BLOCK 2
BASIC CONCEPTS

UNIT 3   STATE AND CITIZENSHIP*

Structure

3.0   OBJECTIVES

After studying this unit, you will be able to :

●   Explain the theories of origin of state;

●   Define State and Citizenship;

●   Critically examine the relationship between State and Citizenship.

3.1   INTRODUCTION

In this unit, we will look at the concepts of the State and Citizenship. We will explore the ways in which state has been understood historically and how that affects its relationship with its citizens. We will see that understanding of citizenship and the rights accorded to citizens' change with the changing role of the state.

State is an important ideological and cultural construct which is why it needs to be taken seriously (Mitchell, 1991). Although there have been many critiques of the concept of State and its implications, it continues to be an important concept to study to understand the political character of a particular society.

Aristotle conceived of the state as no more than a community of a higher type, which is born because life in that community, the state, shows what human nature intrinsically is. For him, it was 'natural' for human nature to expand its highest powers in the state. He defined state as *"A Union of Families and Villages having for its end a perfect and self-sufficing life by which we mean a happy and honorable life"*. When Aristotle and his contemporaries spoke of 'citizens' and

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of the state composed by them, they had in mind the small community of slave-owners, the slaves being strictly excluded from this attempt to establish a 'natural' and moral life. In today's context, when the one faith proclaimed as being basic to all political systems is democracy and equal rights to all human beings, this sort of exclusive state can hardly come or remain in existence (Das, 1975: 63).

3.2 THEORIES OF ORIGIN OF THE STATE

The manner in which the State originated and the understanding of the State has changed extensively over the decades. The nature of the state determines its relationship with its citizens.

3.2.1 Divine Right Theory

One of the earliest theories of the State was the 'divine origin theory' or the theory of the 'divine right of kings'. According to this theory the State was created by God and the King was an agent of the God on earth and derived his authority from him. This gave the king immense power and he could not be questioned. The genesis of the theory was through religion. With growth in scientific outlook this theory faded into oblivion. The origin of the State was then attributed to historical growth.

3.2.2 Evolutionary Theories

The patriarchal theory of state whose main exponent was Sir Henry Maine explained the growth of the state as- *"The elementary group is the family connected by the common subjection to the highest male ascendant. The aggregation of families forms the gens or the houses. The aggregation of houses makes the tribe. The aggregation of the tribes constitutes the commonwealth"* (c.f Asif, 2008).

Other advocates of this viewed the foundation of the state as caused by three factors, namely male kinship, permanent marriages and paternal authority. The salient feature of the patriarchal theory is that the families grew through the descendants of the father, not the mother. The male child carried on the population though marriages with one or several women, because both monogamy and polygamy were the order of the day. The eldest male child had a prominent role in the house.

Another important supporter of this theory was Aristotle. According to him- *"Just as men and women unite to form families, so many families unite to form villages and the union of many villages forms the state which is a self-supporting unit"*.

Some authors like Meclennan, Morgan and Edward Jenks (c.f Asif, 2008) attributed matriarchal family and polyandry as the origin of the state. The kinship through the female line in primitive society was responsible for the growth of the state. The process was that polyandry resulted into matriarchal society and the matriarchal society led to the state.

Both these theories were critiqued as the origin of the state is due to several factors like family, religion, force, political necessity, and so on. By identifying the origin of the state with family, one makes the same fallacy as taking one cause instead of several causes.

3.2.3 Force Theory

According to this theory wars and aggressions by some powerful tribe were the principal factors in the creation of the state. After establishing the state by subjugating the other people in that place, the chief used his authority in maintaining law and order and defending the state from the aggression from outside. Thus, force was responsible not only for the origin of the state but for development of the state also.

History supports the force theory as the origin of the state. It is supported by the German philosophers like Friedrich Hegel, Immanuel Kant, John Bernhardi and Triestchki. They maintain that war and force are the deciding factors in the creation of the state. Today in the words of Triestchki – *"State is power; it is a sin for a state to be weak. That state is the public power of offence and defence. The grandeur of history lies in the perpetual conflict of nations and the appeal to arms will be valid until the end of history."*

This theory was criticized for focusing only on 'force', the state may come into being based on force but in order to sustain itself it needs the voluntary acceptance of its citizens. Therefore, it is the political consciousness not force which is the origin of the State. Without the political consciousness of its citizens, the state cannot be created.

3.2.4 Social Contract Theory

According to this theory, the state came into existence because men came together and agreed upon a contract establishing the state in the form of a social contract. According to this theory, there were two divisions in human history – one period is prior to the establishment of the state called the "state of nature" and the other period is one subsequent to the foundation of the state called the "civil society". The state of nature was bereft of society, government and political authority. There was no law to regulate the relations of the people in the state of nature. Hobbes, Locke and Rousseau were the main exponents of this theory (Dillion, 1958).

According to Hobbes, before the state there existed a 'state of nature' which was characterized by continues conflict with no law or justice. Since this life was too precarious, man created government and ultimately the state. According to Hobbe's theory, the ruler to whom all authority was given was not a party to the contract. In a sense, the king was above the law.

John Locke in contrast to Hobbes did not believe that men necessarily lived brutish live in this natural condition. Yet there was enough uncertainty and injustice to make life difficult and tragic. Thus, according to Locke, men decided to contract with one another to guarantee their rights more effectively. Rousseau likewise did not look upon the state of nature as bad. In his view, natural man, unencumbered with the trappings of civilization and the accoutrements of government, lived in idyllic life. Although, life in a state of nature might be theoretically superior, nevertheless it eventually became obvious to man that government was necessary. Men are not equal in energy or intelligence. Inevitably any natural state, without the restraining influences of government, will change capriciously with the ambitions of the various strong men. Ultimately, life in such a state of nature proved to be inconvenient and troublesome. Thus, like

Hobbes and Locke, Rousseau presumes that a general contract evolving all men was made to establish government and the state for the advantage of all (Appadurai, 1975: 36).

3.2.5   Marxist View

According to this view the state came into existence by force because of class struggle. The state" as Engels wrote "has not existed from all eternity. There have been societies that did without it, that had no conception of the state and state power. At a certain stage of economic development, which was necessarily bound up with the cleavage of society into classes, the state became a necessity owing to cleavage".

With the passing of time, society was getting split over hostile classes with conflicting interests. This class antagonism was the root cause of the state. When agriculture was learnt as an art of culture there was ample food which resulted in private property. The insoluble contradictions as a result of division of labour became so acute that it was not possible for any class to keep reconciled in the state or to keep the quarrelling classes under control.

The most dominant class that controlled the mode of production came to establish the state to ensure its dominance over the other classes who did not own the modes of production. The state thus became an instrument of domination and oppression of one class over the other classes.

The Marxists view saw the state to be a part of the superstructure-a reflection of the economic having a dialectical relationship with the given socio-economic conditions, as an instrument force and coercion to maintain the social status quo in the interest of the ruling class. The ruling class with its ownership and control over means of production then determines the character of the economy, society and the polity (Das, 1975).

The Italian Marxist, Antonio Gramsci made a little departure from the Marxist tenet by stating that a state is the creation of the political party that holds on power. He went to the extent of asserting that the party represents the national popular collective will and aims at the realisation of a higher and total form of modern civilisation.

Some of the criticisms of this theory were similar to those of force theory which had already been rejected. Secondly, it was argued that it was not class struggle but co-operation amongst the various classes that led to the development of the state. The state being equated with a political party by Lenin and Gramsci was critiqued as a dangerous viewpoint as that seemed to encourage a totalitarian state.

3.3   WHAT IS A STATE?

There are different kinds of understandings of the state as described in the above section. However, one of the important contributions was from Machiavelli who was credited with the origin of the name. The word state was derived from an Italian term, *la stato*, coined by Machiavelli. He used the term to describe the whole of the social hierarchy that governs and rules a country. Machiavelli modernized the concept of the state by secularizing it and vesting it with

sovereignty. According to him, co-ordination with the church was not required; it (state) contains within itself (or, at least it ought to contain) all the authority there is within the territory it embraces. Only the family is prior to the state, and nothing is superior to, or above question by, it. He visualized the state as an organized mass of power used by those who control it for the pursuit of whatever ends seem good to them. The era he belonged to meant that he was reconciled to the fact that the state could be repressive if required for the common good of all members of the state. He visualized an ideal-popular or free government, but the kind of popular government he had in mind and approved of had never existed except in small republics. And yet, since his state is one which is constantly moving from one pinnacle of greatness, both in terms of power and of territory, to another, the state disappears and the individual ruler remains (Das, 1975).

Weber (1919) called state the "the supreme legitimate authority entrusted with the exercise of violent force over a group of people". The modern state, Philippe (1985, c.f Mitchell 1991) points out, seems to be "an amorphous complex of agencies with ill-defined boundaries, performing a great variety of not very distinctive functions". According to Nettl, state is "essentially a sociocultural phenomenon, "which occurs due to the cultural disposition among people to recognize the state's conceptual existence. He argued that notions of the state become incorporated in the thinking and actions of individual citizens (p. 577). The extent of this conceptual variable could be shown to correspond to empirical differences between societies, such as differences in legal structure or party system (p. 579-92).

Although there were different ways of understanding the state, some characteristics of the state that could be identified included – monopoly on exercise of power, legitimacy (as perceived by the governed), Institutional structures, established to handle governmental tasks, including, but not limited to, the exercise of force and control over a territory, absolute or partial (Rasmussen, 2001).

A comprehensive definition of the state was given by Garner (1935), "*The state as a concept of Political Science and public law is a community of persons, more or less numerous, permanently occupying a definite portion of territory independent or merely so of external control and possessing an organized government to which greater body of inhabitants render habitual obedience*". Based on different definitions of the state, four main elements of the state can be identified –

1) Population

2) Territory

3) Government

4) Sovereignty

In the modern world, there are big and small states with different population size. All this requires an agency to govern. The government is the machinery which helps the state to exercise power and regulate the population through its various policies. Internally the state is supreme over all its citizens and associations within its jurisdiction which determines its internal sovereignty and externally the state claims independence of any foreign control.

3.4 CITIZENSHIP

"Citizen" is an equalizing word. It carries with it the activism of Aristotle's definition-a citizen is one who rules and is ruled in turn. We describe rights and obligations in egalitarian language and in generic terms: all citizens pledge allegiance to the flag, using a capacious rhetoric that ignores differences of gender, race and ethnicity, and class. Citizenship has a number of different potential meanings, ranging from a person's legal status within a country to their civil, political, or social standing within a community to the set of behaviours that represent a particular ideal of civic virtue (Levinson, 2014).

