutions and thus reduce the potential for conflict. When conflict does arise it is settled by the judicial system and does not, therefore, lead to disintegration of the social system.
- (iv) **Latency:** This prerequisite helps in managing tensions and maintaining social patterns within a social system. It also helps in storing, organizing and maintaining motivational energies of various elements present within such a system. Pattern maintenance refers to the maintenance of the basic pattern of values standardized by a particular society. Institutions which perform this function include the family, the educational system and religion. Tension-management concerns the problem of dealing with the internal tensions and strains of actors in the social system.

So the development of the four functional prerequisites has been abbreviated as AGIL (indicates **A**daptation, **G**oal attainment, **I**ntegration, **L**atency) which denotes a shift away from the analysis of structures to the analysis of functions. Parsons claims that a constant overlapping takes place between these functional prerequisites. This inter-penetration of one into the other is the hallmark of Parsons' social system. So it is said that due to these changes, society is in a *moving equilibrium*.

Parsons' action system

The heart of Parsons' work is found in his four action systems. In the assumptions that Parsons made regarding his action systems, we encounter the problem of order that was his overwhelming concern and that has become a major source of criticism

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of his work (Schwanenberg, 1971). The Hobbesian problem of order—what prevents a social war of all against all—was not answered to Parsons' (1937) satisfaction by the earlier philosophers. Parsons found his answer to the problem of order in structural functionalism, which, as per his view, operates under the following set of assumptions:

- Systems have the property of order and interdependence of parts.
- Systems tend toward self-maintaining order, or equilibrium.
- The system may be static or involved in an ordered process of change.
- The nature of one part of the system has an impact on the form that the other parts could take.
- Systems maintain boundaries with their environments.
- Allocation and integration are two fundamental processes necessary for a given state of equilibrium of a system.
- Systems tend toward self-maintenance involving the maintenance of boundaries and of the relationships of parts of the whole, control of environmental variations, and control of tendencies to change the system from within.

These assumption led Parsons to make the analysis of the ordered structure of society his first priority.

Parsons' social systems

Parsons' conception of the social system begins at the micro level with an interaction between the ego and the alter ego, defined as the most elementary form of the social system. He spent little time analysing this level, although he did argue that features of this interaction system are present in the more complex forms taken by the social systems. Parsons defined a social system thus:

'A social system consists in a plurality of individual actors interacting with each other in a situation which has at least a physical and environmental aspect, actors who are motivated in terms of a tendency to the 'Optimization of Gratification' and whose relation to their situations, including each other, is defined and mediated in terms of a system of culturally structured and shared symbols.'

This definition seeks to define a social system in terms of many of the key concepts in Parsons' work—actors, interaction, environment, optimization of gratification, and culture.

Despite his commitment to viewing the social system as a system of interaction, Parsons did not take interaction as his fundamental unit in the study of the social system. This is neither an aspect of actors nor an aspect of interaction, but rather a structural component of the social system. Status refers to a structural position within the social system, and role is how the actor behaves in a position, seen in the context of its functional significance for the larger system. The actor is viewed not in terms of thoughts and actions but (at least in terms of position in the social system) as nothing more than a bundle of various status and roles.

In his analysis of the social system, Parsons was interested primarily in its structural components. In addition to a concern with the status-role, Parsons was interested in the large-scale components of social systems, as collectives, norms and values. In his analysis of the social system, however, Parsons was not simply a structuralist but also a functionalist. He, thus, delineated a number of functional prerequisites of a social system. First, social systems must be structured so that they operate comparatively with other systems. Secondly, the system must meet a significant proportion of the

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needs of its actors. Thirdly, the system must elicit adequate participation from its members. Fourthly, it must have at least a minimum of control over potentially disruptive behaviour. Sixthly, if conflict becomes sufficiently disruptive, it must be controlled. Finally, a social system requires a language in order to survive.

However, Parsons did not completely ignore the issue of the relationship between actors and social structures in his discussion of the social system. In fact, he called the integration of value patterns and need-dispositions ‘the fundamental dynamic theorem of sociology’. In a successful socialization process, the norms and values are internalized i.e., they became part of the actors’ ‘conscience’. As a result, in pursuing their own interests, the actors are, in fact, serving the interests of the system as a whole. Parsons stated, ‘the combination of value-orientation patterns which is acquired (by the actor in socialization) must in a very important degree be a function of the fundamental role structure and dominant values of the social system’.

As a structural functionalist, Parsons distinguished among four structures, or sub-systems in society in terms of functions (AGIL) they perform (Fig. 2.3). The economy is the sub-system that performs the function for society of adapting to the environment through labour, production and allocation. Through such work, the economy adapts the environment to society’s needs and it helps society adapt to these external realities. The polity or political system performs the function of goal attainment by pursuing societal objectives and mobilizing actors and resources to that end. The fiduciary system (for example, school and family), handles the latency function by transmitting culture (norms and values) to actors and allowing it to be internalized by them. Finally, the integration function is performed by the societal community (for example, the law), which coordinates the various components of society.

Fiduciary System	Societal Community
Economy	Polity

Fig 2.3 Functional Imperative: Society and its Sub-systems

Parsons cultural system

Parsons conceived of culture as the major force binding the various elements of the social world, or in his terms the action system. In the social systems, culture is embodied in norms and values, and in the personality system it is internalized by the actor. But the cultural system is not simply a part of other systems; it also has a separate existence in the form of the social stock of knowledge, symbols and ideas. These aspects of the cultural system are available to the social and personality systems, but they do not become part of them (Parsons and Shills, 1951).

Parsons defined the cultural system, as he did his other systems, in terms of its relationship to the other action systems. Thus, culture is seen as a patterned, ordered system of symbols that are objects of orientation to actors, internalized aspects of the personality system, and institutionalized patterns in the social system. Because it is largely symbolic and subjective, culture is readily transmitted from one system to another. This allows it to move from one social system to another through diffusion and from one personality system to another through learning and socialization. However, the symbolic/subjective character of culture gives it another characteristic—the ability to control Parsons’ other action systems. This is one of the reasons that Parsons viewed himself as a ‘cultural determinist’.

Personality system

The personality system is controlled not only by the cultural system, but also by the social system. That is not to say that Parsons did not accord some independence to the personality system.

Parsons defined personality as the organized system of orientation and motivation of action of the individual actor. The basic component of personality is the 'need-disposition'. Parsons and Shills defined need-disposition as the most significant units of motivation of action. They differentiated need-disposition from drives, which are innate tendencies, 'physiological energy that makes action possible'. In other words, drives are better seen as part of the biological organism. Need-dispositions are then defined as, 'these same tendencies when they are not innate but acquired through the process of action itself'. In other words, need-dispositions are drives that are shaped by the social setting.

Need-dispositions impel actors to accept or reject objects presented in the environment or to seek out new objects if the ones that are available do not adequately satisfy need-dispositions. Parsons differentiated among three basic types of need-dispositions. The first type impels to seek love, approval, and so forth, from their social relationships. The second type includes internalized values that lead actors to observe various cultural standards. Finally, there are the role expectations that lead actors to give and get appropriate responses.

Behavioural organism

Though he included the behavioural organism as one of the four action systems, Parsons had very little to say about it. It was included because it is the source of energy for the rest of the systems. Although based on genetic constitution, its organization is affected by the processes of conditioning and learning that occur during the individual's life. The biological organism is clearly a residual system in Parsons' work, but at the minimum, Parsons is to be lauded for including it as a part of his sociology, if for no other reason than that he anticipated the interest in socio-biology by some sociologists.

2.4 SUMMARY

- Emile Durkheim was born on 15 April 1858 in Epinal, France. He was the descendent of a long line of rabbis and studied to be a rabbi.
- Durkheim's appetite for science was whetted by a trip to Germany, where he was exposed to the scientific psychology being pioneered by Wilhelm Wundt.
- Durkheim's (1928/1962) interest in socialism is also taken as evidence against the idea that he was a conservative, but his kind of socialism was very different from the kind that an out of date hypotheses' (Lukes, 1972; 323).
- The first major book of Durkheim was *De la division du travail social*, which was his doctoral thesis also and was highly influenced by Auguste Comte.
- Durkheim thought that in the two forms of solidarity, the societies which were called primitive during Durkheim's time are today characterized by the predominance of mechanical solidarity.
- The division of labour which Durkheim is trying to understand and define is not to be confused with the one envisaged by economists.

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Check Your Progress

9. What are the three types of motives?
10. What are the different units of the social system?
11. How did Parson define personality?

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- From this sort of scrutiny, Durkheim derived a proposal which he maintained all his life, a thought which is, as it were at the core of his entire sociology, that is to say, that individual is born of society, and not society of individual.
- Durkheim differentiates two kinds of law, each of which is an attribute of one of the types of solidarity—repressive law, which punishes offenses or crimes; and restitutive or cooperative law, whose spirit is not to punish violations of social rules, but to restore things to order, when an offense has been committed or to organize cooperation among the individuals.
- Modern society is not based on agreement anymore than the division of labour is explained by the rational decision of individual to increase the common productivity by dividing the task among them.
- Durkheim's best known book is his study of suicide. His aim in this book was not only to provide an account of suicide but also to illustrate how his methodology could be applied to even the most individual of acts.
- According to Durkheim, incomplete and partial statistics dealing moreover with only small number are taken by him as the suicide statistics.
- The various characteristics of modern society are social differentiation, organic solidarity, density of population, intensity of communications and the struggle for survival.
- Durkheim feels modern religions are no longer capable of ensuring discipline to the degree they were in the past. They have little authority over morals as of now.
- All sophisticated classifications are systems of hierarchized notions. Things are not simply arranged by themselves in the form of isolated groups, but these groups stand in fixed relationships to each other and together form a single whole.
- Talcott Edgar Frederick Parsons was born on 13 December 1902; at Colorado Springs. His father was a Congregationalist Minister and afterwards President of Marietta College at Ohio. When Talcott was an undergraduate, he studied philosophy and biology at Amherst College and he completed his B.A. in the year 1924.
- A very noticeable attempt to modify Parsonian thinking, under the rubric 'neofunctionalism', has been contributed by sociologist Jeffrey Alexander, right now at the Yale University.
- Parsons' early contributions were based on the conviction that the appropriate subject matter of sociology is social action, a view reflecting the strong influence of Max Weber, and to some extent, Thomas.
- The social system is closely related to Parsons' earlier work, *The Structure of Social Action*. Here in the social system, the focus is an empirical generalization or methodology. Drawing from Max Weber's typological approach, Parsons views actors as oriented to situations in terms of motives.
- Parsons' conception of the social system begins at the micro level with an interaction between the ego and the alter ego, defined as the most elementary form of the social system.
- The personality system is controlled not only by the cultural system, but also by the social system. That is not to say that Parsons did not accord some independence to the personality system.

