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Political Sociology

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Lesson 01**INTRODUCTION TO POLITICAL SOCIOLOGY****TOPICS 001-005****Topic 001 Introduction to Political Sociology**

Political sociology is a relatively new field that emerged in social sciences. Its existence and realization of its subject matters dates back to Greek philosophers but its importance as a separate field of study emerged in 19th and 20th centuries. Moreover, the decade after WW2 produced such writings and philosophers which directly touched and addressed subject matters of political sociology (Alexander M. Hicks et al). It includes the Political Man (1960) by Seymour Martin Lipset, Who Rules America (1967) by William G. Domhoff and The Strategy of Social Protest (1975) by William Gamson and many more to mention here. All these writings and advancements in field of Politics were focusing on the social basis of power/politics that how social basis have influence over political structures and their outcomes. Hence it gave birth to a new field of study known as Political Sociology.

Topic 002 Meaning and Dimensions of Political Sociology

It becomes evident now, that political sociology deals with the social forces and structures not in isolation but their relation to political structures and their outcomes. It is as, the social dimensions of politics is addressed by political sociology. It emphasizes on the social basis for political process i.e. voting and movements, political competition among classes and political attitude of masses towards their political systems i.e. political culture. Moreover, this field is not rigid, precise and fixed in its scope and subject matters, rather it gives us a fluid and amoebic mix which differs both in its subject matter and in various parts of world where it is studied (L. S. Rathore, 1986)

Topic 003 What is Political Sociology ?

Smelser N.J defines it as “Political sociology is the study of interrelationship between society and polity, between social structures and political institutions”.

Maurice Duverger explains it as “political sociology is the science of power, of government and of authority of command in all human societies (including Nation states).

Bendix and Lipset concludes as “political science studies the effect of state on society while political sociology emphasizes on the influence of society on state”.

L. S. Rathore in his article surmised as “it is an inter-disciplinary hybrid which attempts to combine social and political explanatory variables i.e. social and political structures”.

Hence it broadly becomes the study of social and political variables and explaining their influence on each other.

Topic 004 Major Characteristics of Political Sociology

Political sociology is different from other social sciences and their sub-fields both in its subject matters and approaches for their study. Unlike political science, which only focuses on state, political sociology is the study of state along with impact of society on it. It is also different from “sociology of politics” which is like a sub-field of sociology where we study the social context of power or politics. Political sociology on contrary studies both social and political aspects of power. Unlike political science which only focuses on formal structures of states, political sociology focuses on influence of social relations on political participation, representation and distribution of power. In a nutshell, political sociology is the study of fabrication of political relations in social context.

Topic 005 Scope and Subject Matter of Political Sociology

The scope of political sociology is very vast and fluid. It focuses on explaining variables of sociology (social structures) and political science (political structures) simultaneously. It is also referred as science of state, study of state and society interaction, study power, government and authority and the integration of political science and sociology. Every interpretation has its own merits and limits which makes the subject multi-dimensional. The subject matter of political sociology mainly consists of state-society relationship, power, authority, governments, social movements, politics and state.

Subject Matters: State-Society Relationship

This topic will cover the emergence of political sociology as a separate field. In Ancient era, there was no difference between state and society. Greek philosophers emphasized on social basis of governments and states.

During *Middle Ages*, this distinction was made by various philosophers and state was declared as a limited organization and must work under superiority and influence of church.

Industrial Revolution led to the demise of feudal society and pervasive church.

Karl Marx visualized class as the basic explaining variable for social and political structures.

Max Weber asserted that power is the focal point of social analysis.

Post WW2 literature than focused not on state-society debate but on political changes, revolutions and mass movements and their social basis

Lesson 02**POLITICAL SOCIOLOGY IN CONTEXT OF PAKISTAN****TOPICS 006-008****Topic 006 Relevance of Political Sociology to Pakistani Political System**

The study of social context of any political system is basic approach of political sociology. Pakistan is also a nation state having deep rooted social contexts of its political system. The social fabric of our society dates back to Dravidians, Aryans, Greece, and Mongols, Arabs and Turk Muslims and British cultures. Every social system is based on collective ideals, norms, ideologies and identities known as culture. These cultures then provide a psychological aspect for any political system where the orientation of people towards their political systems are analyzed. Hence becomes “political cultures”.

Political culture of Pakistan

Political culture is defined as “the orientation of people towards their political system”. It is of three type i.e. parochial, subject and participant. The prominent feature of our social structure affecting politics is our “**caste system/ Biradari**”. In post-independence era, this system was mainly nourished during different military authoritative regimes who established local electoral bodies/governments not on party base elections but rather on Biradari bases for legitimization of their authorities (Mughees Ahmed, 2011).

Biradari and Tribalism are key features of political cultures of Punjab and other provinces respectively. It is as political participation or any other engagement in political system are determined by these two factors in Pakistan. Local governments are main pillars of modern democracies but unfortunately in case of Pakistan, elections for this tier of government are solely held on Biradari and caste basis having no rationale for upholding the broader national cause.

Topic 007 Evolution of Political System in Pakistan**Evolution of Political System in Pakistan**

Before partition, Muslim leaders under the umbrella of All India Muslim League struggled for the establishment of a separate state for the Muslim nation.

In Post-independence era, Pakistan faced many issues which due to a proper democratic political system could not be established which was envisioned by founding fathers.

These issues/crises were defined by Palmer as The Identity Crisis, The Crisis of Legitimacy, The Crisis of Integration, The Penetration Crisis, The Crisis of Participation and The Distribution Crisis (Palmer, 1975, p.46). The political system of Pakistan has evolved with the passage of time experience different mode of authorities like governor rule, bureaucratic rule, military dictatorships, democratic governments under military shadows and contemporary free election based governments. The sociological perspective about this evolution shows that ethnic,

religious and other minor identities (Biradaris) remained main hurdles in developing pure democratic political system.

Topic 008 Changing Patterns of Political Sociology

Political sociology has become an important and vast field of sociology which is embedding a lot of new topics in its field of study due to its fluid nature. Some of major contemporary areas and developments in the field are as follow.

- New theoretical traditions of pluralists, political, economic developments, have been added to this field. Such theoretical developments have necessitated the need for a comprehensive theoretical building bringing state, policy domain, civil society, volunteer associations and social movements in a theoretical relations.
- Secondly, the study of effect of media on elections, voters, political candidates, ideologies, legislation, implementations and evaluation of policies is an important way of comprehension mass media into public sphere (Keane, 1991; Kellner, 1990).
- Third, some process-oriented sub theories in political sociology have been underemphasized like public opinion needs to be studied under social context and media networks (Burstein, 2003; Gamson, 1992), process theories of democracy and study of cultural impacts needs to studies and mainstreamed.
- Fourth, the local nature of politics embodied in social and anti-globalization movements is also a new focus in this field of study.
- Lastly, political sociology remained no more a study of institutions only, rather the study of rational agency (Rationality) is moving the study of institution towards new heights of creation and their transformation (Brinton and Nee, 1998).

Above discussed seven domains are key features of contemporary political sociology.

LESSON 03**PERSPECTIVES IN POLITICAL SOCIOLOGY****TOPICS 009-0012****Topic 009 Rule-making, Rule Breaking and Power**

This section deals with rule-making, rule breaking, power, resources of power, agency and structures and state as epitome of power. “If rule making is a strategy of domination, so is rule breaking a strategy in challenges to domination” (Piven, Cloward). The core idea of this concept revolves around the factor of power which makes social relations interdependent with some degree of domination of some over others.

Aristotle, Machiavelli, Hobbes and Rousseau contended that **rules** are made and ruptured in human society for the struggle of power. Social nature of human being makes them live in a collective life where they continuously influence their collective life. The existing social identities are challenged by innovations and other conflictual purposes embodied in human capacity. The complex pattern of cooperation in a social group becomes a constraint on human agency to act in a certain prescribed way but sometimes the same pattern becomes facilitator in deviating the agency from group pattern.

Rules are considered to be a tool in hand of powerful who use it as a strategy to compel others to behave in the way which they desire. Rules are considered to be tools to resolve the issues of collective life but they are not obeyed often times just because the identification of its sole determinant has remained its key contention. The questions of who will authorize what and why makes some rules unacceptable giving birth to rule breaking episode of rules. In a nutshell, rule-making and breaking is an effort from individual account for the exercise of power.

Power

The chance of a man or a number of men to realize their own will in a social action even against the resistance of others who are participating in the action.”(Max Weber, 1968:926–40). “Power may be defined as the capacity of an individual, or group of individuals, to modify the conduct of other individuals or groups in the manner which he desires, and to prevent his own conduct being modified in the manner in which he does not.” (R. H. Tawny, 931:229). It can easily be assumed now that power in a social life is like a Zero Sum Game where one tries to get everything at the expense of others. Hence power is conflictual in its nature.

Resources of Power

It is an important aspect to be discussed and analyzed that from where the powers come? Or what are its major sources? Collins argues that “power rests on attributes or things, such as personal skills, technical expertise, money the control of opportunities to make money, prestige or access to prestige, numbers of people, or the capacity to mobilize numbers of people”(Randall Collins, 1975:60–1). **Robert Dahl**

conceptualizes the resources of power as “anything that can be used to sway the specific choices or the strategies of another individual” (Dahl’s, 1961:226).

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Giddens (1985:7) describes **two kinds of resources for power** i.e.

1. **“allocative resources”** meaning control over material goods and the natural forces that can be harnessed in their production, and
2. **“authoritative resources”** meaning control over the activities of human beings.

“Resources for power are not only or primarily the disembodied attributes or things that can be used to induce or coerce others but in addition are derived from the patterns of interdependence that characterize all social life” (Janoski. T, et al, 2005) Hence, it becomes evident that resources of power lies in every material thing that can be used to sway others along with intangible patterns of social relations where one dominates other due to his status or position in that pattern of relation.

Key Problems of Action Ability

This section unfolds key problems about the social and actor abilities in actualizing their thoughts or bringing them to actions. It is evident that, in a social life, more people contribute to the cause of collective good and living for making it beneficial to all. But some contribute more than others which becomes bases of domination of some over others. Power seekers do not realize their power potentials to act. There is lack of coordination and cooperation among power seekers.

They are not ready for burdening the losses and sustainability to stay in power. Power seekers should curtail availability of alternatives to those with whom they fight. The dominant may use coercion or even exist giving no attention to such tendencies. Lastly, there are multiple constraints on the action of individuals in social relations.

Agency, Structure and State

It is a never ending debate of Structuralism and Rationalism that whether agency is subject to structural context or structures are the manifestations of rational agency?

Structural paradigm has remained a dominant theoretical framework in explaining social actors and their impacts on political systems but contemporary studies of poststructuralists and constructivists’ emphasis on role of cultural context in determining the final outcomes of rational agencies. Summarily, it sounds to be a naïve approach to deal each theoretical approach in isolation and hence pragmatic approach would result in a more intellectual friction and hence covering every aspect which makes a social actor the way he influences the political system. State is said to

be the epitome of power and rule making which is sometimes used by few to influence and subject others.

Topic 010 Neo-Pluralism and Neo-functionalism in Political Sociology

“Neo-pluralism expands the pluralist stress on multiple bases of social action to encompass a yet fuller range of actors (class ones in particular), an increased sensitivity to structural and systemic modes of power not reducible to social action, and a more complex articulation of agency and structure.” (Hicks. A, et al, 2005). Neo-pluralism has addressed First Criticism of extension of Range of Agency by introduction of interest groups (Garand, 1988), association forces, Importance of lobbyists in Heinz, Laumann, Nelson, and Salisbury (1993) work and new-constitutionalism by Clemens (1997) as various aspects of State centric analysis.

Neo-Pluralism

Both Neo-pluralism and Neo-functionalism have their legacies in earlier pluralist and functionalist traditions respectively of state theories. **Pluralism** is about the addressing of question about who actually enjoys the ruling or governing authorities who finds answer in Aristotle’s analogy of “unity in Diversity”, Liberal Democracies and work of De Tocqueville work of Democracy in America.

Neo-pluralism is a reconstruction of classical pluralism where criticism on its classical version is addressed. In a nut shell, the **first** criticism that classical pluralists adapted was the introduction of class based analysis in their theoretical framework. So, class-based pluralism became first feature of Neo-pluralism. The **second** critique addressed by classical pluralists which became another feature of Neo-pluralism is that of Agency in Context. In response to this criticism, Neo-pluralism expanded its reach to high but sometimes invisible structures of systems, culture, economy and interdependence which every state take into account before finalizing their decision or governing their subjects. Hence in words of Janoski et al (2005), pluralism and its Neo version can be summarized as following.

“Pluralism is a theoretical orientation stressing the causal potency of a plurality of interest groups and interest-group conflict, as well as of party, public opinion, and election, as determinants of the institutions and actions of governance, democratic governance in particular. **Neo-pluralism** is a reconstitution of pluralism extending its conception of interest group to encompass class groupings and social movement organizations and revising its conception of group political agency to an enhanced appreciation not only of the structural foundations and arenas of agency but also of the shaping and the complementation of social action (and political influence) by structural and systemic determinants.”

Neo-Functionalism

Functionalism is actually a complement to pluralism as if there are multiple factors with causal potency then there are certain responsibilities on part of each of them which they fulfill for a common good of collective whole. It is a theoretical framework which asserts that society is a complex structure and its parts are inter-dependent which function in their own capacity for stability and solidarity of society.

Making it more simple, this theory asserts that “new needs generate new institutions and common needs tend to generate common institutions” (e.g., Kerr, Dunlop, Harrison, and Meyers, 1964). “Neo-functionalism impact has not been as great as pluralism’s, but its influence is felt especially through its cognate affinities to cultural sociology and because of the broader theoretical foundation that it provides to the pluralist point of view” (Hicks, 2005).

Topic 011 Conflict Theories in Political Sociology

Conflict theories are basically emphasizing the role of social cleavages which in turn gives birth to social conflict finally resulting in political outcomes, including momentary political events, more enduring policies, and long-lasting political institutions. These theories addresses both the kind of class cleavages and their role throughout the history in determining political outcomes. There are basically two strands of conflict theories based on Marx materialist interests and the other one on broader social, political and cultural basis.

The emergence of welfare states and liberal democracies where people and every class of them enjoys maximum liberty and decision making power through votes and election have challenged the notion of domination of one class over others. But such statements were countered by philosophers like Miliband, Domhoff, Poulantzas and Offe as such liberties or inclusiveness in capitalist tendencies are the among the core features of capitalism for prolong sustenance and stability (Berg and Janoski, 2005).

Major Contemporary Conflicting Theories

Following are the major contemporary conflicting theories:

- Marxist Theories of the State.
- Power Resources Theory.
- Critical and Emancipatory Theory.
- World Systems and Globalization Theories.
- Weber’s Multiple Conflict Theory.
- Political Power Elite Theory.
- Early Postwar Conflict Theory – Dahrendorf.
- General Neo-Weberian Conflict Theories – Collins and Turner.
- Mann’s Integration of Ideological, Economic, Military, and Political Power.
- Bourdieu’s Field Theory.

Topic 012 Institutionalists and State-Centric Theories of Political Sociology

Now a day, Political sociologists think about states and processes. This situation comes up with new questions. When political sociologists started paying more

attention on processes? And why? From 1980,s, there has been much work on state and political institutions, while discussing political phenomena. State –centered scholars talked about state structures and actors having influence over politics and state. Structural aspects of state shaped the political identities, interests and strategies of groups. State actors on the basis of their capacities matters. The political institutionalists focus more on systematic and structural aspects of states. They focus to political parties as the agents to shape political identities, interests and strategies of politically mobilized groups.

Three Groups of Institutionalists

“New institutionalists” in the sociology of organizations (Powell and DiMaggio,1991), they treat state largely like other organizations. Institutionalists, employing rational choice theory in political science(Moe,1987), Historical institutionalists,” political scientists who are distinctive for their comparative and historical methodology (Thelen, 1999),

LESSON 04**CULTURE AND POLITICAL PHILOSOPHY****TOPICS 013-017****Topic 013 Culture, Knowledge and Politics****Political Sociology has a Great Emphasis on Understanding of Culture**

Culture as an analytical tool is getting much importance now a day. Scholars are paying more importance to the cultural dimensions of all political institutions and processes. Civic Culture approaches provide tools for understanding the politics of social life regardless of our own value judgments. Culture and politics also have emphasis on emotions and Cognition. Political leaders, political parties, revolutions, and protest groups, they all are having links with emotions and cognition. Political sociology is the field, which opens up dialogue between cultures.

Topic 014 Impacts of changing patterns of Political Sociology on Pakistan

We have elaborated in detail the contemporary and changing nature of political sociology. In this section we would focus on the influence of these changing patterns social actors and their influence on Pakistan's politics. Pakistan is one the oldest inhabiting regions of the world as per its Indus civilization roots. Though it's a new country but its society or community is thousands years old (Wheeler. M, Five Thousands Years of Pakistan). Historically, Pakistan has a rural society which gradually adopted urban traits and structures, multi-ethnic and multi-lingual ethnic mix, and high poverty and unemployment indexes with relative low record for its social development.

The above mentioned features of Pakistan's society are basically the attributes of the unjustified and uneven distribution of resources by colonial masters, massive mass migration and emigration from this land, meager resources availability and weak societal organization lacking cohesiveness. However, since its inception, Pakistan has endured larger social and political change both in its social and political structures and cultures. Muhammad. A. Qadeer in his book Pakistan; Social and Cultural Transformations in a Muslim Nation (2005) has focused on basic inside-out forces and events which has contributed to the cause of this transformation. They are as follow:

- Independence
- Population growth
- Urbanization
- Economic development and modernization
- Social mobility and migration
- Communication and information

- Internationalism and globalization
- Islamism as an ideology and social movement
- Historical and contingent forces.

Hence, the political sociology of Pakistan is also not immune to the worldwide changing patterns in social structures which influences the political outcomes of a state or political system.

Topic 015 Understanding Political Sociology through Philosophers

Sociology has two Philosophical Traditions.

1. Positivism
2. Phenomenology

Positivism and phenomenology are roots, or the traditions, from which sociology's main perspectives have evolved. The term **Positivism** was brought into use by Auguste Comte, and it means that all knowledge can be based on scientific behavior and science. Also, all behavior of people or of objects is subjected to general laws.

Marx and Durkheim are famous thinkers of this discipline. The term **Phenomenology** is associated with Edmund Husserl and Alfred Schutz, and it advocates that the search of positivism for social causes is illusory, and it falls into the trap of determinism. It denies that social behavior is determined by external forces, beyond human control. People possess a greater free will.

Topic 016 Marxism

Marxism is both a social and political theory, which encompasses Marxist class conflict theory and Marxian economics. Marxism was first publicly formulated in 1848 in the pamphlet, which lays out the theory of class struggle and revolution.

Historical Materialism: ideas are the products of the material struggle for existence in the economic base of society, and the change in society emerges from this struggle.

Three main epochs of change occurred in the history of human society; **classical societies** of ancient Rome and Greece, **The feudal societies** of the middle-east, and **the capitalist society**. These periods are characterized in the way production happens; mode of production. These epochs are different from each other in relation to the relations of production, determined by the owners of means of production. Class consciousness: proletariat will gradually become more conscious of their rights and will become revolutionary, overthrowing the government of the bourgeoisie.

Topic 017 Max Weber

Max Weber was interested in establishing sociology as an academic discipline. He stressed that a researcher should study other aspects too and should not only focus on the economic level only. Every society is unique, and one needs to study the history,

economy, and culture of that society in order to completely understand the working of the society.

Rationalization plays an important part in his theories. It can contribute to the downfall of industrial societies, as when a state is ruled by a rational-legal authority, overwhelming bureaucracy would arise, and life would become purposeless unless the bureaucracy is controlled by strong politicians.

Lesson 05**SOCIOLOGICAL PERSPECTIVES****TOPICS 018-021****Topic 018 Functionalism**

Functionalism is one of the major theoretical developments of Twentieth Century analytic philosophy, and provides the conceptual underpinnings of much work in cognitive science. A late 19th century to early 20th century American school of psychology concerned especially with how the mind functions to adapt the individual to the environment

- A function, a group activity, must help maintain the life of a community.
- It also symbolizes that activity can function to bind a community into a whole.
- The Organic Theory: the functioning of a society can be easily compared with how an organism actually works.
- Like each organ contributes to the working of the organism, each unit in society contributes to the working of the society.

Parsonian Functionalism: there are four essentials for society to survive; adaptation, goal attainment, integration, latency (AGIL). AGIL Paradigm:

- To survive or maintain equilibrium with respect to its environment, any system must to some degree adapt to that environment (Adaptation), attain its goals (Goal Attainment), integrate its components (Integration), and maintain its latent pattern (Latency Pattern Maintenance), a sort of cultural template.
- These concepts can be abbreviated as AGIL. These are called the system's functional imperatives.

It is important to understand that Parsons AGIL model is an analytical scheme for the sake of theoretical "production," it is not any simple "copy" or any direct historical "summary" of empirical reality. Also the scheme itself doesn't explain "anything" as little as the periodical table in the natural sciences explains anything in and by itself. The AGIL scheme is a tool for explanations and no better than the quality of those theories and explanation by which it is processed.

Topic 019 Feminism

Feminism is a range of socio-political movements and ideologies that aim to define and establish the political, economic, personal, and social equality of the sexes. Feminism incorporates the position that societies prioritize the male point of view, and that women are treated unjustly within those societies. Before the 1960s, sociology can be seen as a Male discipline. Due to that, females have been ignored and marginalized. Feminists have tried to explain women's subordination and to place women at the center of sociological study. According to the separatist's approach, women should be studied separately from men, because their experience has been

qualitatively different than men. According to the re-conceptualized approach, sociology and its theories should be re conceptualized from the beginning.

Topic 020 Symbolic Interactionism

Symbolic interactionism is a social theoretical framework associated with George Herbert Mead (1863–1931) and Max Weber (1864-1920). It is a perspective that sees society as the product of shared symbols. A central concept of symbolic interactionists is the Self, which allows us to calculate the effects of our actions. According to Macdonald, symbolic interactionism is "a framework for building theory that sees society as the product of everyday interactions of individuals".

In other words, it is a frame of reference to better understand how individuals interact with one another to create symbolic worlds, and in return, how these worlds shape individual behaviors. It is a framework that helps understand how society is preserved and created through repeated interactions between individuals. Thus, interaction and behavior is framed through the shared meaning that objects and concepts have attached to them. From this view, people live in both natural and symbolic environments. According to this theory, the inner I has to be converted into the social ME. This is done by the use of language, to interact with other members of society. Everyone has a role to play in society, they also see themselves as others see them.

1. Primary Socialization: behavior a child learns from his family.
2. Secondary Socialization: behavior one learns from society.
3. Labeling occurs by society and one is forced to accept the judgments others make about him.

Topic 021 Postmodernism

Symbolic interactionism is a social theoretical framework associated with George Herbert Mead (1863–1931) and Max Weber (1864-1920). It is a perspective that sees society as the product of shared symbols. A central concept of symbolic interactionists is the Self, which allows us to calculate the effects of our actions. According to Macdonald, symbolic interactionism is "a framework for building theory that sees society as the product of everyday interactions of individuals".

They advocate the straightforward denial of general philosophical viewpoints that were taken for granted during the 18th century Enlightenment, though they were not unique to that period. They deny the following points. There is an objective natural reality, a reality whose existence and properties are logically independent of human beings—of their minds, their societies, their social practices, or their investigative techniques. Postmodernists dismiss this idea as a kind of naïve realism. Such reality as there is, according to postmodernists, is a conceptual construct, an artifact of scientific practice and language.