According to T. H. Marshall (1950), citizenship is a status conferred upon an individual by virtue of his or her being full member of a community. Citizens of a community are equal in terms of the rights and duties granted to them by such a status. Therefore, in a very fundamental respect, the developing institution of citizenship aims at creating more equality in society. Rights and duties of citizens can vary in different historical contexts. But the aspiration of achieving greater equality by extending the status of equal citizenship to more number of people is the yardstick of ideal citizenship in all societies. For development of citizenship, three elements need to be understood (see Box 3.1) which according to Marshall are crucial in understanding the evolution of citizenship.

Box 3.1

Civil Rights are necessary to secure individual freedom, for example, Right to liberty.

Political rights enable the citizen to exercise his or her political powers, either as the member of the body holding political authority or as the member of the electorate.

Social rights- include those rights that enable citizens to fully exercise their freedom. They aid a citizen in exercising her/his rights and live a fulfilled and civilized life according to the existing standards of society. Examples include range of provisions of economic welfare and social security.

Citizenship also refers to the ideals of equality and political participation; but it can also refer to the policies and practices that differentiate citizens and outsiders, and so necessarily exclude some people from the political community (Bosniak, 2006). A national citizenship regime encompasses the rules and practices that govern both inclusion and exclusion: who belongs in the political community, and how do the institutions of the state differentiate citizens from those who do not belong? (Abbas, 2016). The meanings of citizenship are expansive. It is in citizenship that the personal and political come together, because citizenship is about how individuals make and remake the state, and it is through this making and remaking that we will sustain the great ideals of the democratic revolution (Kerber, 1997: 854).

Citizenship produces a connection between individuals, the state and the community in which they live, and establishes a relationship containing the element of a common destiny, of stakeholders who have an investment in shared future (c.f Fisher, 2010).

Relationship between the state and citizens is determined by the nature and

functions performed by the state. What functions a state performs and the rights that it given its citizens in what actually determines the nature of the state. All states may not provide the three main rights given by Marshall (box 3.1). The next section explores this relationship between the state and citizenship.

3.5   STATE AND CITIZENSHIP: FUNCTIONS OF THE STATE

In the early 19th century the role of the state was restricted to the maintenance of order, any attempt to do further was considered as contraction of individual liberty. The state was a 'negative' or 'police state' (Appadurai, 1975: 97). Although this was never the only function of the state, the modern state took on activities related to the regulation of education, health, maintenance of public areas and so on. The current state aims to work for the greatest good of all. The state has to strike a proper balance between the liberty of each and the liberty of all. The state is not responsible merely for security of the life and limb of its citizens. It is also responsible for their economic security. It is not sufficient that legal justice should be dispensed by the courts and the state should provide for the means of its enforcements. The state has to provide social justice among its citizens. It must redress the balance where the balance has been tilted by privilege or due to unfair competition. The state can never bring about complete equality because that is against the order of nature - men being so unequal in their capacities and aptitudes. But it can remove inequality where that prevents every citizen from realizing the full results of his own personality.

With this kind of purview, does this mean that we are giving unlimited powers to the state. Some of the philosophers had talked about the distinction between state and society; this means that there are limits to state action. This, however, has not always been the view among the people of the world. Among the Greeks, for instance, according to *Bluntschli,* 'the state was all in all. The citizen was nothing except as a member of the state. His whole existence depended on and was subject to the state (Appadurai, 1975). The ancient idea of the state embraced the entire life of man in the community, in religion and law, morals, art, culture and science. The state might control trade, prescribe occupations, regulate religion or amusements. To the ancient Greek, the city was at once a state, church and school. In other words, the Greeks made no difference between State and Society. According to Beteille (1999) not every kind of state helped in the development of society; it is the modern constitutional state that is relevant to the development of civil society (ibid, 2589).

The neo-liberal regimes and forces of globalization have attempted to shrink the role of the state undermining the ability of the states to control social and economic activities within their boundaries. However, the state remains an important presence in contemporary political life, exemplified by diverse acts such as the prosecution of military campaigns, the negotiation of international treaties, the rescue and regulation (and nationalization) of failing financial institutions, and the continued provision of welfare targeted at specific (usually vulnerable) sections of society. While a liberalizing and globalizing world has inevitably reshaped the nature of political economy, it has certainly not done away with the state, but has demanded new forms of interaction between states and their citizens (Williams et al, 2011). The state also continues with planned interventions designed to improve welfare, livelihood and social protection policies for vulnerable groups.

Academic scholarship on the state has recognized that Weberian constructions of the state as a well-defined, autonomous political entity are unable to account for the increasingly fluid boundaries between states, society and the economy. Abandoning the state as an analytical construct in favour of more systemic approaches, or its rigid reification, are both unsatisfactory responses to this challenge. Instead, there is growing recognition of the "paradoxical quality of the state," (Williams et al. 2011).

The conception of state as an ideological power is further explained by Abrams who, in contrast to state being studied as a concrete system and institution, insists on 'state-idea—projected, purveyed and variously believed in different societies at different times' (ibid, 1988:57). The anthropological perspective on state and politics moves the focus away the macro-structures of the state and the institutions of high politics by problematizing the everyday world where politics is a central ingredient (Fazal, 2016). The state itself is no longer envisaged as a distant, synchronized system of bureaucratic rules, offices and procedures. The local state varies in its form and location the panchayat office, the collector's secretariat, the revenue officer, the labour officer, the *thana* or the traffic policeman stationed at the central market. It thus focuses on the citizens' experiences as they come to terms with these different locales of the state and domains of politics (Fazal, 2016:14).

Citizen's experiences with the state are often varied and in order to generate greater transparency and accountability in the ways in which state interacts with its people, the Right to Information Act was passed in 2005 in India. It is through such initiatives that marginal groups differentially experience the state, and open up new ways of imagining and realizing ideas of inclusive citizenship, and in that process sometimes also transform the nature of the state itself (c. f Williams et. Al, 2011).

Check your Progress

1) Explain the social contract theory regarding the origin of the state.

2) Fill in the blanks

   i) The .... theory states that wars and aggressions were the principal factors for creation of state.

   ii) Marxist theory states that .... was the root cause of the state

   iii) The word state was first coined by ....

   iv) Population, ..., ... and .... are the four main elements of the state.

3) Have the neoliberal forces and globalization reduced the role of the state. Discuss.

3.6 LET US SUM UP

In this unit, we have learnt about the various theories that explain about the origin of the state. Different theories have highlighted aspects related to religion, family, force, social contract, class conflicts which led to the formation of the state. The initial understanding of the state as legitimate authority which can exercise violence against its citizens was widened to include multiple responsibilities for the state including education, healthcare etc. The growth of

the neoliberal agenda attempted to reduce the role of the state which has not happened. The state continues to be an important component in the life of its citizens by addressing issues related to civil, political and social rights of its citizens. The state also continues with planned interventions designed to improve welfare, livelihood and social protection policies for vulnerable groups. Therefore, the role of the state in the life of its citizens continues to be important and with the introduction of new mechanisms (like right to information) the citizens can also regulate activities of the state to some extent.

3.7 KEY WORDS

Polyandry   : A type of polygamy where a woman having two or more husbands at the same time.

Matriarchy   : Refers to societies where mothers are hold the main power positions and descent may be reckoned through them.

Neo-Liberal   : Ideology advocated the 'rights on the individuals' rather than those of the 'coercive state'.

Globalization   : Social process where constraints of geography on social and cultural arrangements have recede and people are aware that they are receding

3.8 FURTHER READINGS

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3.9 SPECIMEN ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

1) According to the social contract theory, the state was established in the form of a social contract by men coming together. They did this because life was very precarious without any kind of regulation and therefore there was a need to establish a government and state for the development of all individuals.

2) i) Force

   ii) Class Antagonism

   iii) Machiavelli

   iv) Territory, Government and Sovereignty

3) While a liberalizing and globalizing world has inevitably reshaped the nature of political economy the role of state remains important. It remains an

important presence in contemporary political life, exemplified by diverse acts such as the prosecution of military campaigns, the negotiation of international treaties, the rescue and regulation (and nationalization) of failing financial institutions, and the continued provision of welfare targeted at specific (usually vulnerable) sections of society.

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UNIT 4   POWER AND AUTHORITY*

Structure

4.0   OBJECTIVES

After reading this unit, you will be able to:

• understand the concepts of power and authority as explained by Max Weber

• show the connections between Weber's types of social action and types of authority

• describe in detail the three types of authority namely, traditional, charismatic and rational-legal

• describe bureaucracy as the instrument for the operation of rational-legal authority.

4.1   INTRODUCTION

In this unit, you will under the concept of **power** and **authority**. In the first section (4.2), there is a brief discussion of the sociological concepts of power and authority with special reference to Weber understands of the terms. The second section (4.3) will mention the types of social action that Weber identifies and the types of authority that flow from them, namely, traditional, charismatic and rational-legal authority. The third section (4.4) will focus on the instrument through which rational-legal authority is exercised, namely, bureaucracy.

4.2 CONCEPT OF POWER AND AUTHORITY

Let us now examine the key concepts of power and authority, both, in the general sociological sense as well as in the specific Weberian context.

4.2.1 Power

We must define what we mean by power. Defining power is not as straight forward as one might think. Certainly we all have experienced power in some way, perhaps the influence of a friend who persuades and pushes us to go to a political meeting, or the force of aggressor who confronts us, forcibly snatching smart phone at the gun point. Power is encountered everyday. Let's take a look at several definitions, identifying as we go the differences that reflect debates on how power is conceptualized.

In ordinary usage, the term 'power' means strength or the capacity to control. Sociologists describe it as the ability of an individual or group to fulfill its desires and implement its decisions and ideas. It involves the ability to influence and/ or control the behaviour of others even against their will.

The works of Karl Marx and Max Weber serve as the classic foundations for defining power. Marx established that economic structures like corporations, owners of capital, and more immediately, the boss represent societal sources of power. The use of wages to influence worker performance or attendance is a significant creation of capitalist society. According to Marx, the relationship between worker, wage, and class interests was the source of alienating individuals not only from pursuing non-work-related self-interests but also alienating individuals from each other. For Marx, power has an economic context rooted in the relationships between and among social classes

For Max Weber, power is an aspect of social relationships. It refers to the possibility of imposing one's will upon the behaviour of another person. Power is present in social interaction and creates situations of inequality since the one who has power imposes it on others. The impact of power varies from situation to situation. On the one hand, it depends on the capacity of the powerful individual to exercise power. On the other hand it depends upon the extent to which it is opposed or resisted by the others. Weber says that power can be exercised in all walks of life.