2.5 ANSWERS TO ‘CHECK YOUR PROGRESS’

1. Emile Durkheim was born on 15 April 1858 in Epinal, France.
2. The basic feature of Durkheim’s sociology is its steady foundation in a very substantial and definite epistemology. In Durkheim’s sociology, we can spot two general principles: (i) sociology must be a science with a similar methodology to the physical-natural sciences on the basis of positivism, and (ii) this positivist science of society is opposed to philosophy and psychology.
3. Durkheim differentiates two kinds of law, each of which is an attribute of one of the types of solidarity—repressive law, which punishes offenses or crimes; and restitutive or cooperative law, whose spirit is not to punish violations of social rules, but to restore things to order.
4. There are three types of suicides that Durkheim has defined:
 - Egoist suicide
 - Altruist suicide
 - Anomic suicide
5. Durkheim differentiates three kinds of rites – negative rites, positive rites, and rites which he calls odd or rites of compensation.
6. Talcott Edgar Frederick Parsons was born on 13 December 1902.
7. Any behaviour becomes action when:
 - It is oriented to attainment of ends or goals.
 - It occurs in situations.
 - It is regulated by norms and values of society.
 - It involves an investment of energy or motivation or effort.
8. The three analytical systems, viz., the personality system, the social system and the cultural systems are all based on Parsons’ schemes.
9. Three types of motives are:
(i) cognitive (ii) cathectic and (iii) evaluative.
10. There are three different units of the social system. These are:
 - The social act, performed by an actor and oriented to one or more actors on objects.
 - The actor’s status-role.
 - The actor himself as a social unit.
11. Parsons defined personality as the organized system of orientation and motivation of action of the individual actor.

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2.6 KEY TERMS

- **Totemism:** It is a system of belief in which each human is thought to have a spiritual connection or a kinship with another physical being, such as an animal or plant, often called a ‘spirit-being’ or ‘totem’.
- **Epistemology:** It is the branch of philosophy concerned with the nature and scope of knowledge.

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2.7 QUESTIONS AND EXERCISES

Short-Answer Questions

1. What does the study of suicide deals with?
2. What are the characteristics of modern society?
3. What is Parson's Action Theory?
4. What are the functional prerequisites of social systems?

Long-Answer Questions

1. What are the sociological ideas of Emile Durkheim?
2. Discuss Durkheim's study of suicide.
3. Discuss in detail the sociological ideas of Talcott?
4. 'As a structural functionalist, Parsons distinguished among four structures, or sub-systems in society in terms of functions (AGIL) they perform.' Discuss.

2.8 FURTHER READING

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UNIT-3 THEORIES OF CIRCULATION OF ELITES

*Theories of Circulation
of Elites*

Structure

- 3.0 Introduction
- 3.1 Unit Objectives
- 3.2 Elite Theories of Circulation: Mosca, Pareto, C.Wright Mills
 - 3.2.1 Gaetano Mosca's Theory of Power
 - 3.2.2 R. Michels' Power Theory
 - 3.2.3 Vilfredo Pareto: Elite Theory of Power
 - 3.2.4 C.Wright Mills: The Power Elite
- 3.3 Pluralistic Critique
- 3.4 Summary
- 3.5 Key Terms
- 3.6 Answers to 'Check Your Progress'
- 3.7 Questions and Exercises
- 3.8 Further Reading

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3.0 INTRODUCTION

Studies on elites have been one of major concern in social sciences particularly in sociology and political sciences. This emphasis is mostly due to the undeniable effects and roles of elites in societies developed or developing. Elite theories introduced not only elites, but also new important subjects like power, and posed questions for example on oligarchical tendencies in democracy.

In this unit, you will study about the classic elite theories, namely Pareto's Circulation of Elites, Mosca's theories of Ruling Class, and Michels' theory of Iron law of Oligarchy and the like.

3.1 UNIT OBJECTIVES

After going through this unit, you will be able to:

- Discuss Mosca's theory of power and compare it with Michels theory
- Analyse Pareto's Elite theory of power and the concept of elite
- Discuss Mills concept of the power elite and his ideology on power
- Differentiate between classical pluralism and elite pluralism

3.2 ELITE THEORIES OF CIRCULATION: MOSCA, PARETO, C.WRIGHT MILLS

Elite as a concept has been a key term in social science although many times it has been used without reference to Pareto, Mosca and Michels.

Circulation of elites, more specifically in the realm of politics and the ruling class, is the main concern of Pareto, Mosca and Michels. All of them analyze the structure of elites, social stratification in society, social mobility upward and downward, relation among the elite strata and relation between elite and non-elite classes; and socio-economic, political and historical conditions' effect on these phenomena and relationship among them. The great emphasis is given to distribution of power, status and wealth, and the battle among the classes to get lions' share in the power, wealth and status in society.

Elite Theories of Distribution of Power

In the recent times, the idea of power has assumed particular significance in the realm of Political Sociology. The reason for this may be traced to the fact that the meaning

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of politics has now changed form; it can be seen as 'a study of state and government' or 'a study of power'. According to Curtis, politics is organized dispute about power and its use, involving choice among competing values, ideas, persons, interests and demands. The study of politics is concerned with the description and analysis of the manner in which power is obtained, exercised, and controlled, and the purpose for which it is used, the manner in which decisions are made, the factors which influence the making of those decisions, and the context in which those decisions take place. Hence Political Sociology is understood as the study of power. Machiavelli, Hobbes, Harrington, Pareto, Mosca, Michels, Dahl, Easton, Kaplan, Lasswell, Morgenthau and Parsons made notable contribution to this perspective.

In simple terms, 'power' refers to the ability of a person to influence the behaviour of another person or a group of persons in accordance with his/her own wish. Power includes a relationship of subordination and super-ordination between people. Many Social Scientists, particularly Political Sociologists, are basically interested in the consequences of the play of power in social relationships.

The nature and limits of political power have been theorized by different ideologies. These are as follows:

- **Marxism:** According to Marxism, political power is concentrated in the hands of dominant economic class, e.g., the concepts of Marx, Engels and Lukes.
- **Elitism:** Similar to Marxism, elitism believes that a small group of people, i.e., elites, rule and control majority of people, e.g., the ideologies of Pareto, Mosca and Michels.
- **Pluralism:** It regards extensive dispersal of power among different groups in a liberal democratic society with no one in a position to monopolize. Usually, these groups interact to produce an overall consensus and conflict resolution is non-violent through forms of bargaining within procedural devices such as elections, e.g., Mills, Truman and Wilson.

Power always entails a social relationship between at least two actors. It cannot be an attribute of one person. An individual's power is meaningless unless it is stated over whom this power is exercised. The individual or the group of individuals who hold power is/are able to get others to do what they want them to do. If those on whom the power is exercised resist or refuse to obey those who are powerful, they are punished in one way or the other. Power always gives rise to asymmetry in relationships. Those who have greater access to limited sources, e.g., control over finances, ownership or control over means of production/means of distribution, are more powerful than those who do not have the means or the opportunity to control such resources. The use of sanction in imposing one's will is an important constituent of power and it is on this count that power differs from influence.

3.2.1 Gaetano Mosca's Theory of Power

Gaetano Mosca is well-known for his work on political theory that include *Theory of Governments and Parliamentary Government* (1884), *The Ruling Class* (1896) and *History of Political Doctrines* (1936). As a Political Scientist, his most remarkable contribution happens to be his observation that almost all the primitive societies are ruled by a numerical minority, or elite, whom he addressed as the 'political class'. According to Mosca, the modern elites can be defined in terms of their superior organizational skills i.e., the skills that enable them in attaining political power in a modern bureaucratic society. He also advocated a mixed political system or government,

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which is partially autocratic and partially liberal in functioning. This mixed form of political rule, according to Mosca, is the one in which 'the aristocratic tendency is tempered by a gradual but continuous renewal of the ruling class' that is attained by increasing the strength (number) of those members in lower socio-economic classes who aspire and have the capability to rule.

Mosca was of the viewpoint that political philosophy of a society was not important, unless in the instance of deciding the kind of elite group that could have the authority to rule. The concepts like 'the will of God', 'the sovereign will of the state', 'the will of the people', or 'the dictatorship of the proletariat' were considered to be political myths by him.

His political theory was more liberal when compared to the elite theory of distribution of power as propounded by Vilfredo Pareto. Mosca was of the opinion that elites were not decided on the basis of heritance, and even people belonging to any other class of society could theoretically turn into an elite group. Gaetano Mosca even adhered to the concept of 'the circulation of elites', i.e., a dialectical theory in which it is assumed that elites are in continuous struggle with each other, leading to the replacement of one elite group by another from time to time.

Mosca was not an advocate of democratic political system. This was because he regarded 'the extension of the suffrage to the most uncultured strata of the population' which was a major threat to liberal political and social institutions. For him, the political formula propagated in any society is the 'myth of democracy', in which it is considered that the ruler and the ruled work together toward a common moral or legal goal offering democratic freedom. Mosca held the viewpoint that two opposing social forces are always in action in any governmental situation—the desire to confine the power within the domain of some aristocratic group in particular who inherited it by virtue of their ancestors (i.e., ascribed status), and the desire to bring new leaders up from the majority class to renew the political process (generally called the circulation of elites). He was in favour of an equilibrium state for these two political courses.

When compared to Michels' analysis of the oligarchical tendencies in a society, Mosca's strict dichotomy of an organized minority versus an unorganized majority is simplistic and non-operationalizable, and even rigid when dealing with modern societies. On the other hand, when compared to Pareto's more generalized conception of the elite, Mosca's conception of the ruling class appears narrower in approach being more closely tied and applicable to the specific judicial and political sphere of late 19th century state of Italy.

3.2.2 R. Michels' Power Theory

Robert Michels held the viewpoint that any political system eventually evolves into an oligarchy i.e., a kind of power structure where the power in actual fact rests with minority generally distinguished by wealth, family relations, lineage, education, business, or military influence. Michels termed this as the 'iron law of oligarchy'. According to him, most of the contemporary democracies should be regarded as oligarchies. In such systems, actual differences between possible political rivals are few, and the oligarchic elite enforces strict restrictions on what makes a suitable and reputable political position, and that the political careers depend to a great extent on economic and media elites that is not even elected.

In Michels' political theory, the crises of institutions and ideology of parliamentary democracy constitute the focal point. The major aim of his political theory was to demonstrate the practical impossibility of implementing democratic principles owing to the inherent characteristics of capitalist political organization and the 'oligarchical tendencies' in mass political organizations—parties, trade unions and other groups.

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Michels early works which express his interest in petty-bourgeois anarchic socialism contain principally ethical-social ideas and as such do not come under his political sociology. His criticism of parliamentary democracy expressed the views and moods of those sections of the petty bourgeoisie which comprised the initial mass basis for fascism. Michels' theoretical views on parliamentary democracy took shape within the parameters of two concepts—theoretical syndicalism (Hubert Lagardelle and Georges Sorel) and elitism (Vilfredo Pareto).