The descriptive and explanatory statements of scientists and historians can, in principle, be objectively true or false. The postmodern denial of this viewpoint—which follows from the rejection of objective natural reality—is sometimes expressed by saying that there is no such thing as Truth. Through the use of reason and logic,

and with the more specialized tools provided by science and technology, human beings are likely to change themselves and their societies for the better.

Postmodernists deny this Enlightenment faith in science and technology as instruments of human progress. Indeed, many postmodernists hold that the misguided (or unguided) pursuit of scientific and technological knowledge led to the development of technologies for killing on a massive scale in World War II.

Lesson 06

UNDERSTANDING BEHAVIOR IN POLITICAL SOCIOLOGY-I

TOPICS 022-026

Topic 022 Understanding Behavior

Political behavior is the study of the way people think, feel, and act about politics. Political behavior is an attempt to quantify and explain the influences that define a person's political views, ideology, and levels of political participation. Political behavior is the subset of human behavior that involves politics and power. Over the past few decades, comparative political behavior has become a very “data-rich” field of research. Behavioral research has expanded during a period of tremendous political change in the world. Political behavior in advanced industrial democracies has shifted in fundamental ways during the latter half of the twentieth century. The third wave of democratization has reformed the political systems and the citizenry in the new democracies of Central and Eastern Europe, Asia, Africa, and Latin America.

Topic 023 The Nature of the Mass Belief System

Debates in political behavior involve basic questions about the public’s political abilities—their level of knowledge, understanding, and interest in political matters. Citizens must have sufficient knowledge of the workings of the political system if they intend to influence and control the actions of their representatives. Citizens must have sufficient knowledge of the workings of the political system if they intend to influence and control the actions of their representatives. This image of the uninformed and unsophisticated voter reshaped the view of the citizenry and democratic politics. Question of what democracy expects of its citizens and whether they meet these expectations. We should look at how citizens manage the complexities of politics and make reasonable decisions given their political interests and positions.

Topic 024 Modernization and Democratization

The concept of political culture is the citizens’ attitudes and behavior regarding politics. Democratization wave of the 1990s focused attention on the connection between modernization and political culture. **On one hand**, new versions of the social modernization thesis suggest a common pattern of social and political change as nations develop economically. This is most clearly seen in the analyses by Inglehart and Welzel (2005). **On the other hand**, others claim that historical experiences and national traditions produce different patterns of cultural development and distinct cultural regions—which may produce new sources of regional conflict. Important cultural changes have also emerged within the advanced industrial democracies. Affluent democracies have addressed many of the **traditional “material” social goals**, such as economic well-being and security. Other political values are increasing attention toward new “post material” goals of self-expression, personal freedom, social equality, self-fulfillment, and improving the quality of life.

Research has made great progress in developing empirical evidence that describes the political values for most nations in the world. The growing empirical evidence has also reinforced the importance of key theoretical concepts that were developed during the early behavioral revolution. As the empirical evidence has grown, it is also apparent that we are living through a period of substantial political change. This pattern presents several challenges for researchers.

Topic 025 Electoral Behavior

This involves decisions about which parties or candidates to support in an election, as well as decisions about which issue positions to hold, how to participate in politics, etc. In democratic systems, electoral choices are at the center of the political process. Early electoral research presumed that many voters were ill-prepared to deal with the complexities of politics. A decline in the ability of social cleavages to structure individual voting choice the electoral change also increases the potential for issue voting. The nature of electoral behavior is changing in advanced industrial democracies.

Topic 026 Political Participation

All polities expect some public involvement in the political process. Democracy, however, expects more active involvement than a nondemocratic order. Different forms of action vary in their political implications, and in the factors that stimulate individuals to act. Whether the level of political participation is systematically changing in Western democracies. A growing body of evidence that new forms of civic and political actions are counterbalancing the decline in electoral participation and other traditional forms of civic engagement. The expanding repertoire of action also may raise potential problems.

Lesson 07UNDERSTANDING BEHAVIOR IN POLITICAL SOCIOLOGY-IITOPICS 027-031Topic 027 Collective Behaviors

Collective behavior, the kinds of activities engaged in by sizeable but loosely organized groups of people. Episode of collective behavior tend to be quite spontaneous, resulting from an experience shared by the members. There are three primary forms of collective behavior:

- The crowd
- The mass
- The public

A **crowd** a large number of people who gather together is with a common short-term or long-term purpose. Sociologist Herbert Blumer (1969) developed a popular typology of crowds based on their purpose and dynamics.

1. **Casual crowds**, A casual crowd is a collection of people who happen to be in the same place at the same time. The people in this type of crowd have no real common bond, long-term purpose, or identity.
2. **Conventional crowds**, A conventional crowd is a collection of people who gather for a specific purpose
3. **Expressive crowds**, An expressive crowd is a collection of people who gather primarily to be excited and to express one or more emotions
4. **Acting crowds**, an acting crowd goes one important step beyond an expressive crowd by behaving in violent or other destructive behavior such as looting. A mob---an intensely emotional crowd that commits or is ready to commit violence---is a primary example of an acting crowd.
5. A fifth type, **protest crowds**, has also been distinguished by other scholars. As identified by Clark McPhail and Ronald T. Wohlstein (1983). As its name again implies, a protest crowd is a collection of people who gather to protest a political, social, cultural, or economic issue.

The mass, the gathering of people having no particular aim or objective. The public is a subset of the set of stakeholders for an organization, that comprises those people concerned with a specific issue. Another common form of collective behavior is the social movement. The study of social movements exploded in the 1960s and 1970s.

Topic 028 Basic Features of Society

Some basic features of society are listed below.

1. Likeness
2. Differences
3. Interdependence
4. Cooperation and conflict
5. Social relations
6. Sense of belonging
7. Society is abstract
8. Dynamic society
9. Integral culture
10. Division of labor

Topic 029 Social Political Behavior

Social political behavior is basically the study of psychological perspectives of masses about the political process and systems around them. In other words, the thinking of mass/public about politics, development of political values and participation in political process is social political behavior. Such social and political changes have majorly supplemented by third wave of democratization. (Robert. E. Godin, 2011). This study also stresses on the capacity of public masses about the gathering of information and acquiring more knowledge of their political systems.

Dahl suggested that such behavior develops due to “quality political debates” which provides enlightened understandings while Almond and Verba assumed the “cognition” as important in defining political behavior. Such behavior or attitude of mass have been evolving since long with varying levels of political interests and cognitive mobilization. In contemporary democratic regimes, elections and voting are considered as ultimate credentials for democracies but some other people attach things like quality of elections along with values attached to it.

Topic 030 Theoretical framework**Pluralist**

Pluralist framework considers voting and free elections as best ingredients of democracies. They consider political behavior of participation, decision making, representation and voting as an important but collective obligation of political system. Pluralists argue that the parties and state must bring every possible alternative for voter’s choice along with knowledge of major important issues. “Pluralists are concerned that there is a surge in political participation; this may signal a lack of

consensus or great disagreement that could be viewed as disruptive to society” (Alford and Friedland, 1985).

Elite/Managerial

This framework interprets that, elections and votes are mere tools in hand of those few who enjoys the real power of politics, representation and decision making. Managerial view manipulates the masses by giving them the sense that they truly having well say in decision making. All the political powers and decision making are centered in elites and elections could bring no alternatives to it. All democratic features like elections, political parties and interest groups are only symbolic and do not provide any substantive content to the system. Elites think that it is better to have apathetic mass instead of those asking for true participatory democracies. Hamilton asserts that “conservative elite might argue that the established elites serve as the guardian of democracy and are responsible and competent managers of politics and society (Dobratz, 2016).

Class Theories

Class theories also believe that the influence of none lite, lower middle and working classes on leadership and their decisions is very low. This perspective do believe in potential powers of working classes but consider elections and voting as a legitimizing tool of existing system.

They may define democracies in a variety of ways just as Therborn (1978) define “Bourgeois democracy is a regime in which the exploiting minority rules by means of a system of legally free popular elections”. This framework also shares the notion with elite theorists that working classes are always misled through elections and they have a misconception as they have they real power in deciding who should govern them.

Rational Choice

Rational choice perspective assumes that every individual takes decision as per his conscious and rationale by calculating cost-benefit analysis for himself in a strategic environment provided to him. Voters also decide casting votes in order to maximize their interests and benefits. “individuals make instrumental decisions about whether to invest time and efforts into voting, and they vote if or when they believe that it is likely to make a difference for their immediate personal situations” (Neumann, 2005).

Down (1957) asserts that “the rationale citizens looks at the political parties’ policies to evaluate the value of participation in a long run and the expected value of change versus no change against the costs of voting”. Some other philosophers argue that costing vote is a rational decisions because it fulfills one’s civic duty (Neimi and Weisberg). Summarily, rational choice theory asserts that political behavior is always goal-oriented in decision making.

Post-Modern

This perspective assumes that the concepts of capitalism, industrialism, bureaucratic administrative and centralized control of military power can no longer explain how

the world works (Best, 2002). This theory pays little attention to the importance of classes, nation states, political process under capitalism and other ideologies. They further assume that all existing interpretations of political behavior are less sufficient and inconsistent in explaining it. According to them, the voters must be studied in a perspective as they think and act in a global perspective.

Institutionalist and Political Culture

This perspective highlights the importance of existing established institutions and structures in determining the political behavior of masses. “There are number of institutional factors like difficulty of registering votes, negative campaigns, advertisements in media, voting costs and range of ideological choices which effects the voter’s choice in one way or the other (Manza et al, 2005). Examples are “Tea Party Movement’ in US which offered an alternative to the traditional democratic and republican political parties by addressing economic, environmental and health care reforms.

Topic 031 Causes and Consequences of low Women Political Participation in Pakistan

“Gender discrimination in the area, Religious interpretations, Community collective decisions to bar women to vote, Issues in getting CNICs and Voter Registration, Low literacy rate, Lack of civic education and Distance of polling stations are main reasons of low women political participation and low women turnout” (Zubair, M. 2021). “Most significantly, the political participation of women has increased in legislative bodies. “This change in political participation can be attributed to a number of factors, such as Pakistan’s legal commitments to the international community which include: the Committee on the Elimination of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW), Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR), and International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (ICCPR)” (Awan. M. A).

Another study also revealed some key hurdles in the way of female political participation in Pakistan including “misinterpretation of religion, male dominancy, patriarchal society, illiteracy, Purdah and lack of support from political parties, poor management, lack of security and confusing polling process” (H. Sajjad et al, 2017). But various governments have added to the efforts for empowering female participation through strategies like 10% female turnout in every polling station etc.

Lesson 08**VOTING BEHAVIOR****TOPICS 032-035****Topic 032 Political Views and Issues Based Voting**

This section will elaborate the fact that the voting behavior of masses is less influenced by any ideology rather issues and concerns portrayed in political campaigns are actual factors in determining voter's behavior. In this way, every political party and interest articulating platforms try to highlight their own area of interests along with issues in their voting campaigns (Budge. Farlie, 1983).

Recent studies of Neimi, Weisberg (2001) and Brooks et al (2003) concludes that "issues make important contribution to voting decisions and therefore to electoral results". Conservatism, Liberalism and Party identification are different lenses for voters to evaluate political issues.

Conservatism

"An ideological orientation that opposes social change, especially change away from traditional cultural value and mores, and justifies its actions and values on the basis of presumed accumulated wisdom of the past inherent in traditional form" (Theodorson and Theodorson, 1969).

Liberalism

"An ideological orientation based on a belief in the importance of the freedom and welfare of the individual, and the possibility of social progress and the improvement of the quality of life through change and innovation in social organization....Liberals believe that the government must take positive steps to ensure each person's welfare" (Theodorson and Theodorson, 1969).

Party Identification

Party identification is also closely related to liberalism-conservatism, another key political attitude that predicts the voting preferences. This concept urges the identification of party along with changes in features of political parties during different times.

Topic 033 Political engagements and group interests

There have been many attempts from social and political thinkers to find a correlation between political participation and other factors in individual's life. Such variables included religion, ideologies, socio-economic status, institutions, rational consciousness, political parties and cultures (Lazarsfeld, 1944). The study of group influence on voting behavior is another important study where social scientists have studied the pattern of group context in affecting many forms of political participation. "Groups serve as some filter for individual, or perhaps even as a yardstick by which political stimuli are considered. Membership, identification, commitments, likes and

dislikes, and such all filters the group through the prism of person-centered responses” (Dennis, 1987).

The importance of group context for political participation assumes groups as important social-political sources of attitude and behaviors. The study of “social capital” is central to this theme and its relation to political participation is considered to be central to health of contemporary democracy in America (Tocqueville. Foley and Edwards, 1997, Miller, 1997). Political engagement and the group context is basically an idea limiting the role of rationality in voting behavior and asserts that the social connectedness of an individual in a society in a shape of membership in various groups is the mains constraint on rationality of an individual and a determining factor of his/her political behavior.

Topic 034 Institutional Forms of Political Participation

The traditional and formalized ways of political participation have been among the core subject matters of political sociology. Elections and voting are considered as the mainstream instrumental way of understanding political behavior. The interaction of individuals with different groups and institutions is purposed for influencing policies, political outcomes and distribution of powers. There are various ways in which such political views are institutionalized and hence becomes influential in voting behavior of masses.

- Political Talk/Political Discourse
- Political Participation and Internet
- Campaign and Canvassing

Through *Political Talk and Discourse*, people share their views with same-minded individuals which ultimately stabilize the voting intentions. Political Participation and Internet illustrates that the innovation and use of modern technologies have increased an individual’s access to information and diverse views. Such access on the other hand is actually corresponding to the enhanced political participation.

Campaigning and Canvassing asserts that people take part in political campaigns of various political groups and parties due to their orientations and motivating interests. Such participations through institutions seem more profitable for them when doing cost-benefit analysis.

Topic 035 Case Study; Voting Behavior in Rural and Urban Area of Punjab

The electoral and voting maturity of Pakistani citizens has not reached its good standards yet, and there are some apparent factors which determine our political behavior and participation. Ideological and Biradari (clan, tribe) based considerations of voters are considered to be the main factor in calculating and predicting the political behavior of rural and urban masses in Punjab. Such determining factors were mainly strengthened during non-democratic and military-dictator’s rules where rulers sought legitimizing their authorities. “Non- party elections at the national and local level and weak political ideology further strengthened it” (Mughees Ahmed).

Biradari and Tribalism are key features of political cultures of Punjab and other provinces respectively. It is as political participation or any other engagement in political system are determined by these two factors in Pakistan. Local governments are main pillars of modern democracies but unfortunately in case of Pakistan, elections for this tier of government are solely held on Biradari and caste basis having no rationale for upholding the broader national cause. Summarily, the traditional values, ethos and other cultural ideals have a major role in political participation in Pakistan generally and through Biraderism and Casteism in Punjab particularly.

Lesson 09**POLITICAL MOVEMENTS - I****TOPICS 0036-039****Topic 036 Social and Political Movements****Definitions for Social and Political Movements**

Dobratz et al (2017) in their book have identified some basic reasons behind the study of social movements which are as follow.

Why We Study Social Movements?

- To understand what people accomplish of their protest.
- To learn about politics and public policies.
- To understand the sources of conflict and change in society.
- It also aids in finding more about human behavior and beliefs.
- To understand the technological innovations and their impacts on societies.
- To add or restrict societies from adopting new values along with understandings of moral basis of their societies.
- The above mentioned features about the social movements predicts that the study of ***Social Movements*** is an important source of understanding the strong link between society and politics which is core study matter of ***Political Sociology***.

Though some thinkers consider them as ***Irrational Non-Political behaviors*** but still their study becomes relevant due to their high impact on our ***legitimate political systems***.

Definitions

Social Movements are “Organized efforts to promote or resist change in society that rely, at least in part, on non-institutionalized forms of political action” (Marx and McAdam 1994: 73).

Another definition by Diani (2000) as “ Networks of informal interactions between a plurality of individuals, groups and/or organization engaged in a political or cultural conflict, on the basis of a shared collective identity” (Della Porta and Diani, 2006:20).

Some other characteristics have also been attached to Social Movements like demands for change in public policy effecting values and culture, expressing social and political identities and sometimes developing their own cultures which is difficult from the broader cultures of their societies (Meyer and Kretschmer 2007: 540-541).

Social Movement is comprised of their definite and Specific Social Movements Organizations defined as “A formal, complex organization that identifies its goals

with preferences of a social movement or a counter-movement and attempt to implement those goals” (McCarthy and Zald 1997:153).

Topic 037 Theoretical Framework

In this section, we will discuss various theoretical frameworks about social movements. They are as follow. Pluralism and the collective Behavior Model of Social Movements.

- Elite Theory and Resource Mobilization Theory.
- Class Framework or the Political Process Model.
- Rational Choice.
- Post-Modern.

Pluralism and the collective Behavior Model of Social Movements

“Pluralists tend to value moderate-democratic participation, and generally speaking, non-institutionalized tactics such as demonstrations and violent activities are viewed as deviant from political behavior in healthy democracies” (Dobratz et al 2012).

“Pluralist believe that those social movements who use the institutional tactics (elections and lobbying) instead of “tactics of street” have more chances to succeed in their struggle” (Gamson, 1975).

Pluralists use the traditional concept of Classical Collective Behavior Model of masses which focuses on Stress, Strain and Breakdown as main factors and features behind social movements.

Elite Theory and Resource Mobilization

This theory focuses on the Capacity of Elites for all kind of governing and resource mobilizing capacities on one hand and the Incapable Structures of Social Movements on the other hand. This theory doubts the governing capacity of social movements and also view them as a threat or hindrance in way of elites to govern properly. “Non-institutionalized Social Movements could suggest ill-constructed state structure or strategic failures of control by state elites” (Alford and Friedland, 1985). Other perspective asserts that such movements have high chances for success when they get support from External Sources and Elites. (McAdam, 1982).

Basic features of Resource Mobilization Capacity are:

- Aggregation of Resources like money and labor.
- Minimal Organization Structures for this aggregation/Social Movement Organizations (SMOs)
- Recognition of such organizational structures in society.
- Cost-benefit analysis of such organizations to involve in movements.

So Elite theoretical framework doubts the capacity of Social Movements for proper mass mobilization and governing in absence of any external factors or Elite's help.

Class Framework or the Political process Model

McAdam (1982) is of the view that Political Process Model resembles more the Class frameworks of Karl Marx. Earlier working classes mainly focused on "Work Places" whenever they voiced their concerns but in modern times, Working Class is mainly targeting the "Representative Bodies" because they want to influence the components of political process directly (Alford and Friedland, 1985).

McAdam (1982) gave basic three factors of Political Process Model for any Social Insurgency.

- The degree of Organizational Readiness among aggrieved masses.
- The Structures of Political Opportunities in sociopolitical environment.
- Collective Evaluation for Success of such Movement.

Rational Choice Model

Rational Choice Models asserts that individual's involvement in a group activity is totally based on cost-benefit calculations that he does before he pursues any such activity. This model focuses both the benefits and costs of involvement in group activities. Olson (1965) gave an explanation to this model where he focuses on the question of why people involve themselves in group activities. In an answer to this question, he assumes that the factor of Selective Incentive for those who will participate and some other Self-Centered Economic Motives are basic factors which explains people's engagement in collective actions.

Dowding (2001), on the other hand have highlighted key difficulties which stop people from participation. They are Relative Cost of Participation, The Size and Interactiveness of the Group. Still the problem of **Free-Riders** needs to be addressed who benefit from every outcome of group actions without directly participating in its activities.

Post-Modern Model

The industrial society marked a clear distinction between public and private spheres but the start of twenty first century brings a blur image to this distinction in Post-Modern and Post-Industrial discourse (Della Portal and Diani, 2006). Technological innovations have led people not to rely anymore on States but to find the Communities in their works, religion or social movements but they rarely commit themselves to anyone of them (Karp, Yoels and Vann 2004). "**Post-Modern** politics moves from party politics to Single-Issue and Local Movements which results in a Social and Political systems in which everything is open to negotiation and everything is subject to change" (Best, 2002).

Topic 038 Old and New Movements

A clear distinction between Old and New Social Movements was drawn in 1960s because of their Nature, Organization and Core Study Matters. **Old Social Movements (OSMs)** are considered to be focused on issues like Class interests, Politics and Economic Interests. Moreover, OSMs were mainly relevant in Industrial and Modern age. The new tendencies of masses in an open democratic environment were not tilted towards traditional interests of economy, class and politics rather their orientations remained focused towards the Identity Issues, Quality Life and Democratic Procedure. Hence Social Movements with these new tendencies were known as **New Social Movements (NSMs)**. NSMs have two basic categories known as Neo-Marxist and Post-Marxist Political Views.

- Neo-Marxists focus on contemporary complexities of class structures in advanced Capitalism. Their studies remained focused towards the State and Power still remains central to this debate (Buechler 1995: 457). “NSMs are often supported by new middle classes, especially white collar public sector employees” (Best, 2002: 147).
- Post-Marxist is another category of NSMs which focuses on Culture and Civil Society instead of state. It includes non-class identity concerns like Gay rights or gender equality etc.

Hamel and Maheu (2001) argues that all those movements about the Collective Identities are beyond NSMs because they involve resistance to new forms of domination and they are oriented globally. Moreover, these Collective Actions are more complex, fragmented and diverse in actions.

Another emerging contemporary concept in field of Social Movements is that of **Smart Growth Movements**. Such Movements mainly focus on comprehensive city planning, protection of natural environment, quality life, industrial development and Elite interests. Smart Growth Movements have their Counter-Movements known as Pro-Growth Movements which oppose every claim of Smart Growth Movements. Following are two tables to elaborate OSMs, NSMs, Smart Growth Movements and Pro-Growth Movements.

Topic 039 Towards a Synthesis of Structuralist, Rationalists and Culturalist Framework

The debate on reference points of social movements mainly revolves around Structural (Process oriented), Cultural (context oriented) and Rational (agency oriented) theories. All three paradigms try to explain one factor or the other contributing to the evolution of Social Movements. But their segregated studies are considered to be insufficient in explaining SMs. Hence a new approach or methodology is being proposed in various works of philosophers for comprehensive approach towards the study of Social Movements.

McAdam (1999), argues that such a combined and comprehensive approach of three paradigms is possible only if we have an extended knowledge of Contentious Politics. For this he identified **three basic concepts** e.g. Expanding Political Opportunities and Threats, Mobilizing Structures and using other paradigms to study the synthesis of social movements. This approach urges the assemblage of institutionally organized and unorganized groups for participation in politics.

The Elite Contention among political leaders, government official and Elites gives way for the intervention of other Social Movements Organization (SMOs) and forms new political actions called Popular Contention. Result in recognition of Institutional, Social, Psychological and other Collection Actions efforts to conduct detailed and accurate study of Social Movements both New and Old.

Lesson 10**POLITICAL MOVEMENTS - II****TOPICS 040-042****Topic 040 Life Cycle of Social Movements**

This section deals with the discussion of main factors that contribute either in initiating or ending a Social Movement. A good number of analysis reveal the fact that there is no clear start or end to social movements. But various factors that are normally associated with the Start, Peak and Culmination of a social movements are highlighted as composing a life cycle of a Social Movement.