It is not restricted to a battlefield or to politics. It is to be observed in the market place, on a lecture platform, at a social gathering, in sports, scientific discussions and even through charity. For example, giving alms or '*daan*' to a beggar is a subtle way of exercising your superior economic power. You can bring a smile of joy to the beggar's face or a feeling of despair by giving or refusing alms.

What are the sources of power? Weber discusses two contrasting sources of power. These are as follows.

a)   Power which is derived from a constellation of interests that develop in a formally free market. For example, a group of producers of sugar controls supply of their production in the market to maximize their profit.

b)   An established system of authority that allocates the right to command and the duty to obey. For example, in the army, a *jawan* is obliged to obey the command of his officer. The officer derives his power through an established system of authority.

Since Weber's study of power in the early 1900s, social scientists have focused on what is meant by the distribution of power in society, as well as identifying what kinds of resources make some individuals and groups powerful or powerless. Others have extended the notion that politics is inherent in most if not all aspects of social action and expression in human interactions. Consider the many definitions summarized in Box 4.1.

Box 4.1

Varieties in the Definition of Power

Power Defined as . . . Author the production of intended effects. Bertrand Russell (1938: 2)

Power has to do with whatever decisions men make about the arrangements under which they live, and about the events which make up the history of their times . . . men are free to make history but some are much freer than others. C. Wright Mills (1959: 181) the generalized capacity to secure the performance of binding obligations, when the obligations are legitimized with reference to their bearing on collective goals and where, in the case of recalcitrance, there is a presumption of enforcement by negative sanctions. Talcott Parsons (1967: 297)

All kinds of influence between persons or groups, including those exercised in exchange transactions, where one induces others to accede to his wishes by rewarding them for doing so. Peter Blau (1964: 115) the capacity of some persons to produce intended and foreseen effects on others. Dennis Wrong (1979: 2) the capability to secure outcomes where the realization of these outcomes depends on the agency of others. Anthony Giddens (1976: 111–112)

In the end, we are judged, condemned, classified, determined in our undertakings, destined to a certain mode of living or dying, as a function of the true discourses which are bearers of the specific effects of power. Michel Foucault (1980: 94) the social capacity to make binding decisions that have far-reaching consequences for society. Anthony Orum (1989: 131–132) the ability to affect the actions or ideas of others. Olsen and Marger (1993: 1)

Source: Betty A. Dobratz et.al .2012.Power, Politics,and Society: An Introduction to Political Sociology. Rutledge,London and New York

As you have seen in the last point, any discussion of power leads us to think about its legitimacy. It is legitimacy, which according to Weber constitutes the core point of authority. Let us now examine the concept of authority.

4.2.2   Authority

The German word "Herrschaft", used by Weber, has been variously translated. Some sociologists term it as 'authority', others as 'domination' or 'command'. Herrschaft is a situation in which a 'Herr' or master dominates or commands

others. Raymond Aron (1967: 187) defines Herrschaft as the master's ability to obtain the obedience of those who theoretically owe it to him. In this unit, Weber's concept of Herrschaft will denote the term "authority".

A question may be raised, namely, what is the difference between power and authority? Power, as you have seen, refers to the ability or capacity to control another. Authority refers to legitimised power. It means that the master has the right to command and can expect to be obeyed.

Let us now see the elements that constitute authority.

4.2.3 Elements of Authority

For a system of authority to exist the following elements must be present.

i)   An individual ruler/master or a group of rulers/masters.

ii)   An individual/group that is ruled.

iii)   The will of the ruler to influence the conduct of the ruled which may be expressed through commands.

iv)   Evidence of the influence of the rulers in terms of compliance or obedience shown by the ruled.

v)   Direct or indirect evidence which shows that the ruled have internalised and accepted the fact that the ruler's commands must be obeyed.

We see that authority implies a reciprocal relationship between the rulers and the ruled. The rulers believe that they have the legitimate right to exercise their authority. On the other hand, the ruled accept this power and comply with it, reinforcing its legitimacy.

It is time to complete Activity 1 and Check Your Progress 1.

Activity 1

Give example of at least five authority from your daily life. What are the elements involved in them? Prepare a note of one page on them. Exchange your note, if possible, with the co-learners at your Study Centre.

Check Your Progress 1

i)   In one line define the concept of power.

....

....

....

....

ii)   Describe, in about three lines, two important sources of power.

....

....

....

....

iii) Point out, in three lines three important elements of authority.

....

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Let us now examine the types of authority identified by Weber. Before we do so, it is very important to study his typology of social action. The types of authority Weber discusses are, as you will soon see, closely linked with the types of social action.

4.3 TYPES OF SOCIAL ACTION AND TYPES OF AUTHORITY

Max Weber describes sociology as a comprehensive science of social action (Aron, 1967: 187). He presents a typology of social action, which we will now briefly discuss.

4.3.1 Types of Social Action

Weber identifies four distinct types of social action. They are as follows:-

i) **Zweckrational action or rational action in relation to a goal**

An example of this is an engineer constructing a bridge, who uses certain materials in a certain manner to achieve goal. This activity is directed towards obtaining that goal, namely, completing the construction.

ii) **Wertrational action, or rational action in relation to a value**

Here, one may give the example of a soldier laying down his life for the country. His action is not directed towards attaining specific material goal like wealth. It is for the sake of certain values like honour and patriotism.

iii) **Affective action**

This kind of action results from the emotional state of mind of the actor. If some one is teasing a girl in a bus, she may get so irritated that she may slap the offending person. She has been provoked so much that she has reacted violently.

iv) **Traditional action**

This is an action, which is guided by customs and longstanding beliefs, which become second nature or habit. In traditional Indian society, doing '*pranam*' or '*namaskar*' to elders is almost second nature needing no prompting.

One may find that the above typology of social action is reflected in Weber's classification of types of authority. We will discuss this in the following sub-section (4.3.2).

4.3.2   Types of Authority

As you have already read in sub-section 4.2.1, authority implies legitimacy. According to Weber, there are three systems of legitimation, each with its corresponding norms, which justify the power to command. It is these systems of legitimation which are designated as the following types of authority.

i)   Traditional authority

ii)   Charismatic authority

iii)   Rational-legal authority

Let us describe each of these types in some detail.

4.3.2.1   Traditional Authority

This system of legitimation flows from traditional action. In other words, it is based on customary law and the sanctity of ancient traditions. It is based on the belief that a certain authority is to be respected because it has existed since time immemorial.

In traditional authority, rulers enjoy personal authority by virtue of their inherited status. Their commands are in accordance with customs and they also possess the right to extract compliance from the ruled. Often, they abuse their power. The persons who obey them are 'subjects' in the fullest sense of the term. They obey their master out of personal loyalty or a pious regard for his time-honoured status. Let us take an example from our own society. You are familiar with the caste system in India. Why did the 'lower' castes bear the atrocities inflicted by the 'upper' castes for centuries? One way of explaining this is because the authority of the 'upper' castes had the backing of tradition and antiquity. The 'lower' castes some say had become socialised into accepting their oppression. Thus, we can see that traditional authority is based on the belief in the sacred quality of long-standing traditions. This gives legitimacy to those who exercise authority.

Traditional authority does not function through written rules or laws. It is transmitted by inheritance down the generations. Traditional authority is carried out with the help of relatives and personal favourites.

In modern times, the incidence of traditional authority has declined. Monarchy, the classic example of traditional authority still exists, but in a highly diluted form. The Queen of England is a traditional figure of authority but as you may be aware, she does not actually exercise her authority. The laws of the land are enacted in her name, but their content is decided by the legislators, the representatives of the people. The queen has a parliament, which governs the kingdom, but she does not appoint ministers. She is a nominal head of state.

Briefly, traditional authority derives its legitimacy from longstanding traditions, which enable some to command and compel others to obey. It is hereditary authority and does not require written rules. The 'masters' exercise their authority with the help of loyal relatives and friends. Weber considers this kind of authority as irrational. It is therefore rarely found in modern developed societies.

4.3.2.2 Charismatic Authority

Charisma means an extraordinary quality possessed by some individuals (see Box 16.1). This gives such people unique powers to capture the fancy and devotion of ordinary people. Charismatic authority is based on extraordinary devotion to an individual and to the way of life preached by this person. The legitimacy of such authority rests upon the belief in the supernatural or magical powers of the person. The charismatic leader 'proves' his/her power through miracles, military and other victories or the dramatic prosperity of the disciples. As long as charismatic leaders continue to 'prove' their miraculous powers in the eyes of their disciples, their authority stays intact. You may have realised that the type of social action that charismatic authority is related to is affective action. The disciples are in a highly charged emotional state as a result of the teachings and appeal of the charismatic leaders. They worship their hero.

Box 4.1: Charisma

Dictionary meaning of the term charisma is a divinely inspired gift. It is gift of divine grace. This term is used by Weber to denote "a kind of power over others which is also perceived as authority by those subject to it. the holder of charisma may be a human being, in which case his authority might be interpreted in terms of myth of the divine mission, insight or moral attributes" (see Scruton 1982: 58). (parenthesis added)

Charismatic authority is not dependent on customary beliefs or written rules. It is purely the result of the special qualities of the leader who governs or rules in his personal capacity. Charismatic authority is not organised; therefore there is no paid staff or administrative set-up. The leader and his assistants do not have a regular occupation and often reject their family responsibilities. These characteristics sometimes make charismatic leaders revolutionaries, as they have rejected all the conventional social obligations and norms.

Based, as it is, on the personal qualities of an individual, the problem of succession arises with the death or disappearance of the leader. The person who succeeds the leader may not have charismatic powers. In order to transmit the original message of the leader, some sort of organisation develops. The original charisma gets transformed either into traditional authority or rational-legal authority. Weber calls this **routinisation** of charisma. (see Box 4.2)

Box 4.2: Routinisation

Weber used routinisation to mean the "transformation of charismatic leadership into institutionalised leadership where one office takes the place of a personality as the focus of authority" (Scruton 1982: 415).

If the charismatic figure is succeeded by a son/daughter or some close relative, traditional authority results. If, on the other hand, charismatic qualities are identified and written down, then it changes into rational legal authority, where anyone acquiring these qualities can become a leader. Charismatic authority can thus be described as unstable and temporary. We can find examples of charismatic leaders throughout history. Saints, prophets and some political leaders are examples of such authority. Kabir, Nanak, Jesus, Mohammed, Lenin and Mahatma Gandhi, to name a few were charismatic leaders. They were revered by people

for their personal qualities and the message they preached, not because they represented traditional or rational-legal authority. Let us now describe the third type of authority identified by Max Weber, but before that we will complete Check Your Progress 2.