Michels attempted to establish the causal factors of power stratification in mass democratic organizations of a bourgeois society. He wrote: 'The complex of tendencies which stand in the way of an implementation of democracy only makes it difficult to unravel and catalogue. These tendencies lie (1) in the essence of human nature, (2) in the essence of the political struggle, and (3) in the essence of organization. Democracy leads to oligarchy. In putting forward this thesis we are far from making a condemnation or moral judgment on any political parties or regimes. Like all sociological laws, the law expressing the aspiration of any human aggregate to form a hierarchy stands beyond good and evil.'

In Michels opinion: 'The formula of the need for a replacement of one ruling stratum by another and the law of oligarchy that follows from it as a necessary form of collective life in no way rejects and replaces the materialist understanding of history, it only supplements it. There is no contradiction between an idea by which history is a process of continuous class struggle and the idea that class struggle leads to the establishment of a fresh oligarchy.'

He considered that the oligarchy phenomenon can be explained partly psychologically (the psychology of the masses and the psychology of organizations), and partly organically (laws of structures of organizations), with the major role belonging to the first group of factors.

Michels prefaced the sociological proper analysis of politics with the concept of political history based on the idea of preserving and modifying 'the aristocracy principle' in the process of replacing various kinds of 'ruling classes' irrespective of their origin and composition. He supposed that behaviour of the 'ruling class' in conditions of bourgeois democracy is determined by the impact of the "masses" on the political process.

Michels depicted the bureaucratization process of mass political organizations in the imperialist era as an absolute law, evaluating it from the viewpoint of a petty bourgeois intellectual experiencing the demise of his democratic illusions and becoming a proponent of right-wing extremist political views. He saw 'oligarchy' as the unavoidable fate of any democracy, irrespective of its historical forms and social class basis. According to Michels, the oligarchical structure of power arises as three groups of factors interact: (i) the technical qualities of a political organization, (ii) the psychological qualities of the organized masses, and (iii) the psychological characteristics of political leaders.

He credited primary significance to motivation for the advancement of political leaders both by the group and by individuals occupying positions of power. The hierarchical power structure that has taken shape, in Michels view, develops further by its own inner laws, reproducing oligarchical tendencies on an extending scale. The gradual transition from 'spontaneous leadership' to 'oligarchy' takes place in two stages: (i) professionalized and (ii) stabilized leadership. This scheme has something in common with the 'routinization of charisma' of his close associate Max Weber. In both cases,

we deal with their attempts to define the content of political power via psychological behavioural constructions. In his most well-known work, *The Sociology of Political Parties* (1911), Michels termed the whole set of tendencies leading to the emergence of an oligarchical power structure.

He singles out three autonomous elements in the structure of the ‘dominant class’—political, economic and intellectual—whose interaction is conditioned by the requirements to enforce supremacy. Depending on the concrete historical situation, therefore, real power may be implemented by ‘political-economic’ (plutocratic), ‘political-intellectual’ or a ‘wilful political’ class. Pareto’s ‘circulation of elites’ in a somewhat modified form lays an important part in Michels’ description of the political process. The downfall of the fundamental institutions of bourgeois democracy in European states of Italy and Germany was put down to the action of the law of ‘circulation of elites’ by these two Political Scientists.

3.2.3 Vilfredo Pareto: Elite Theory of Power

At the start of the 20th century, this type of theory, i.e., elite theory of power regarding the nature and distribution of power was initially developed by the famous Italian sociologist Vilfredo Pareto in his work *The Mind and Society* (1916). According to him, the rule by the elite groups was inevitable. He also viewed this state of affairs to be advantageous—it was, effectively, ‘right and proper’ that elite groups must direct the process of political decision-making. Pareto elaborated political power in terms of a ‘continuous circulation of elite groups’ who rule because of their members’ better intelligence, education, cunning and so on (i.e., their superior personal qualities). In this regard, elites gain power because of their superior internal organization—they gained power in the face of the disorganization of other elites, the general mass of the population, etc. He viewed the general (politically disorganized) mass of population as being controlled through propaganda, manipulation and the likes to fulfill the interests of powerful elites.

The Concept of Elite and Elite Theory of Power

In a general sense, the term ‘elite’ was employed to refer to commodities of particular quality. In the 17th century, the word elite was broadened to include social groups such as higher ranks of mobility and others that could be treated as better-quality to the rest of them. It was only in the latter part of the 19th century that the term gained popularity in sociological writings in Europe. In 1930’s sociological theories of elite developed in Britain and America particularly in the writings of Vilfredo Pareto.

Pareto (1935) explained the concept of elite in terms of a class of people with highest indices (referring to sign of capacity, e.g., a successful doctor has highest index). This class of people is referred to as the elite. So, according to Pareto elite class comprises all those who have succeeded and are considered by their peers and the public as the best. When he spoke of the elite consistently, Pareto meant not only those who have succeeded but those who exercise the political functions of administration or government and those who influence or determine the conduct of governing machinery though they are nor officials or ministers (Aron, 1966).

Vilfredo Pareto (1848–1923): Basically popular for his work on the theory of elites, his gift to sociology and political science was both general as well as profound. He noted that most of the human behaviour was irrational. He explains that humans, nonetheless, are inclined to validate their non-logical actions as rational and logical. Human behaviour possesses two elements: (i) a comparatively permanent which he termed as the residues and (ii) comparatively variable element which he termed as the derivation. Residues show human sentiment or states of mind and derivations

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Check Your Progress

1. What was Mosca’s most remarkable contribution in political theory?
2. What was the main aim of R. Michels political theory?
3. How has Curtis defined politics?

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are those various resourceful theories through which men try to rationalise their actions.

On the basis of differential distribution of different types of residues, Pareto proposed the theory of circulation of elites. It explains that an egalitarian society is not possible and that the society gets essentially divided into the elites, i.e., those who have attained the maximum indices in their fields of specialization, and the masses. The circulation happens when the governing elites are relocated by non-governing (comprising able individuals not in power relations) elites. He names these elites as 'Lions' and 'Foxes'. He specifies the 'speculators' endowed with residues of combination and 'rentiers' endowed with the residue for persistence of aggregates in the economic field.

There are two categories: the non-elite (who may or may not have a role to play in the government) and the elite. The latter category, i.e., the elite is divided into governing elite and non-governing elite. The elite class is divisible into two classes: the governing elite and the masses. In other words, he discussed power as the universal aspect of social stratification. Pareto talks of two strata in a population, these are:

- A lower stratum, the non-elite, and
- A higher stratum, the elite.



Fig. 3.1 Social Stratification

Therefore, the elites are classified into two categories in the following manner:



Fig. 3.2 Pareto's Classification of Elites in a Population

Important Features of Elites

Pareto significantly identified the element of mobility in the elite class. He did not claim that the elites were a static category, which was constituted once and for all. On the basis of the above-mentioned feature he propounded the idea of 'circulation of elite'. The theory of 'circulation of elite' may be explained through two approaches. These are:

- Circulation of elite refers to the process in which individuals circulate between the elite and the non-elite groups.
- It also refers to the process in which one elite is replaced by another.

Pareto incorporated both the conceptions but the former conception referring the circulation of individuals between elite and non-elite groups predominates. In the context

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of decay and renewal of aristocracies, Pareto explains ‘the governing class is restored not only in numbers but—and it is the more important thing—in quality, by families rising from lower classes’. Beside this he also mentioned that the circulation of elites leads to the increase of degenerate elements in the classes which still hold power and increase in the elements of superior quality in the subject classes (i.e., non-elite class). In such a situation social equilibrium becomes unstable. Even a gentle blow may be sufficient to collapse it. After that a new elite comes to power and establishes a new equilibrium after a conquest or a revolution. He also reiterated the occurrence of circulation of individuals between the elite and non-elite classes. He explained that the governing class constituting the elite might induct those people in the lower classes from whom they perceive threat or danger. When such people are included into the elite group they change their character completely and adopt the attitude and interests of the established elite.

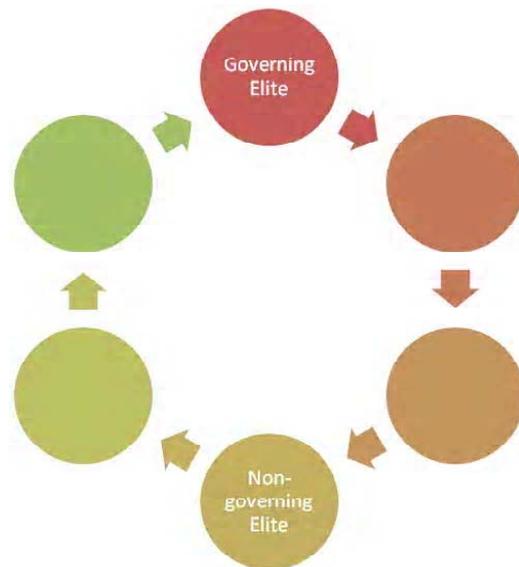


Fig. 3.3 Vilfredo Pareto: Circulation of Elite

Summary of Pareto’s arguments

For Pareto, the elite can behave as either foxes or lions, in other words, the elite can choose the rule by cunningness or by force. Using the concepts of Machiavelli, Pareto distinguished two basic types of elite groups:

- ‘Lion elites’ who were capable of ruling by force (e.g., military dictatorships/ regimes). Lions gain power because of their ability to take direct and powerful actions to rule.
- ‘Fox elites’ who ruled by diplomatic manipulation (e.g., liberal democratic regimes). Foxes rule by cleverness and cunningness.

So, now it’s evident that Pareto’s opinion of political power was very all-encompassing. He tried to solve the problem of political change. He posed the question that if an elite was effectively all-powerful, could he be displaced by another elite? According to him this could be done by reference to the idea that elites, after they gain power, have a comparatively limited life-span. Hence we can say that they become self-indulgent, decay, lose their force and, in turn, are replaced by other, more-powerful, elite groups.

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In this regard, we can summarize the theory of 'circulating elites' as follows: 'Powerful groups arise in society, take power, lose their political vitality over time and are replaced.' Now, we can conclude that within the party, different elite groups existed and rose to prominence, attained power within the party and, after some years, started to decay. Vilfredo Pareto analysed the theory of circulation of elites with the help of notions of residues and derivations. According to him, there are six basic human drives or instincts, which he termed 'residues'. The residues are manipulated by the elite through the use of four political strategies that Pareto terms 'derivations'.

Residues: The six residues are as follows:

1. *Instinct of combination:* All people have an instinct to live together in groups.
2. *Persistence of aggregates or group persistence:* Once groups are established people have an instinctual need to maintain them.
3. *Need of expressing sentiments by external acts (activity, self-expression):* People attempt to reinforce the bonds that hold groups together by forming rituals, such as those we find in religions.
4. *Residues connected with sociality:* People have a drive for uniformity and an instinctual hostility to outsiders.
5. *Self-preservation (integrity of the individual and his appurtenances):* Individuals have an instinct to maintain their own security, property and social position.
6. *The sex residue (residues of sexuality):* Sexuality has a role to play in maintaining the social bonds of society.