Social Movements Emergence and Mobilization Factors

Factors contributing to the beginning and then mobilization of a Social Movements are as Follow

- Strain, Conflict and Breakdown.
- Political Opportunity Structures (POSS).
- Existing Conditions of Social Organizations.
- Collective Actions Frames.

Strain, Conflict and Breakdown

Strain is the breakdown of social order in a society and it initiates a Social Movement. Conflict refers to the power or creating influence over “Historicism” (Creating historical experience through cultural pattern) (Touraine, 1981). Another author describes Conflict as “when a Hegemonic imposition is in contrast to the existing urban social realities, then a Urban Social Movement or Urban Ideology emerges” (Castells, 1983).

Political Opportunity Structures (POSS)

Political Opportunity Structures are “The degree to which group are likely to be able to gain access to power to manipulate the political system” (Eisinger, 1973). The expanding and contracting political opportunities provide are basic resources for mobilization of social movements (Dobratz et al 2012).

Existing Social Organizations or Mobilizing Structures

Mobilizing Structures are “Those collective vehicles, informal as well formal through which people mobilize and engage in collective actions” (McAdam, McCarthy, 1982).

In simple words, the existing organizations of collective actions or social movements are usually supplements for new social movements and history reveals the fact that social movements with any prior social structure for organization have remained more successful than those having no prior basis.

Collective Actions Frames

This factor speaks about the evaluation of efforts by SMOs in setting objectives and means towards those objectives by the supporters of Movement. If they are in good terms with defined mechanism and objectives, then there are high chances for Social Mobilization of masses.

Social Movements Outcomes, Influence and Decline Factors

The outcomes of Social Movements are very difficult to be calculated as Cress and Snow (2000) state it like “There outcomes are extending from State-Level policy decisions to expansions of a movement’s social capital to change in participants biographies”.

However, still some basic studies could be carried on by focusing on some key areas for calculating and analyzing the outcome or end of social movements. They are

- SMO’s Characteristics and Resources.
- Strategies and Tactics.
- Social and Political Context.
- Success and Violent Tactics.
- States Reaction to Movements/Repression.

Topic 041 Globalization and Transnational Movements

We have already discussed various theoretical approaches to Social Movements which makes it evident enough that as more issues are emerging in global context, so as the number and the scope of Social Political Movements. The subject matters of NSMs are highly based on identity and culture which are easily prone to transnational and global influence. The term Anti-systemic Movements was invented which refer to both Social Movements and National Movements. These movements are formed due to evils of capitalism throughout the world (Wallerstein, 2004).

Along with multiple factors that contribute to easy spreading of Social Movements and their causes globally due to technological innovation and societal openness, still some authors have also highlighted key obstacles for Social movements to become Trans-national or Global. These include achieving coordination among group members, due to greater audience, movements becomes more institutionalized and such movements than focus mainly on maintaining their own structures instead of addressing Social Changes (Rucht, 1999).

Topic 042 Globalization and Transnational Movements

Contemporary history of civil society movements in Pakistan can be traced back to events unfolding in 1857 with defeat of natives in War of Independence against the British colonial rule. Changes. Pakistan’s civil society has played a key role in four areas: social reformation, freedom and social justice, socioeconomic development and provision of welfare and social safety net. Civil Society movements have also been

changing in character in line with the dominant demands of the social, political and economic forces at work. These movements have been deeply influenced by internal conflicts within Pakistani society based on class, ethnic, religious, gender and sectarian interests as well as the social concerns for education, health, human and social development, rural and urban infrastructure building, poverty alleviation and job creation.

- Various Movements in Pakistan
- Student Movements
- Interest Based Movements
- Religious Based Movements
- Human Rights Movements
- Marginalized Rights
- Identity based Movements
- Development based Movements

Lesson 11POLITICAL SOCIALIZATIONTOPICS 043-045Topic 043 Political Socialization

Socialization is the lifelong process of learning to become a member of the social world “Socialization is the lifelong process of social interaction through which individuals acquire a self-identity and the physical, mental, and social skills needed for survival in society” (Kendall, 2008). **Lundberg**, “Socialization is a process of interaction where the individual learns habits, skills, beliefs, and standard of judgments which are necessary for effective participation at social groups and communities.” Socialization is also important for the survival and stability of society. Members of a society must be socialized to support and maintain the existing social structure. It enables a society to “reproduce” itself by passing on its culture from one generation to the next. It is essential for the individual’s survival and for human development. The many people who met the early material and social needs of each of us were central to our establishing our own identity.

It enables a society to “reproduce” itself by passing on its culture from one generation to the next. It is essential for the individual’s survival and for human development. The many people who met the early material and social needs of each of us were central to our establishing our own identity. The importance of socialization can be seen in the fact that when a person experiences extended periods of Social Isolation this can inflict permanent damage. **Political socialization** is the process by which people acquire their political attitudes, beliefs, opinions, and behaviors (Bernard et al). “Political learning, formal and informal, deliberate and unplanned, at every stage of the life cycle, including not only explicit political learning, but also nominally non-political learning of politically relevant social attitudes” (Greenstein)

Topic 044 Understanding Political Socialization

Sigmund Freud combined basic needs and influence of society in a model of personality with three parts; Id, Ego, and Superego. Id is present at birth, thus the newborn makes demands for attention and food. Over time, a child learns to balance the innate pleasure-seeking drives with the demands of society through Ego.

- A child learns moral concepts of right and wrong by *Ego*.
- *Superego* is the cultural values and norms internalized by an individual.
- Jean Piaget’s theory of Cognitive Development suggested that children move through four different stages of mental development

Piaget's stages are:

- *Sensorimotor stage*: birth to 2 years, individuals experience the world through their senses

- **Preoperational stage:** ages 2 to 7, children begin to think about the world and use imagination
- **Concrete operational stage:** ages 7 to 11, individuals see casual connections in their surroundings
- **Formal operational stage:** ages 12 and up, individuals think abstractly and critically

Carol Gilligan's Theory of Gender and Moral Development

Gilligan found that women placed a stronger emphasis on caring in moral decision making. She believed that women tend to develop morality in stages. The stages are:

- **Pre-conventional morality** – During this stage, there is a strong focus on survival and self-interest.
- **Conventional** – During this stage, women prioritize selflessness and caring about others.
- **Post-conventional** – In the final stage of moral development, women emphasize taking responsibility for the consequences of their choices and gaining control of their own lives. Caring for others is a strong component of this high stage of moral development.

GH Mead's theory of the Social Self- based on the perspective that the self emerges from social interactions, such as observing and interacting with others, responding to others' opinions about oneself, and internalizing external opinions and internal feelings about oneself.

1. School-age – Industry versus inferiority
2. Adolescence – Identity versus identity confusion
3. Young adulthood – Intimacy versus isolation
4. Middle age – Generatively versus stagnation
5. Older adulthood – Integrity versus despair

Topic 045 Agents of Political Socialization

“Agents and agencies of socialization are the persons, groups, or institutions that teach us what we need to know in order to participate in society”.

Institutions pass on expectations about appropriate social behavior:

1. Family
2. Media

3. Peers
4. Religion
1. **Families** introduce children to the expectations of society. The kind of human being that we become depends greatly on the particular society and social groups that surround us at birth and during early childhood. Families are responsible for the nurture in early childhood.
2. **Schools** help to mold a diverse population into one society with a shared national identity and prepare future generations for their citizenship roles. Students are taught about laws and our political way of life through civic lessons, and they're taught patriotism through rituals such as saluting the flag.
3. **Peer groups** play an important role in socialization, especially in childhood and adolescence. It provides children with the opportunity to be a part of relationships that are productive and beneficial for all parties involved. The growing child learns some very important lessons from his peer group. Since members of the peer group are at the same stage of socialization, they freely and spontaneously interact with each other.
4. **Religion** also plays very important role in personality building. In traditional societies, religious institutions play very critical role in personality building.

Lesson 12POWER AND POLITICSTOPICS 046-049Topic 046 The Conceptualization of Power in Political Sociology

Political socialization is the "process by which individuals learn their perceptions of how power is arranged. How the world around them is (and should be) organized; Those perceptions, in turn, shape and define individuals

"Definitions of who they are and how they should behave in the political and economic institutions in which they live."

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. Weber picks up this theme and offers one of the first formal political sociological analyses of power. Unlike Marx, Weber located power in a variety of social spaces including both economic and non economic contexts. For Weber, power was rooted in formalized social systems such as organizations or bureaucracies, as well as in social institutions such as religion and law.

Weber differed from Marx in that he argued that power was not simply just about economic relationships, but rather a function of social patterns, culture, and social organization. first debates in political sociology about the nature of the society–politics relationship. Power manifest in decision making and exist in social relationships. Weber closely linked power with legitimacy to him class status and party are three dimensions of stratification in society.

Topic 047 Politics and Power

Power, according to sociologist Max Weber, is the ability to achieve goals with or without the society's support of those goals. In this lesson, we explore societal and political power by looking at three differing power models:

1. The pluralist model
2. The power-elite model
3. The Marxist model

The **pluralist model** indicates that power is distributed among many groups. These groups may include coalitions of like-minded people, Unions, Professional associations and business lobbyists. The percentages of average people that make up these groups are small, so in theory, the public acts as bystanders in the pluralist model of power.

Power Elitism is a theory that centers on the idea of how power is concentrated. In this model, sociologists argue that the majority of the power is concentrated among the wealthy. In this case, the wealthy refers to:

- Businesses
- Government
- The military

Due to the distribution of the power to a few, it is argued that the average person cannot have his or her voice heard.

Marxism concentrates more upon the structural arrangements of capitalist society

Attempting to show how a Ruling Class is able to dominate the rest of society.

- Economically
- Politically
- And ideologically without the need for its members to personally oversee the workings of the State.

Topic 048 Power and Labor in the Family

Patriarchy is an analytical concept referring to a system of political, social and economic relations and institutions structured around the gender inequality of socially defined men and women. Within patriarchal relations, women are collectively excluded from full participation in political and economic life. Family in modern society is becoming more symmetrical, and partners are seen taking part in work inside home as well as outside home. This is called shared conjugal roles being performed by both partners. Men and women have defined roles to be played in home and outside. Some people see this as inequality between men and women.

In this regard, feminism is worth mentioning. Feminism is the belief in full social, economic, and political equality for women. Feminism largely arose in response to Western traditions that restricted the rights of women, but feminist thought has global manifestations and variations.

Topic 049 Case Study: Pakistan

Political socialization is a process which gives sense of citizen ship. In the case of Pakistan, there are many agents involved in the process.

- Family
- Education
- Religion
- Peer groups
- Media

Media is one of the agents that politically socialize masses. Radio and Television are playing significant role in a politically socialized life. Media is a source of

information which not only affects daily activities of human life but also provides information about other events like developments being took place on national and international forums. Public opinion is known in democracy through voting besides responding to polls as well as participating in protests and lobbying through interest groups.” Public opinion is formed through political socialization in which people adopt opinions and values about political issues. Only a sense of real participation in the system and a clear purpose of that participation can restore the young public's confidence in politics and keep them away from their present state of political alienation.

Lesson 13**SOCIAL STRATIFICATION: AN INTRODUCTION****TOPICS 050-052****Topic 050 Stratification / Class System**

Every society is divided, on the basis of some factors. These factors can be categorized on economic, class, ethnic and religious basis. Income, status and identity is also linked with this debate too. Stratification cause division with in social fabric. Systems try to manage this issue but society face this reality.

Topic 051 Defining Social Stratification

Social stratification refers to a system by which a society ranks categories of people in a hierarchy. In the United States, it is perfectly clear that some groups have greater status, power, and wealth than other groups. These differences are what led to social stratification (Stephens. P. et al, 1998). Social stratification is based on four major principles:

1. Social stratification is a trait of society, not simply a reflection of individual differences.
2. Social stratification is universal (it happens everywhere) but variable (it takes different forms across different societies).
3. Social stratification involves not just inequality but beliefs as well (inequality is rooted in a society's philosophy).

“Social stratification means the differentiation of a given population into hierarchically superposed classes. It is manifested in the existence of upper and lower social layers. Its basis and very essence consist in an unequal distribution of rights and privileges, duties and responsibilities, social values and privations, social power, and influences among the members of a society” (Stephens. P. et al, 1998). “The process by which individuals and groups are ranked in a more or less enduring hierarchy of status is known as social stratification”.

Topic 052 Social Class, Ethnicity, Gender, Age

Social Class refers to divisions in society based on economic and social status. People in the same social class typically share a similar level of wealth, educational achievement, type of job and income. A social class is a large group of people who occupy a similar position in an economic system. There are several different dimensions of social class, including:

- Income
- Wealth
- Power

- Occupation
- Education
- Race
- Ethnicity

Ethnicity is a concept referring to a shared culture and a way of life. This can be reflected in language, religion, material culture such as clothing and cuisine, and cultural products such as music and art. Ethnicity is often a major source of social cohesion as well as social conflict.

Gender refers to the characteristics of women, men, girls and boys that are socially constructed. This includes norms, behaviors and roles associated with being a woman, man, girl or boy, as well as relationships with each other. As a social construct, gender varies from society to society and can change over time.

In sociology, **Age stratification** refers to the hierarchical ranking of people into age groups within a society. Age stratification could also be defined as a system of inequalities linked to age. Growing old brings with it distinctive experiences and also significant disadvantages, including lower income and sometimes the experience of prejudice and discrimination, both in and beyond the workplace.

Lesson 14**SOCIAL STRATIFICATION: DIMENSIONS AND IMPLICATIONS****TOPICS 053-056****Topic 053 Dimensions of Inequality**

Such differences between social and personnel stratification were first introduced by J. J. Rousseau who argued that natural or physical inequalities is established by biology and consists in difference of ages, gender and health etc. while the Moral or Political inequalities are established by 'Kind of Convention' which is authorized by 'Consent of Men'.

Rousseau believed that Natural inequalities are less important but Social/Moral/Political Inequalities are great importance for the system of Social Stratification. While the opposite view it as, Social Stratifications are basically due to the natural inequalities embodied in different individuals of a society. (Bernard. A. et al 2004). Following terms must be conceptualized.

1. Objectivity refers to neutral statement which is completely true, unbiased and balanced.
2. Subjectivity means something which does not shows clear picture or it is just a person's outlook or expression of opinion.
3. Science is the description and explanation of objective reality. It is the best knowledge we can know. Science explores a discoverable objective reality which exists on its own.

Natural science is the empirical study of the physical world. Natural science is a branch of science that seeks to understand natural phenomena, i.e. the processes we see in nature. This is distinct from theoretical sciences (such as mathematics or philosophy) which aim to come up with theories that can explain these natural phenomena.

Topic 054 Stratification and Conflict Based on Cast

Caste is an important topic of discussion under the umbrella of social segmentation, especially in the context of India where the caste system exists even today. There are three theoretical frameworks in Sociology. These act as tools that help examine a subject from three different perspectives, which facilitates the diversity in human viewpoints. Through the lenses of structural-functionalism, symbolic interactionism, and conflict theory, one is better able to comprehend what caste is from perspectives that might match their own, and also which they do not agree to. Functionalism (or Functional analysis): It is the theoretical outlook that presupposes and emphasizes harmony in every aspect of human existence in society.

Functionalists see the world as an organism. Just as any creature has different organs that work together to keep the creature alive, society is a complex consortium in

which every part has a specific ‘function’ or purpose that it needs to fulfill to ensure the proper functioning of society. Every ‘organ’ needs to work in tandem to establish equilibrium in society, which could otherwise enter a pathological state. However, not every action is beneficial for society. These are ‘dysfunctions’ of society, and are most often latent (hidden or unintentional) in nature because functionalists assume that deliberate human actions are, by nature, ‘good’.

Symbolic Interactionism: This theoretical perspective regards every facet of social life as constructed by people to represent ‘symbols’. These symbols help humans understand their and others’ position in society, create, impart and establish meanings of everything they come across, and define the basis of human interactions. Anything with a meaning attached becomes a symbol that helps define the varieties of human life. Not only the relationships we form with others around us, but institutions, norms, traditions—every feature of human society depend upon what they symbolize for us. Daily human communication and relations are at the core of the symbolic-interactionist theory.

Conflict theorists argue that the need of one group to exert their power over the other results in an underlying hostility hidden by a cover of peace and harmony. All social institutions are, by nature, unequal and work towards corroborating and sustaining the inequalities in society.

Topic 055 Global Stratification: An Overview

To understand global stratification, it is helpful to classify nations into three or four categories based on their degree of wealth or poverty, their level of industrialization and economic development, and related factors.

Topic 056 Social Stratification in Pakistan

A **caste system** is a system of social inequality in which people’s status is permanently determined at birth based on their parents’ ascribed characteristics. Permanent and ascribed status determined at birth. **Close system** where individuals live out their lives in the rigid categories assigned to them, without the possibility of change. For the better or worse. There is an Upper Class. These are elite families with great wealth who dominate the economic system of every society. The upper class of Pakistan has landlords, politicians, and business tycoons. There is a Middle class. The members of the middle class earn their money by working (small business owners) or doing professional jobs (as managers, doctors, lawyers, professors, and teachers). They do not have enough earning to support themselves, some may depend on public assistance (social safety nets) or lend money from others for their survival.

Lesson 15SOCIAL MOBILITY -ITOPICS 057-059Topic 057 Social Mobility

Social Mobility: “Change in individual's social status from one status to another. A teacher become principal, an officer may lose his job, a businessman may become bankrupt” (Bernard et al, 2004). There are three different kinds of statuses or positions for an individual in a society which determines the social mobility factor in a society.

Ascribed status: A permanent status assigned to an individual by birth eg. Birth. Gender, Caste, Eye color.

Ascriptive criteria: Which do not fix an individual in a position for life time eg. Sex, Religion, Age.

Achieved Status: A status gained by an individual through certain qualities and capabilities eg. A doctor, Father, Prime Minister.

Topic058 Logic to Study Social Mobility

Social Mobility occurs in various ways such as it might be based on terms of distances, life positions, social status and individual’s relationship status. All these factors are contributing towards social mobility in one way or the other. Following are some of its major types or logics to mobility in a society.

- **Upward social mobility:** earning college degree, having a high pay job, marrying someone who earns a good income.
- **Downward social mobility:** dropping out of school, losing a job, being divorced (especially women)
- **Intergenerational social mobility:** is a change in social position/Career occurring during a person’s lifetime.
- **Short and long term Mobility:** Intergenerational social mobility, upward or downward social mobility of children in relation to their parents is important because it reveals the long term changes in the society.

Topic 059 Social Mobility: Myth versus Reality

Social Mobility is a defining attribute of modern societies where their struggles for moving a head of others societies determines various levels of efforts which makes such mobility possible and feasible for them (J. Macionis, John). Discussing the above said reason for changing nature of societies, we will explain the case of US

society and its mobility. Every society thinks of “getting ahead” as much as in US and moving up is after all the American dream (J. Macionis, John).

Horizontal mobility is a change of occupation at same class level and this type of mobility is even more common. Social mobility in US can be understood as:

- Social mobility over the past century has been fairly high.
- The long term trend in social mobility has been upward: industrialization expanded US economy, growth of white collar work
- Within a single generation, social mobility is usually small: most social mobility involves little movement within one class level rather than striking moves between classes.
- Social mobility since the 1970s has been uneven
- Due to economic constraints ,mostly people are in struggle of their survival and fight for life.

Lesson 16**SOCIAL MOBILITY -II****TOPICS 060-063****Topic 060 Mobility by Income Level**

This section defines the Mobility in US society mainly due to the difference in their income levels. It mainly focuses on the time period of 1980-2003 where following assumptions about their income level and mobility are drawn from various research and surveys. US families were at different income levels made out between 1980 and 2003. Well to do families saw their income jump 57% in 1980 to 2003. People in middle of population also had gains but modest ones. Lowest income 20 % saw only a little increase in earnings. The above assumptions can easily be related to the level of mobility in US in various classes. The higher level of income brings higher level of mobility in a society.

Topic 061 Mobility: Race, Ethnicity and Cast

Just like the income, other social attributes like race, ethnicity, Cast, gender and religion also have greater influence on Social Mobility. It is as, the people with most preferred and accepted social attributes will likely be attaining more income and other opportunities which effects their social status more than those having less opportunities or acceptance in a society. US has been used as an example to find this correlation between Mobility and the other social attributes, findings are as below White people in US have been in a privileged position than Africans or Hispanics. Overall the real income of African Americans has changed little in three decades. Women in US society have had less opportunity for upward mobility then men however, this gap between men and women has been narrowing.

The American Dream: Still a Reality?

Expectation of upward mobility are deeply rooted in US culture. Through history the economy has grown steadily and raised the living standards and even today for some people the American dream is still alive. There are indicators proving this dream but still not all are positive. Some disturbing trends are: For many workers, earnings have stalled:

- The workers' income rose only slightly even as the number of hours worked increased and the cost of necessities went way up
- Multiple job holding is up
- More jobs offer little income
- Young people are remaining at home

Topic 062 Global Economy and the US Classes Structure

This sections defines the major changes in ways of economy generation and its effects on different class levels ultimately effecting their Social Mobility. Underlying shifts in US class structure are due to global economic changes. There is now a less industry in US and has become a vast market for industrial goods such as cars, cameras and computers made in China, Japan and Korea.

The high paying jobs in manufacturing support only 12 percent of workers today. A traditionally high paying corporation like US now employs fewer people than the expanding McDonalds chain and fast food clerks make only a fraction of what steelworkers earn. On contrary global economy is driving upward social mobility for educated people who specialize in law, finance, marketing and IT. At same time many average workers who have lost their factory jobs and performing low wage service workers, have been hurt.

Topic 063 Social Mobility in Pakistan

“The structure of the economy graduated from being predominantly agriculture in 1950s to being service sector orientated since the turn of the century. The manufacturing sector grew from almost insignificance in 1947 to a reasonable level accounting for around one third of the GDP. The demographic inertia associated with unchecked population growth and emergence of job opportunities in urban areas led to massive rural to urban migration, which resulted in a rather high level of Urbanization” (Javed . A. S and Irfan. M, 2014).

A report published by world economic forum placed Pakistan at 79th place out of 82 countries on its Global Social Mobility Index 2020 rankings. Pakistan’s performance was dismissal on all the indicators including health, technology, education, work and reliance and technology. Governments need to play the role of equalizer and levelling the field for all the citizens regardless of socio-economic background to curb the issue of increasing social immobility in Pakistan.

Lesson 17**SOCIAL CHANGE IN POLITICAL SOCIOLOGY-I****TOPICS 064-067****Topic 064 Social Change**

Social change involves alteration of the social order of a society. It may include changes in social institutions, social behaviors or social relations. Social change is also caused by tension and conflict. Structural strain, deprivation, cultural revitalization has been the major causes of conflict. Again social division based on class, caste, gender, ethnicity, estate, etc. have also been important sources of conflict in society.

Common Examples of Social Issues

- Poverty and Homelessness. Poverty and homelessness are worldwide problems.
- Climate Change. A warmer, changing climate is a threat to the entire world.
- Overpopulation
- Immigration Stresses
- Civil Rights and Racial Discrimination
- Gender Inequality
- Health Care Availability
- Education
- Social Justice
- Poor Leadership

Topic 065 Internal Sources of Change

The key internal determinants that cause change are:

- **Shifting Population:** Population trends greatly affect social structure and social organizations. The increase in population size, the migration of masses
- **Technological Innovation:** Technology is the knowledge and skill applied in practical ways to the material aspects of life. It refers to new ideas.
- **New Ideas and Cultural Values:** New ideas and cultural values can both facilitate and constrain social change.
- **Diffusion.** Diffusion refers to the process by which change comes about as culture spreads from one society to another through direct or indirect

Topic 066 External Sources of Social Change

Social change comes from two sources. One source is random or unique factors such as climate, weather, or the presence of specific groups of people. Another source is systematic factors, such as government, available resources, and the social organization of society.