Check Your Progress 2

Tick mark the correct answer of the following three questions.

i)   Which one of the following in not a type of authority according to Weber?

    a)   Traditional authority

    b)   Rational-legal authority

    c)   Charismatic authority

    d)   Personal authority

ii) When the original charisma of a leader gets transformed into traditional or rational-legal authority, what does Weber call it?

    a)   Routinisation of one's power to capture devotion of ordinary people

    b)   Routinisation of legitimacy

    c)   Routinisation of one's ability to lead

    d)   Routinisation of one's capacity to control the behaviour of other's against their will

iii) What is the source of legitimacy of traditional authority.

    a)   Law of the land

    b)   Long standing customary law

    c)   Outstanding performance of the leader

    d)   All of the above.

4.3.2.3   Rational-legal Authority

The term refers to a system of authority, which are both, rational and legal. It is vested in a regular administrative staff who operate in accordance with certain written rules and laws. Those who exercise authority are appointed to do so on the basis of their achieved qualifications, which are prescribed and codified. Those in authority consider it a profession and are paid a salary. Thus, it is a rational system.

It is legal because it is in accordance with the laws of the land which people recognise and feel obliged to obey. The people acknowledge and respect the legality of both, the ordinance and rules as well as the positions or titles of those who implement the rules.

Rational-legal authority is a typical feature of modern society. It is the reflection of the process of rationalisation. Remember that Weber considers rationalisation as the key feature of western civilisation. It is, according to Weber, a specific product of human thought and deliberation. By now you have clearly grasped the connection between rational-legal authority and rational action for obtaining goals.

Let us look at examples of rational-legal authority. We obey the tax collector because we believe in the legality of the ordinances he enforces. We also believe that he has the legal right to send us taxation notices. We stop our vehicles when the traffic policeman orders us to do so because we respect the authority vested in him by the law. Modern societies are governed not by individuals, but by laws and ordinances. We obey the policeman because of his position and his uniform which represents the law, not because he is Mr. 'X' or Mr. 'Y'. Rational-legal authority exists not just in the political and administrative spheres, but also in economic organisations like banks and industries as well as in religious and cultural organisations.

4.3.3   Lack of Conformity between Typologies

From the above discussion on the types of social action and types of authority one may find that traditional authority corresponds to traditional action, rational-legal authority corresponds to rational action in relation to goal and charismatic authority corresponds to affective action or emotional action. However one easily finds that Weber distinguishes four types of social action and only three types of authority. The lack of conformity between the typology of social action and the typology of authority is a subject for open discussion.

In order that you might clearly grasp the manner in which rational-legal authority functions it is necessary to examine the institution of 'bureaucracy'. Bureaucracy is the medium through which rational-legal authority is carried out and it is the subject matter of the next section (16.4). Before going to the next section, complete Activity 2.

Activity 2

Give an example of rational-legal or a traditional authority from your own society with special reference to the basis of legitimacy of that authority. Prepare note of one page. Exchange your note, if possible, with the notes of your co-learners at your Study Centre.

4.4   BUREAUCRACY

Bureaucracy, as just mentioned, is the machinery, which implements rational-legal authority. Max Weber studied bureaucracy in detail and constructed an ideal type which contained the most prominent characteristics of bureaucracy. Let us examine this ideal type which reveals to us the major features of bureaucracy.

4.4.1   Major Features of Bureaucracy

i)   In order that the bureaucracy may function adequately, it relies on the following rules and regulations.

  a)   The activities which comprise bureaucracy are distributed among the officials in the form of official duties.

  b)   There is a stable or regular system by which officials are vested with authority. This authority is strictly delimited by the laws of the land.

  c)   There are strict and methodical procedures which ensure that officials perform their duties adequately.

The above mentioned three characteristics constitute 'bureaucratic authority', which is to be found in developed and modern societies.

ii) The second feature of bureaucracy is that there is a hierarchy of officials in authority. By this we mean that there is a firmly built structure of subordination and superordination. Lower officials are supervised by higher ones and are answerable to them. The advantage of this system is that governed people can express their dissatisfaction with lower officials by appealing to the higher ones. For instance, if you are dissatisfied with the behaviour or performance of a clerk or a section officer in an office, you can appeal to the higher official to seek redress.

iii) The management of the bureaucratic office is carried out through written documents or files. They are preserved and properly kept by clerks who are specially appointed for this purpose.

iv) The work in the bureaucratic office is highly specialised and staff is trained accordingly.

v) A fully developed bureaucratic office demands the full working capacity of the staff. In such a case, officials may be compelled to work over-time.

Having looked the main features of a bureaucratic set-up, let us now learn something about the officials that you have found repeatedly mentioned above.

4.4.2 Characteristics of Officials in Bureaucracy

Weber mentions the following characteristics of officials in a bureaucratic set-up

i) Office-work is a 'vocation' for officials.

ii) They are specially trained for their jobs.

iii) Their qualifications determine their position or rank in the office.

iv) They are expected to do their work honestly.

Their official positions also have a bearing on their personal lives. Let us see how.

i) Bureaucratic officials enjoy a high status in society.

ii) Often, their jobs carry transfer liabilities. By this we mean that they may be transferred from one place or department to another leading to some instability in their professional and personal lives.

iii) Officials receive salaries not in accordance with productivity but status. The higher their rank, the higher their salaries. They also receive benefits like pension, provident fund, medical and other facilities. Their jobs are considered very secure.

iv) Officials enjoy good career prospects. They can move from the lower rungs of the bureaucratic ladder to higher ones if they work in a disciplined manner.

It is time to complete Check Your Progress 3.

i)   Bureaucracy is an example of

    a)   traditional authority.

    b)   rational-legal authority.

    c)   charismatic authority.

    d)   none of the above .

ii)   Mention in three lines important features of bureaucratic authority.

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    ....

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iii) Mention in four lines important characteristics of the officials of bureaucracy.

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4.5   LET US SUM UP

This unit began with a discussion of the Weberian concepts of 'power' and 'authority'. It then went on to discuss the types of social action identified by Max Weber, followed by the types of authority described by him. Next you studied traditional, charismatic and rational-legal authority in some detail. Finally, the unit focused upon bureaucracy as the instrument through which rational-legal authority operates. Not only did the unit outline the features of a bureaucratic office but also the officials or staff that constitute it.

4.6   KEYWORDS

Power	:	One's capacity to impose his or her will on others
Authority	:	When power is legitimised it becomes authority
Ideal type	:	A methodological tool developed by Weber through which the most commonly found features of a phenomenon are abstracted. Ideal type is an analytical construct with which the social scientist compares existing reality.
Routinisation	:	A process of transformation of the charismatic authority either into traditional or rational legal authority
Money-economy	:	Any economic transaction made in terms of money

4.7 FURTHER READING

Bendix, Reinhard, 1960. *Max Weber: An Intellectual Portrait.* Heinman: London

Freund, Julien 1968. *The Sociology of Max Weber.* Random House: New York

Allen, Kiern 2004. Max Weber: A Critical Introduction. Pluto Press: Ann Arbor

4.8 SPECIMEN ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Check Your Progress 1

i)   Power is one's capacity to impose his or her will on others.

ii) Power can be derived from a constellation of interests that develop in a formally free market situation. Power can again be derived from an established system of authority that allocates the right to command and duty to obey.

iii) a)   Presence of individual ruler/master or a group of rulers/masters

   b)   Presence of an individual/group that is ruled

   c)   Evidence of influence of the rulers in terms of compliance and obedience shown by the ruled

Check Your Progress 2

i)   d)

ii) a)

iii) b)

Check Your Progress 3

i)   b)

ii) Important features of bureaucratic authority are

   a)   it operates on the principle of jurisdictional area which relies on certain administrative regulations.

   b)   there is a stable regular system by which officials are vested with authority.

   c)   there are strict and methodical procedures which ensure that officials perform their duties adequately.

iii) Important characteristics of the officials of bureacracy are that

   a)   office work is a vocation for the official

   b)   officials are especially trained for their job

   c)   their qualifications determine their position or rank in the office, and

   d)   they are expected to do work honestly.

UNIT 5   GOVERNANCE, GOVERNMENT AND GOVERNMENTALITY*

Structure

5.0   Objectives

5.1   Introduction

5.2   Government

5.3   Governance

5.4   Governmentality

5.5   Interlinkages between Government, Governance and Governmentality

5.6   Let Us Sum Up

5.7   Key Words

5.8   Further Readings

5.9   Specimen Answers to Check Your Progress

5.0   OBJECTIVES

After studying this unit, you will be able to:

- To define the terms Government, Governance and Governmentality,

- To understand the differences between Government, Governance and Governmentality,

- To explain the linkages between Government, Governance and Governmentality,

5.1   INTRODUCTION

In the previous unit we have discussed Power and Authority. In this unit, we will discuss government, governance and governmentality. We will look at the interlinkages between government, governance and governmentality.

The Oxford Dictionary (2019) defines to govern as *means to conduct the policy, actions, and affairs of (a state, organization, or people) authority.* The manner of governing has given rise to three concepts of government, governance and governmentality which appear to be similar but they are very different in the manner that they organize the 'relations of governing'. In this unit, we will explore these three concepts of governing. Government, governance and governmentality explore the manner in which those in power carry out their work and the manner in which they do so. At one stage political scientists treated governance as a synonym for government (Stoker, 1998:17), but recently the majority consider them to be analytically distinct terms. Bevir and Rhodes (2003:45) defined *governance* as 'a change in the nature or meaning of government'. Foucault (2000) defined government as the 'conduct of conduct'. Governmentality, on the other hand, 'seeks to distinguish the particular mentalities of arts and regimes of government and administration that have emerged since 'early modern' Europe, while the term government is used as a more general term for any calculated

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direction of human conduct' (Dean, 1999:2). Examining these concepts help us to understand the nature of people in power – whether power is centralized or decentralized. At its heart, the governance debate is essentially concerned with understanding who or what steers society. Thus, under a 'government' approach, society is steered by central government, whereas in a 'governance' model, 'society actually does more self-steering rather than depending upon guidance from government' (Peters, 2000:36). Both the 'government' and 'governance' approaches include the concept of governmentality as this concept is related to the methods used to govern.