Derivations: The four derivations are as follows:

1. *Simple assertion:* People in elite positions simply state that something is right, and this is accepted as a satisfactory justification.
2. *Authority:* The masses accept what they are told by the elite because they accept the latter's position as legitimate.
3. *Sentiments or principles:* The masses accept what they are told by the elite because they believe the latter are conforming to public opinion.
4. *Verbal proofs:* The masses are persuaded to behave in a particular way, or to accept a belief, by the convincing arguments of the elite.

Criticism: There are several problems with this kind of analysis:

- Pareto's theory of elite was perceived as a validation for fascism. Further, his analysis largely ignored economic factors.
- Pareto assumed that elite groups are by some means superior to all other groups in society. He provides just a little real idea about how and why they are purportedly superior.
- His clarification for the substitution of elites is very simplistic in nature, insofar as he gives no substantial explanation as to why elites should essentially become decadent or decay.
- The difference between various types of elite is very simplistic and does not identify the fact that, in democratic societies, the politically strong might rule through a mix of economic, military, political and ideological power.
- To Pareto, there appears to be very little fundamental difference between democratic societies and totalitarian societies.

Check Your Progress

4. When was Vilfredo Pareto born and what was his most significant work?
5. Pareto divided the elites into two categories. Name them.
6. What are the two approaches through which the theory of circulation of elite can be explained?

3.2.4 C.Wright Mills: The Power Elite

Charles Wright Mills

(28 August 1917–20 March 1961) was a political sociologist. He is basically remembered for his 1959 book *The Sociological Imagination* in which he lays down a view of the appropriate relationship between biography and history, theory and method in sociological scholarship. Mills is also known for analysing the structures of power and class in the U.S. in his book *The Power Elite*. He was concerned with the responsibilities of intellectuals in post- World War II society, and advocated public, political engagement over uninterested observation.

One of the most influential elite theorists of the 20th century is C. Wright Mills, whose book *The Power Elite* (1956) introduced a number of new dimensions including economic dimension and notions into the classical elite theory of Pareto and Mosca. He proposed the concept of power elite in the context of power in USA. He argued that at the national level, a single power elite rules modern America. He explained the theory of power elite in terms of a unified power group composed of top government executives, military officials and corporation directors. According to him, the elites are comprised of those ‘men that enter into every cranny of the social structure’ (Mills 1956:4, 7). These command posts are situated at the ‘summits’ of the great ‘hierarchies of state, corporation and army’, which together form an encompassing ‘triangle of power’ (Mills 1956:5, 8). So, with the USA as his focus, Mills argued that national power resides in three domains: the economic, the political and the military. Top decision-making is becoming more centralized and coordinated between these three domains. In contrast to Marx, he also mentioned that political and military power cannot be reduced to economic power; all three are distinct. Mills identified the powerful as ‘those who are able to realize their will, even if other resist it’ (1956:288). The decisions of the elite ‘mightily affect the everyday worlds of ordinary men and women’, and they must be held to account (Mills, 1956:3).

C. Wright Mills in his book named *The Power Elite* analyses the American society. He explains elite rule in institutional terms as he specifies three basic institutions in USA: (i) the major business corporations, (ii) the military and (iii) the federal government. These institutions hold fundamental positions in society. The ones who occupy command posts in these three basic institutions comprise the elite. The beholders of these command posts though seemingly discernible from each other in terms of their association with three major institutions are adequately similar in their values, interests and ideals and are interconnected and interrelated to constitute a single ruling minority. He christens this ruling minority as ‘the power elite’. The economic, military and political interests represented by these three groups are promoted to the degree that there is collaboration and sharing among them. The over all result of the concurrence of economic, military and political power is power elite which is predominant in the American society and takes all decisions of national and international importance.

Main Features of Mills Ideology on Power

- **Structure of power explaining how power is distributed among the major segments of present-day American society:** Mills proposed that pyramid of power may be conceived as formed of three layers. The apex is occupied by power elite; the second layer is occupied by middle levels of power. This level of power is constituted of diversified and balanced plurality of interest groups while the third layer is occupied by mass society. Mass society is comprised of powerless mass of unorganized people who are controlled from upper strata, i.e., power elites at the apex and middle level.

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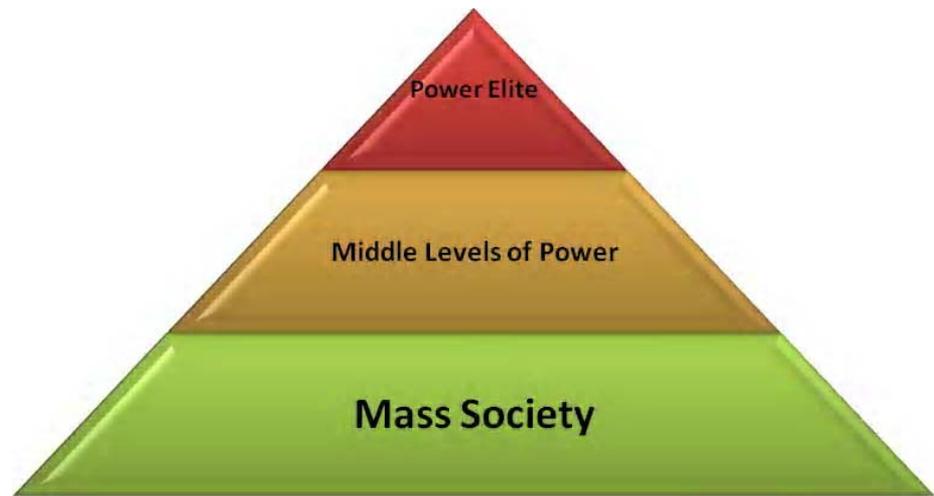


Fig. 3.4 C. Wright Mills: Pyramid of Power/Triangle of Power

- **Changes in the structure of power including how the distribution of power has changed in the course of American history:** Mills lays emphasis on increasing concentration of power and the ascending of power elite.
- **Operation of the structure of power including the means whereby power is exercised in American society:** According to Mills, the power elites lay down all important public policies particularly foreign policy. The power elites manipulate the people at the bottom.
- **Bases of the structure of power including how social and psychological factors shape and sustain the existing distribution of power:** It is understandable that power is shared among who share common interests. For Mills, the power elite represents a body of people with common interests.
- **Consequences of the structure of power including how the existing distribution of power affects American society:** Mills said that,
 - o The interests of the major institutions (corporations, armed forces, executive branch of government) whose leaders constitute the power elite are greatly enhanced in the existing power arrangements;
 - o Because of concentration of power in the hands of select few and manipulation for exercising power, there is decline of politics as public debate;
 - o Concentration of power has taken place without a corresponding shift in the bases of legitimacy of power. Power is supposed to reside in the hands of those who direct the key bureaucracies. Consequently, men of power are neither responsible nor accountable for their power; and
 - o If power trends to a small group which is not accountable for its power, and if politics no longer involves genuine public debate then there will be a severe weakening of democratic institutions.

Summary of C. Wright Mill's Theory of Power Elite

A more radical and theoretically well-developed form of elite theory was propounded by C. Wright Mills. At the same time as Mills focuses on the manner elite groups organize and attain power in democratic societies, he stated that this process—far from being right, appropriate and unavoidable as maintained by Mosca and Pareto—was neither inevitable nor essentially beneficial to society as a whole. In this context,

Mills highlighted a form of non-Marxist Conflict theory regarding elites in democratic societies.

Mills' analysis has basis in the idea that certain elite groups rose to control different institutions in society. As a few institutions were more powerful than others (an economic elite, for instance, was expected to be more powerful than an educational or religious elite), it followed that the elite groups controlling such institutions will hold the balance of power in the over all society. That is to say, they would dominate politically on the structural level of power. Mills specified three key institutions (or 'power blocs') within the State which he took to be of key significance in terms of the potential for holding power in society:

- Major corporations
- Military
- Federal government

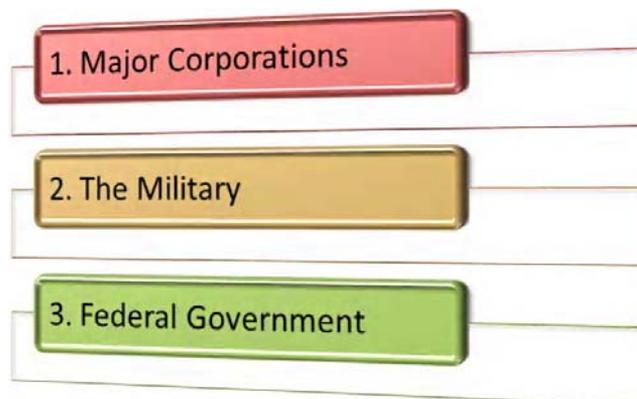


Fig. 3.5 Mills' Main Institutions of Power

All these institutions comprised a power bloc in its own right since each of them possessed a set of particular interests. Each power bloc was dominated by internal elite, e.g., the leaders of the most powerful corporations, the upper strata of the armed forces, and the leaders of the political party in government.

According to Mills the governing elite in the United States draws its members from three domains:

- Highest political leaders comprising the president and a handful of key cabinet members and close advisers
- Major corporate owners and directors
- High-ranking military officers

These people constitute a close-knit group. For the major part, the elite has respect for the civil liberties, follows established constitutional principles and functions explicitly and calmly. It is not like dictatorship because it does not depend upon terror, secret police or midnight arrests to attain its objectives. Further, its membership is not closed, although several members have enjoyed a head start in life because of their being born into well-known families. Nonetheless, those who work hard, enjoy good luck and show enthusiasm to take on elite values find it possible to get into higher circles from below. Essentially, the power of elite groups stems from control of the highest positions in the political and business hierarchy and from shared belief and values.

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The power elite comprise men whose positions entitle them to rise above the common environments of ordinary men and women. They are in positions to make decisions bearing major consequences. It is not that important whether they do or do not make such decisions. What is more important is the fact that they hold such pivotal positions. Their inability to act and make decisions is itself an act which is usually of bigger consequence than the decisions made by them. They command the major hierarchies and organizations of contemporary society. They run, rule or control big corporations. They control the state machinery and claim its privileges. The military establishment is directed by them. They hold the tactical command posts of the social structure in which are now centered the effective means of power and wealth and the celebrity which they enjoy.

The power elite are not lonely rulers. Usually the consultants and advisers, spokesmen and opinion-makers are the skippers of their higher thought and decision. Directly below the elite are the professional politicians of the middle power levels, in the Congress and in the pressure groups, as well as among the new and old upper classes of town and city and region.

Degree of Overlap and Cooperation between Power Blocs

Even though such elites were strong in their own right, still in all societies there prevails an essential degree of cooperation and overlap between these power blocs. For instance, the military needs political cooperation regarding the classification of genuine enemies and economic cooperation as well. Big corporations need assistance from government, defence contracts, etc. In the same vein, the federal government also requires the collaboration of the military, a vibrant corporate sphere and so on. Hence, Mills stated that the degree of required cooperation among elites within these power blocs in effect meant that they comprised a 'power elite' within the society. These overlapping common interests meant that, while they might possess specific opposed interests, these are subjugated to the broader interest of sustaining elite power, status and rule. The following things have been noticed to strengthen the social cohesiveness of the power elite:

- The concentration and centralization of economic power among a tiny set of powerful groups/individuals.
- The concentration and centralization of political power among a small unit of strong groups/individuals.
- The common social backgrounds (and thus values) of the members of each elite.