Topic 067 Collective Behavior and Social Movements

Collective behavior and social movements have been instrumental in engendering social change including regime change, and impacting the policy space in many societies. In fact, in the past 200 years, they have become a part of the popular and global expression of dissent. The political class, supported by elite groups and state institutions, most times, does not concede to popular demands until some form of public agitation and ruckus is witnessed. Therefore, social researchers have contemplated the rationale behind social change or social statics.

The **political-process theory** emphasizes the existence of political opportunities as essential to the formation of social movements. According to this theory, the **three vital elements of movement formation** are

1. insurgent consciousness (collective sense of injustice),
2. organizational strength (in leadership and resources), and
3. political opportunities (the receptivity or vulnerability of the existing political system).

While this theory has been criticized for not paying enough attention to movement “culture, it is also beneficial as it addresses the issue of timing for the emergence of movements.”

Political opportunities refer to the receptivity or susceptibility of the existing political system to challenge and change. Since this theory argues that all three components – insurgent consciousness, organizational strength, and political opportunities – are important for movement formation, it is able to address the issue of timing in the emergence of movements (i.e. why do movements form when they do). An extension of this theory, known as the **political mediation model**, considers how the political context facing a movement intersects with the strategic choices that the movement makes.

Lesson 18**SOCIAL CHANGE IN POLITICAL SOCIOLOGY-II****TOPICS 068-071****Topic 068 Traditional, Modern, and Postmodern Societies**

Social Change, in sociology, the alteration of mechanisms within the social structure, characterized by changes in cultural symbols, rules of behavior, social organizations, or value systems. The main differences among the traditional, modern and postmodern societies are

- Tied to size,
- The level and scale of interaction.

Traditional societies are mainly small-scale and are founded on ancient cultural practices.

Modern societies are large-scale and majorly relate to industrialization.

Post Modern Societies are mainly trapped in speedy technology advancement and communication.

Topic 069 Causes of Social Change

As societies become more modern, they become larger and more heterogeneous. Traditional ways of thinking decline, and individual freedom and autonomy increase.

Functionalist theory favors slow, incremental social change, while conflict theory favors fast, far-reaching social change to correct what it views as social inequalities and other problems in the status quo. There are numerous and varied causes of social change. Four common causes, as recognized by social scientists, are

- Technology
- Social Institutions
- Population
- The Environment

All four of these areas can impact when and how society changes. And they are all interrelated: a change in one area can lead to changes throughout.

Topic 070 Main Factors of Social Change and Policy Making in Pakistan

Following is the list of factors that resulted in social change and policy making in Pakistan;

- As more women enter the public sphere to learn and to work

- As the number of protestors coming together to demand freedom of expression grows
- As the transgender community becomes more assertive in its demands for rights and recognition
- As students and activists come together to hold seminars and study groups
- As received truths are increasingly upended by alternative ideas and viewpoints.
- it is only a matter of time before these incremental changes aggregate into broader processes of social transformation.
- With the involvement of social media, social fabric is under an unimaginable pressure

Pakistan's conservative reactionaries have good reason to be worried; they may continue to win their battles today, but triumph in the longer war is far from guaranteed. Policy making in Pakistan is facing challenges as in the presence of local demands, due to lack of resources. Absence of capacity building causing hurdles in determining long term policy making and implementation

Topic 071 Polarization and Conflict

Polarization is the process that causes neutral parties to take sides in a conflict. It also causes individuals on either side of the conflict to take increasingly extreme positions that are more and more opposed to each other. Political polarization thus fuels a perception of society as a struggle between “us versus them,” and may yield high levels of mutual conflict between ideologically opposing groups (e.g., liberals versus conservatives in the US). Political polarization can manifest itself in various ways.

State, as a major concept, is under discussion. As one of the most significant aspects in society shaping institution. In this revival, macro-sociologists made an important contribution by comparative historical analysis which soften the research community to the role of inter-state conflict in constructing society. Political scientists also played a pivotal role in “bringing the state back” movement and resurrecting the state back to the orbit of enquiry. For now, “bringing the state back” has become an obsolete modal to be revived in place of the era of global society encapsulated civil societies, transnational markets and the era of post modernity too.

Lesson 19**SOCIAL CHANGE IN POLITICAL SOCIOLOGY-III****TOPICS 072-075****Topic 072 Meaning and Scope**

During current wave of time, in presence of broad spectrum of social sciences, the state is being killed off especially due to the new emerging global tendencies. Social movements, democratization, new regionalism and expansion of global markets can be considered as the most recent and major elements of state denial. Political polarization is “commonly measured using the variation of responses on an individual issue in the population: more variation corresponds to more people on the extremes and fewer in the middle” (Baldassarri). This globalizing inter-connectedness diminished the ideal concepts of nation-state and national autonomy by introducing “global economy” dominated by stateless corporation and transparent border financing. The concept of globalization is undermining ideas of national economy and nation’s central governments’ capabilities. Orientation of state denial has been correspondent towards the episodic events of world history like world wars and cold war eras. State denial has become once again as a dominant tendency in the social science in appearance of globalization.

Topic 073 The Limitations of the State Capacity**State Capacity**

The ability of a state to attain policy goals whether in domestic or international domain by having an idea behind as it is not uniformly capable to fulfill all requirements of policy arenas. The capacity of state here cannot be described in general terms but with the reference to capabilities in particular spheres.

There is a sort of competition among states whether for rapid industrialization, being abreast of competitors or to achieve technological advancements, the situation under comparative analysis reveals the variation among states for mobilizing capabilities to gain a collective investment effort. Transformative capacity enables state to be adaptable according to external world order created by the new means to govern industrial change.

Topic 074 Advantages of State Capacity in a Global Economy

State capacity, for domestic transformation, goes parallel to competitiveness at global forum. State capabilities allow its institutions to encompass organizational complex for overcoming a number of recognized obstacles to change. Problems of coordination can be more effectively resolved by state than the market by virtue of reducing “transaction costs” in the wider economy. Both the developed and developing sides of the world have to compete alike in order to maintain their pace with greater ongoing challenges. Though industrialized-country firms face even greater competitive challenges, since they don’t want to copy or borrow technology but to innovate on their own capacity. By providing the infrastructure, socializing the risks and

encouraging cooperation, the state is in a position to orchestrate more effective response to technological competition.

Topic 075 The Sources of State Capability

The state capacity is concerned with the **transformative capacity** which is an ability to coordinate industrial change to meet the changing context of international competition.

The capacity can be shaped by seeking and coordinating resources across the broader spectrum by the agents of transformative states. State capacity can be scored higher when its economic internationalization is lesser, it will more be able to govern industrial change. When a state enable itself to constantly creating new tools for new challenges, it will be able to meet changing domestic and international demands. State capacity come out of institutions governing domestic linkages, with more sophisticated policy linkages between economic bureaucracy and industrial sector country goes towards rapid industrialization. Certain types of domestic linkages, appear more robust than others in enabling transformative adjustment strategies.

Lesson 20**STATE: BASIC CONCEPTS****TOPICS 076-080****Topic 076 State Adaptation Versus State Decline**

In order to survive in the rapidly transforming world, states need to be adaptable to these ongoing changes. Those who proved highly adaptive have experienced the conclusion that the concept of nation-state is in decline. Three main episodes of adaptation have been identified:

1. Modern states adapted themselves as tax-seekers to conduct military affairs.
2. States as protectors of national economy and agents of industrialization.
3. States as builder of the nation through the expansion of social citizenship.

These shifts were due to accommodate new functions and institutions in an effective way. Nation-states historically have been uneven in terms of economic and social changes. This unevenness had strong influence on adaptability of states. Therefore, some states have greater capacity for military mobilization, some are more adaptive to economic changes than to manage other uncertain occurrences.

Topic 077 Globalization Versus Social Caging

Nation-states are widely facing the challenge in form of the ongoing phenomenon of “globalization”. Difference between globalization of late twentieth century and the global movements of pre-industrial era is explained by Mann’s conceptualization of state power as social change. “The power of the modern state principally concerns a tightening state-society relation, caging social relations over national terrain, thus geo politicizing far more of social life than had earlier states.”

The key idea of caging is not about territorial confinement but about social relations which were previously constituted at local levels now be regulated through nation-state. Hence transnationalism was the original context for early capitalism, this caging process provided structure of development of modern capital economy. Globalization has long been misunderstood as a phenomenon imposed by micro processes. The process of internationalization especially in finance field, has acquired certain momentum. The adapted forms of capitalism, in its fourth era, are now exist in far better models. As the mankind moves to another century, the adaptability towards internationalization will definitely be the foremost focus instead of resolution of internal disputes or domestic economic coordination.

Topic 078 Understanding State

State is an organization which has historically evolved through many different phases. It has performed various functions in various periods of time and was mainly differentiated on the basis of its structures and ruling authority. The ultimate goal of the state is to provide security, liberty and welfare to its people which it seeks to accomplish by one mean or the other. Various thinkers and philosophers have defined

the state in many ways and four things are considered as common ingredients for any state i.e. territory, population, government and sovereignty. States must be defined both in their institutional and functional domain. Miliband (1993) argues that, “State is in reality a number of interacting institutions and organizations”.

But the following definition of state by Mann not only defines the structural aspect of a state rather it also explains its functional attributes. “The state can assess and tax our income and wealth at source, without our consent (which states before 1850 were never able to do); it stores and can recall immediately a massive amount of information about all of us; it can enforce its will within a day almost anywhere in its domain; its influence on the economy is enormous; it even directly provides the subsistence of most of us (in state employment, pension in family allowance, etc.). The state penetrates everyday life more than did any historical state. Its infrastructural power has increased immensely” (Mann 1993:315). “The state is a political institution because it wields power and for that reason is a focus for political sociologists” (Dobratz, 2016).

Topic 079 Modern Nation State

“The modern nation-state is a group sharing a common history, identity and culture with a monopoly on the legitimate use of force linked to a specific territory organized as sovereign by other nation states” (Dobratz, 2016). Prior to the establishment of this nation-states, the decision making power and authority was determined by kinship relations and religious rituals (Bottomore 1979).

Max Weber defines the state as “A human community that (successfully) claims the monopoly of the legitimate use of physical force (Emphasis Weber) within a given territory (Girth and Mills 1946:78). Modern nation-state have following essential attributes which must be part of it irrespective of what shape it owes. “**Compulsory nature of association**, state is meant to be the last resort for individual if he/she resides within the domain or territory claimed by a state. “**Monopoly**” refers to the idea that state is always not supposed to use coercion or force rather it is the capability of the state to have its command followed without resorting to the use of coercion or force (Skrentny, 2006). **Legitimacy** is another defining attribute of the state in contemporary times which **Girth and Mills** define as “if the state is to exist the dominated must obey the authority claimed by powers that be”.

It is as the force being used by the state must be permitted and accepted by the subjects. Moreover, there are different kinds of modern nation states that exists in different parts of the world. On broader level, they are divided into two forms such as Democratic and Undemocratic states. **Democratic state**, political systems in which the opportunity to participate in decisions is widely shared among all adult citizens (Dahl 1963; 8). Democracy is further divided into direct democracy, representative democracy, liberal democracy etc. **Undemocratic states** are totalitarian or authoritative regimes characterized by an absence of civil liberties and protection from state violence (Markoff and Brachet-Marquez).

Topic 080 Theoretical Views on the State

Theoretical basis of states are basically addressing the questions like in whose interests do states work, Who influence and controls the state, to what extent do the

people hold elites responsible, And how do states change ? There are various lenses which are used to address these questions. They are explained below.

- Pluralist Views
- Elite Views
- Class-Based Views
- Up-dated Marxist Views

Pluralism

The pluralist view is associated with sociologists like Talcott Parsons and Seymour Lipset and political scientists like Robert Dahl and Ted Gurr. Marvin Olsen recognizes the work of Tocqueville as premises for pluralism who argued for the creation of voluntary associations to combat the potential for “Tyranny of the majority”. State is considered as the sum of many political and para-political organizations and associations.

Pluralists argue that “the core function of the state is to achieve consensus and thus social order through continuous exchanges of demands and responses by social groups and government” (Alford 1993: 260). Pluralists oppose the views of both elite theorists and class-based theories of state.

Pluralists argue that “states are impartial arbitrators among different competing pressure groups” (Alford and Friedland 1985; Olsen and Marger 1993). It is as they believe that states possess power but states do not have interests of their own (Olsen and Marger) but this view is being criticized by class-based theorists and other Marxist Views as a falsehood taught to hide the actual source of power in a capitalist democracy.

Olsen, 1993 have mentioned six major weaknesses of this model which are:

- Viability
- Harmony of interests
- Difficulty of new organizations to enter the political process
- Iron law of Oligarch
- Lack of sufficient power resources and the lack of Viable political channels.

Elite Views of State

This perspective about the state mainly focuses on the “organizational base of elites and their control of the state” (Alford and Friedland, 1965). Both class theorists and elite theorists do agree that power remains concentrated but for Elite theorists, “the managerial control in a state is more important than the control of ownership as power is the result of holding positions of authority in bureaucracies that control resources” (Alford and Friedland, 1965).

The core function of state is to maintain the dominance of existing elites and by bureaucracy may be political or governmental institutions but can also be banks, corporation, religious organizations or the media (Alford 1993). Prewitt and Stone (1993) argues that elite theory is based on two basic principles which are as follow Society can be divided into two groups, the masses and the smaller number that rule them.

The nature and direction of any society can be understood by understanding the composition, structure and conflicts of those who rule. They also believe that, those who control the state bureaucracy are seldom and often not convinced by other associations in a society or state (Olsen and Marger 1993).

Various kinds of elite theorists are as following:

- Classical elite theory
- Power elite theory
- Class domination theory

Class-Based Views of State

Olsen and Marger (1993) argue that, “Class-based theories represent one of the most comprehensive explanation of the state and its power”. These views are also known Marxist view which argue that “Economics determine every part of our social and political life” and hence they also call it a “Capitalist State” and not mere state. Under Capitalism, “the state is controlled by and acts in the interests of productive property owning class” (Olsen and Marger, 1993). Alford (1993) argues, that “the main function of state is to maintain the existing pattern of relation both through formal (law and courts) and informal (socialization) means”. They view state as the product of economic forces and where capitalist class controls and dominate it. Others view this Class Conflict as managed by both Force and Ideology (Nagengast, 1994). Gold, Lo and Wright (1975) argue that there are three basic Marxists views about the Capitalist States named as follow:

- Instrumental
- Structural
- Hegelian-Marxism
- Empirical Marxism
- Socialist Democracy
- Post-Colonial Marxism
- Critical theory of the capitalist state

Amenta, 2005 argues that “state is a set of organizations with unique functions and missions with state structures and actors having central influence over politics and state”. This theory which assumes state as true and independent organizations

presence and practice true control over their people and territories. Skocpol also acknowledges the diversity of neo-Marxist views on the capitalist state but she also criticizes this view as it focuses more on society instead of counting state as independent entity. This view was mainly formulated under the book titled as “Bringing the State Back In” written by Evans, Rueschmeyer and Skocpol in 1985 where it is argued that “States and other Political Institutions are at the core of Political Sociology” (Dobratz et al, 2016). This State-Centric view established the “Institutional theory” which argues that both the state as well as other political institutions including economic, social and ideological factors have major influence in policy formation and control over masses and territory of state (Orloff, 1993).

Lesson 21**STATE: EXISTING AND EMERGING****TOPICS 081-084****Topic 081 Other Emerging Views on the State**

Rational Choice Theory and Post-Modernism are highly debated and used theories.

Rational Choice Theory is a newly emerged perspective about state and hence is not fully developed as a theory. The main substantive study through this approach is carried in Nationalism, Red Tap in Bureaucracy and Congressional Policy-making (Kiser and Bauldry 2005). Post-Modernists view politics as dead or rather “politics is secret, veiled or now even Sub-Political” (Agger and Luke, 2002:162). Both RCT and Post-modernism will influence political sociology in one way or the other but will most likely be combined with “rather than used as a replacement for neo-pluralist, conflict and state-centric approaches” (Hicks, Janoski and Schwartz 2005:17).

Topic 082 The Welfare State

“The welfare state refers to the Social and Economic managerial role of the nation-state” (Melling, 1991). In State-Corporatism, all socio-economic organizations are controlled by the State alone while in Liberal-Corporatism, such control is a shared entity between state and other voluntarily organized groups. The main focus of welfare states is on the matters of population coverage, role of market, target population, de-commodification, de-familialization, re-commodification and poverty reduction through redistribution of income (Dobratz, 2016). Based on the above study matters, welfare states are then divided into three basic types which are following:

- Liberal welfare states
- Social democratic welfare states
- Conservative welfare states

Topic 083 Future of the State

In globalization, the role of state is diminishing in control over social and economic sphere of life. Ohame, 1995, “the nation-state will be replaced by Super-national state because it has lost its capacity to generate real economic activity . “The rise of transnational corporations and international non-governmental organizations is a globalization outcome, which may further weaken the nation-state” (Haque, 2003, Lauderdale and Oliverio 2005). Others argue that “even the sole prerogative of state to wage a war is now under the larger socio-cultural entities like NATO and EU etc.” (Huntington, 1996) and “the role of state in formulating the social policy is also influenced and subject to the economic forces which are not in complete control of nation-state” (Falkner and Talos, 1994). Wallerstein (1998, 2003) argues that “the loss of state legitimacy is caused by changes in the world capitalist system and asserts that

states are no more independent entities, rather they are institutions of larger world order”. Despite all such hypothesis which argue about the diminishing and weak role of state, still the role played by state cannot be ignored as all corporate roles played by various international and non-state actors and organizations are still subject to the will of state for performing their activities.

Topic 084 Understanding the State of Pakistan

State of Pakistan has many characteristics; Pakistan is a heterogeneous country, having many ethnic identities. State of Pakistan is in the process of economic development. Political culture also reflects many issues like inconsistency and intolerance. Pakistan is moving from geo strategic to geo economic strategy to change the image of state.

- Domestic constraints
- Over population
- Ideological rifts
- Political instability
- Class system
- Urbanization

Lesson 22**SOCIAL CAPITAL -I****TOPICS 085-088****Topic 085 Social Capital**

The construct of social capital is interdisciplinary in nature which mainly covers and deals with the behavior of human beings on the basis of social interactions and relations. Different social scientists describe social capital in different ways while distinguishing social capital from others forms of capital i.e. cultural and economic.

It is argued that 'social capital is an arrangement of relations among and between the individuals of a society'. Social capital is "the networks of relationships among people who live and work in a particular society, enabling that society to function effectively". It involves the effective functioning of social groups through interpersonal relationships

- a shared sense of identity
 - a shared understanding
 - shared norms
 - shared values
 - trust, cooperation, and reciprocity.
1. Social capital is a measure of the value of resources,
 2. both tangible (e.g., public spaces, private property)
 3. and intangible (e.g., actors, human capital, people), and the impact that these relationships have on the resources involved in each relationship, and on larger groups. It is generally seen as a form of capital that produces public goods for a common purpose.

Topic 086 Democracy in the Core

Democracy is a form of government in which the people have the authority to deliberate and decide legislation, or to choose governing officials to do so. Who is considered part of "the people" and how authority is shared among or delegated by the people has changed over time and at different rates in different countries, But over time more and more of a democratic country's inhabitants have generally been included.

- Cornerstones of democracy include
- freedom of assembly,

- association and speech,
- inclusiveness and equality,
- citizenship,
- consent of the governed,
- voting rights,
- freedom from unwarranted governmental deprivation of the right to life and liberty, and minority rights.

Topic 087 Explaining Social Democracy

Social democracy is a political, social, and economic philosophy within socialism that supports political and economic democracy. As a policy regime, it is described by academics as advocating economic and social interventions to promote social justice within the framework of a liberal-democratic polity and a capitalist-oriented mixed economy. The protocols and norms used to accomplish this involve a commitment to representative and participatory democracy, measures for income redistribution, regulation of the economy in the general interest, and social welfare provisions. Due to longstanding governance by social democratic parties during the post-war social democracy became associated the social-liberal paradigm, and welfare states within political circles in the late 20th century. There is link between poverty, inequality and conflicts. Sustainable economic growth is essential for poverty reduction. The countries with slow or stagnant economic growth face problems of high poverty and inequality rate that lead to appearance of conflicts. There is need to develop strong linkages between non-profit organizations and other stakeholders at different levels in order to improve social capital of resource poor people. The other development practitioner also describes the significance of community based organizations while addressing the notion of social capital.

Topic 088 Globalization and Social Democracy

- With the global economy undergoing fundamental transformation, workers worldwide are coming under significant pressure.
- Particularly in developed economies, social policies must adjust to provide the support that lower-income groups need, while encouraging growth and advancing wellbeing.
- New technology and “intelligent” machines are not only displacing many types of workers in both the manufacturing and services sectors;

They are also facilitating the rise of new business models, in which individuals perform (mostly low-paid service) jobs within loose networks, instead of as dedicated employees of structured organizations. A new social contract is needed to account for the increasingly important role that individual preferences, and individual responsibility, play in today’s world. Each citizen should feel empowered, not isolated and abandoned, in the face of globalization and technological transformation. With this approach, social democracy can again drive progress, instead of being stifled by

identity politics and market fundamentalism. That would serve not only the cause of social justice, but also the goal of sustaining the skilled, happy, and healthy workforce that a successful economy requires.

Lesson 23SOCIAL CAPITAL -IITOPICS 089-091Topic 089 Historical Perspective

Social capital is a new born concept and research in its initial stage. It is a highly appealing and potential promising concept. The literature on the subject grew at an exponential rate in the last two decades. The **intellectual history** of the concept of social capital can be traced back to Karl Marx (1818-1883), Emile Durkheim (1858-1917), and Max Weber (1864-1920), these scholars emphasizes the role of culture in economic development.

After long disappearance of the concept, the concept of social capital was reinvented by a team of Canadian sociologists (Seely et al., 1956) while studying urban communities, by Homans (1961) for a theory of social interactions, by Jacobs (1961) while discussing urban life and neighborliness, and by Loury (1977) for studying income distribution. Being a multi-faceted construct, it is hard to expect a single definition of social capital.

Different authors **defined** social capital in different ways reflecting their own interest. The most prominent names while discussing the definition of social capital include Pierre Bourdieu (1986), James Coleman (1988), Robert D. Putnam (1993), Francis Fukuyama (1995), Nan Lin (2001), OECD (2001), and the World Bank (2007).

Topic 090 The Social Challenge

The whole notion of social capital is centered on social relationships and its **major elements** include social networks, civic engagement, norms of reciprocity, and generalized trust. Broadly speaking, it is **defined as a collective asset** in the form of shared norms, values, beliefs, trust, networks, social relations, and institutions that facilitate cooperation and collective action for mutual benefits. It is a **complex multidimensional concept** having different dimensions, types, and levels of measurement. Common **types** of social capital include: structure and cognitive; bonding, bridging, and linking; strong and weak; and horizontal and vertical. It can be measured and analyzed at individual- and collective-levels in terms of social perspective and micro-, and macro-levels in terms of geographic perspective.