In exploring these concepts we seek to answer the questions raised by Foucault (1977-78) *"how to be governed, by whom, to what extent, to what ends, and by what methods."* After exploring the concepts individually, we will discuss the linkages between the three and briefly look at the reasons for the rise of the different approaches.

Let us understand the concept government.

5.2 GOVERNMENT

Government is a means by which organizational policies are enforced, as well as a mechanism for determining policy. Each government has a kind of constitution, a statement of its governing principles and philosophy. Typically the philosophy chosen is some balance between the principle of individual freedom and the idea of absolute state authority (tyranny). It normally consists of a legislature, executive and judiciary which help in maintaining this balance.

Government also refers to more or less systematized, regulated and reflected modes of power (a "technology") that go beyond the spontaneous exercise of power over others, following as specific form of reasoning (a "rationality") which defines the telos of action or the adequate means to achieve it. Government then is "the regulation of conduct by the more or less rational application of the appropriate technical means" (Hindess 1996: 106). It can be seen as the entity which exercises authority. Power is the ability to influence behaviour of others and authority gives the right to do so and therefore it is the legitimate power. Weber distinguished between three kinds of authority, based on the different grounds upon obedience can be established; traditional authority is rooted in history, charismatic authority stems from personality and legal-authority is grounded in a set of impersonal rules. To study government is to study the exercise of authority.

Foucault enlarged the concept of government and considered it to be a set of calculated activities which were aimed at shaping people's thoughts, actions and emotions. He did not see 'government' as an outside force; rather this involved people engaging in 'self-regulating' activities stimulated by the regimes of truth that they are embedded in (Foucault, 2000). He uses the notion of government in a comprehensive sense geared strongly to the older meaning of the term and establishes the close link between forms of power and processes of subjectification. While the word government today possesses solely a political meaning, Foucault is able to show that up until well into the 18th century the problem of government was placed in a more general context. Government was a term discussed not only in political tracts, but also in philosophical, religious, medical and pedagogic texts. In addition to the management by the state or the

administration, "government" also signified problems of self-control, guidance for the family and for children, management of the household, directing the soul, etc. For this reason, Foucault defines government as conduct, or, more precisely, as "the conduct of conduct" and thus as a term which ranges from "governing the self" to "governing others". The study of government in a Foucauldian manner thus has a clear moral dimension, 'if morality is understood as the attempt to make oneself accountable for one's own actions, or as a practice in which human beings take their own conduct to be the subject to self-regulation' (Dean, 1999:11).

5.3   GOVERNANCE

Governance is a broader term than government. In its widest sense, it refers to the various ways in which social life is coordinated. According to UNDP (2006), "governance can be seen as the exercise of economic, political and administrative authority to manage a country's affairs at all levels. It comprises the mechanisms, processes and institutions, through which citizens and groups articulate their interests, exercise their legal rights, meet their obligations and mediate their differences. World Bank (1992) defines governance as "the traditions and institutions by which authority in a country is exercised for the common good. This includes

i)   the process by which those in authority are selected, monitored and replaced,

ii)   the capacity of the government to effectively manage its resources and implement sound policies and

iii)   the respect of citizens and the state for the institutions that govern economic and social interactions with them.

Governance rests on a series of principles which include: transparency, responsibility, accountability, participation and responsiveness to the needs of the people. Effective governance embraces arguments not only about the reform of institutions of government itself, but also about the possible role of market mechanisms in the efficient delivery of services. Private sector and civil society fill the space previously occupied by political institutions. Good governance ensures that political, social and economic priorities are based on broad consensus in society and that the voices of the poorest and the most vulnerable are heard in decision-making over the allocation of development resources. Governance has three main components: economic, political and administrative. *Economic governance* includes decision-making processes that affect a country's *economic activities and its relationships with other economies*. It clearly has major implications for equity, poverty and quality of life. *Political governance* is the process of decision-making to *formulate policy. Administrative governance* is the system of *policy implementation.*

Encompassing all three, good governance defines the processes and structures that guide political and socio-economic relationships. Governance encompasses the state, but it transcends the state by including the private sector and civil society organizations.

Governance refers to a system by which an organization or group is directed and managed, as against government that refers to a formal institution of nation states (Caulfield and Holt, 2012). Governance is also defined as an arrangement linking the society and the state, where matters related to public affairs, efficient use and

division of resources based on equity and policy measures required to serve the needs of a society are devised, explored and employed. This is done by empowering the actors of governance and defining their roles and priorities in setting up mechanisms that promote good governance in the medium and in the long run (Stoker, 1998). The idea of governance was emphasized because of the broad framework of neo-liberalism where role of the State is being recast. Core functions of the state were privatized and the idea of public private partnerships to create more effective problem-solving mechanisms was introduced. Governance was associated with a decline in central government's ability to steer society. According to Stoker (1998: 17), *governance* refers to the emergence of 'governing styles in which the boundaries between and within public and private sectors have blurred'. Pierre and Peters (2000: 83–91) contend that the state is losing its steering ability as control is displaced: upwards to regional and international organizations; downwards to regions and devolved localities; and outwards to international corporations, non-governmental organizations and other private or quasi-private bodies. Stoker (1998: 26) claims that governance marks a 'substantial break from the past'the extreme form of government was the 'strong state' in the era of 'big government' (Pierre and Peters, 2000: 25), then the equally extreme form of governance is an essentially self-organizing and coordinating network of societal actors (Schout and Jordan, 2005). Crucially, such networks are said to 'involve not just influencing government policy, but taking over the business of government' (Stoker, 1998: 23). They are 'self-organizing' in the sense that they actively resist government steering (Rhodes, 2000: 61). To use Osborne and Gaebler's (1992) popular distinction between 'steering' (setting policy goals) and 'rowing' (delivering those goals through the selection and use of instruments), they steer as well as row.

The concept of governance gave power to new groups to be involved in policy making; however these new groups were not representative of the entire population. According to Harriss (2007), the "new politics" in governance excluded the poor as active agents even when the organizations involved claimed to work for them. The governance agenda set out in the 'Post-Washington Consensus' involves a package that includes privatisation, decentralisation, civil society participation and community involvement. Governance agenda addresses a central problem of liberalization. It required the shrinking of the space of state action and devolving of functions to the private sector or to civil society, whilst still needing instruments of rule. For example, Harriss explains that contemporary governance agenda proposes to tackle the continuing problem of the urban poor not through any very significant redistribution of resources but by "empowering" them through decentralisation and community participation. He explains that the idea of 'governance' has not really led to equal distribution of power and resources. Instead power has become centralized with certain groups (usually consisting of educated people from middle class background) who speak for the 'poor'. He used the example of advocacy NGOs in Chennai which aimed to make citizens of the slum dwellers (for example by working to enable them to participate more fully in decentralised urban government) – but without supporting them in struggles over rights to housing and to livelihoods.

The concept of governance emerged from the "strong" formulations of neoliberalism of the 1980s, economic liberalisation in India. Currently this idea related to the drastic diminution of the role of the state in botheconomy and society, have themselves by now been "rolled back"

with the recognition that the state has an essential role to playing the establishment of the institutional conditions that are necessary for a successful market economy (Harriss, 2007).

5.4 GOVERNMENTALITY

Foucault's essay on governmentality argued that a certain mentality, that he termed governmentality, had become the common ground of all modern forms of political thought and action. It is concerned with the 'How' of the government- how governing happens and how it is thought. It includes the activities and practices of the government….The word 'govern/mentality' refers to both the processes of governing and a mentality of government – i.e. thinking about how the governing happens. It is thus both an art (a practice) and a rationality (a way of thinking about) government (Gordon, 1991).

Governmentality is introduced by Foucault to study the "autonomous" individual's capacity for self-control and how this is linked to forms of political rule and economic exploitation. In introducing this concept Foucault did not abandon the concept of power but it was the 'object of a radical theoretical shift' (Foucault 1985:6). From the perspective of governmentality, government refers to a continuum, which extends from political government right through to forms of self-regulation, namely "technologies of theself" as Foucault calls them (Foucault, 1988). Now the notion of government is used to investigate the relations between technologies of the self and technologies of domination (see Foucault 1988). An important distinguishing feature of government in governmentality is that it has a clear moral link and stimulates self-regulation. In governmentality no outside force regulates the individual. The ways in which population is regulated is the unending concern of governmentality.

Conception of political power is wider and more complex than activities, priorities and decisions of the state. It includes how different groups or forms of knowledge regulate and thereby constitute the lives of individuals, families and communities.

Foucault (1977-78: 144) explained "governmentality" in three ways-

i)   The ensemble formed by institutions, procedures, analyses and reflections, calculations, and tactics that allow the exercise of this very specific, albeit very complex, power that has the population as its target, political economy as its major form of knowledge, and apparatuses of security as its essential technical instrument.

ii) The tendency, the line of force, that for a long time, and throughout theWest, has constantly led towards the pre-eminence over all other types of power –sovereignty, discipline, and so on – of the type of power that we can cal l"government" and which has led to the development of a series of specific governmental apparatuses (*appareils*) on the one hand, [and, on the other] to the development of a series of knowledges (*savoirs*).

iii) The process, or rather, the result of the process by whichthe state of justice of the Middle Ages became the administrative state in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries and was gradually "governmentalized."

In referring to the 'ensemble', Foucault is talking about an art of government; the activities or practices of government, or even 'the game of government' – an

art by which some people are taught the government of others and some let themselves be governed. Attempting to understand the processes of the governing and mentality of governments gained prominence in the era of neo-liberalism as the role of government was being re-examined. By means of the notion of governmentality the neo-liberal agenda for the "withdrawal of the state" can be deciphered as a technique for government. The crisis of Keynesianism and the reduction in forms of welfare state intervention therefore lead less to the state losing powers of regulation and control instead it lead to a re-organization or re-structuring of government techniques, shifting the regulatory competence of the state onto "responsible" and "rational" individuals. In neoliberalism there is a greater scope for individual determination and desired autonomy by "supplying" individuals and collectives with the possibility of actively participating in the solution of specific matters and problems which had hitherto been the domain of specialized state agencies specifically empowered to undertake such tasks. This participation has a "pricetag": the individuals themselves have to assume responsibility for these activities and the possible failure thereof (Burchell, 1993, 275-6). The onus of responsibility shifting from the State to the individual and collective was seen as a movement from government to governance. The practices involved in these two types of governing came under the purview of governmentality.