So, for Mills, the members of various elites regularly interchanged, in a way that certain powerful individuals could be members of more than one elite at a time. For instance, military leaders may take-up political appointments, become directors of big corporations. Key business leaders may assume political appointments in government and politicians might join the boards of major corporations.

In this regard, political power turns more and more concentrated and gigantic political decisions (e.g., investment, war, civil rights and so on) were successfully taken by a small elite minority. Hence politics degraded into a manipulation of debate. In fact, Mills characterized it as an essential exercise where political choice is restricted because the political parties who coveted power could only attain it on the basis of cooperation from economic and military elites. For instance, in America, to finance an election campaign, aspiring politicians need money from businesses, the rich and so on. Due to this requirement, they, in return, are encouraged to follow policies which

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are favourable to this power bloc. According to Mills politics becomes meticulously permeated by a business/military ideology. There might be various parties and several politicians; however they will follow the same fundamental policies since they are in effect tied into the military/industrial/business complex of power.

Another key factor in Mills' analysis is that the media has a significant role to play in transforming the population from a 'public' into a 'mass'. Mills definition of public comprises following attributes:

- Expressing opinions and receiving opinions
- Immediate and effective response to any opinion expressed
- Opinions formed by discussion
- Outlets by effective action
- Communities with a high degree of independence of authoritative institutions

Whereas, the 'mass' has following attributes:

- People receiving opinions and impressions from the media
- Little expression or sharing of opinions
- Few effective channels for people's response
- No independence of authoritative institutions

Mills explained that media propagates psychological illiteracy among individual people by breaking down local prejudices. He said individual people even don't trust their own experiences unless the media confirms it. Therefore, he asserted that media is very important for the creation of individual's self image. He explained:

- The media provides people an identity.
- The media presents people aspirations.
- The media informs people how to fulfill those aspirations.
- The media bestows people an escape from their feelings.

Mills explained the theory of power elite and mass society in a very concise manner, which is as follows:

The top of modern American society is increasingly unified, and often seems willfully coordinated; at the top there has emerged an elite of power. The middle levels are a drifting set of stalemated, balancing forces: the middle does not link the bottom with the top. The bottom of this society is politically fragmented and even as a passive fact, increasingly powerless: at the bottom there is emerging a mass society.

3.3 PLURALISTIC CRITIQUE

1. Classical pluralism

Pluralism has changed partly as a response to theoretical criticism. The classical pluralist position argues:

- Power is not concentrated but diffused
- People in a society represent different interests of the population
- Groups compete with each other for influence over government
- Competition follows the 'rules of the game'
- All groups accept the legitimacy of the decision making process and of its outcome

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- If there will be competition between groups, it will ensure that no one group dominates
- Government is a neutral arbiter between interests

The logic of this model leads to a decision-taking methodology - Lukes' first dimension of power. It means that:

- Inputs into the decision making process and the outputs are studied
- Decisions are seen as being rationally taken
- Governments consider alternatives and adopt policies that meet national interests

This classical pluralist position is no longer regarded as an accurate description of the distribution of power in contemporary liberal democracies. Increasingly, theorists are adopting what is called the 'elite pluralist position'.

2. Elite pluralism

The emphasis here remains upon the existence of a number of interest groups, which compete with each other for scarce resources. However, it differs from classical pluralism in two main ways:

1. Here there is recognition that not all individuals are necessarily represented by the interest group system. Among the under-represented are the blacks, the working class, consumers, women, the unemployed and the old. These groups have little economic power.

In this view, under-representation occurs because people do not wish to be represented. Additionally, the government protects the interests of the under-represented, because although they might not have any economic or political resources, they do have a vote. So the representative electoral system acts as a check on the unrepresentative aspects of the interest group system.

2. All organizations tend to be hierarchical therefore it is acknowledged that groups are less open and responsive to their members than classical pluralists assumed. Organisation leads to oligarchy. As a result, it is accepted that some groups and individuals have more access to decision-making than others. Generally, it is argued that economic interest groups have more access than ideological (cause) groups.

The elite pluralist response to this situation is to contend that the policy-making process is made up of a large number of policy communities. In each policy area there will be a distinct set of interests to be represented. The interest groups involved in the policy area will form an actual or potential policy community. The very existence of such diversity, within a policy community, with no segment of it with a claim to a privileged position, preserves pluralism and prevents the domination of government by any particular interest.

This version of pluralism presents us with innovation without change - the essential elements remain the same. Groups are still seen as competing with each other for scarce resources, with no one group dominant, and with the government retaining an independent and neutral stance. The main divergence with classical pluralism is over the process by which power is exercised and decisions taken. For the elite pluralist, fewer groups are involved in the process of consultation and indeed this process may have certain elitist or corporatist elements.

Check Your Progress

7. In which of his books has Mills analysed the American society?
8. What according to Mill are the three key institutions within the state?
9. Who are the power elites?
10. State two arguments of classical pluralism?

3.4 SUMMARY

- Elite as a concept has been a key term in social science although many times it has been used without reference to Pareto, Mosca and Michels.
- Circulation of elites more specifically, in the realm of politics and the ruling class is the main concern of Pareto, Mosca and Michels.
- All of them analyze the structure of elites, social stratification in society, social mobility upward and downward, relation among the elite strata and relation between elite and non-elite classes; and socio-economic, political and historical conditions' effect on these phenomena and relationship among them.
- In the recent times, the idea of power has assumed particular significance in the realm of Political Sociology.
- Political Sociology is understood as the study of power. Machiavelli, Hobbes, Harrington, Pareto, Mosca, Michels, Dahl, Easton, Kaplan, Lasswell, Morgenthau and Parsons made notable contribution to this perspective.
- Power refers to the ability of a person to influence the behaviour of another person or a group of persons in accordance with his/her own wish.
- Power always entails a social relationship between at least two actors. It cannot be an attribute of one person. An individual's power is meaningless unless it is stated over whom this power is exercised.
- Gaetano Mosca is well-known for his works on political theory that include *Theory of Governments and Parliamentary Government* (1884), *The Ruling Class* (1896) and *History of Political Doctrines* (1936).
- Michels depicted the bureaucratization process of mass political organizations in the imperialist era as an absolute law, evaluating it from the viewpoint of a petty bourgeois intellectual experiencing the demise of his democratic illusions and becoming a proponent of right-wing extremist political views.
- He credited primary significance to motivation for the advancement of political leaders both by the group and by individuals occupying positions of power.
- At the start of the 20th century, elite theory of power regarding the nature and distribution of power was initially developed by the famous Italian sociologist Vilfredo Pareto in his work '*The Mind and Society*' (1916).
- Pareto (1935) explained the concept of elite in terms of a class of people with highest indices (referring to sign of capacity, e.g., a successful doctor has highest index).
- Pareto (1935) explained the concept of elite in terms of a class of people with highest indices (referring to sign of capacity, e.g., a successful doctor has highest index). This class of people is referred to as the elite.
- When he spoke of the elite consistently, Pareto meant not only those who have succeeded but those who exercise the political functions of administration or government and those who influence or determine the conduct of governing machinery though they are nor officials or ministers.
- There are two categories: the non-elite (who may or may not have a role to play in the government) and the elite. The latter category, i.e., the elite is divided into governing elite and non-governing elite.
- Pareto incorporated both the conceptions but the former conception referring the circulation of individuals between elite and non-elite groups predominates.

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- For Pareto, the elite can behave as either foxes or lions, in other words, the elite can choose the rule by cunning or by force.
- One of the most influential elite theorists of the 20th century is C. Wright Mills, whose book *The Power Elite* (1956) introduced a number of new dimensions including economic dimension and notions into the classical elite theory of Pareto and Mosca.
- ‘*The Power Elite*’ analyses the American society. He explains elite rule in institutional terms as he specifies three basic institutions in USA: (i) the major business corporations, (ii) the military and (iii) the federal government. These institutions hold fundamental positions in society.
- As Mills focuses on how the elite groups organize and attain power in democratic societies, he stated that this process—far from being right, appropriate and unavoidable as maintained by Mosca and Pareto—was neither inevitable nor essentially beneficial to society as a whole. In this context, Mills highlighted a form of non-Marxist Conflict theory regarding elites in democratic societies.
- The power elite comprise men whose positions entitle them to rise above the common environments of ordinary men and women. They are in positions to make decisions bearing major consequences.
- Even though such elites were strong in their own right, still in all societies there prevails an essential degree of cooperation and overlap between these power blocs.
- According to Mills politics becomes meticulously permeated by a business/military ideology. There might be various parties and several politicians; however they will follow the same fundamental policies since they are in effect tied into the military/industrial/business complex of power.

3.5 KEY TERMS

- **Oligarchy:** It is a form of power structure in which power effectively rests with a small number of people. These people could be distinguished by royalty, wealth, family ties, education, corporate, religious or military control.
- **Lion elites:** Elites who were capable of ruling by force
- **Fox elites:** Elites who ruled by diplomatic manipulation

3.6 ANSWERS TO ‘CHECK YOUR PROGRESS’

1. Mosca’s most remarkable contribution happens to be his observation that almost all the primitive societies are ruled by a numerical minority, or elite, whom he addressed as the ‘political class.
2. The major aim of his political theory was to demonstrate the practical impossibility of implementing democratic principles owing to the inherent characteristics of capitalist political organization and the ‘oligarchic tendencies’ in mass political organizations—parties, trade unions and other groups.
3. According to Curtis, politics is organized dispute about power and its use, involving choice among competing values, ideas, persons, interests and demands.
4. Pareto was born in the year 1848. His most significant work is *The Mind and Society* published in 1916.
5. Pareto divided the elites into governing elites and non-governing elites.

6. The theory of 'circulation of elite' may be explained through two approaches. These are:
 - Circulation of elite refers to the process in which individuals circulate between the elite and the non-elite groups.
 - It also refers to the process in which one elite is replaced by another.
7. Mills has analysed the American society in his book, *The Power Elite* (1956).
8. The three key institutions within the state are: major corporations, the military and the federal government.
9. The power elite comprise men whose positions entitle them to rise above the common environments of ordinary men and women. They are in positions to make decisions bearing major consequences.
10. Two arguments of classical pluralism are:
 - Power is not concentrated but diffused.
 - People in a society represent different interests of the population

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3.7 QUESTIONS AND EXERCISES

Short-Answer Questions

1. What are the theories of circulation?
2. What are the different ideologies through which the nature and limits of political power have been theorized?
3. Why was Mosca not seen as an advocate of democratic political system?
4. What are the important features of elites?
5. What according to Mills are the consequences of the structure of power?

Long-Answer Questions

1. Discuss in detail Mosca's theory of power. What are the major differences between the power theory of Mosca and Michels?
2. Pareto explained the concept of elite in terms of a class of people with the highest indices. Explain.
3. Discuss the concept of power elite as propounded by CW Mills.
4. Discuss the concept of elite pluralism.