Main Challenges

First, they fail to explain economic growth and development outcomes fully. factors of production (technology, physical capital, and human capital) explain only part of the development story. There are social and cultural factors (norms, values, beliefs, and institutions)

Second, they are unable to explain why unprecedented economic growth is not sustainable and usually accompanies undesirable outcomes, such as income inequality, low improvement in quality of life, social injustice, social conflicts, adverse effects on environment, etc.

Third, they fail to account social values systems in economic development. Fukuyama (2001) criticized that economists normally make simplifying assumptions that human beings are rational and their utility maximizing behavior is invariant across societies.

Topic 091 Social Capital of Pakistan

In combating against poverty, social capital plays an important role especially in countries where high degree of socio-economic inequalities exists. Pakistan is also included in the list of countries where weak social capital is being observed. In strengthening social capital. **Non-state institutions** are playing significant role especially in highlands of Pakistan. the past, mainstream economic models focused primarily on standard factors of production and they largely ignored the socio-cultural dimensions.

As a result, economic development ended up with low welfare improvement and high social problems; economic models also proved to be deficient in explaining development outcomes fully. This led to re-orientation of development approach placing emphasis on social norms, values, beliefs, and institutions. The rationale behind this understanding was due to their working within the framework of local culture and representation of actual and real needs of the community members.

Volunteers also played an important role in building social capital especially for poor people by devoting a significant portion of their time.

Lesson 24**MEDIA AND SOCIETY -I****TOPICS 092-094****Topic 092 Media Culture and Society**

The impact of society on politics is a subject matter of political sociology and culture of a society plays the most important role in finding this correlation between the two.

Medium is defined as anything which transmits message from person/group to other person/group but Mass Media is that medium which tries to address large number of public and it tries to transmit its message to large population via TV, Radio, Newspaper and Magazines etc. (Andy Bernard et al, 2004). The societal patterns of speaking, listening and reading all are properly inculcated as tools for various mass media to convey their messages. There are various perspectives which view the impact of mass media on the politics and shaping political views of population. (Andy Bernard et al, 2004: 269). The societal patterns of speaking, listening and reading all are properly inculcated as tools for various mass media to convey their messages.

There are various perspectives which view the impact of mass media on the politics and shaping political views of population. (Andy Bernard et al, 2004: 269).

Pluralist Perspective examines the mass media as representing the whole society of people where different people and groups of society tries to convey their messages to political authorities and other masses for mobilization for their own causes. It asserts that mass media is just like any other market commodity which is openly available to masses whenever they need it.

Criticism to this view asserts that, such perspective is completely nullifying the role of the state over the control of information. Critics assume that mass media only dissipate information allowed and authorized by the state authority. With modernization and the technological innovation on communication technologies, the difference between the elite class and the public mass is no more an influencing debate. It examines the role of values and meanings has lost their credibility as abundance of information has made every one self-sufficient to shape his own ideas and views.

Topic 093 The Mass Media and Role of the State

This topic is related to the close correlation between the media, politics, politicians and the state. There are different lenses which view this correlations in different perspectives. So these are the views about Content Analysis and are highlighted as follow.

1. **The Pluralist View** claims that mass media and hence the position of ruling authority is open to every individual and group of society and there is no control of ruling elites or any public/readers on mass media and this is evident from the fact that even opposition parties and groups also come to power by winning the elections. Gunter et al, (1994) also argue “that the majority of the public do not perceive political bias in the broadcast media”. In short this perspective asserts

that, media is an independent entity which tries to spread every available information about every aspect/group of society without being under control of any ruling authority or class.

2. **The Mass- Manipulative View** assumes that mass media is a tool used by the ruling authority of a state to manipulate the masses for their own purposes. It is as the mass media is not a free entity rather it is always controlled and regulated by the ruling class of a state or society.
3. **Cockerel et al. (1985)** examines that “it is formal and intimidating apparatus within which the governments may practice an anti-democratic technique to their heart’s content”. The main argument asserts that agents external to the structure of mass media have greater influence in political reporting.
4. **The Hegemonic View** is the brainchild of neo-Marxist like Gramsci and this view asserts that “the bias which is evident in political reporting emerges as a result of the class culture of journalists and the news values which emerges from it” (Andy Bernard, 2004: 278). It assumes that, the struggle for dominance in contemporary age is also extended to the Winning of Consent and Narrative and hence mass media is the best option used by ruling elites to win consent of public in favor of their own capitalist motives.
5. **Post-Modernist View** of media and its role in state examines that the modern innovation of technological use has enabled the states to construct reality as per their own wishes by reporting the biased version and episodes of any events to the public for consent.

Topic 094 Effects of Media on Society

This section mainly deals with the effects of media on the masses irrespective of who shapes the content. There are various models about this causal pattern of media which are as follow. (Andy Bernard, 2004).

1. **The Hypodermic Syringe Model** explains the effects of mass media on masses in a way that media injects its message into the audience with the force of hypodermic syringe. It is as, anybody who is exposed to media will get his attitude and behavior shaped and designed as wished and inculcated by the mass media. The example of Nazi Germany is its true illustration when Hitler’s Propaganda Minister Josef Goebbels was widely thought to be responsible for Hitler’s hold over German People.
2. **Two-Step Flow Model** is a model which defines this relation as two-step process such that media do not directly affect the masses, rather it effect the opinion leaders first which than mold the public opinion. Lazarsfeld work in 1955 over the electoral behavior of American people during presidential election shows that the effect of mass media on shaping the political behavior of masses was less than that of the peer groups to whom masses belong.
3. **Uses and Glorification Model** reverses the question about the effects of mass media on the masses and instead focuses on the question that how people/masses use the media. This model assumes that, media is being used and manipulated by

masses whenever they need it, otherwise masses are not affected by the mass-media. Writers like Lull (1990) and McQuail (1972) have highlighted this factor.

4. **Interpretive Model** actually supplements the Pluralist Model of mass media and examines that, the effects of mass media are not automatic and unwilling, rather these effects also happen in certain way and direction. Different people and groups are influenced by mass-media in different ways depending on to which part and portion of mass-media do they exposed themselves.
5. **Cultural Effect Model** analyses those effects which are not only short-term manipulations of ideas, rather it studies the long-term effects and cultural context of the mass-media on people.

Lesson 25**MEDIA AND SOCIETY-II****TOPICS 095-098****Topic 095 Issues in Researching Media**

The mass medium for the transmission of messages have come across too much development and innovation. And hence for a researcher, it becomes difficult what to study under this topic. Such innovation includes:

- Newspapers,
- Televisions,
- Videos, films industry,
- Social media,
- Digital media and other print media.

Along with constant change in variants of mass media due to technological innovation, there is another increasing hurdle in way of researching the mass media which is known as the objectivity of this mass media sources. Summarily, the diverse tools of mass media and their diverse influences on masses makes it harder for researcher to focus on a single issue and carry its in-depth study.

Topic 096 Media and Ideology

This part is discussing two theoretical approaches:

1. Marxism and
2. Pluralism.

Both the approaches claim that media has great influence on individual's behavior and thinking.

Marxist theory claims that through media elite class promote their interests and become their savior. They assert that the powerful elite shape their interests in different societal classes through Mass media.

The Frankfurt Sociologists argued that “the ruling class uses the media to inoculate its own ideology against subversion. It does this by shaping and tutoring the consent of the people through its ownership and control of media.” **Criticism** to this theory arise as Marxists over exaggerate the media-elite nexus in interest articulation. Sometimes media come face to face with military and government. Furthermore, media is a source of dissent voices and marginalized people.

Pluralist theory assert that media provides equal and balance coverage to different classes of the societies. They rejects favoritism of a special class or individual. They

makes sure the access to media of both the official and dissent voices. “It reflects back to society the wide diversity of its citizens outlooks, needs and demands.” **Criticism** to this theory reflects that they undermine the role of two allied groups who have upper hand over media. They manipulate media and use it for their purpose. Also, some issue get huge coverage from media than others.

Topic 097 Ownership and Control of Mass Media

About ownership and control of Mass media, Marxist and Pluralist have expressed their views. Marxists think that mass media serves the elites, while pluralist viewed media as a powerful mean of communicating different views of the society. Marx was a social scientist and journalist. During American civil war, prominent London newspaper were campaigning for intervention. “He observed the proposed intervention served the interests of an important section of the English ruling class led by the Prime minister, Lord Palmerston.” Pluralist says that the “owners and managers are not free to follow their personal whims and preferences of a ruling class because managerial influence must defer to the demands of the consumers.” It is true, the media is the staunchest critics of government.

Topic 098 Role of Media in Pakistan

The information revolution has not only changed the political landscape but also impacted social and economic life. Our thinking are often based on media analysis. It has changed the thinking behavior of commoners, elites and decision makers at once. Pakistan is a developing country, facing multifaceted problems and challenges of political turmoil, economic crisis and social cohesion throughout its history. Media has scrutinized the government institutions in different times.

The constitution of Pakistan, article 19 give every citizen equal right to express and speech. Before partition there were **two prominent newspaper** Nawa-i-waqat and Dawn, a right wing newspapers established in 1940 and 1941. There were **three Radio stations** in Lahore, Peshawar and Dhaka. In 1964, first television station was established in Lahore and then in other cities. **First private TV channel SRC** started in 1989. Currently PID, APNS, CPNE, APNEC, PFUJ and PEMRA works as media governing bodies. There are **three largest media houses in the country**, the Jang Group, the Nawa-i-Waqat and Dawn group. Media is the mean of bridging the gap between the government and the people. It scrutinize government mandate. Enables the citizen to make electoral choices. It increases voting turnout. Furthermore, anchors influence policy makers with their analysis. Media became a source of revenue generator also. It has exposed many corruption cases in Pakistan (H. Nazeer, 2012).

Lesson 26**NATIONALISM: TYPES AND IMPLICATIONS****TOPICS 099-101****Topic 099 Nationalism**

Nationalism is considered as an important aspect of a society from where one can imagine how a society thinks and shapes the political culture of a system. There are basic two broad perspective about Nationalism known as:

1. Structuralist
2. Culturalist /Constructionist.

1. Structuralist view

Greenfield and Eastwood (2005) described Earnest Gellner's work, who argue that Nationalism is a "Form of Consciousness" which in turn surrounds the structures of state that create social order. He further theorized that "nations retained a 'shared culture' inherent in the nation as community or group: a distinctive species of patriotism and prevail in the modern world and nowhere else" (Dobratz, 2016)'.

Anthony Smith described the cultural approach towards "Nationalism as emerging out named human population which shares myth, memories, a mass public culture a designated homeland, economic unity and equal rights and duties for all members" (Greenfield and Eastwood, 2005).

2. Constructivist View

Benedict Anderson in his work "Imagined Communities" examines that "the majority of inhabitants or members of any given nation do not know each other and do not meet face to face, they cannot be presumably real community but can only constitute an imagined one" (Greenfield and Eastwood, 2005).

Structuralist view state as an essential product of industrialization and the concept of nationalism become prominent after the establishment of nation-state, So Nationalism is a product of historical institutions where industrialization has played a vital role by creating the state for true practice of this sentiment.

Topic 100 Types of Nationalism

Nationalism is divided into three broad categories based on their definition of Nations and their membership. These types are explained by Greenfield and Eastwood (2005).

1. Individualistic and Civic Type:

This type of Nationalism defines the nation in composite terms as "an association of individuals (with plural pronouns corresponding to the concepts of "nation" and "people," as in "We, the people"), and the criteria of membership are civic, nationality being equated with citizenship". Examples are Nations such as United

Kingdom, the United States of America, and Australia are nations of the individualistic and civic type.

2. Collectivistic and Civic Type:

In this case a “unitary definition of the nation, as an irreducible whole organized according to principles peculiar to itself, is combined with civic membership criteria”. Examples are France and Israel. Being rare types of Nations, both of above mentioned and discussed types see each other as natural allies.

3. Collectivistic and Ethnic Type:

This type of Nationalism “combines a unitary definition of the nation with “ethnic,” hereditary, or, in fact, genetic criteria of membership”. The example of such nationalism can be found in many contemporary democratic states with distinguished version of democracies that they adopt as per their cultural norms and other hereditary tendencies like social democracies, liberal democracies, Managed democracies etc. Above mentioned various kinds of Nationalism are evident from the reality that how modern states are shaped and they portray these characters in their political systems and ideologies.

Topic 101 Implications of Nationalism

Nationalism affects every aspect of political conduct in a nation, beginning with the very manner in which political reality is constructed and embodied in various institutions. Such nationalistic tendencies of population in a specific territory shapes their political systems and ideologies as Socialist democracies in Soviet and China, Liberal democracies in UK and USA and Managed Democracy in Putin’s Russia.

“Although in an Individualistic nationalism, popular sovereignty is aggregate liberty of free individuals, in a Collectivistic nationalism it is interpreted as the freedom of the nation from foreign domination” (Greenfield and Eastwood, 2005).

Individualistic Nations treat their members, nationals or citizens as equal specifically in their liberty, their capacity and right for self-government and political participation and, therefore, legal rights and obligations. Such attributes are visible in their formal political structures and Political System.

Collectivistic Nations are equal only in that they equally share the essential nature of their nation, that which makes it a particular nation and those nationals of this particular nation. This equality is fundamental, but in everything else, including the nature of their political participation, they may be legitimately considered unequal (Greenfield and Eastwood, 2005). Such stratification/types of nationalism have basically created two broader versions of regimes i.e. Democratic and Authoritarian. In short, the political implications of Nationalism can be seen in various types of regimes and further classification of those regimes practiced and established in various parts of world during different periods of time.

Lesson 27NATIONALISM: IMPACTS AND CHALLENGESTOPICS 102-105Topic 102 Impacts of Nationalism on Sociology

Ethnic Nationalism (which is always collectivistic) is as “open to individual ambition as are nationalisms of the two other types, it virtually excludes the population outside of the state institutions from participation in the government and policy formation, it is meaningless to speak of political process in this sense, or of public opinion, in its context”. **Nationalism** in general do promote political process and development in many ways. “Political activism, obviously, takes very different forms in ethnic nationalism and in individualistic and civic nationalisms that produce liberal nation” (Greenfield and Eastwood, 2005). In liberal states, such nationalism is usually referred as being “Introvert” which focuses on the internal dynamics of the state and its population.

The effect of society and social actors on the politics of a state is the study matter of political sociology and hence Nationalism being a social actor have greater influence on this field. Political Sociology focuses on the political culture of a society or a state. Hence Nationalism being a cultural and psychological phenomenon enable the individuals of a state to shape their physical statute of their political system or in other words political system (Dobratz, 2016). Nationalism in this way becomes a study matter for political sociologist.

Topic 103 Nationalism in the 21st Century

Political Sociologist and Political thinkers pay attention (at most) to nationalism. A subset of the series of cases requiring further exploration includes what is often referred to as **Pan-nationalism**. In general, examples of so called pan-nationalism are nothing more than varieties of nationalism itself. “What remains unknown at present, except, perhaps, to the most specialized researchers in the various cases, is the extent to which and how membership in multiple potential national groups is juggled by members or resolved within populations with competing and/or overlapping national affiliations” (Greenfield and Eastwood, 2005).

“Nationalist ideology continues to shape global politics today, and yet twenty-first-century nationalism is faced with a unique set of challenges. For example, migration and diaspora create cultural, economic and social networks which now bind people across entire continents, let alone countries” (Sutherland).

Topic 104 Challenges to Nationalism

“Nations are faced today with a new set of social and economic challenges: economic globalization has intensified bringing with it a more intense phase of cultural interconnectedness and political interdependence” (Triandafyllidou, 2021). “Nation-states see their sovereign powers eroded and are transformed to post-national states as the political space they govern is no longer congruent with the socio-economic space which transcends the national borders. Nonetheless, the nation continues to be a

powerful source of identity and legitimacy. We are actually witnessing in Europe and worldwide a comeback of nationalism oftentimes in an aggressive, nativist and populist guise” (Triandafyllidou, 2021). In broader context issues like Globalization, Immigration etc. are becoming major challenges in pursuing the traditional approach to Nationalism.

Topic 105 Nationalism in Pakistan

Pakistan has a **monolithic society** and Islam is an instrumental variable. This identity arose with the two nation theory; the creation of a separate Muslim state. But except Islam, the sense of single Pakistani nation never existed. Pakistan is a multicultural and diverse country. Its people share different cultures, languages, casts and Tribes. The uneven distribution of wealth, direct and indirect military rule and dominance of a single province over others added to their resentment.

Pashtuns are ethnically close to Afghans and they share same culture and language. Baluchistan is the largest province with area and smallest province with population. Balochis have many issues to settle down under the state of Pakistan. Summarily, ethnic and lingual based nationalism is a continuous threat and a disturbing factor in Pakistan’s political development.

Lesson 28**DEMOCRACY: AN INTRODUCTION****TOPICS 106-109****Topic 106 Democracy**

Democracy is basically a complex term being used for a set of institutions, political system, an ethical ideal or a social condition where free political participation and representation are major characteristics of that system. The term has emerged out of two Greek words “Demos” meaning “The people” and “Kratos” which means “The Rule”, hence making it a system where the people rule. “Democracy is a political system of mass participation, competitive elections and human and civil rights” (Roskin.G.M, 2016) Democracy in modern context is not only a system, rather an attitude Democracy, prevails in the presence of continuous and constant practice of participatory political culture.

Topic 107 Definition and Meaning

Lord Bryce define it as “The word democracy has been used ever since the time of Herodotus to denote that form of government in which the ruling power of a state is largely vested not in any particular class or classes but in the members of community as well”.

Abraham Lincoln defines it as “Democracy is the government of people, by the people and for the people”.

Gettell definition of democracy asserts as “That form of government in which the mass of the population possess the right to share in the exercise of sovereign power” (Mazhar Ul Haq, 2017).

As it becomes clear from above definitions that in democratic regimes, the major element is that of mass participation and people’s consent. But despite having this nature, democratic regimes are further classified as Direct Democracy, Indirect Democracy, Liberal Democracy, Illiberal Democracy and Representative Democracy etc.

Topic 108 Other System of Governance

Democracy can easily be differentiated from other forms of authority by identifying key important conditions and causes of democracy.

- These are Tolerance in political culture, responsibility, accountability, education, mass consent, and mass participation in decision making, organization, leadership, and guarantee for fundamental rights, political competition and popular representation.
- Moreover, the role of political parties in establishing democracy is of prime importance and in democracy there is no limit to their numbers. But in other authoritarian and dictatorial regimes, there might be a single party system or no political parties may be allowed to contest in elections.

Topic 109 Status of Governors and Governed

The basic subject matter in discussing different types of regimes is to address the conditions and relations between those who govern and those being governed. **Democratic regimes** are characterized by broad consensus and representation based relations between governed and governors. The factor of accountability makes leaders and those who govern to be more vigilant and public oriented in their policy formulation and execution of their plans. Along with this factor of accountability, the governing institutions are also more representative and participatory where every sector of masses and territorial population is allowed to become part of them.

Summarily, factors like openness, accountability, responsiveness, participation, rule of law, redistribution of resources on equal basis and electoral process determines the overall status of governors and governed in a democracy.

Lesson 29DEMOCRACY: ROLE OF STATE AND NON-STATE ACTORSTOPICS 110-112Topic 110 Role of Political Parties**Definition of Political Party**

“**Political party** is an organization that nominates candidates to stand for election in its name and seeks to place representatives in the government”. (Janoski et al, 2005).

“**A party** is an organization of society’s active political agents who compete for popular support with another group or persons holding diverse views” (Neumann, 1956:395).

“Parties are inevitable. No free large country has been without them own how representative government could be worked without them.” (James Bryce, 1921:119)

“The relation between parties and democracy has not been settled to everyone’s satisfaction. Part of the difficulty in finding a resolution stems from the many meanings assigned to democracy” (Mildred A. Schwartz et al quoted Markoff, 1996:101–25).

All above definitions of political parties concludes that, political parties since long have been main pillars for representative democracies. Greater amount of scholarly work attributed to this cause can be quoted In support of this relationship between political parties and democracies. The strong relation is because of basic social basis of political parties which are interrelated to each other. These Social basis of Political Parties are their Origins, Ties with organized interests and Links with citizens. In Political Sociology, a different approach to the study of party origins is adopted based more on Social and not Institutional factors found in works of Lipset and Rokkan (1967).

Topic 111 Role of Lobby’s and Non - state Actors

Lobbies and non-state actors are groups with institutional/ non-institutional structures outside the government having some common interests with which they try to lobby and pressurize the governments. The presence of such groups beautifies and adds to the representative character of democracies. Their voices and grievances are properly addressed in representative institutions of government because such groups use different tactics and tool to ensure the fulfillment of their interests. Such extra-legislative organizations and groups becomes an alternatives for limited role of parties under restricted and controlled democracies where the role of political parties is being legally constrained as asserted by Lawson (1987), Winger (1995).

These interest groups due to their strong collective actions and hold on capital of brings them into direct participation with government known as “Corporatism” (Roskin .G.M, 2017). Sometimes, these lobbies are brought into being and created by governments themselves by incorporating their duties into various governmental programs.

These interest groups adopt various strategies like approaching Lawmakers, Administration, Judiciary, Appeals to public, Administrations and Violent Protests etc. (Roskin .G.M, 2017).

Topic 112 Status of Democracy in Pakistan

Pakistan is among those nation-states which has acquired independence from British colonial clutches in 20th century. Since the inception of Pakistan in 1947, it has had a treacherous journey with establishing a proper representative democracy in the state.

- Factors like
- Lack of proper leadership,
- Lack of human and material resources,
- Delayed constitution,
- Intervention of non-democratic forces, Patronage politics and
- Misuse of Islam and religious identity etc. are some basic loopholes in establishing proper democratic and representative political system in Pakistan.

“Jinnah believed that Islam taught us about the values of democracy such as equality, justice, and tolerance almost fourteen hundred years ago. “Democracy is in the blood of Musalmans who look upon complete equality of manhood and believe in fraternity and liberty” (ibid, p. 12), “Brotherhood, equality and fraternity of man, these are all the basic points of our religion, culture and civilization” (Bibi. F. et al 2018).

“The contradictory and undemocratic behaviors of political elites are the major problem in the development of true democracy in Pakistan” (Bibi. F. et al 2018).

Despite being political parties in their structures but still our major political parties are lacking true democratic culture (intra-party elections of candidates) rather portray family party characters in them. w. Consequently, they have encouraged undemocratic norms at the societal and political level (Shafqat, 1998). For the success of democracy, the role of government institutions such as the legislature, executive and judiciary are important. role of elected politicians is to work for the welfare of their citizens. Free, fair and timely elections are necessary for the peaceful transition of power. The fair role of the judiciary is significant to build public trust in their institutions which Pakistan has been lacking at various stages which destabilized the democratic political system.

Lesson 30**REVOLUTION****TOPICS 113-118****Topic 113 Revolution**

A revolution is a fundamental and relatively sudden change in political power and political organization which occurs when the population revolts against the government, Typically, due to perceived oppression (political, social, economic) or political incompetence. Broadly, revolutions denote fundamental objective and subjective changes (institutionally and culturally) in political arrangements and leaders, principles and orientations. The transformation of political fabric on which government is based. As past and recent experiences have demonstrated, to say that revolutions are political struggles for great intensity

Topic 114 Causes of Revolutions**What are Causes of Revolution**

- In society, revolution is usually caused by injustices rendered by corrupt leaders or a corrupt system that oppresses the people.
- Revolution can also be caused by disparity between the haves and have-nots.
- Revolutions are major turning points in history and regardless of where they occur, some common factors are present.