5.5 INTERLINKAGES BETWEEN GOVERNMENT, GOVERNANCE AND GOVERNMENTALITY

Governance and governmentality both examine the problematics of steering, regulating, governing, conducting etc. in modern society – with regards to individuals, organizations, systems, the state, and society at large. They both have a concern with the state although in different traditions and focus areas. Governance especially explores the impact of international and transnational bodies on the role of the state or the government and resultant implications of these new configurations on areas traditionally considered the prime tasks and assignments of the state.

These new configurations and realignments are apparent in diverse sectors in contemporary India. India began liberalizing in the 1990s with a series of political and economic reforms that deregulated trade and domestic production and decentralized power to locally elected bodies, civil society actors, and ordinary citizens (Gupta and Sivaramakrishnan 2012). Devolution of political power led to the development of many self-help groups and new developmental agendas based on people's "participation" and "empowerment" (Sanyal 2009).

Governance can be seen as a coordination 'mechanism', "a new style of government that is distinct from the hierarchical control model characterized by a greater degree of cooperation and interaction between state and non-state actors in mixed public/private decision-making networks" (Mayntz 1999, c.f Schiavo, 2014:181). This definition while outlining the scope of the concept, conceals the liberal ethos that animates this governing 'mentality'. The Foucauldian concept of governmentality has contributed to the development of a critical approach in studies on governance and it reveals how governance arrangements often lead to 'participation' of certain kinds of stakeholders who may already hold power. The "genealogy" of the institutionalized forms of power allows us to investigate the 'mentalities' of government, the ways in which governing is conceived,

conceptualized, represented and based on the body of knowledge that defines its scope, *modus operandi* and characteristics. The analytics of government gives way to the study of governmentality, identified as three axes of governing: the cognitive, technical and ethical elements of a given "mentality" of government, which shape a specific power '*dispositif/apparatus*', i.e. truth regimes (the collective discourses that construct social reality), control (technology, devices, practices), forms of subjectivity (collective and individual identities).Foucault traces the genealogy of governmentality: from the concept of citizenship in classical civilizations to the early Christian pastoral guidance, from the rationality of a liberal government which is 'limited' in its 'productive' actions on society when "life" becomes both the target and the purpose of governing, i.e. biopolitics to the forms of 'neoliberal' governmentality of which 'governance without government' is a constituent part (cf. Foucault, 2005).

The added value of the governmentality approach for 'a critique' of 'neo-liberal governance' lies in its ability to discern the forms of 'rationality' that are 'internal' to each power diagram, in order to analyze these forms of 'government/mentality', starting from an awareness that the main characteristic of a given '*dispositif*' is the "immanence" of the elements that constitute it. This means that the 'objects' that shape a given configuration of power are made up of the same discourses, techniques, and ethics, which define it. The critical potentiality of the concept is its ability to de-construct and question that which is 'taken for granted'. In this regard, Merlingen states, "the effect of such analysis is to strip political rule of its self-evident, normal or natural character, which is essential for its operation" (ibid, 2006, c.f Schiavo, 2014: 187).

The governmentality approach helps in critically analyzing the concept of 'governance without government' paradigm and helps in unveiling its political character. i.e how there is an attempt to "recast the social order as a closed universal self-propelling system without an outside" (Prozorov, 2007: 39, c.f Schiavo, 2014: 187). This is important because in the context of the neo-liberal paradigm, 'governance' allows the State to withdraw from many of its functions in the name of participation and empowerment. This withdrawal often has a detrimental impact on the sections of the population who have lesser power and resources. Understanding the governing mentality is a first step in making a change in discriminatory governing practices.

Check your Progress

i) What is the difference between Government, Governance and Governmentality?

ii) Fill in the blanks –

a) Foucault defined governmentality as .... formed by institutions, procedures, analyses and reflections, calculations, and tactics.

b) The main concern of governmentality is ....

c) ...., ... and .... are the three main components of governance.

d) In studying Government, we are studying the exercise of ....

iii) Give a brief critical review of the concept of 'governance'.

5.6   LET US SUM UP

This unit presents the different ways in which the process of governing takes place. By the end of this unit you will know that government usually refers to the structures and processes for governing, governance has meant decentralization of power away from the government and involvement of other actors in the process of governing. Governmentality is the 'art of government' or how both government and governance is carried out. Differences in governing are strongly impacted by the economic theories and realities existing in a particular era. The neo-liberal paradigm has been very influential. However it has not really upheld its promise that free markets would ensure development of all. Therefore, there is a recognition that in order for overall and equitable development to happen the State needs to play an active role in governing.

5.7   KEY WORDS

Bio-politics : Concept of biopolitics has been used and developed in social theory since Michel Foucault, to examine the strategies and mechanisms through which human life processes (involving race, reproduction, health, medicine, reproduction and so on) are managed under regimes of authority.

Genealogy : Foucault defines genealogy as the "history of the present", that is, as the task of delving into the history of the rationality of government. The genealogical 'method' is "diagnostic" in relation to the study of the present.

Keynesianism : Keynesian economics is an economic theory of total spending in the economy and its effects on output and inflation. Keynesian economics was developed by the British economist John Maynard Keynes during the 1930s in an attempt to understand the Great Depression. Keynes advocated for increased government expenditures and lower taxes to stimulate demand and pull the global economy out of the depression.

Neo-Liberalism : Is an ideology and policy model about making trade between nations easier. It is about freer movement of goods, resources and enterprises in a bid to always find cheaper resources, to maximize profits and efficiency. Some of its main features are belief in sustained economic growth as the means to achieve human progress, free markets as the most-efficient allocation of resources, minimal state intervention in economic and social affairs, and its commitment to the freedom of trade and capital.

Technologies of Domination : determine the conduct of individuals and submit them to certain ends or domination, an objectivizing of the subject.

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5.9   SPECIMEN ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

i)   Government usually refers to the structures and processes for governing, governance has meant decentralization of power away from the government and involvement of other actors in the process of governing. Governmentality is the 'art of government' or how both government and governance is carried out.

ii)   a)   Ensemble

       b)   Regulation of population

       c)   Economic, Political and Administrative

       d)   Authority

iii)   The concept of governance came up to ensure that political, social and economic priorities are based on broad consensus in society and that the voices of the poorest and the most vulnerable are heard in decision-making over the allocation of development resources. It comprises the mechanisms, processes and institutions, through which citizens and groups articulate their interests, exercise their legal rights, meet their obligations and mediate their differences. However, difficulties arose when in giving power to new groups, governance excluded the poor as active agents and power and resources were not equally distributed amongst all.

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UNIT 6   ELITES, RULING CLASSES AND MASSES*

Structure

6.0   OBJECTIVES

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

• Understand the difference between elites and the masses;

• Describe different types of elites;

• Explore the role of culture, social networks and knowledge in maintaining; elitism

• Explain the role of social institutions in the reproduction of elites.

6.1   INTRODUCTION

In the previous unit we looked at government, governance and governmentality. In this unit, we will discuss elites, ruling classes and masses. We will begin this unit by pointing out the difference between elites and the masses. Then, we will discuss different types of elites and the role of culture, social networks and knowledge in maintaining elitism. Then we shall explain the role of social institutions in the reproduction of elites. Every society in the world is divided, broadly into two groups. One of which, is small yet controls the maximum of resources and holds dominant positions in social relations of power. These are the elites. And the other, is the majority yet does not hold any power. These are the masses. Accordingly, while the masses are understood by the early thinkers of the 'elite theory', as incompetent and inert, the elites, in contrast are seen as creative and indispensable. This understanding is based on a two-class scheme - the ruling minority vis-a-vis the ruled majority.

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While the elites may belong to the various segments of the society, be it politics, economics, social, culture, education or even religion; they continue to occupy the position of dominance in whichever field. With the advent of modernity, however, more and more factors, like social networks and institutions, etc., have been added to the scope of maintenance of elitism. But that been said, the elites do not limit as ascribed groups, but can very well be transcended with merit. Thus, making the debate more dynamic.

6.2 DEFINITION: ELITES VIS-Á-VIS THE MASSES

In this section we will define elites. There has been no singular definition of the two - elites or the masses - however, what remains common to the multiple perspectives concerning the two concepts is that one is always understood in the corollary to the other. The classical thinkers of 'elitism', Gaetano Mosca and Robert Michels present their arguments in a structural perspective. According to them, the numerical smallness of the ruling class works in their favour as they are easy to organise for the co-ordination of actions and interests, in comparison to the numerous majority, which is very difficult to organise, leading to their incompetence.

But the theory of elites draws the most significantly from the scholarship of their predecessor Vilfredo Pareto. His book *The Mind and Society (1935)* contributes to the debate, by describing the distinction that exists within the elites. In this, he says that societies, universally, are not just divided into elites and the masses owing to their innate qualities, but the class of elites itself is further divided into - the governing and the non-governing elites. He based this tripartite distinction between the governing elite, non governing elite and the non-elites on the premise that individuals in any given society are unequal in their qualities, yet new members may navigate from the masses to join in the elite stratum based on their achievements and merits.

Taking his arguments forward, C. Wright Mills in his *The Power Elite (1956)* sets the terms for the debate in the American power structure. He arranges the American society into three levels - the power elite, consisting of the military, corporate and political leadership; the middle stratum, consisting of the local or regional elites, members of congress and other organised groups; and the unorganised masses. Individuals in the elite stratum have common social origin and maintain their connections in order to achieve a qualitative shift from the non-elites or the masses. For Mills, the elites act like a cohesive unit, in which they accept and understand each other, and even think alike. So, for Mills the power lies within the institutions and not with the individuals. Even the masses can join such institutions motivated by their talents, until it destabilises the power of the institution. This school of thought, inspired by Pareto and Mills, sees another proponent in G. William Domhoff. His work, *Who really rules?* (1978) discusses co-optation by education and membership into the elite institutions as mechanisms of mobility into the elite institutions.

Thus, initially the elites and the masses were understood as the two distant ends of the social spectrum, gradually they were seen more as malleable categories with not so strict boundaries. While masses remain the ruled and the unorganised majority, individual merit is placed at the heart of the scope of their mobility into the elite stratum.

Check your Progress 1

i)   What are the two different strata within elites, according to Pareto?

....

....

....

....

....

ii) How do the power elites achieve a qualitative shift from the non-elites?

....

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....

iii) What lies at the heart of masses' mobility into the elite stratum?