3.8 FURTHER READING

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Structure

- 4.0 Introduction
- 4.1 Unit Objectives
- 4.2 Political Participation
- 4.3 Political Communication
- 4.4 Social Stability
- 4.5 Social Change and Social Conflict: Theories and Process
 - 4.5.1 Theory of Social Change
- 4.6 Summary
- 4.7 Key Terms
- 4.8 Answers to 'Check Your Progress'
- 4.9 Questions and Exercises
- 4.10 Further Reading

NOTES**4.0 INTRODUCTION**

Public administration is the fulfillment or enforcement of public policy as declared by the competent authorities. It deals with the problems and powers, the organization and techniques of management involved in carrying out the laws and policies formulated by the policy-making agencies of government. The rapid pace of globalization has exerted new pressures on the public sector to increase its skills and capacity to deal with new challenges and opportunities, such as new information and communication technologies (ICT), the expansion of trade and investment, an increased focus on public goods such as the environment and human rights, and the proactive role of global institutions such as the World Trade Organization that affect development processes at the country level.

In this unit we will study about some such concepts of public administration. Political participation and communication are some of the important components of public administration. The theories of social change and conflict have also been discussed in detail.

4.1 UNIT OBJECTIVES

After going through this unit, you will be able to:

- Describe the concepts of political communication and participation
- Discuss the relevance of social stability
- Analyse the theories of social change and social conflict

4.2 POLITICAL PARTICIPATION

The general level of participation in a society is the extent to which people as a whole are active in politics—the number of active people multiplied by the amount of their action, to put it arithmetically. However, the question of what it is to take part in politics is massively complex and ultimately ambiguous. It raises the question of what constitutes politics. We would, for example, assume that activity within a political party or an organization which regarded itself as a pressure group should count as political participation. However, what about activity in other sorts of organization, such as sports associations and traditional women's organizations? Although not overtly political, these organizations set the context of politics, give their active members administrative experience and are capable of overt political action if their interests or principles are threatened. There is an opposite problem about political losers: if people

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act, but ineffectively, perhaps because they are part of a permanent minority in a political system, can we say they have participated in the making of decisions? One implication of this doubt is that possessing power is a necessary condition or logical equivalent of true political participation. If one is merely consulted by a powerful person who wants one's views for information, or if one is mobilized or re-educated within the control of another, one has not participated in politics in any significant sense.

Political participation is so fundamental to democracy that the latter would not exist without the widespread, regular and active participation of citizens. Liberal political philosophy believes that the rights of an individual are protected by the exercise by citizens of civil and economic rights and other constitutional guarantees. Political participation is necessary because it enables citizens to consciously fashion their conditions of existence within a political community, thus converting citizens into genuinely autonomous agents.

The most persuasive argument in favour of political participation of the citizenry is that it complies with the comprehensive function of development. It helps an individual to exercise and develop the capacity to reason; the ability of the citizen to trust fellow beings by overcoming alienation, deracination, and many other anomalies of modern life. Political participation not only refers to engagement with government and the State but also with civil society by developing social trust and a improving communal values and benefits.

Genuine and effective political participation must also acknowledge the rights of non-participants to stand outside the political process, if the latter chooses to do so. It must be noted that participation does not always and necessarily imply that the political actors accept the political system. Although violent revolutions and direct political action, such as civil disobedience, are modes of political participation, democratic theorists are inclined towards structuring political participation through the constitutional framework. Of course, it is also important to note that it is not the quantity of political participation but the quality that is more important. It hardly makes sense to claim that India is the largest democracy if the democratic process does not efficiently protect the poor, the women and the minorities.

An effective means of political participation is the work that an individual can do within civil society because such political activity could range from being against the State, to being part of it, in dialogue with the State, in partnership with the State, in support of the State, or perhaps even beyond the State. In a country where the Civil Society is empowered, political participation may appear in a variety of formal and non-formal modes, where citizens and non-citizens (like refugees) could work towards social change.

4.3 POLITICAL COMMUNICATION

Professional marketing, advertising and public relations approaches, developed in the corporate sector, have become central to the political communication process. Political communication can be seen as a sub-field of political science and communication. It deals with the dissemination and production of information, both through media and interpersonally, within a political context. Political communication includes:

- Study of the media
- Analysis of speeches by politicians
- Formal and informal conversations among members of the public

Concept of Political Communication

The study and practice of political communication focuses on the ways and means of expression of a political nature. This study includes public discussion like political speeches, news media coverage, and also the talks of ordinary citizens. It considers who has authority to sanction and allocate public resources along with the authority to make decisions. It is not the source of message that makes it political, it is in fact its content and purpose.

David L. Swanson and Dan Nimmo, the key members of this sub-discipline, define political communication as ‘the strategic use of communication to influence public knowledge, beliefs, and action on political matters.’ By highlighting the role of persuasion in political discourse, they have emphasized the strategic nature of political communication.

Political communication not only covers verbal or written statements, but also visual representations such as dress, make-up, hairstyle or logo design. It also includes the aspects that develop a political identity or image. Political communication is manipulative in intent, it utilizes social scientific techniques to understand human motivation, human behaviour and the media environment, to inform effectively what should be communicated – encompassing its detail and overall direction.

Political communication has become an important discipline today with many academic departments and schools around the world dedicated to it.

Role of Social Media in Political Communication

Social media has dramatically changed the way in which modern political campaigns are run. With more generation X and Generation Y coming into the voting population, social media is the platform on which the politicians need to establish themselves and engage with the voters. Especially in a digital age, social media will be more important than traditional media, if not already, to the politicians. Barack Obama’s 2008 US presidential campaign has often been described as the first electoral campaign in which the use of social media had a decisive impact. Most of us know social media from its different tools and communities. Facebook, MySpace, YouTube, Twitter are the most popular ones.

Approaches to Political Communication

According to James Chesebro, there are five critical approaches to contemporary Political communications:

- Machiavellian - i.e. power relationships (employment of cunning and diplomacy in statecraft)
- Iconic - symbols are important
- Ritualistic - redundant and superficial nature of political acts - manipulation of symbols
- Confirmation - political aspects looked at as people we endorse
- Dramatistic - politics is symbolically constructed

4.4 SOCIAL STABILITY

Social stability can be seen as a sociological perspective that states a group always seeks to maintain equilibrium by forcing out ideas and individuals that disagree with popular opinion. One advantage of this is that it helps keep society in balance and

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promotes harmonious coexistence. If there is a lack of social stability, it may cause revolution and unrest in the group.

The primary objective of social stability is to analyse how all the various parts of society fit together. It aims for fluidity in every interaction within a group, prioritizing and rewarding behaviors that the group wants to encourage and finding ways to publicly discourage unwanted activities. As it is based on the idea that all social circles want to remain in harmony and excludes thoughts and actions that stand in opposition to that outcome, this sociological theory is also referred to as social equilibrium.

This principle is popular in dogmatic societies, exclusive groups and religious circles. It opposes outside opinions and instead tries to emphasize cooperation with other members of society to maintain a stable network.

Social stability often undergoes minor changes over the passage of time. As new methods of communication and types of technology emerge, cultures take on the aspects that fit their ideologies and make their lives easier. This in turn results in modification of what is accepted as part of social stability in the long run.

4.5 SOCIAL CHANGE AND SOCIAL CONFLICT: THEORIES AND PROCESS

Karl Marx, from a conflict perspective, provided a dialectical historical approach for the study of social change. Marx's interpretation of social change has something in common with evolutionary theories. Both regard the major patterns of change as being brought about by interaction with the material environment. Marx opined that the economic structure that every society rests on might get modified over a period of time, thereby influencing and affecting changes in the legal, political and cultural institutions. Human beings are actively bringing in change in their systems of production and controlling the material world, thereby making changes in the social infrastructure. The level of economic progress of a society can be determined by these changes. Marx believed that social change is brought about not by a slow process, but by a revolutionary transformation. Slow changes in the balance of social power alternates with violent, revolutionary transformation. This has been referred to as dialectical interpretation of change.

In Marx's theory of social change, two elements in social life have a predominant place: (i) the development of technology (productive forces) and (ii) the relations between social classes. The theory states that a dominant class maintains and stabilizes a system of class relations and a definite mode of production. These correspond to a definite stage of production. But the continuing development of productive forces changes the relations between classes, and the condition of their conflict, and in due course the dominated class is able to overthrow the existing mode of production and system of social relationship. They usher in a new social order. Marx stretched his theory of historical change; he used it as a guiding thread for research and devoted his powers to the analysis of one complex historical phenomenon, the emergence and growth of modern capitalism. So the Marxian theory concentrates on the changes involved in the replacement of feudalism by industrial capitalism in European history. The feudal economic system was based on a small-scale agricultural production; the two principal classes being aristocrats and serfs. So to Marx, as trade and technology (forces of production) developed, major changes began to occur in the social fabric. This led to a new set of economic relations, centred on capitalist manufacture and industry in towns and cities. Conflicts between aristocrats and the newly developing capitalist class ultimately led to the process of revolution, signaling the consolidation of a new type of society. In other words, industrial capitalism replaced feudalism.

Check Your Progress

1. What is the most persuasive argument in favour of political participation?
2. What is an effective means of political participation?
3. What are the components of political communication?
4. What is the primary objective of social stability?

4.5.1 Theory of Social Change

Change is the unchangeable law of nature. Society is a part of the vast universe and is not an exception to this eternal law. The reality of social life is the reality of change. Change means alternation, modification, replacement, differentiation or integration within a phenomenon over a particular period of time, caused by a force. It refers to the amount of difference in condition of the object or phenomenon in any direction, between two points of time. Time factor is the measuring rod of the amount and direction of change. The primary concern of a sociologist is the social change and not the physical, environmental or natural changes. Of course, physical and environmental changes are not exclusively out of the sociological purview. These are studied so far as they are causally related with social change. In the light of such discussion, social change may precisely be put as any alternation, modification or replacement in any aspect of society over a particular period of time, as a result of the operation of forces either endogenous or exogenous, or both. Society is commonly viewed from two different and yet correlated angles, i.e., structural and functional. According to this point of view, Kingsley Davis defines social change as 'any such alternations as occur in social organization, that is, structure and functions of society'. Structure refers to an orderly arrangement of parts or elements on the basis of certain principles. It consists of relatively stable interrelationships among its parts. For instance, the structure of an organization refers to the orderly and relatively stable arrangement of its various limbs like head, hand, leg, stomach, heart, etc. All structural elements are never permanently static. The interrelationship among individuals and group change; new types of relationship emerge; the old role-set gets transformed to a new role-set; the quality of role performance changes with personal succession; with the new types of relationship new regulative norms evolve; culture, value and ideologies keep on changing, with the growth of human knowledge and experience and skills. The whole social structure remains in a state of transition during most part of its existence. This state of transition which takes place because of any medication, alternation or replacement in these structural elements is known as the process of social change.