These causes include a great divide between the social classes, a crisis which negatively impacts the masses, Increasing unhappiness or loss of faith in the government or ruling power and the desire for equality and ideals and philosophies which provide a common rallying ground for the unhappy class. When the population decides to revolt, they are looking for a dramatic political, social and economic change.

In America, the revolution was spurred by the decision of the 13 American Colonies to break away from the British Empire in part due to a social and intellectual transformation and in part because they felt they were poorly represented in Parliament. So in 1776 they grouped together and declared their independence. The war ended in 1783 and the U.S. Constitution was signed in 1787. In the case of the French Revolution, the population was divided into three estates; the clergy, the nobility and the general population. The country was embroiled in a severe financial crisis due to France's involvement in the Seven Years War and the American Revolution, leading to widespread hunger among peasants and a growing dissatisfaction with living under an absolute monarchy.

Topic 115 State Breakdown

Under international law, a state is an entity that has a defined territory and a permanent population, under the control of its own government, and that engages in, or has the capacity to engage in, formal relations with other such entities. **The**

disintegration of state structures seems to occur when the third constitutive element of statehood, a government in effective control, fades away. A situation of this type has roots that go much deeper than a mere rebellion or coup d'état. It involves the implosion of national institutions, authority, law and order, in short the body politic as a whole.

It also implies the breakdown of a set of values on which the State's legitimacy is based, often resulting in a withdrawal of the population into a form of nationalism which is based on religious or ethnic affiliation and which becomes a residual and viable form of identity. In most cases, when state structures collapse, the maintenance of law and order as well as other forms of authority fall into the hands of various factions. The State itself does not physically disappear, but gradually loses the capacity to carry out the normal functions of government. The government is in effect no longer characterized by uncontested power and a monopoly on the use of force. The regular armed forces, which are often one of the only institutions remaining in these weakened States, also gradually fall apart.

Topic 116 Revolutionary Mass Mobilization

For some scholars, a revolution is a mass mobilization that is successful in accomplishing its goals (Kimmel, 1990). An implication of this definition is that all uprisings that are repressed could not be considered as revolutionary. Those gatherings usually are part of a protest action. **Mass mobilization** is defined as a process that engages and motivates a wide range of partners and allies at national and local levels to raise awareness of and demand for a particular development objective through face-to-face dialogue. **Components** of Revolutionary Mass Mobilization are:

- The political space
- Specific, Society-wide conditions
- Potential opposition against ruling elites
- Compelling reason
- Economic based grievances
- Social and cultural grievances

Topic 117 Revolutions and System of Governance

The historical experience of contrasting modes of governance reflects this diversity of theoretical perspectives. The predominant literatures have emphasized the evolution of hierarchies, both corporate and governmental.

Political system: Succession by force. Revolutions, which are the result of the crisis in its most extreme form, involve the overthrow not merely of the government but of the political order itself.

Typically, a revolution is preceded by a series of strains within the system: challenges to the authority of system. If the system is not performing and members are not satisfied with the standards of governance political, economic and social context.



Topic 118 Revolution and Political Ideologies

Ideology plays a greater role in planned revolutions than it does in spontaneous ones. Planned revolutions brought on by the efforts of organized guerrilla organizations, are often guided by strict interpretations of specific ideologies. Guerrilla leaders in particular represent an alternate frame of reference to that of regime. Since they do not hold power, revolutionary leaders must convince their audience that what they believe in holds greater promise than what the state has done. During the course of the revolutions itself, various ideologies remains in competition. Spontaneous revolutions begin as largely non-ideological movements. The French Revolution had a great impact on modern day politics and the ideologies that have become common knowledge among society. When France was reconstructing their government in the 1790's, many of the changes inspired how politics has established itself in today's world.

Lesson 31VIOLENCE -ITOPICS 119-122Topic 119 Protest Movements in Pakistan

During the last 75 years, Pakistan has witnessed the rise of numerous religious, political and secular social movements, which were mostly aimed at dethroning the rulers. However, there have been a few long marches and political movements in Pakistan's history that were not initiated to topple any government, And they did achieve their set targets somehow and peacefully ended.

Overall, many political movements in Pakistan have undoubtedly been successful as they accomplished their envisaged goals. In fact, the creation of Pakistan itself was the result of a social movement, led by the All-India Muslim League, against the British rule. Nature of protest movements in Pakistan is following;

- Political issues
- Social issues
- Legal issues

Topic 120 Politics of Violence

The study of political violence is the essential sphere of political sociology. Hooks and MacLauchlan (1992 b) says that the blind spot classical social thought resulted in obscuring war and failure of integration war into social theory. In the case of violence, only focusing on the domestic and neglecting the international arena resulted in the failure (Hooks and Rice 2005).

Only focusing on the state as unit analysis limits the discussion circle of the important issues such as **human rights abuses, genocide and the role of warfare** in bringing globalization. On the other side, Scott (2004) disagrees with both of them and thinks of sociological neglect of war and Marx idea of war for accumulating Capital and Weber's idea of state that it has monopoly over the use of violence.

Topic 121 Political use of Violence

Political use of violence **means hatred of other people** for the purpose of getting power and legitimacy. Political leaders consolidate powers by suppressing their rivals. Nationalistic ideas, finger pointing and the use of hate by political leaders give rise to violence in case of oppression, or genocide.

Genocide; A form of one-sided mass killing in which a state or other authority intends to destroy a group (Chalk and Jonassohn 1930: 23). e.g. killings in Darfur region, Armenians and Jews holocaust are its major examples.

Labeling a country for genocide is also used as a political tool. In 2007, US passed a resolution against Turkey for killing Armenians and declared it a Genocide.

- Examples of genocide
- Rwanda
- Armenia and many other cases.

Ethnocide can also be used for the suppression of language, religion, or culture. Ethnic cleansing is the killing of men, expelling women and children in another territory and spread fear and hate against the targeted group.

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Topic 122 Case Study: Genocide

Ethnic conflict, effects of colonialism, and disruption of economy leads to Genocide. Here we shall discuss few causes of Genocide. Zygmunt Bauman (2000) tells four features of modernity: nationalism, scientific racism, technology, and bureaucratic rationalization are requisite of Genocide.

- **Nationalization:** An ideological movement for attaining and maintaining the autonomy, unity and identity of a nation (Smith 1991:74) e.g. Genocide in Kosovo.
- **Scientific racism:** In that justification for prejudice and discrimination is based on scientific evidence such as Deadly Medicine, published by the Holocaust memorial Museum, to justify the genocide.
- **Technology and bureaucracy** have also played an important role in facilitating genocide. It has transformed the state into an efficient killer.
- **Nationalism** is often substitute to ethnic conflict. Ethnic conflict arise when someone body tries to invoke customs, language, common history's feeling in masses. Mobilization of ethnic symbols for economic and political benefits, it leads to ethnic nationalism. The extraction from peripheral regions, and depriving the locals of their power for a period of time by a developed country leads to colonization. Colonial countries control political, economic and cultural values. "Chinese of Tibet, non-Arab Muslims in Darfur genocide are caused by colonialism" (Jones 2006).

Lesson 32**VIOLENCE -II****TOPICS 123-126****Topic 123 War Making**

There's a difference between war and terrorism i.e. the killing of civilians is a goal or an outcome. Army generally avoid civilian targets while terrorists consider the killing of civilians inevitable.

Theoretical views on war making

Tilly contends that the rise of nation states took place within two settings, **Capital intensive and Coercive intensive**. (Tilly 1990). They think that the war making influenced the emergence of nation state. Also military and civilian agencies shapes each other.

Future of war making

Wars on state level shift to non-state actors with time. Engelhard and Kurzman observed (2006) that "increased world trade; the spread of democracy; more international bodies that mediate disputes; international norms that discourage war". Downsizing of armies, liquidation of weapons, decline in foreign aid, and vulnerable security may fuel non state political violence. The future of war is potentially more widespread global conflict where nation-states are replaced by larger entities that engage in conflict over both territory and scarce resources (Huntington 1996).

New wars

In new wars, casualties shifts to civilian from military personnel. They commit sexual violence especially rape the women and kill them. They would use suicide bombers and tanks would become useless in urban crowds (Turner 2007: 6 of 15). The use of suicide bombers and targeting civilian means terrorism is inevitable for new wars.

Topic 124 Terrorism in the 21st Century

The word terrorism used for French Jacobean government's "Reign of terror" when thousands of citizens were guillotined. "US state department defines terrorism as "premeditated, politically motivated violence perpetrated against noncombatant targets by subnational groups or clandestine agents, usually intended to influence an audience (2006).

There are **three types of terrorism** including **state terrorism, state sponsored and sub state**.

1. **State terrorism** occurs when wealth is sufficiently unequal, the state may resort to torture to quell those who demand change, Which threatens the economic and political Status Quo (Cohen and Corrado 2005). E.g. the crackdown of Myanmar military in 2007.

2. **State sponsored terrorism** is when one state support terrorist groups for the promotion of their interests and political goals. State sponsored is a global phenomenon in modern times. US state department labelled Cuba, Iran, Sudan and Syria for sponsoring terrorism (2010).
3. **Sub state terrorism** is "when individual and organizations commits violence against the state to challenge state power are engaged in counterhegemonic violence (Bukto 2006)". Often radical religious, ethnic, and Ideological groups commit this terrorism.

Moreover, terrorism is also divided into domestic and international terrorism.

- When all Parties that involved in terrorism are from one state is called **domestic**, and
- when the parties are from two or more countries is called **international**.

Causes of terrorism

In 21st century it becomes more complex to find a single cause for terrorism. Terrorism dynamics operate at three levels Micro, Meso, and Macro (Della Porta 2004). Micro-dynamic approach focusses on individual personality characteristics. Meso-dynamic approach deals with the group's characteristics such as their Ideology. Macro-dynamic focusses on structural or societal institutions which promote political violence.

Topic 125 Political Action and the Dialectic of Power of Violence

Power is indeed of the essence of all government, but violence not. violence is by nature instrumental; like all means, it always stands in need of guidance and justification through the end it pursues. And what needs justification by something else cannot be the essence of anything. "Politics" for us means striving to share power or striving to influence the distribution of power, either among states or among groups within a state. Like the political institutions historically preceding it, the state is a relation of men dominating men, a relation supported by means of legitimate (i.e., considered to be legitimate) violence. If the state is to exist, the dominated must obey the authority claimed by the powers that be.

Topic 126 Politics of Violence in Pakistan

Politics of violence has long been endemic in Pakistan, but the scale, scope, and geographic distribution of the problem has not been systematically studied. On the policy side, decision makers lack credible quantitative data with which to weigh the relative costs of politically-motivated violence against the many other challenges facing Pakistan. Issues are there to assess the role of violence in Pakistani's political and economic development.

Four Key Patterns:

- The spread of madrassas (these were around before hand and are prevalent in areas that have not seen a surge in violence);

- U.S. involvement in Afghanistan (which started in 2001, though the war there became more intense from 2005 on);
- A national anti-state campaign spurred by a state crackdown following the Lal Masjid siege (that would imply a national increase in violence)
- Response /reaction by various elements

Lesson 33**CIVIL SOCIETY: AN INTRODUCTION****TOPICS 127-130****Topic 127 Civil Society**

Civil society can be understood as the "**third sector**" of society, distinct from government and business, and including the family and the private sphere. By other authors, civil society is used in the sense of the aggregate of non-governmental organizations and institutions that manifest interests and will of citizens or individuals and organizations in a society which are independent of the government.

Civil Society Roles Include;

- **Service provider** (for example, running primary schools and providing basic community health care services)
- **Advocate/campaigner** (for example, lobbying governments or business on issues including indigenous rights or the environment)
- **Watchdog** (for example, monitoring government compliance with human rights treaties)
- **Building active citizenship** (for example, motivating civic engagement at the local level and engagement with local, regional and national governance)

Participating in global governance processes (for example, civil society organizations serve on the advisory board of the World Bank's Climate Investment Funds).

Topic 128 Historical Aspect of Civil Society

The term civil society goes back to Aristotle's phrase *koinōnía politikē* (κοινωνία πολιτική), occurring in his *Politics*, where it refers to a 'political community', commensurate with the Greek city-state (*polis*) characterized by a shared set of norms and ethos, in which free citizens on an equal footing lived under the rule of law.

- Greek and Roman thinkers began talking about civil society as part of a more general attempt to establish a geometry of human relations.

They considered civility as an orientation toward the common good and the requirements of effective citizenship rather than as a matter of domestic relations or good manners and a recognition that life is lived in different spheres that have their own internal logic. It suggests that the roots of the contemporary interest in civil society lie in the contention of some dissident East European intellectuals during the 1980s that communism's crisis could only be understood as a revolt of civil society against the state.

Topic 129 Theoretical Framework of Civil Society

A Diversity of Definitions According to Warren (1999), civil society ‘refers to varied and multifaceted associational structures that have quite distinct effects on governance.

Some desirable and some not.’ Warren further asserts that in some parts of the world, particularly Eastern Europe and the Latin Americas, through the activities of democratic movements, the meaning of civil society has been renewed. In addition, in modern, pluralistic, and complex societies all over the world, democracy as has been argued by Warren (1999), ‘depends upon a number of associational contributions, including those that develop the capacities of citizens, enable public judgments, and underwrite democratic institutions such as representation’.

Thus, CSOs are seen to be playing vital roles in both the democratization and consolidation processes. The notion of civil society as employed in Political Science in modern times trace its roots to the works of the Italian Marxist Antonio Gramsci (1971) and the French aristocrat Alexis de Tocqueville (1820). Thus, one can find the roots of civil society deeply planted in both the liberal and Marxist traditions of European political thought.

John Locke and Thomas Hobbes are among the many prominent philosophers who opine that civil society and the state are distinct entities. For proponents of liberal egalitarianism, civil society ideally is ‘a realm in which citizens pursue their comprehensive ends and develop the principles, practices, and virtues conducive to democratic government’ (Jensen, 2006, p. 51).

As opposed to **classical liberals** who regard a minimally-regulated economic market as the core for an effective civil society, some **liberal egalitarians** postulate that the control and influencing powers of a central government is a necessity for maintaining the democratic nature of a political culture (Jensen, 2006). Diverse theoretical approaches in analyzing the social and political models of civil society will eventually produce different understandings of what CSOs are and are not, and what they ought to do or refrain from doing.

Topic 130 Actors of Civil Society

The civil society actors such as the NGOs and social movements that participate in the World Social Forum (WSF) and mobilize in order to directly democratize democracy. It is the civil society actors that are reaping the most benefits from the combination of the network form and the erosion of the legitimacy of the state. This is clear from the fact that, among all of the social actors (state and non-state), it is the civil society actors that enjoy the most legitimacy in societies.

Lesson 34**CIVIL SOCIETY: TRANSITIONS AND IMPLICATIONS****TOPICS 131-135****Topic 131 Democratic Transitions**

Civil society is important to the state and society as it acts as the connecting link between the two. It is made up of a diverse group of people, each with their own set of interests and goals for the community. It keeps in check the government to ensure that true democracy where people's desires are given priority is maintained to warrant stability. Civil society is interconnected with all spheres and is a vital player in social change.

Topic 132 Political Dynamics of Civil Society

Civil society is the set of civic rights, Including primarily everyone's right to participate in Public life. Civil society forms the backbone of democracy. Democracy does not just revolve around what happens once in five years (elections) But how rights of the citizens are protected And are allowed to hold power holders accountable.

Even though democratization and good governance have formed the overall defining agenda for civil society struggles, their form, style and focus have continually changed.

Two objectives:

Institutional reforms and Reforms of the values of both leaders and citizens. Continued state authoritarianism and unaccountability were seen as a consequence of citizens being deliberately kept in ignorance of their rights (and so unable to exercise or lay claim to them) – Hence the civic education initiatives Similarly, state institutions had been seriously undermined, and civil society has to make struggle for improvement in political context.

Topic 133 Civil Society of Pakistan

Pakistan's civil society is a very vibrant and has led the struggle for democracy and human rights despite a wide range of blocking forces and challenges. Even in the complexity of terrorist threats, Pakistani civil society has bravely countered extremist's narratives, help reduce violence and foster a culture of peace and human rights. The traditional focus of civil society in Pakistan has mainly been on human rights, especially, labor, minorities and women rights, and on social development in rural communities. But it has always in forefront in challenging the dictatorships and for the restoration of democracy during the military regimes in the country although they are often less accepted as compared to development or relief work and often find a lot of difficulties and threats

The Impact of Civil Society

The overall impact of the civil society initiatives can be gauged from the fact that NGOs in Pakistan are now accepted as partners in social and economic development.

Civil society today is a force to reckon within the national arena, functioning under resource constraints and in an unfavorable environment, however their contribution to the country is impressive. It is estimated that there are approximately 100,000 NGOs operating in Pakistan. However, the exact numbers of NGOs in Pakistan are unknown because nearly half of Pakistan's civil society organizations are unregistered and official registration records are not routinely updated or many of them are not actively operating.

Civil Society Organizations

Civil society organizations includes registered and unregistered organizations including coalitions, trade unions, labor unions, professional associations, faith-based organizations, cultural associations, community based organizations, social welfare organizations, not-for-profit health providers, non-for-profit schools, philanthropic foundations, and voluntary organizations.

Challenges faced by the civil society in Pakistan

Pakistan's civil society faces both external and internal challenges. These challenges are multiple which include the challenges posed by the state's ideology, state apparatus and non-state actors- religious extremist and fundamentalist groups

Topic 134 Violent Politics in 21st century: Implications for Society

The study of political violence is the essential sphere of political sociology, politics of Violence, political use of violence, terrorism in 21st century. Hooks and MacLauchlan (1992 b) says that the blind spot classical social thought resulted in obscuring war and failure of integration war in into social theory. In the case of violence, only focusing on the domestic and neglecting the international arena resulted in the failure (Hooks and Rice 2005).

Only focusing on the state as unit analysis limits the discussion circle of the important issues such as human rights abuses, genocide and the role of warfare in bringing globalization. On the other side, Scott (2004) disagrees with both of them and thinks of sociological neglect of war and Marx idea of war for accumulating Capital and Weber's idea of state that it has monopoly over the use of violence.

Topic 135 Undemocratic Politics in the Twenty First Century

After the fall of Berlin wall and democratization and modernization in central Europe, the study of un-democratic regime is just like reviving the old study again. It is because such developments have almost eliminated the basic core of undemocratic forces. "Initial typification of undemocratic polities have often been classified as either totalitarian or authoritarian" (Linz, 2000). These un-democratic forces of recent times are basically divided into three different types elaborated as below.

The Totalitarian–Fascist Debate

"The state asserts its monopoly over power and imposes exclusively one ideology on the basis of which it attempts the total mobilization of the population through a single party and various organizations controlled by the same" (Linz, 2000). There are basic

three major characteristics of Totalitarian-Fascist regimes despite the wide varieties of its definitions (Janoski et al, 2005). They are as follow:

1. “An all-encompassing ideology setting forth a program of radical transformation of society and calling for the extermination of all people suspected of incompatibility with or enmity toward said program”.
2. “A centrally controlled state bureaucracy at the service of this ideology, with virtually unlimited authority and modern means of communication, propaganda, surveillance, and repression”.
3. “A mass party controlled by the state to implement this transformation, involving the willing or forced participation of the whole population”.
4. “A mass party controlled by the state to implement this transformation, involving the willing or forced participation of the whole population”.

Sultanistic Regimes

- “A category of undemocratic regimes that fits neither the totalitarian nor the authoritarian mold is Sultanism, a term Linz originally borrowed from Weber to signify an extreme form of Patrimonialism in which authority is solely based on personal ruler ship exercised without restraint, unencumbered by law, values, ideology or custom, and where loyalty to the ruler signifies total submission based on a mixture of fear and greed” (Chehabi and Linz, 1998a).
- “In such contexts, corruption is the golden rule and human rights abuse a key instrument to maintain the status quo (Chehabi and Linz, 1998a).
- The study of non-democratic regimes for Political Sociology is as important and necessary as that of democratic regimes.

Lesson 35**POWER: A SOCIOLOGICAL PERSPECTIVE****TOPICS 136-140****Topic 136 Sociological Theories of Powers**

Power is a quality that one possess to influence other to behave in the way that the former desire. Weber (1968) defined it as “By power is meant that the opportunity that exists within a social relationship which permits one to carry out one’s own will even against resistance and regardless of the basis on which this opportunity rests” (S.Paul et al, 1988) . There are different theories of Power in sociology elaborated as following:

Functionalist-Pluralist Theory of Power

Functionalist-Pluralist theory argue that power is diffused and is not the sole prerogative of rulers or any other class in society. It is as people allow rulers to what extent they can use their powers for interest of masses.

Marxist Theory of Power

According to Marxist theory, power is the sole prerogative of economically dominant class Which hence becomes the ruling elite because of their economic power. The capitalist and Bourgeoisies have a strong hold on the political structure of any state.

Weberian Theory of Power

Max Weber contends that power has basis in three different groups which are social groups, status groups and political parties. He examines that power is exercised and the authority is obeyed because of three factors. They are because the authority is Legally-Rational, Charismatic or Traditional.

Elite Theory of Power

Elite is a class in a society whose sources of power that they exercise may be multiple. There is no single source of their power like that of economic power in Marxist theory. Its proponents are Gaetano Mosca (Italy), Wilfredo Pareto (Italy), and Robert Michels (Germany).

Post-Modernist Theory of Power

This theory of power asserts that the search for truth in Modernism is not true because Truth is socially constructed in a society. Power is defined as that ability which can socially create ideas which becomes truth ultimately. Friedrich Nietzsche and Michel Foucault are major proponents of this idea.

Topic 137 Power, Violence and Legitimacy

The concepts are defined below;

Power is the ability of someone to persuade others to do what they wish them to do. It may even be against the will of the doer.

Violence emerges as a result of ruthless and inappropriate use of that power and treating those having less or no power in an injustice way.

Legitimacy is a term used for the exercise of power only if its use is allowed and authorized by the subject facing it.

Topic 138 Terrorism

Terrorism is considered as the spread of fear among the public or masses of society. Many factors have contributed in creating this phenomenon. The term has been used in various contexts and sometimes in biased manners also where the authorities tried to degrade or defeat their opponents by assigning them the title of Terrorists e.g. French Revolutionaries, Kashmir Freedom fighters, Palestinian freedom fighters etc.

Terrorism can be **state sponsored** for political motives, may emerge due to domestic and foreign policies of state, lack of democratic norms and systematic violations of human rights. Basic goals, strategies and aims of terrorism vary from groups to groups based on the following different targets.

- Social and Political Justice
- Self-Determination
- Racial Superiority
- Foreign Policies
- Publicity
- Demoralized Governments

Such activities are also financed by those other who do not participate in these activities directly but they do wish them to be practiced and carried on. There are basic **three types of terrorism**;

1. Domestic
2. Nationalistic and
3. Religious terrorism

All these three types of terrorism can be initiated both on State and Global level depending on their goals and resources to meet them.

Topic 139 Future Directions

There are basic two views about the future of terrorism presenting two different extremes as Optimists and Pessimists.