   -   Hard work   -   Dedication

   -   Ascriptive Status   -   Merit

6.2.1 Types of Elites

The nature of elites, according to *The Social Sciences Encyclopaedia*, was traditionally understood as a group of handful of people who are set apart from rest of the society by the virtue of possessing some special talents, meeting a crucial need or fulfilling some historic mission. However, the newer approach looks at them as the influential figures in the governance of any section of the society, be it an institutional structure, a trans-local community or a geographic locality. And idiomatically,   elites are simply the same as leaders, influencers or the decision makers.

Now, owing to the advent of modernity, there emerged elites not only in the different segments of the society, but also with differentiated degrees of power. There can thus, be elites in almost any and every sphere in the society - bureaucratic elites, legislative elites, oligarchic elites, media elite, educational elites, financial elites, ascriptive elites, or credentialed elites. Now, in this section let us explore three different types of elites, which are basically the broader categories, to which belong these mentioned elites of these different types, in some further detail.

1) **Ruling Elite**

This category was first introduced by Pareto. According to him, while some individuals are superior in their abilities, the others remain inferior to them in their attributes - thus, they are the non elites. The superior ones are "elite" to him. He further bifurcates these elites into two classes, based on their functions in the society - governing or the ruling elite; and the non-governing elite. As the name suggests, the governing elite play a significant role; directly or indirectly, in the functioning of the government and its political processes. Now, the ruling elite are of further two types - the foxes and the lions. Foxes are those who rule by the virtue of cunningness, manipulation and deceit. On the other hand, lions are those who rule through homogeneity, smaller bureaucracies, established norms and centralised processes. Thus, lions are comparatively conservative than the foxes. For you, to better understand these bifurcations, a figure is given below.
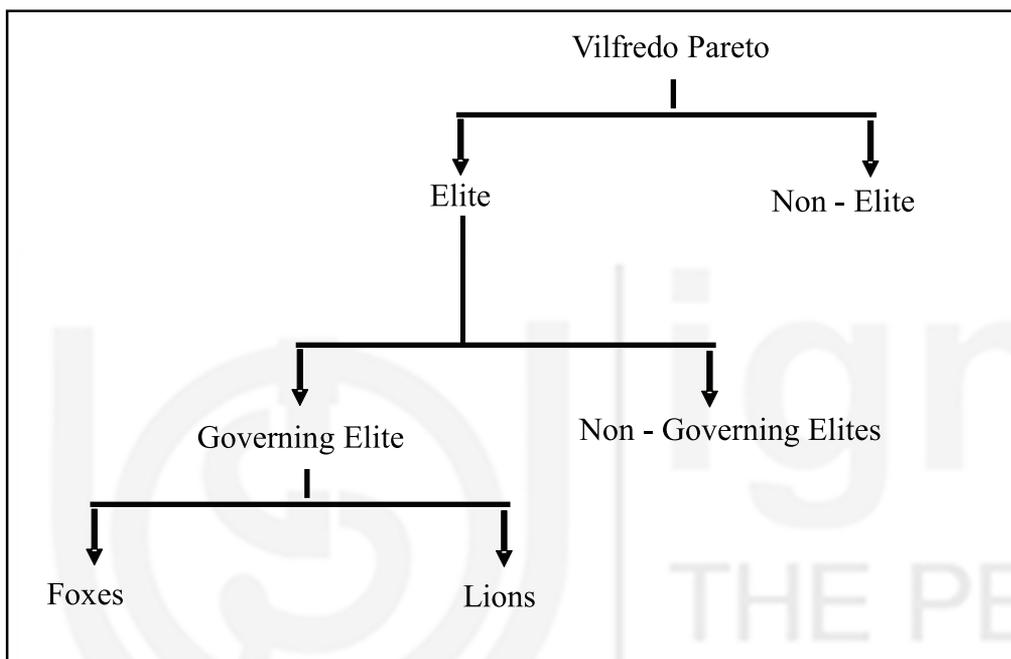
History, according to Pareto, is a pendulum shift of power between lions and the foxes. To explain this, he proposed the idea of "circulation of elites". In this, he suggested two ways in which ruling elites in a given society remain dynamic and not a constant, in which the decay of one paves way for the rise of the other. Firstly, according to him, there is a circulation of individuals between the elite and the non-elite strata of the society. The ruling elites are replaced, when those from the non-elite classes start infiltrating their stratum.. Secondly, the circulation of elites may ensure the replacement of one set of elites by the other, when the later may rise in its possession of attributes that are central to the ruling elites, while the former starts showing the signs of degeneration of such attributes. Thus, aristocracies with the ruling at the top do not last.

2) **Economic Elite**

James Burnham adopts economic approach to define elitism, in which power is seen as a means to identify who is elite and who is not. In this dynamics, the elites draw their power in accordance to their degree of control over of the means of production and distribution. This power gives them the

influential positions in the society, in comparison to those on the other end of the social spectrum with no such access to the means of production or distribution. According to this understanding, the easiest way of discovering that who is the dominant elite or the ruling group of the society, is to explore that which group gets the maximum income. Even to possess political power in a given society, one must possess the economic power first, as political power too flows from having economic control. To substantiate this case, he offers an example of capitalism. In this, he argues that capitalism would gradually be replaced by an economic and political system, run by managerial elites, because the capitalists have passed the control of their business to those in the capacity of professional managers. This would occur as a result of a managerial revolution, in which owing to the state support manager and the bureaucrat would become interchangeable.

3) **Power Elites**

Taking forward the purely economic basis of elite power as explained by Burnham, C. Wright Mills added that it is not just the economic power but also its social counterpart, which come together in order to form the basis of elite in a given society. So, for him power elites are those who occupy the top most positions in the institutions. The same power elites also make it to the leading positions of power even in political sphere or the government. Here, institutions, according to Mills are strategic hierarchies, in which power and rule are important to possess elitism, as compared to possessing sources of legitimacy. Thus, according to his institutional power approach, the source of power lies not with an individual or a particular class, rather with the institution.

The power that flows from an institution, determines the status, position, influence and authority of the elites in a contemporary society. With the power that an institution bestows upon the elites, they get in the position to determine the role of the others - the middle stratum and the masses. Thus, Mills suggested that it was the innate traits that make an elite out of an individual, it is rather the institution he is related to. Referring to the American society, he said the corporations, the military and the government are three such elite institutions. The decision makers at these elite institutions act in coherence with each other in order to maintain and strengthen the elitism of each other. For understanding another sociologist G. William Domhoff's work on elites, please read the box 6.1 below.

Box 6.1: *Who Really Rules?* (1978)

According to Domhoff, the business elite are well organised at both - national and local - levels. They have the potential to exert influence in direct or indirect ways. He specifically explains the case of post World War II redevelopment policies and the nexus between the top businesses and the government of the United States. In this, he argues that the government is an instrument in the hands of the upper class, which controls corporate economy, media and communications, and the policy planning organisations. Thus, he equates the ruling elite with the upper class business elite, as for him, staying "upper" is what "ruling" is all about. Domhoff provides a tripartite division of power into - systemic, structural and situational. Who is benefitted by the institutional policies, has systemic powers, who controls important

institutional positions has structural power, and who wins in decisional disputes has the most of situational power. These three dimensions represent the class, institutional and decisional dimensions of power. The three dimensions of power indicates towards three subsequent levels of policy making, in which, systemic power dominates the broad agenda, structural power leads to concrete policy proposals, and situational powers resolves the details of specific policies.

Check your Progress 2.

i)   What are the two categories within the governing or the ruling elites according to Pareto?

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ii)   Who propounded the idea of circulation of elites? And what does he mean by it?

- Vilfredo Pareto   - C. Wright Mills

- G. William Domhoff   - James Burnham

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iii) How does capitalism pave way for managerial elites?

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iv)   Who are the power elites?

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6.3 CULTURE:- A MARKER OF ELITE STATUS

Pierre Bourdieu through his classic work *Distinction* (1984), was the first to observe culture and its traits as cardinal to the idea of elitism. According to him, cultural dispositions, are significant markers of elite status. The culture is not just a means to reflect an individual's social status but it also helps one to create it in fact. The culture in this regard, performs two functions - firstly, it helps an individual create his/her own identity; and secondly, it to creates a boundary, which leads to the formation of the self and the other.

ACTIVITY 2.

Talk to your parents/ grandparents or other elderlies in the family and draw a list of traits specific to the cultural sphere to which you belong. The cultural sphere is shaped by your social location - your caste, class, religion, ethnicity, and even gender. If possible compare your list with that of your co-learners at the centre and try to understand how your cultural specificities influence your status, as compared to the others.

According to this understanding, elite formation depends upon "cultural hierarchies" in a given society. Elites use their social and cultural locations, including their class, ethnicity, religion and gender, in order to develop a particular taste of their values and lifestyle that set them apart from the non-elites. Most of this idea builds upon the premises of Bourdieuian concept of "cultural capital". This entails that just like economic capital empowers an individual financially and makes him an economic elite, similarly, culture when seen as a capital makes an individual culturally more competent than others. Given this, cultural capital influences upon the life chances. It has a significant bearing upon one's lifestyle, education attainment, marital selection, career choices and even general likes and dislikes.

Let us understand this proposition through an example of music in the western context. Through the much of nineteenth century, there was not much difference between the likes and dislikes or the tastes of the elites and the masses. Later, this trend saw a sharp shift during the early twentieth centuries. The elites in an attempt to make a distinction between themselves and the masses started altering their tastes to the likes of just fine music - classical and opera. They became high brow in total contrast from the low brow masses. But this trend again saw a change during the later half of the twentieth century, when the taste of cultural elites became more of a blend of classical and jazz, world music and hip hop.

The emerging trends of ambiguity, as shown by the instance of music taste of the elites, indicate towards blurring the boundaries between them and the masses, wherein it is not a distant possibility for the masses to infiltrate the elites by adopting their not so distinct cultural tastes and ways of life.

Check your progress 3.

i) Who introduced the idea of culture to the debate of elites vs. the masses?

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ii)   What are the two roles performed by culture in defining elitism?

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iii)   What is the Bourdieuian idea of "cultural capital"?

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iv)   How are the boundaries between the elites and the masses changing? Explain with the instance of music.

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6.4   SOCIAL NETWORKS AND KNOWLEDGE: MAINTENANCE OF ELITISM

As the ancient wisdom goes, ties to others serve as resources. The elites may be a minority, but the density of their ties or network with each other goes a long way in producing coordinated actions for their group interests. Such connections facilitate transfer of informations, which helps in producing coordinated actions based on their common experiences.

Social networks are basically structures of relationships connecting an individual to the community with shared life chances and interests. Be it individuals, organisations or nations, all social actors at either micro or macro levels take construct their everyday lives with the suggestions, consultations, information or resource sharing, support and criticisms at the hands of the others. Such interactions within one's social network, thus influence his/her actions, behaviour, thoughts and beliefs; reinforcing the virtues of elitism.