The functional view of society is closely related to the structural view. Each of the constituent parts of a social system contribute more or less towards the maintenance and continuity of the whole system. The whole social system exists because its parts perform their roles. The function of one part is inter-related and interdependent with other part. Various constituent elements like economics, political, educational, familial, etc., in their functional part constitute economic sub-system, political sub-system, educational sub system and the family sub-system. The functions of these sub-systems are again interwoven to make the whole social system. The functional view of society emphasizes upon:

- Pattern maintenance
- Tension management
- Process of adaptation to its social and non-social environment
- The ways and means of goal attainment
- The process of integration among various parts
- The process of value consensus

Each of these processes is related with a functional sub-system of the society.

Social change is a process by itself. Though change brings about modification and alterations, it is never a barrier between the old and new. Change is not a separating wall between the old order and the new order. Rather, the process of change is the

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intermediate continuity between the old social order and new social order. Change does not break and destroy the old structure. Through change, the old structure only gets transformed to suit to the new conditions of living. The process of change helps the existing social structure to maintain its identity. For in the face of new circumstances, a social system may need to adapt its structure to some extent in order to survive. Change in the structure of the system may enable it to maintain its integrity as a distinguishable system, where as if it maintains the same structure too long it may lose its integrity as a system altogether.

Srinivas' View of Social Change

Social change as a theme continues to be a significant concern of Indian sociologists and social anthropologists. Srinivas has used two concepts—Sanskritization and Westernization to understand social change in India. Sanskritization is an indigenous process of change. M. N. Srinivas first used this term in his book *Religion and Society among the Coorgs of South India* published in 1952. Srinivas argues that 'the caste system is far from a rigid systems in which the position of each component caste is fixed for all time. Movement has always been possible and especially so in the middle regions of the hierarchy. A low caste was able, in generation or two, to rise to a higher position in the hierarchy by adopting vegetarianism and teetotalism, and by Sanskritizing its rituals and pantheon.

Thus he found in his study of the Coorg in Mysore, that the low caste people adopted the customs and rites of the Brahmins with a hope to raise their status in the caste hierarchy. To explain this process, Srinivas used the term *Brahminization*. But subsequently he found that the Vedic rites were not only confined to Brahmins but to other *dwij* twice born castes also practiced them. For this, he preferred to use the term Sanskritisation instead of 'Brahminization'. There was another reason for Srinivas to prefer the term sanskritization to Brahminization. During post-Vedic period, Brahmins had developed a lot of variance among themselves. Buddhist and Jainist influences also changed many of the practices of the Brahmins. So, the term Brahminization could not mean following particular kinds of rites and rituals. Srinivas writes, '... had the term Brahminization been used, it would have been necessary to specify which particular Brahmin group was meant, and at which period of its recorded history.' (Srinivas, 1978).

He argued, 'Sanskritization is the process by which a 'low' Hindu caste, or tribal or other group, changes its customs, ritual, ideology and way of life in the direction of a high and frequently, 'twice-born' caste.' He also argued that generally such changes are followed by a claim to a higher position in the caste hierarchy that traditionally conceded to the claimant caste by the local community. The claim is usually made over a period of time, in fact, a generation or two, before the 'arrival' is conceded. This type of disagreement between claimed and conceded status may not only be in the realm of opinion but also in the more important realm of institutionalized practice. Thus Harijan castes in Mysore will not accept cooked food and drinking water from the smith who are certainly one of the touchable castes and therefore superior to Harijans even if their claim to be Vishwakarma Brahmins is not accepted. Similarly peasants (okkalingas) and others, such as shepherds (kurubas) do not accept cooked food and water from the marka brahmins, who are certainly included among Brahmins. Srinivas wrote, 'I remember talking to a Lingayat in north Coorg who referred to the Coorgs as Jungle people (Kadu Jana) and this contrasted with the Coorg claim to be true Kshatriyas and even "Aryans". The above instances are all from Mysore states,

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but parallels can be cited from every part of India.’ (Srinivas, 1972)

Thus Sanskritization is a much broader concept in comparison to the earlier term Brahminization. It refers to the process of adoption of the rituals and lifestyles of higher caste by lower caste. It also refers to the process whereby the ethnic and tribal groups which fall outside the Hindu caste structure enter into the Hindu fold by entering into social contacts with the caste Hindu. The motivating factors behind the process of Sanskritization are raising of one’s status in the social hierarchy and the hope to enjoy the same political and economic power which the higher castes enjoyed. The motivation to raise one’s standard comes from a sense of ‘relative deprivation’.

Hindu society has been rigidly stratified by the caste system for centuries together. During the ancient and medieval times, the caste system was too rigid with imperative strictures which created a wide social distance between various castes. The social opportunities, economic positions, and political privileges were being determined on the basis of caste. The Brahmins, who were the upper caste, had the monopoly over social privileges. There was gradual denial of social rights and privileges towards lower strata in the caste hierarchy. The only way to achieve the higher status was to raise one’s caste position. Since caste was a hereditary group, the best way of staking claim to the higher position was to adopt the customs and ways of life of a higher caste. Of course one may ask: If the caste system was a rigid one how could the rites and customs of higher castes be adopted by lower castes? However, the empirical studies conducted by Srinivas establish the fact that this theoretical restriction did not have much effect on the lower castes. Srinivas said ‘It is possible that the very ban on lower caste, adaptation of the Brahminical ways of life had exactly opposite effects.’ Though during the earlier periods the Brahmins were reference groups, but towards the later phase, there was multiplicity in the model of Sanskritization. It is at this point that Srinivas introduced the concept of dominant caste. He was of the opinion that not only the Brahmins but also the local dominant castes serve as models of imitation. The term dominant caste is defined as the caste which ‘yields economic or political power and occupies a fairly high position in the hierarchy’. (Srinivas, 1972).

Traditionally, the castes which had highest ritual status occupied more of the economic and political power. But the establishment of the Mughal rule, frequent political changes during the medieval era, and establishment of bureaucratic administration with all Indian network of trade and commerce during the British regime brought about many new factors which came to play their role in making a caste dominant. A caste to be dominant, writes Srinivas, should own a sizable amount of arable land available locally, have strength of number, and occupy a high place in the local hierarchy. New factors contributing towards dominance are Western education, jobs in administration and urban sources of income (Srinivas, 1972). The castes, becoming dominant by the above cited possessions, during the Moghul and British rule, were accorded high status and position because of political patronage and their entrance to new economic system. The people of other lower castes looked at dominant-castes as their reference group and try to imitate their behaviour, ritual pattern, customs and ideology. In this way, the dominant caste of a particular locality played an important role in the process of cultural transmission in that area. Thus, there evolved different models of Sanskritization. Along with Brahminic models, Ksatriya, Vaisya, Sudra models were visible in different parts of the country on the basis of their dominance in their respective areas.

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Thus, according to Srinivas, there are six elements in deciding domination of a particular caste. These are: western education, urban sources of income, jobs in the local administration, powerful place in local hierarchy, strength in numbers and a sizeable portion of arable land. Accordingly, the dominant caste is a caste that has all the above attributes in a village community. The interesting aspect of this concept is that the ritual ranking of a caste no longer remains the major basis of its position in the social hierarchy. Even if a caste stands low in the social hierarchy because of being ranked low, it can become the dominant ruling caste or group in a village if it is numerically large, owns land and has political influence over village matters.

In the process of Sanskritization, along with the adoption of new customs and habits, there also occur imitation of new ideas and values. These new ideas and values are both sacred as well as secular. For instance, the Sanskritic theological ideas of *Dharma, Karma, Artha, Kama, Moksha, Paapa, Mayya, Sanskar* occur frequently in the lives of people who become sanskritized. The institutions and the values of the higher castes are also imitated. So Sanskritization is a process of social, cultural as well as ideological changes which occur in the fields of language, literature, art, religion and philosophy.

The process of Sanskritization was very slow and steady during the ancient times. Comparatively, it went on increasing during the Mughal and Islamic rule due to the emergence of various dominant castes and the political patronage. The establishment of British rule increased the pace of Sanskritization. According to Srinivas, the development of communication carried Sanskritization to areas previously inaccessible and the spread of literacy carried it to groups very low in the caste hierarchy. Western technology, like railways, radio, aeroplane, cheap press accelerated the process of Sanskritization. Srinivas also cites example of *Hari Katha* gaining popularity in Mysore city. The narrator of *Hari Katha* reaches a larger number of audience at the same time by the help of a microphone. The cinemas play a significant role in popularizing the epics and Puranas. The socio-religious reform movements like Arya Samaj, Brahma Samaj and Prarthana Samaj, which came up largely as a result of western liberal education, in their turn, contributed much towards the process of Sanskritization. The railways and other improved means of communication enabled the poor people who mostly came from lower castes to visit the religious centres like Mathura, Dwarka, Gaya, Kashi, Puri, Briandaban, Rameswaram, etc. Owing to expansion of press, radio, newspaper, religious journals have been contributing towards the popularization of Sanskritic values and ideologies. These have helped in spreading of unified Sanskritic culture. The process of Sanskritization also brought about changes in the field of occupation, diet, value orientation and social practices. The lower castes reform themselves in the direction of higher castes.

Sanskritization and Theory of Reference Group Behaviour

The achievement of the desired social status through the process of Sanskritization may be analysed in the theoretical perspective of reference group behaviour envisaged by R.K. Merton. The higher caste which is imitated serves as the reference group. The motivation to imitate arises because of the sense of relative deprivation, which the people of lower caste develop as a result of comparative evaluation of their status with that of the higher castes. The imitation of cultural norms, behaviour-style and ritual patterns of the higher group leads to a sort of anticipatory *socialization*. But the real elevation of the status depends on the acceptance of the aspiring members by the real members of the reference group. The extent of social acceptance depends on the structures of the society in which the process of imitation and claim of higher status

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takes place. If the social structure has a rigid system of stratification and is under wide dispute, the process of acceptance takes an indefinite course. Under a disputed system of stratification, there is little consensus on role specification, value expectations and ritual patterns. The Indian caste system is more a disputed system of stratification than that of a rigid system of stratification. Because the caste hierarchy does not have a universal character, it is mostly a regional hierarchy with a wide variance in ritual patterns and role specification. Even for the same caste, the ritual pattern varies from one region to another. Regional confinement in the absence of proper communication and transportation facilities during the ancient and medieval time added to the regional hierarchy of the caste structure. As a result, the process of Sanskritization led to the elevation of the status of the lower strata when they took up spatial mobility within the same region also. Because of ambiguities on the issues like value expectations the role specifications, the process of Sanskritization became more successful in achieving the higher status. At places where the caste stratification was clearly defined, the process of Sanskritization did not lead to much success and any little success took a longer period of time.

The anticipatory socialization arising out of the process of Sanskritization has both functional and dysfunctional consequences. It becomes functional by aiding the rise into the desired higher strata and by easing the process of adjustment after the claim for a higher status acquires social acceptance. It becomes dysfunctional when the claim for higher strata does not get social acceptance. In this context, Srinivas wrote, 'It is even possible that instead of moving up, it may incur the disapproval of others.' The imitating caste in the process of Sanskritizing loses many of its original features and functions. If their claim is disapproved, that becomes very dysfunctional to the caste as a whole. The very existence of the caste as a separate social entity is threatened.