Optimist Views of Black (2004) examines that the emerging innovation in technology and communication is narrowing the social distances among different cultures hence making diverse social attitudes closer to each other. Hence it will reduce the prejudiced hate and anger among different societies .

Pessimist Views of Enders and Sandler (2006) asserts that there will always be weaker parties in the governments due to presence of grievances which will compel them to carry on their terrorist activities. In this sense governments will be unable to effectively coordinate their anti-terrorist policies. (Dobratz, 2016).

The future direction for researching or studying terrorism must be kept on lines of comparative approach. It is as researcher must work in the direction by studying and finding that which international conditions are associated with terrorism and cycles or waves of terrorism that occur. (Dobratz, 2016). There should also be separate categorization and combating mechanism of those who attack their own territories or foreign interests lying in their own territory and those who attack foreign interests outside their own territorial domains. The second type of terrorism is more dangerous and fatal than the first one whose activities are limited to their own territories only.

Topic 40 Case Study Pakistan

Pakistan faced serious challenge of terrorism for last so many years. The issue of terrorism became a challenge for Pakistan' political system and social fabric too. To fight against an un seen enemy is unknown for the opponents. Pakistan, like other societies was not fully equipped to counter this war. It took time to have a preparation and to make counter narrative against terrorism. Pakistan is among those major states which have faced the worst layers of terrorism. It has been mainly because of War on Terror which US with her allies launched after 9/11. It was a worldwide anti-terrorist coercive campaign whose main target was Al-Qaida having basis in Afghanistan. In this War on Terror, Pakistan became a shoulder for other's guns who targeted Afghanistan from where terrorist flew to the adjacent tribal areas of Pakistan.

Lesson 36KARL MARX AND POLITICAL SOCIOLOGYTOPICS 141-147Topic 141 Karl Marx Introduction

He was born at Treves in Prussia on 5th May, 1818. His aristocratic Jewish parents embraced Christianity when Karl Marx was only a child. At the age of 17, he became a law student at Bonn University. In 1826, he left for the University of Berlin. In 1843, he married Jenny, a member of petty nobility who remained a faithful counterpart throughout his life. In early 1845, Karl Marx left Paris for Brussels. But before he left France, he got an ever-lasting friendship with Friedrich Engel which brought many changes in his life. Marx-Engel collaboration was one of the history's most unique prominent and enduring collaboration. Friedrich Engel became the friend, disciple and passionate seeker of knowledge and a warm partner.

In the summer of 1845, Friedrich took Karl Marx to England and there he was introduced to the founders of the "German Workers Educational Union" that had recently started in London. After remaining for some time in London, he again came back to Brussels. Marx had to flee from one country to another on account of his conspiratorial activities. Then he steered down in London till his death. His major contributions are The German Ideology, The Communist Manifesto and The Capital.

Topic 142 Social Order

Being political sociologist, Marx had examined the social order of a society being stratified into following three headings.

- **Social Stratification:** Marx assumes that the primary role of human being in life is that of production which is necessary for survival. This production results in struggle between those having means of productions and those who only contribute their labor works for this end. Hence the society gets divided into two groups as The Producers and The Owner. "The groups or strata that comprise the stratification system are referred to as social classes" (Orum.M.A, 1978). Marx basically refers to two categories of classes in modern capitalist society which are the minority Capitalists (Bourgeoisies) and the majority Workers (Proletariat).
- **Social Organization:** social organizations are important element of social order. Supervision becomes the sole established and exclusive function of this body of social order. These organizations refer to hierarchical administrative nature of industrial societies and production.
- **Social System:** Marx has provided two images of social system where one abstract and other one is concrete. By **Abstract image**, he talks about economic determinism where he refers to basic two structures known as
 - Substructures (means of production) and
 - Super-Structures (religion, law etc.).

While on the other hand through the **Concrete lens**, he refers to continuous conflict between these two classes. Marx framework of social order has basic two images where one is referred to as abstract image consisting of Substructures and Superstructures based in Economic determinism and the other image is concrete one which talks about the continuous conflict between the basic two classes of society.

Topic 143 Stratification and Implications

The stratification framework described by Marx has basic social stratification in a society mostly based on economic factors. Those having means of productions like industrial and technological tools are capitalists who acquire all the share of produces commodity and on the other hand they are Workers who have no means of production and hence only offer their labor work to earn for their survival. This class is deprived of any share in surplus that is generated. His scheme of social order and stratification representing only two classes and privileging economic factor only, has been criticized by many other philosophers (Orum.M.A, 1978).

Topic 144 Political Order

Social orders are comprised of religious, economic and kinship systems while political orders are mainly comprised of states and their institutions. Marx version of political order consists of Political Rulers, State Machinery, Ancillary Organization such as Parties and Political System. Political Rulers play an important role in political order because they are examined by the way in which they govern the interests either of a special social class or sometimes for their own personnel interests.

State Machinery in capitalist society is comprised of standing army, Judiciary, bureaucracy. Clergy and police etc. There are also strong connections among these organs of state machineries and those capital class having monopoly over means of production.

Ancillary organization consists of various interests groups, pressure groups and political parties. These organizations are also among major factors contributing in political order especially in democratic and capitalist societies because they also uphold various capitalist motives. Studies of Alexis De Tocqueville in American studies provides a wide view of such groups in America.

Political System consists of two basic elements i.e. political rulers and the state machinery. Moreover, the theme of state and civil society parallels his use of the substructures and super-structures scheme.

Topic 145 Why Men Obey?

The problem of obedience, power and authority has been central to every theorists either social or political. Being father and modern political sociologist, Karl Marx has also furnished a solution to it. According to Marx's assumption, the capitalist and proletariat classes are always in conflict to each other and hence capitalist class tries to convince the proletariat to work in factories for ultimate objective of capitalist class which is accumulation of capital. Proletarians have no choice but to work and obey the capitalist order out of sheer necessity due to capitalist ownership of means of production (Orum.M.A, 1978).

“In other word, by virtue of the control of the working classes in economic institutions of society, the capitalists also control the working classes in all other enterprises and institutions” (Orum.M.A, 1978). In short, capitalists are men of wealth and wealth permits them to purchase people in state power. Consequently it makes this class as the hegemon of values system too.

It is not as the ruling capitalist class have only material force of society, rather they also have means of mental production in a society by generating and dominating their own ideas. Hence, according to Marx, the power of ruling class rests in the means of production and communication that they occupy (Meyer, Marxism, P.20).

Topic 146 Concept of Change

Marx **socio-political philosophy** examines the capitalist world where there is continuous concerns about the stability and change in society. The **dialectic materialism** and synthesis formation after thesis and anti-thesis clearly shows how the inevitability of change is clear in Marx views.

The conflict between the two classes of a society has prevailed since long and such continuous increase in gap between the two may result in acute accumulation of wealth at capitalist pole and on other pole of misery, discrimination, poverty and pessimism may get its roots.

Another logic of change may be when the worker exposes the absolute economic fact of capitalism where the labor is considered to be having no means of production and the ideological fact of capitalism where worker thinks that the capitalist system is helpful for his own survival as he may not find any place to work outside this system.

Marx also provides many more antecedents to revolution or change like that of shrinking average wages of workers and politicization of the working class either by jumping into direct politics or due to result of encounters between working and capitalist class.

Topic 147 Karl Marx as a Political Sociologist

Marx believed that through the careful study of history, One could discover the main principles that bring about historical change and development. The theme of social stratification of society in various classes and Their impacts on political system given by Marx makes him a prominent political sociologist. As political sociologist, he highlighted relationship between social ,economic and political realities of life.

Lesson 37**IBN-E-KHALDUN AND POLITICAL SOCIOLOGY****TOPICS 148-154****Topic 148 Ibn-e- Khaldun**

Ibn-e- Khaldun was one of the most talented and versatile person and thinker the world ever saw. Besides being the top Muslim philosopher, he was also a practicing politician and expert historian. His philosophical approach towards the understanding of history gave him a place among the pioneers of philosophy of history. (Ahmad, 1984). It was the mid of the fourteenth century when Muslims in Spain were facing persecution. Muslims were either expelled from the country or were forced to relinquish the religion of their ancestors by sword.

Owing to the persecution in the hands of the new rulers, Muslim families left Spain and headed towards Africa. Ibn-e- Khaldun belonged to one of those noble Andalusian families who had migrated from Seville to Tunis (Khalid, 2012 & Shahid, 2000). He was born on 1st Ramadan, 732 A.H. (27th May' 1332 A.C.) in Tunis, Africa (Enan, 1986). Ibn-e- Khaldun was an intelligent man. He was brought up to be a man of great knowledge and wisdom; an expert at the subjects of history and politics. He is the very first scientist who has left a permanent mark on the sciences of historiography and sociology (Shahid, 2000).

Topic 149 Major Substantive Contributions**Theory of Al-Asabiya**

ASABIYA, Arabic word meaning originally 'spirit of kinship' (the 'asaba are male relations in the male line) in the family or tribe. Already used in the hadith in which the Prophet condemns 'asabiya as contrary to the spirit of Islam,

The term became famous as a result of the use to which it was put by Ibn-e- khaldun, who made this concept the basis of his interpretation of history and his doctrine of the state. 'Asabiya is, for Ibn-e- khaldun, the fundamental bond of human society and the basic motive force of history; as such, the term has been translated as 'esprit de corps' (de Slane), by 'Gemeinsinn' and even by 'Nationalitaetsidee' (Kremer), which is an unjustified modernism.

He is the inventor of this theory it is the force which unites the people with one and another this leads to the creation of the state people get together by joining their minds and values and create solidarity among themselves which lead to Asabiya. The basic factor of this Asabiya force is to unite the people together in a term of the society or in the term of the state. He says the emotion of similarity which keep the people of a group united together having common effective actions. He said mutual relation is also the base of society which is also stated as the source of Asabiya. Solidarity is very important in state and society.

Topic 150 Theory of Rural and Urban Society

“Ibn-e-khaldun” believed that, human society differs from animal society. Human are endowed with wisdom, Human beings need a leader to look after their wellbeing and guide them through difficult situations. Human beings always search the means of livelihood. They live together, coordinate and cooperate, which lead towards the creation, of state.

However, mentioned traits lack in animals “Ibn-e- khaldun” has described two types of societies in his book “**Badvi**” and “**Hazri**”.According to his theory “Badvi” is rural society whereas, “Hazri” is urban society. Individuals living in Badvi society are united and have strong force of Al-Asabia. They have robust physical structure, live in deserts where satisfying basic needs are quite difficult. However, they have to struggle hard for their survival, therefore, they are physically strong.

The traits and description provided by “Ibn-e-khaldun” of the individuals, living in Badvi society, are similar to those people who live in villages and small valleys or rural areas. On the other hand, people living in “Hazri” society are described; similar to those people, who lives in urban society. They cannot defend them self against, external aggression; individuals of “Badvi” society are dependent on state security. They are not physically strong for the reason that; basic needs of life are easily available to them.

Topic 151 Theory of Social Change

According to Ibn-e-Khaldun, human society is ever changing. He stated that the change in the human society follows clockwise pattern and the circle is completed and repeated after the 120 year in the given society. He observed that there are the fixed definite and clear stages of this cycle. Each stage having average duration of 40 years.

He describes the **three principles** of the social change in the society.

1. The physical boundary of the state should remain in control.
2. Rise and fall in the nation is turn by turn one nation rises once and
3. other rises after its fall.

Characteristics of the Stages

Characteristics of the stages are given under:

First stage When society is in its initial stage of growth its population is not politically stable creative leadership is emerging while their people have primary group in most of their daily life situation. There is no regular military force no potential values in the people. People are weak in all matters but there is solidarity and unity in the people and the force of Asabiya is strong in the people or in the society.

Second stage During the second stage the development of the society become stronger in economic, political, social and other such fields. Population is no longer liability. There is the presence of the strong government with well-organized military,

trade, commerce and economic activities. The society is strong enough to face any outstanding aggression and people try to extend their political power over neighboring societies.

Third Stage When the society enter the third stage the process of decaying and fall start the people lose their values and start to enjoy their life with luxury things they left hard work and the loose the power of Asabiya. Due to this people lie under the burden of the bad economic factors bad social relation. The politician does not have real ideology and values and people start loose the Asabiya which also create loose in the mutual relation of people they just think of individuals and this all factors become the cause of decline in the social institution and the society.

Topic 152 The Muqaddimah: The Narration of Realities

The Muqaddimah was written in 1377 by Ibn Khaldun (1332 – 1406). It is the first in a series of books which make up the Kitab al-‘Ibar (the “Book of Lessons”), an ambitious work which provides an early account of the history of the world. The Muqaddimah – which serves as an introduction to the Kitab – sets out Ibn Khaldun’s philosophy of history The Islamic Golden Age. To fully appreciate the ideas contained within the Muqaddimah, one must first know a little about the historical context in which it was written. Ibn Khaldun was alive towards the end of “the Islamic Golden Age”; a period of history spanning the 7th to the 14th centuries which saw the establishment of an Islamic caliphate encompassing territories across the Middle East, North Africa and Southern Spain.

Expansion of the Islamic Empire – 622 – 750 AD

At the peak of its power, this Islamic empire was an unrivalled centre of economic and cultural activity, its major cities – Baghdad, Cairo and Cordoba – attracting merchants and scholars from around the globe. But by the 13th and 14th centuries the empire had entered a devastating spiral of decline. It was against this turbulent backdrop that Ibn Khaldun – a proud Arab Muslim whose family had played a prominent role in the leadership of Muslim Spain – wrote the Muqaddimah. In many ways, the book can be interpreted as his explanation for why this great, triumphant Muslim empire of his descendants had disintegrated into feuding and decay.

But what Ibn Khaldun achieved in the Muqaddimah was something far more remarkable; a general theory of history that could explain the rise and fall of the great civilizations of the past.

Topic 153 The Role of “Assabiyah” in the Rise and Fall of Civilizations

Ibn-e- Khaldun shared that **co-operation** was fundamental to human survival. Without the help of others, he noted, people could not effectively defend themselves from predatory animals, or obtain and cultivate enough food for their subsistence. This need for mutual help and support, he argued, was what ultimately led to the formation of tribal societies, Which in turn, provided the foundations for more complex, urban civilizations. Central to his explanation of how these societies evolved over time was an Arabic concept called “assabiyah”. This can loosely be translated to mean “group feeling” or “social solidarity” and refers to the bonds that exist between members of a social group.

As Ibn Khaldun explained, “assabiyah” is something which tends to occur naturally amongst blood relatives. This protective urge can, however, extend out towards other non-blood relatives who we come into close contact with. In this sense, “assabiyah”, or “social solidarity”, can exist at the level of a family, but it can also develop amongst the wider tribe, or even a large society or empire. To Ibn-e- Khaldun, “assabiyah” was the key to understanding why some tribes flourished and grew into larger, more complex societies and why others failed or broke down altogether. Tribes with weak “assabiyah” on the other hand would not be able to do any of these things effectively. In an evolutionary process, which seemed to anticipate Darwin’s notion of “survival of the fittest”,

Ibn Khaldun described how the tribes with the strongest sense of solidarity would eventually rise to power by taking over other, weaker tribes whose inferior social bonds left them vulnerable to attack or internal breakdown. This is because the unifying power of a shared religion significantly strengthened a group’s “assabiyah” turning them into an almost unstoppable force. In Ibn-e- Khaldun’s depiction of events, these societies eventually lose the knowledge and skills to defend themselves from outside threats and end up employing outsiders for their protection.

Topic 154 Parallels with Today

It is astounding that over 600 years later, the concepts that Ibn-e Khaldun introduced in the Muqaddimah are still relevant to understanding the world today. Indeed, many governments now actively measure the extent of “social solidarity” or “social cohesion” present in their societies as an indicator of their overall. For it is generally accepted that nations built upon strong internal bonds – whose citizens share a common sense of identity and who feel able to trust their neighbors, their institutions and governments – are more likely to thrive and prosper than those which are internally divided and susceptible to fragmentation or breakdown.

With this in mind, the political polarization that is sweeping across Western democracies today is a particularly worrying trend. If Ibn-e- Khaldun’s theory of history holds true, we might be witnessing the first stages in the decline of the Western powers that have dominated the world stage since the fall of the Islamic empire. Indeed, many commentators have argued that the 21st century will be known as the “Asian Century”; an era in which the fast-growing economies will become the dominant world forces. The **challenge** laid down by Ibn Khaldun’s theory is whether these younger, more vigorous economies will have the strength of “assabiyah” required to maintain their rise to power and establish a new world order.

Lesson 38**THOMAS HOBBS AND POLITICAL SOCIOLOGY****TOPICS 155-161****Topic 155 Thomas Hobbes**

“**Thomas Hobbes**, 1588-1679, lived during the most crucial period of early modern England’s history: the English Civil War, waged from 1642-1648. To describe this conflict in the most general of terms, it was a clash between the King and his supporters, the Monarchists, who preferred the traditional authority of a monarch, and the Parliamentarians, Most notably led by Oliver Cromwell, who demanded more power for the quasi-democratic institution of Parliament.

Hobbes represents a compromise between these two factions. On the one hand he rejects the theory of the Divine Right of Kings, (James Fieser). Hobbes lived through a tumultuous period in English history, and his most productive years as a philosopher coincided with a time of political turmoil and civil war. Early in the 1640s, when it became clear that Parliament was going to turn on King Charles I, Hobbes fled to France.

Topic 156 Context of the Theory

As a devoted Monarchist, Hobbes feared persecution if he stayed in an England run by Parliamentarians. He stayed in France for eleven years, during which he produced much of his most important writing. Hobbes’s most famous work, **Leviathan**, was published in 1651, two years after Charles I had been executed by the administrators of the Long Parliament, the leaders of the first non-monarchial government in English history.

Although Leviathan won him a new notoriety, at the time of its publication Hobbes’s political philosophy was already well known in Parliamentary circles, where he was generally vilified. In England, his works were banned repeatedly, and “anti-Hobbism” reached such a peak in 1666 that his books were burned at his alma mater, Oxford. Because of his materialist philosophy and his opposition to the established church, Hobbes was often labeled an atheist, though he never professed to be one.

Topic 157 Leviathan

Leviathan is the main contribution of Hobbes to political philosophy where he gave his basic idea of “Social contract” and “Nature of Human Being”. It contains different chapters which cover different topics but its core objective is to support the absolute monarchism. In the chapter “Of the natural condition of mankind as concerning their felicity, and misery”, Hobbes argue that nature has made man made so equal that despite their physical appearances and differences, they still possess same potential to meet their objectives. This equality brings conflict among them as many of them struggle for single objective ultimately leading to war of all against all. Basic three objects of Competition, Diffidence and Glory become principal causes of quarrel. (Sterba.P.J, 2003).

Chapter on “first and second natural laws and contract”, he examines that this state of war of all against all is main cause of disturbance and unrest for human beings which then try to come and settle under any agreement of peace. He discusses **two basic** natural principals of Rights and Laws as main guiding principals for men coming under any agreement. He defines Contract as the natural transfer of right and it may be through expression or inferences. When this transferring of power is not mutual, rather is only from one side of parties involved in it for their own strategic gains, then it is known as Gift, Free Gift or Grace (Sterba.P.J, 2003).

Another type of **law of nature is to obey and keep the made covenants** which may otherwise lead to the prior condition of war of all against all. Based on these basic assumptions of natural laws, Hobbes established his whole idea of man’s brutish nature and need of absolute sovereign authority established through a contract known as Social Contract in his book known as Leviathan.

Topic 158 Hobbes, Patriarchy and Conjugal Right

Some scholars are firm believers of the fact that Hobbes work is totally patriarchal but modern studies assert against this argument as Hobbes’s views were subversive to “patriarchal attitudes” (Sterba.P.J, 2003). Although Hobbes is considered as **patriarchal theorist**, but the possibility that is considered by neither conventional political theorists nor feminists is that he is a patriarchalist who rejects paternal rights. Feminists and political theory is being dogged by the definition of patriarchy as the authority by paternal right of fathers and mothers just like Di Stefano who calls Hobbes a Masculine theorist because he has completely ignored the role of mother and family in nourishing an individual. Moreover, **Conjugal rights** are the rights exercised by men, as husbands over their wives, is not a matter that ever fall with in political theories of Hobbes and his contemporaries.

“Hobbes is considered to be the only western theorist who begins from the premise that there is no natural domination of men over women” (Sterba.P.J, 2003). Hobbes considers that women are naturally free and always subject to men through (the marriage) contract. This misunderstanding or confusion over the term “Patriarchy” has arisen because of the failure to distinguish between three different historical forms of patriarchal theory. Which are Traditional, Classical and Modern concepts of patriarchy.

Topic 159 State of Nature

According to Hobbes ,the state of nature was in which there were no criteria of right and wrong. People took for themselves all that they could , and human life has no importance. For Hobbes, the state of nature is characterized by the “war of every man against every man,” a constant and violent condition of competition in which each individual has a natural right to everything, regardless of the interests of others.

The **state of nature** is a concept used in philosophy to create an image of a hypothetical condition in which there is no political authority or association. This concept is used to portray a society in which we no longer abide by the rule of law. Philosophers have used the idea of a state of nature to argue that the state is based on an agreement between people to live together under laws, Or a social contract.

Hobbes, Locke and Rousseau take opposing stances on the state of nature, and therefore take differing views on the authority and justification of the state.

Topic 160 Social Contract of Hobbes

In political philosophy, a social contract is an actual or hypothetical compact, or agreement, between the ruled or between the ruled and their rulers, defining each party's rights and responsibilities. Individuals were born into an anarchic state of nature in prehistoric times, according to the notion, which was either happy or unhappy depending on the version of the theory. They then built a society (and a government) by the use of natural reason and a social compact (Britannica). Social contract theory, nearly as old as philosophy itself, is the view that persons' moral and/or political obligations are dependent upon a contract or agreement among them to form the society in which they live.

Hobbes' political philosophy can be broken down into **two parts**:

1. **Psychological Egoism**, his theory of human drive, and
2. his notion of the **Social Compact**, which is based on the hypothetical state of nature. as developed in his philosophical masterpiece, Leviathan,

Hobbes has a particular explanation of human nature that leads to a certain view of morality and politics. In state of nature, under absence of any common authority to regulate the brutish and selfish nature of human being, the biggest desire of human being was to establish peace and get secure. So this motive led them to the contract among themselves to establish a civil society. It is a mutual social contract where the subject surrendered their rights and powers to one sovereign monarch who in return was bound to protect its masses from any external danger along with internal chaos. In other words, this contract was of each with all and of all with each.

Topic 161 Intellectual Criticism

Hobbes faced intellectual criticism from various schools of thought like Feminism and other liberals who criticize the Hobbesian model of Human Nature along with the sovereign discretion that he gave to monarch. It gives government too much power to make laws under the guise of protecting the public. Specifically, governments may use the cloak of the social contract to invoke the fear of a state of nature to warrant laws that are intrusive. From the time that we are born, we do not knowingly agree to a contract and therefore do not consent to the contract. An outflow of this thought is a movement entitled the "Sovereign Citizens" or "Freemen of the Land."

Lesson 39MAX WEBER AND POLITICAL SOCIOLOGYTOPICS 162-168Topic 162 Max Weber

Arguably the foremost social theorist of the twentieth century, Max Weber is known as a principal architect of modern social science along with Karl Marx and Emil Durkheim. Weber's wide-ranging contributions gave critical impetus to the birth of new academic disciplines such as sociology as well as to the significant reorientation in law, economics, political science, and religious studies. Born in a prosperous family of Germany and explained how modern society differs from the earlier types of social organization.