Individuals in any given society are sociosyncratic. They are neither totally dependent on their social networks for their existence, nor are they completely unaffected or rational. At the heart of the social networks lies the interdependence of the social actors on each other. By understanding their interactions, the context

can be drawn of their culture, community, institution or society. But just as in the case of cultural, economic or power elite status itself, even the social networks of the elites remain dynamic and not static. The structure and membership of such networks is subject to change as and when members of the non-elite stratum of the society achieve upward mobility.

In the maintenance of elite status, knowledge and ideology play a role at par with the social networks. Now this importance was attached to knowledge in the discourse on elitism, following Gramscian idea of "hegemony". *Selections from the Prison Notebooks* (1971) of Antonio Gramsci proposes that the ruling class does not rule by force; rather by the virtue of their cultural knowledge. According to him, they use their cultural knowledge as a tool to manipulate for their own interests in the garb of the interests of the dominated.

Empowered with the cultural knowledge they persuade the dominated to share or adopt the values of the dominant. So for instance: elites mobilise masses into subscribing to a particular political ideology, by using their cultural knowledge. Yet at another level, knowledge itself becomes an indicator of social status, with intellectuals rising to the stature of elites. Their rise in social position or class is aided by their professionalism and socio-cultural capital, along with their merit.

ACTIVITY 3.

Look around yourself. Observe the social networks functioning around you. They may be your own networks or of those in your immediate surroundings. This would enrich your understanding of how social networks operate in real life. If possible make a presentation on your observations and present within your social network of friends at your centre and learn from each other's observations.

Check Your Progress 4.

i)   What are social networks?

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        ....

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ii)   How does social network help in maintenance of elite status?

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        ....

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        ....

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        ....

iii) Who gave the concept of "hegemony" in sociology?

- C. Wright Mills   - Vilfredo Pareto

- Antonio Gramsci   - Karl Marx

iv) How does cultural knowledge aid in maintaining hegemony of the elite over the masses?

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v) When does knowledge become an indicator of social status?

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6.5 SOCIAL INSTITUTIONS: REPRODUCTION OF ELITES

In the process of reproduction of elites, the role of social institutions is almost as important as the inheritance of family status. However, the latter remains a deciding factor in the choice of social institution, be it educational institutions or social clubs that elites prefer to associate with. Social clubs serve a dual purpose of constituting an elite at the first place and excluding the non-elites from the social power, at the other. Such clubs are sociologically understood as a vanguard against the rise of the new rich. With the rise in the economic mobility of the non-elites, the family elites feel threatened. In the backdrop of such a development the popularity of the elite clubs rise even more; and so does their exclusion from what they see as the 'other'.

The new elites joining the clubs are manipulated into coordinating their interests with that of the older elites. Thus, paving way for class consolidation, by sharing common interests and culture. On the basis of this understanding, the elites are firmly founded in the upper class families, they mediate through institutions like clubs, and are driven by common interests. Whereas clubs and families provide elite the basis for social closure, educational institutions like schools and colleges remain remain particularly complex. While on one hand, they can provide a great push for the upward mobility of an individual, at the same time they can be the most restricting gatekeeping institutions.

The growth in the number of schools and the shift in their patterns of schooling indicate have made them into a fertile ground for the study of elites. Schools have become a mechanism of reinforcing inequalities, wherein the birth right of the students from the elite stratum are converted into their credentials. This directly has a bearing upon the ways elitism is reproduced through educational institutions.

The logic of educational institutions is directly relational and corresponds to the orientations of the elites. Take for instance the case of elite boarding schools. They became very popular in the late nineteenth century as a result of the desire of the old established elite families to add on to their cultural identity by classifying themselves from the newer riches, the industrialists and the masses. So, just like the social clubs even schools become a site of reproduction of elitism. To understand how elitism and schools correspond to each other, let us consider the case of India.

Read in the box 6.2 given below.

Box 6.2: Elitism And Schools: A Case Of India

At the end of the British rule in India, the literacy rate was recorded at 12 per cent. This was seen as a key indicator of poor socio-economic conditions of India. The education was limited mostly to those who were family elites, with not much breach to this standard norm. Also, because the schools were just few; under the colonial rule education became a privilege of the elites. After independence, however following the formation of the planning commission and several education committees, all inclusive education policies came into enforcement. This brought education out of the clutches of the elite minority. Come the globalisation and modernity, the landscape of education sees a landmark shift again. At one level, India progressed towards global education system and at the flip side, the cost of education became overwhelmingly high. The choice of schools became skewed depending upon the income of the family. The schools too got hierarchically arranged according to the class of the society, which could afford to send their wards to them. So, while on one hand are the most elite schools like The Doon School, Bishop Cotton and others which cater to the old elite families; at the middle level are still elite schools like Chinmaya Vidyalaya, Delhi Public School, etc where students belonging to the families of civil servants or high class businessmen get admission. At the lowest level are the schools for the middle class masses and the lower classes still look upto the state sponsored educational institutions.

Check Your Progress 5.

i)   What are the two social institutions discussed above, which have direct bearing on the reproduction of elites?

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ii)   What is the sociological logic for the prominence of the social clubs in elite network?

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     ....

iii) What is the dichotomy facing educational institutions according to the discourse on elite vis-a-vis the masses?

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iv) How do elites appropriate schools for reproduction of their status?

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6.6   LET US SUM UP

The definition of elites and the masses may vary in accordance to factors more than one. It may be the segment of the society they are situated, or the professional fields they operate in. It could be their levels of educational attainment, or just the families they are born in. It can be their high brow tastes for music, art theatre or their preference for one kind of social clubs over the other. So, it is very difficult to deduce one singular definition of elites and the masses as such. But, what remains central to the understanding of the two concept - the elites and the masses - is that they both can be understood only in corollary with each other. There can be no elite without the masses and no masses without the elites. It is in turn their control over the resources that decides who is an elite and who is not.

Those who are dominant by the virtue of their access to political resources, become the ruling elites of a given society. The minority elites, thus, rule over the majority masses. Those with a domination over economic resources of production and distribution become the economic elite. These again remain a minority that exploits the majority of non-elites. And, then there are the other kind of elites who hold top position in the institutions of power like the state, the corporations and the military these are the power elites. But, what remains a common fact binding all the elites alike is that they are the minority in any given society, yet they possess the most domination over the significant social, political and economic resources.

Elites maintain their exclusivity from the non elites, using their cultural capital, social networks and education as tools of status maintenance. Furthermore, they ensure the reproduction of their status, by exercise control over social institutions of education and leisure - the educational institutions and the social clubs, respectively.

6.7   KEY WORDS

Elite   :   As a class of the people who have the highest indices (or scores) in their branch of activity.

Circulation of Elite   :   All societies move from one state to another in a cyclical manner, with no beginning or end. It may ensure the replacement of one set of elites by the other.

6.8   FURTHER READINGS

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6.8   SPECIMEN ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Check your Progress 1.

i)   Governing and the Non-Governing Elites

ii)   Individuals in the elite stratum have common social origin and maintain their connections in order to achieve a qualitative shift from the non-elites or the masses. The elites act like a cohesive unit, in which they accept and understand each other, and even think alike.

iii)   Merit

Check your Progress 2.

i)   Foxes and the Lions

ii)   Vilfredo Pareto gave the idea of "circulation of elites". In this, he suggested two ways in which ruling elites in a given society remain dynamic and not a constant, in which the decay of one paves way for the rise of the other. Firstly, according to him, there is a circulation of individuals between the elite and the non-elite strata of the society. The ruling elites are replaced, when those from the non-elite classes start infiltrating their stratum.. Secondly, the circulation of elites may ensure the replacement of one set of elites by the other, when the later may rise in its possession of attributes that are central to the ruling elites, while the former starts showing the signs of degeneration of such attributes.

iii)   Capitalism would gradually be replaced by an economic and political system, run by managerial elites, because the capitalists have passed the control of their business to those in the capacity of professional managers.

iv) Power elites are those who occupy the top most positions in the institutions. The same power elites also make it to the leading positions of power even in political sphere or the government.

Check Your Progress 3.

i) Pierre Bourdieu through his classic work *Distinction* (1984).

ii) Firstly, it helps an individual create his/her own identity; and secondly, it creates a boundary, which leads to the formation of the self and the other.

iii) Just like economic capital empowers an individual financially and makes him an economic elite, similarly, culture when seen as a capital makes an individual culturally more competent than others. It has a significant bearing upon one's lifestyle, education attainment, marital selection, career choices and even general likes and dislikes.

iv) Through the much of nineteenth century, there was not much difference between the likes and dislikes or the tastes of the elites and the masses. Later, this trend saw a sharp shift during the early twentieth centuries. The elites in an attempt to make a distinction between themselves and the masses started altering their tastes to the likes of just fine music - classical and opera. They became high brow in total contrast from the low brow masses. But this trend again saw a change during the later half of the twentieth century, when the taste of cultural elites became more of a blend of classical and jazz, world music and hip hop.

Check Your Progress 4.

i) Social networks are basically structures of relationships connecting an individual to the community with shared life chances and interests.

ii) Be it individuals, organisations or nations, all social actors at either micro or macro levels take construct their everyday lives with the suggestions, consultations, information or resource sharing, support and criticisms at the hands of the others. Such interactions within one's social network, thus influence his/her actions, behaviour, thoughts and beliefs; reinforcing the virtues of elitism.

iii) Antonio Gramsci

iv) Empowered with the cultural knowledge they persuade the dominated to share or adopt the values of the dominant. So for instance: elites mobilise masses into subscribing to a particular political ideology, by using their cultural knowledge.

v) Knowledge itself becomes an indicator of social status, with intellectuals rising to the stature of elites. Their rise in social position or class is aided by their professionalism and socio-cultural capital, along with their merit.

Check Your Progress 5.

i) Social Clubs and Educational Institutions

ii) Such clubs are sociologically understood as a vanguard against the rise of the new rich. With the rise in the economic mobility of the non-elites, the family elites feel threatened. In the backdrop of such a development the

popularity of the elite clubs rise even more; and so does their exclusion from what they see as the 'other'.

iii) While on one hand, they can provide a great push for the upward mobility of an individual, at the same time they can be the most restricting gatekeeping institutions.

iv) They appropriate schools to add on to their cultural identity by classifying themselves from the newer riches, the industrialists and the masses.