Sanskritization and Structural Changes

Srinivas has analysed the process of Sanskritization in relation to caste structure. He has also tried to integrate the process with power and dominance within social structure. The process of vertical mobility of the castes within the hierarchy has also been related to 'fluidity of political system'. He is of the opinion that due to political fluidity, many dominant castes could move up to higher status by way of strengthening their own group, organization or getting royal patronage. In this way, the process of Sanskritization also throws some light on the rise and fall of power in the course of Indian history.

Viewed in this way, Sanskritization seems to have some relation with structural changes. But, when we look in to the process itself, the structural changes do not become explicit. Srinivas is not clear whether a lower caste as a whole moves up to a higher strata creating a vacancy to fit its own position; or only a group of Sanskritized families of a particular caste move up leaving behind their fellowmen. If the caste moves up as a whole, what happens to the vacancy created by its vertical mobility? It is filled up by another lower caste in an equally proportionate manner? His writings are silent about this.

Westernization

Srinivas used the concept of Westernization to understand social changes in Indian society. According to Srinivas, as a result of 150 years of British rule in India, the transformations that have taken place in various levels of technology, ideologies, values and institutions may be termed as *Westernization*. This new wave of Westernization

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has brought in its wake new institutions like the newspaper, Christian missionaries, elections, etc., while present institutions have undergone a complete transformation. Westernization also brought about a change in values and ideologies of the traditional Indian society. A most important value, which, in turn, subsumes several others, is what may be broadly characterized as humanitarianism, by which is meant an active concern for the welfare of all human beings irrespective of caste, economic position, religion, age and sex. Equalitarianism and secularization are both included in humanitarianism. Srinivas maintained that radical changes were brought about in the Indian society by the British rule. The new technology, and the revolution in communications which this brought about, enabled the British to integrate the country as never before in its history. He also argues that Westernization is an inclusive, complex and multi-layered concept. It covers a wide range from Western technology at one end to the experimental method of modern science and modern historiography at the other. He also extended his argument that in the political and cultural field, Westernization has given birth not only to nationalism but also to revivalism, communalism, 'casteism', heightened linguistic consciousness and regionalism. To make matters even more bewildering, revivalist movements have used Western-type schools and colleges, and books, pamphlets and journals to propagate their ideas. In a nutshell it may be said that the concept of Westernization as used by Srinivas covers, (i) the behavioural aspects like eating, drinking, dressing, and dancing, etc. (ii) knowledge aspects like literature, science, etc. and (iii) the value aspects like humanitarianism, equalitarianism, secularism, etc. Westernization implies 'certain value preferences' among which humanitarianism is the most important value. Many groups were influenced in their diets, clothes, lifestyle, leisure and sports that were brought about by the process of Westernization. Other groups imbibed western science, technology and other literature to become westernized. Brahmins became Westernized by accepting clothes, gadget and technology but were unable to accept the changed diet. He argues this kind of distinction is only relative not absolute. According Srinivas, (i) Westernization pervades political and cultural field; (ii) The term Westernization unlike modernization is ethically neutral. Its use does not carry the implication that it is good or bad, where as modernization is normally used in the sense that it is good. (iii) The increase in Westernization does not retard the process of Sanskritization.

Conflict Theory

Conflict theory established the structure of human society in the context of forces and relations of productions. Karl Marx was a prominent conflict theorist. He traced the evolution of human society from one social type to another in the preface to his *Critique of Political Economy*. This theory became predominant in America during the 1960s and the 1970s. Conflict theory emphasizes on the sociological reasons under which types of conflicts emerge in social systems.

Marxian and Weberian emphasis on how inequality and stratification generate conflicts between social classes have been discussed as follows:

For Marx the basic postulate of dialectic method is as:

- All phenomena of nature are part of an integrated whole
- Nature is in continuous state of movement and change
- The developmental process is a product of quantitative advance which culminate in abrupt qualitative changes
- Contradictions are inherent in all realms of nature but particularly human society

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Marx's theory of labour and the deductive reasoning which flows directly from it, namely the pauperization of masses are strong. Marx misjudged the extent of alienation in the average worker. The great depth of frustration which Marx witnessed among the workers of his day is not 'typical' of today's capitalism or its workers who tend to identify with a number of 'meaningful' groups—religious, ethnic, occupational and local. Marx also overemphasized the economic base of political power and ignored other important sources of power. In Marx's view, society has developed historically through several phases—tribal, ancient, feudal—to reach its present capitalist phase. Marx hoped that through the revolutionary efforts of the working class, society would move beyond capitalism to communism.

Under capitalism, workers are measured by their labour value hence they become 'alienated' from their work, themselves and other people. Conflict theory also deals with unique types of conflicts like ethnic animosity and gender biases. It also combines a criticism of capitalism, functionalism and colonialism.

4.6 SUMMARY

- The general level of participation in a society is the extent to which people as a whole are active in politics—the number of active people multiplied by the amount of their action, to put it arithmetically.
- Political participation is so fundamental to democracy that the latter would not exist without the widespread, regular and active participation of citizens.
- Liberal political philosophy believes that the rights of an individual are protected by the exercise by citizens of civil and economic rights and other constitutional guarantees.
- Genuine and effective political participation must also acknowledge the rights of non-participants to stand outside the political process, if the latter chooses to do so.
- It must be noted that participation does not always and necessarily imply that the political actors accept the political system.
- An effective means of political participation is the work that an individual could do within civil society because such political activity could range from being against the State, to being part of it, in dialogue with the State, in partnership with the State, in support of the State, or perhaps even beyond the State.
- Professional marketing, advertising and public relations approaches, developed in the corporate sector, have become central to the political process. Political communication can be seen as a sub-field of political science and communication.
- The study and practice of political communication focuses on the ways and means of expression of a political nature. This study includes public discussion like political speeches, news media coverage, and also the talks of ordinary citizens.
- Political communication not only covers verbal or written statements, but also visual representations such as dress, make-up, hairstyle or logo design. It also includes the aspects that develop a political identity or image.
- **Social stability can be seen as a sociological perspective that states a group always seeks to maintain equilibrium by forcing out ideas and individuals that disagree with popular opinion.**

Check Your Progress

5. What are the two elements in social life that have a predominant place in Marx's theory of social change?
6. What does the functional view of society emphasize upon?
7. What according to Srinivas are the six elements in deciding domination of a particular caste?

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- One advantage of this is that it helps keep society in balance and promotes harmonious coexistence. If there is a lack of social stability, it may cause revolution and unrest in the group.
- Karl Marx, from a conflict perspective, provided a dialectical historical approach for the study of social change. Marx's interpretation of social change has something in common with evolutionary theories. Both regard the major patterns of change as being brought about by interaction with the material environment.
- Change is the unchangeable law of nature. Society as a part of the vast universe and is not an exception to this eternal law. The reality of social life is the reality of change.
- The primary concern of a sociologist is the social change and not the physical, environmental or natural changes. Of course, physical and environmental changes are not exclusively out of the sociological purview.
- Social change is a process by itself. Though change brings about modification and alterations, it is never a barrier between the old and new.
- Change is not a separating wall between the old order and the new order. Rather, the process of change is the intermediate continuity between the old social order and new social order.
- Srinivas has used two concepts—Sanskritization and Westernization to understand social change in India. Sanskritization is an indigenous process of change. M. N. Srinivas first used this term in his book *Religion and Society among the Coorgs of South India* published in 1952.
- Sanskritization is a much broader concept in comparison to the earlier term Brahminization. It refers to the process of adoption of the rituals and lifestyles of higher caste by lower caste.
- A caste to be dominant, writes Srinivas, should own a sizable amount of arable land available locally, have strength of number, and occupy a high place in the local hierarchy.
- The process of Sanskritization was very slow and steady during the ancient times. Comparatively, it went on increasing during the Mughal and Islamic rule due to the emergence of various dominant castes and the political patronage.
- Regional confinement in the absence of proper communication and transportation facilities during the ancient and medieval time added to the regional hierarchy of the caste structure.
- Srinivas has analysed the process of Sanskritization in relation to caste structure. He has also tried to integrate the process with power and dominance within social structure.
- The process of vertical mobility of the castes within the hierarchy has also been related to 'fluidity of political system'.
- Srinivas used the concept of Westernization to understand social changes in Indian society. According to Srinivas, as a result of 150 years of British rule in India, the transformations that have taken place in various levels of technology, ideologies, values and institutions may be termed as Westernization.
- Conflict theory established the structure of human society in the context of forces and relations of productions. Karl Marx was a prominent conflict theorist. He traced the evolution of human society from one social type to another in the preface to his *Critique of Political Economy*.

4.7 KEY TERMS

- **Political communication:** Political communication can be seen as a sub-field of political science and communication. It deals with the dissemination and production of information, both through media and interpersonally, within a political context.
- **Sanskritization:** It refers to the process whereby the ethnic and tribal groups which fall outside the Hindu caste structure enter into the Hindu fold by entering into social contacts with the caste Hindu.

4.8 ANSWERS TO ‘CHECK YOUR PROGRESS’

1. The most persuasive argument in favour of political participation of the citizenry is that it complies with the comprehensive function of development.
2. An effective means of political participation is the work that an individual can do within civil society because such political activity could range from being against the State, to being part of it, in dialogue with the State, in partnership with the State, in support of the State, or perhaps even beyond the State.
3. Political communication includes:
 - Study of the media
 - Analysis of speeches by politicians
 - Formal and informal conversations among members of the public
4. The primary objective of social stability is to analyse how all the various parts of society fit together. It aims for fluidity in every interaction within a group, prioritizing and rewarding behaviors that the group wants to encourage and finding ways to publicly discourage unwanted activities.
5. In Marx’s theory of social change, two elements in social life have a predominant place: (i) the development of technology (productive forces) and (ii) the relations between social classes.
6. The functional view of society emphasizes upon:
 - Pattern maintenance
 - Tension management
 - Process of adaptation to its social and non-social environment
 - The ways and means of goal attainment
 - The process of integration among various parts
 - The process of value consensus
7. The six elements in deciding the domination of a particular caste are: western education, urban sources of income, jobs in the local administration, powerful place in local hierarchy, strength in numbers and a sizeable portion of arable land.

4.9 QUESTIONS AND EXERCISES

Short-Answer Questions

1. What is the role of social media in political communication?
2. What are the changes that social stability has seen with time?
3. How is Marx’s interpretation of social change similar to the evolutionary theories?

4. What is conflict theory? How can Karl Marx be seen as a prominent conflict theorist?

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Long answer Questions

1. Write a detailed note on political participation.
2. Discuss the process of political communication. Why is it considered relevant in today's world?
3. Analyse the process of social stability.
4. Discuss the theories and processes of social change and conflict?
5. Analyse Srinivas' theory of Sanskritization and Westernization.

4.10 FURTHER READING

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