Topic 163 Rationalization of Society

Weber's philosophical approach, known as idealism, emphasized upon how human ideas specifically beliefs and values shape the society. Argued that societies differ from one another not in terms of how people produce things but in the terms of how people think about the world. In order to compare the different societies, he opted ideal type for this comparison i.e. an abstract statement of essential characteristics of any social phenomenon. Following the above approach preindustrial and industrial societies can be referred as the ideal societies. The ideal form describes/defines a type of society in its pure form neither good nor best.

Topic 164 Social Order

Just like the social order of Marx, Weber has also made this stratification on same lines but limiting his focus on modern industrialist societies of France, Great Britain and Germany. Weber's social order also has its social stratification, social organization and social system.

Social Stratification is made under two lines known as Social Classes and Status Groups. Social classes are on the basis of property and commercial ones. Basic difference between social classes and status groups is that of classes are stratified on the basis of their relation to the production and acquisition of goods. While the status classes refer to those consumer class who can acquire various varieties of goods.

Social Organization Main characteristics of rational social organization is bureaucracy in Weber's scheme and have following characteristics.

Distinctive social institutions: religious, social, political and economic systems as the social institutions. Specialized social institutions are rational strategy to meet human needs efficiently.

Large scale organizations: modern rationality can be seen as the large scale organizations have spread. In today's modern and rational society everyone works for large formal organizations.

Specialized tasks: unlike the members of traditional societies the people in modern society have very specialized jobs

Personal discipline: mostly the organizations expect workers to be disciplined and also encouraged by our cultural values of success.

Awareness of time: in modern time unlike in the traditional societies the scheduling of events is done precisely by the hour.

Technical competence: members of the traditional societies size up on the basis of their family ties. While the modern rationality leads us to judge people for what they are through their education, skills and abilities.

Impersonality: in the rational society the technical competence is basis for hiring and the world then becomes impersonal.

Social System in Weber's scheme consists of social classes and status groups which are in continuous conflict with each other for monopolizing the central bureaucracy in modern industrial societies. Social stratification is mainly based on differential levels of social honor and material rewards.

Topic 165 Political Order

The political order of Weber's scheme also consists of **State and its Mechanism**. For him, political order is characterized by struggle among various groups just like that in society, the political or state institutions do not come under the control of a single group or class, those classes coming in major authoritative positions affects other social institutions and emphasizes on democratic forms of government having strong political leaders. **Political Leaders** in Weber's Political scheme are talented and responsible ones who are basic prerequisites for the functioning of democratic governments. Popular elections is a widely used way for electing such leader.

State Machinery consists of Military, police, parliament, judiciary and civil services among which different classes and status groups compete to occupy main authoritative positions. Occupy main authoritative positions. **Political system** in Weber's scheme includes state and its machinery. State is which enjoys monopoly over legitimate use of force in a specific territory (Orum. M. A, 1978). The institution civil-services enjoys dominance of due to its skillful and technical training and background.

Topic 166 Why Men Obey?

Rulers dominate citizenry through control of means of administration and war, and dominate their staff through control of material and symbolic rewards (Orum.M.A, 1978). The dominance relationship even in its most abstract form need a ruler who commands and followers who obey those commands. This has been remained the main question for Weber like all other philosophers. Max Weber provides main three reasons for such obedience to existing rulers or political system which are (Orum.M.A, 1978).

- Legitimacy based on Traditional grounds

- Legitimacy based on Charismatic appeal
- Legitimacy having Rational-legal appeal

Weber considers industrial capitalism to be highly rational because capitalist try to make money in any way possible while Marx, thought capitalism irrational because it fails to meet the basic needs of most of people. In short, on the basis of above mentioned three grounds, the masses are compelled to obey the established political or executive authorities. But the role of leadership has been emphasized in every aspect of governance in Weber's scheme of social and political system.

Topic 167 Concept of Change

Unlike Marx's revolutionary or Parson's evolutionary emphasize on change, Weber has argued of change through Rationalization of institutions. Rationality is the employment of most technical and efficient strategy for attaining goals. He speaks of qualitative and gradual change or emergence of rationality which finally takes the form of erosion of authority. People in modern society favor rationality, a way of thinking that emphasizes deliberate, matter of fact calculation of the most efficient way to accomplish a particular task. The sentimental ties to the past have no place in a rational worldview and tradition becomes only a kind of information.

Weber viewed both industrial revolution and development of capitalism as the evidence of modern rationality- these changes are part of the rationalization of society. Weber describes the modern society to be more scientific away from sentimental ties to the past (J. Macionis). The strongest indicator and visible example of society being rationalized is the willingness to adopt the latest technology. Some of the societies are more eager than others to adopt new technology and these are the ones with more rational worldview while the ones with the traditional culture society might consider these technological advancements a threat to their way of life.

Topic 168 Weber as a Political Sociologist

Weber was initially trained to be teacher of jurisprudence but later on he developed his interests in investigation of religious doctrines, economic life, urban settlement, law and politics. His active interest both in social doctrines and active politics made him a prominent figure in influencing the theories of political sociology. Moreover his scheme of social stratification and impacts of different social groups and status classes on politics and authority seems relatable to his contribution to the field of political sociology.

Weber's study of Calvinism provides evidence of the power of ideas to shape society. Weber knew that industrial capitalism had many causes but by stressing importance of ideas weber tried to counter Marx's strictly economic explanations of modern society. Weber found it quite ironic that the modern society which is meant to serve humanity turns on its creators and enslaves them. Also portrayed modern individual as only a small cog in the ceaselessly moving mechanism. Although a few advantages of modern society were visible to weber but still he was deeply pessimistic about the future. Weber was fearful that in the end the realization of society would reduce the human beings to robots.

Lesson 40**LEWIS A. COSER AND POLITICAL SOCIOLOGY****TOPICS 169-175****Topic 169 Lewis A. Coser**

Lewis A. Coser is an American sociologist who left Germany during Nazis rule. He was affiliated with the left-wing of politics without having any practical role in communist parties or politics but contributed much literature to the left-wing political magazines and other publications. His famous work of “Functional theory of social conflict” earned him the status among bourgeois sociologists.

Topic 170 Context of the Theory

His theory is a total devotion to the contributing role of conflict in any social system. He asserts that both the maintenance and rational change in any system shows its development and this happens because of various kinds of conflicts That a system faces and then plans a solution for them. Coser, himself says power is not a bad thing but it is a factor that helps shape relations within a society.

Coser drew most of his theories from Georg Simmel, rather than drawing his theories from Marx and Weber. Coser manages to be distinct from rest of his contemporaries because he was the first to consider the functional In his theory, Coser tries bringing out the meaning of conflict in a society; how a conflict starts in a society; How unequal distribution of power within a society leads to conflict and the consequences that it brings along. consequences of conflict. He believes conflict to be an integral and natural component of the society.

Topic 171 Social Conflict

Conflict theory is a functional social system, according to Coser's standpoint. Conflicts in society, according to Coser, don't just have a bad purpose. Conflict, on the other hand, might have a constructive impact on the current social order. Conflict, according to Coser, is a type of interaction that does not need to be avoided. Conflict does not have to be damaging or dysfunctional for the system in question, according to Coser. Because confrontation can have both positive and negative outcomes.

Coser paints a scenario for us in which conflict is defined as “a disagreement about values or demands relating to power, prestige, and money sources with insufficient supply” (Budiman. A, 2020) Moreover, according to Coser, disputes or conflicts can occur between individuals, collectivities, or people with the group. Following are some of core assumptions of Coser’s theory of conflict (Budiman. A, 2020)

- **First**, as the amount of animosity or conflict with other groups rises, so will the strength of internal solidarity and inner group integration.
- **Second**, increasing conflicts affects groups' integrity which can aid in the strengthening of boundaries between them and other groups in the environment, particularly hostile or potentially hostile groups.

- **Third**, there may be a reduced tolerance for division or divisions within the group, as well as a greater stress on consensus and uniformity.
- **Fourth**, deviants in the group are no longer tolerated; if they are unable to be persuaded to follow the correct path, they may be ejected or placed under tight supervision.
- **Fifth**, on the alternative hand, if the organization isn't threatened through warfare with antagonistic outsiders, the robust strain on cohesiveness, conformity, and dedication to the organization might also additionally decrease. Conflict prevents the ossification of the social system by exerting pressure for innovation and creativity (Coser.A.L, 1957).

Topic 172 Theory of Social Change

Coser theory of conflict actually gives us the assumption that how conflicts are important in bringing changes both within the social system and outside the social system.

Conflict not only generates new norms, new institutions, it may be said to be stimulating directly in the economic and technological realm. Economic historians often have pointed out that much technological improvement has resulted from the conflict activity of trade unions through the raising of wage levels (Coser.A.L, 1957). In the unitary order of the medieval guild system, no one was permitted to harm others by methods which enabled him to produce more quickly and more cheaply than they. Technical progress took on the appearance of disloyalty. The ideal was stable conditions in a stable industry.

“The emergence of invention and of technological change in modern Western society, with its institutionalization of science as an instrument for making and remaking the world, was made possible with the gradual emergence of a pluralistic and hence conflict-charged structure of human relations” (Coser.A.L, 1957).

Coser quotes the ideas of broader change in a whole system given by **Karl Marx** as “conflict leads not only to ever-changing relations within the existing social structure, but the total social system undergoes transformation through conflict”.

Topic 173 Human Relation Approach

The 'human relations' approach stresses, the 'collective purpose of the total organization' of the factory, and either denies or attempts to reduce conflicts of interests in industry. But a successful reduction of industrial conflict may have unanticipated dysfunctional consequences for it may destroy an important stimulus for technological innovation.

Conflict "clears the air" and allows for the free behavioral expression of hostile dispositions. This might be thought of as a "safety-valve theory" of conflict, according to which conflict serves as an outlet for hostilities so that relationships between antagonists can be maintained. Technological innovations and other developments have greater impact on the human relations in all those sectors where they work for attainment of their goals. Such innovations add to their insecurities in work place but

by organizing in unions workers gain a feeling of security because it helps them to carry an institutionalized conflict with management and thus exert pressure on management to increase their returns by the invention of other cost-reducing devices.

The impacts of vested interests on the human relations has also been enormous as those already occupying specific positions receive any opposing idea as threat to their vested interests. These feelings of insecurity and threat to vested interests are both from outside the system as well as inside the system. Each social system contains elements of strain and of potential conflict; if in the analysis of the social structure of a system these elements are ignored, if the adjustment of patterned relations is the only focus of attention, then it is not possible to anticipate basic social change.

Topic 174 Emergence of Technology and invention and its Impacts

“The emergence of invention and of technological change in modern Western society, with its institutionalization of science as an instrument for making and remaking the world, was made possible with the gradual emergence of a pluralistic and hence conflict-charged structure of human relations” (Coser.A.L, 1957). Invention, as well as its application and utilization, is furthered through the ever-renewed challenge to vested interests, as well as by the conflicts between the vested interests themselves.

The modern technological inventions and innovations tends to affect the social system and the pattern of relations of individuals and authorities in it. But the practices of bureaucracies and different kinds of employee associations maintains the equilibrium in a society through conflicts and raising voices for their own vested interests. A group or a system which no longer is challenged is no longer capable of a creative response. It may subsist, wedded to the eternal yesterday of precedent and tradition, but it is no longer capable of renewal.

Topic 175 Criticism

Coser suggests that conflict tends to be dysfunctional only for social structures in which there is insufficient toleration or institutionalization of conflict. Highly intense conflicts that threaten to "tear apart" society tend to arise only in rigid social structures. Thus, what threatens social structures is not conflict as such, but rather the rigid character of those structures. In order to devise a theory of social conflict, Coser explores the ideas set forth by Georg Simmel in his classical work, Conflict. This essay analyzes conflict in terms of interactive processes and depicts conflict as "a form of socialization." [Coser, p. 31]. No group can be entirely harmonious, for then it would lack process and structure. Group formation is a result of both association and dissociation. So that both conflict and cooperation serve a social function. Some certain degree of conflict is an essential element in group formation.

Lesson 41**TALCOTT PARSONS AND POLITICAL SOCIOLOGY****TOPICS 176-182****Topic 176 The Vision of Talcott Parsons**

Talcott Parsons is one of the modern most influential theorists and sociologists whose various works on society in a broad and expansive manner helps us to explore and understand the mysteries of the social universe. In his works like, *The structure of social action*, towards a general theory of action and other recent publications, he has struggled for creating the science of human action. moreover his works do not lead us to the study of society only rather he also focuses on examination of Cultures and Personalities.

He also examined the **two broader frames** of reference known as **Sociological** (prominent work of Emile Durkheim) and **Psychological** (prominent work of Sigmund Freud). He argued that “a Society acts to constrain the insatiable desires and appetites of human beings”. These constraints in Durkheim imagery were known as ‘**Collective Consciousness**’ and in Freud’s model as ‘**Superego**’. But Parsons own conception of it mainly assumes the factor of Rational Evolution of societies when he differentiates between the traditional and modern societies by examining “In any concrete system of (social) action a process of change can proceed only in the direction of rational norms that are binding on the actors in the system” (Orum.M.A, 1978).

Moreover, the idea of Parsons about the nature of human nature is also resembling that of Hobbes who gave the nasty, brutish and mean image of human nature. Parson is also of the view that human being by their nature are ill-tempered and the only constraint upon them is not force as in case of Hobbes but morality which discipline them. Unlike Marx who assumes that the modern capitalist societies have a prominent role in debasing the character of human nature, Parsons on the other hand is of the view that these modern societies and rational evolution of societies in any social order have actually civilized and liberated man instead of debasing and strangling him. In short he speaks of positive character of social organizations.

Topic 177 Parson’s Image of the social Order

Unlike the conceptions of Marx and Weber, Parsons has given a different image of social order. Having basis on the same parallels of social system, social organization and ancillary organizations, in the imagery of Parsons, the conception of Social system has a prominent role. Other images in social order like that social stratification and organization becomes harder to understand prior to the understanding of his social system conception.

Topic 178 Social system by Talcott

The concept of Social System is considered as the master piece of Parsons Conception of social order. He defines it as “Social System is the most basic setting having different roles in which interactions occur among the occupants (people) of these roles.

These interactions are controlled or regulated by the Normative rules of conduct mainly emerged out of broader Cultural settings of social system” (Orum.M.A, 1978).

Parsons assumes that, just like other systems in the world, the **social systems** also have their own boundaries and environment. The **external environment** of social system contains other systems known as cultural systems, the personality system and behavioral organism structure. While **internally**, the social systems are composed structures and processes. **Social structures** are comprised of values, norms, collectivity and roles. **Social processes** are comprised of pattern-maintenance, integration, goal- attainment and adaption.

Moreover, the arrangement of all these structures and processes in a social system is given by **cybernetic hierarchy** which is “a principal that accounts for the control of higher-level elements by lower-level ones”. Those highest level-elements of human action in Parsons conception are values, religious beliefs or generally normative. His imagery of Social System is of a unique character having its own broader implication.

Topic 179 Social stratification by Talcott

Social stratification occupies almost peripheral element in Parsons Scheme of social order. His understanding of the social stratification in modern societies has become as complex as it has lost its significance as a whole. He assumes that in modern societies, stratifications is thought in terms of the symbolic media through which it works, those of prestige and influence and of the function it fulfills, that of integration. It represents the ranking of individuals and families on a scale of prestige, those who occupy roles of greater importance also hold the higher ranks.

Moreover, social importance conveys two meanings: a sense that some individuals and groups occupies roles that are crucial to the survival of society and those other occupying groups are compatible with the general societal values. The differential distribution of prestige and influence through which it operates enables position of greatest social importance to mobilize the resources necessary to their operation and hence to the survival of society. In Parsons Imagery, the stratification is basically of integrative nature which tries to integrate the society by dampening the inevitable discontent and envy by calling upon the commitments of individuals to society as a whole (Orum.M.A, 1978).

Topic 180 Social Organization

There are basic **two elements** of Parsons social organization known as social roles and social collectivities.

1. **Social roles** represents the most elementary particles of social organization which are basically the normative expectations of actions for distinct positions. Every possible social interaction does have some kind of roles.
2. **Collectivities** on the other hand, represents the higher level of social organization. They are basically clusters of roles systematically organized for specific societal functions. Parsons also argues that Bureaucracies have also been important social organizations in a society which are rationally evolved with time.

He also gave idea of two more social organizations such as Democratic Associations and Professional Organizations.

Topic 181 Parson's image of Political Order

Parsons political order will also be explained along the same parallels of political system, political rulers, state machinery and ancillary organs. **Political System** is Parsons imagery is considered as "that part of social system which mainly deals with the function of goals-attainment". Like other systems, it also possess its own structure of values, norms, collectivities and roles as well as boundaries which it seeks to define and maintain.

The other important subsystems in the environment of the political system are **Pattern-maintenance Systems, the Societal Community and the Economy**. For the purpose of survival, political system itself gets engaged in regular exchange of its resources with other sub systems. Power is considered as the symbolic media of political system. Similarly other systems also have their own Symbolic Medias like value-commitments for Pattern-maintenance, Loyalties for Societal community and wealth/resources for Economy.

The successful and continuous performance of the political system and of the society as a whole depends on the Boundary-Interchange of these various systems and structures (Orum.M.A, 1978). Power is also considered as positive commodity which is definitely exercised by limited number of people or specific organization but it works for the welfare and betterment of whole community.

Moreover, this Power is embodied in a structures or authority purely on the basis of all the loyalties and the commitments of people in society towards the authority without which this power is useless. **Political Rulers** in Parsons scheme are those roles in Social Systems from whom the leadership is being exercised. This leadership has the role of goals-attainment with in the polity and in modern societies, such roles have been given the task of executive wing of governments primarily focusing on the general societal goals. State machinery and Ancillary Organizations do not occupy any specific place in his scheme but he refers to them as these institutions perform specific functions in modern societies.

Topic 182 Parson's image of why men obey

Parsons respond to the obedience of men in a society helps to comprehend better his image of power and authority. Parson gave following reasons for such obedience (Orum.M.A, 1978). The powerless comply with the powerful in a society because powerful have the capability to make binding decision on behalf of entire society.

People do obey because they have freely selected to occupy such roles, based upon the privileges those roles provide. Those individuals who obey the commands of other individuals do so because of the obligation of their roles. People obey because they realize that doing otherwise might compel powerful to use coercive means or application of force. Finally, individuals obey because they realize that those commands which needs obedience needs to be obeyed because they are buttressed by the very highest values of a society.

Lesson 42**SEYMOUR M. LIPSET AND POLITICAL SOCIOLOGY****TOPICS 183-189****Topic 183 Seymour M. Lipset**

Seymour Martin Lipset was an American sociologist. His major work was in the fields of political sociology, trade union organization, social stratification, public opinion, and the sociology of intellectual life. He also wrote extensively about the conditions for democracy in comparative perspective. A socialist in his early life, Lipset later moved to the right, and was often considered a neoconservative.

Seymour Martin Lipset was arguably the most important political sociologist of the second half of the twentieth century. Certainly he was one of them. Claims such as these are always invidious, but it is clear that Lipset's work stands out in a number of respects. The sheer range and volume of his writings is phenomenal. Over a period of fifty years he produced some 25 books, edited another 25, and wrote at least 485 articles and commentaries (Marks and Diamond 1992 and Lipset 1996).

But more than this, the centrality of the issues he addressed, their rootedness in classic questions of the sociological canon, and the impact he had on other scholars, all attest to the special significance of his work.

During his working life, Lipset moved every ten years or so, holding posts at Columbia, Berkeley, Harvard and Stanford, before moving in retirement to George Mason University. In addition, he played a major role in fostering collaboration both within North America and beyond. And he won a unique level of recognition from his peers, becoming the only person to have been elected President of both the American Political Science Association and the American Sociological Association.

Topic 184 Lipset Image of the social Order

American sociologist and political scientist Seymour Martin Lipset, whose influential *Political Man: The Social Bases of Politics* (1960) used statistical and historical data to demonstrate that social class is one of the chief determinants of political behavior.

Lipset infuriated Marxists by portraying elections as “the democratic class. In the late 1960s under the influence of Seymour Lipset and Stein Rokkan a second main approach to political sociology was developed. The sub discipline now encompassed the comparative and historical study of political systems and nation-building. By analyzing the role of political institutions in social development (and revolution) this branch of political sociology has contributed to the comparative analysis of welfare systems, to studies of the relationship between democracy and industrialization, and to charting the role of the state in the creation of national identity.

Topic 185 Social system by Lipset

The concept of ‘cleavage’ has been current in the social sciences for some time, Although it was given full development only in the 1960s by Seymour Martin Lipset and Stein Rokkan. Their method was primarily historical–sociological in so far as it

connected existing political divisions in the European countries. With the principal cleavages that had opened up in the course of their development, from the birth of the nation-state in the sixteenth century to its full democratic maturation in the twentieth.

The specific political cleavages that gave rise to the modern party systems accordingly were seen to be the result of two great historical processes: The one that had bred national revolutions (and, therefore, the formation of the modern European nation-states), And the one that had engendered the industrial revolution (and, therefore, the formation of modern European capitalist systems). **National revolutions had created two structural divisions:**

1. between the center and the periphery
2. between the lay state and the church, or between groups which sought to separate temporal from religious authority and groups intent on preserving the intimate connection between them.

Topic 186 Social stratification by Lipset

Both of political sociologists by training, Lipset and Rokkan (1967) sought to redefine and specify the 'social bases of politics.' Writing when structural-functionalism was at its height. Therefore, influenced by the Parsonian theory which assigned to the political parties the function of encapsulating social conflicts and stabilizing the social system. They set out to explain the persistence of party systems in the European democracies. In the 1960s, in fact, those systems still displayed features similar to those that had been institutionalized at the beginning of the century. Not surprisingly, their explanation was called the theory of the 'freezing' of the European party systems. **Industrial revolution in its turn created two further structural divisions:**

- between agriculture and industry, or between groups and areas whose survival depended on traditional activities and groups and areas which endeavored to remove traditional constraints in order to foster the growth of new activities and production methods;
- between capital and labor, or between the groups that dominated the new industrial structure and the workers, whose only possession was their capacity to perform labor.

In Europe, only the parties that were able to survive, that is, reproduce themselves electorally and institutionally. The institutionalized interaction among these parties gave rise to the modern party systems which, in individual European countries, and in forms that differed from one country to another.

Topic 187 Social Organization

Social mobility refers to the shift in an individual's social status from one status to another. The shift can either be higher, lower, inter-generational, or intra-generational, and it cannot necessarily be determined if the change is for good or bad. Lipset has the perspective, that social mobility has various implications.

- Social Life

- Political Beliefs
- Political Behavior

Topic 188 Lipset's Image of Political Order

The most versatile and prolific political sociologist of the past century, Seymour Martin Lipset worked on a breathtaking array of issues—everything from class structure and social mobility to party systems and voter alignments, public confidence in institutions, and the social origins of socialism, fascism, extremism, revolution, and protest. He was a deep believer in the importance of comparative research, and he produced seminal works comparing Canada and the United States and explaining why the United States never had a major socialist party or movement. He considered himself a student of democracy, and it is revealing that he chose as the topic of his 1993 Presidential Address to the American Sociological Association, “The Social Requisites of Democracy Revisited.” There was no topic that he liked to revisit more, and his final book **The Democratic Century** Lipset's contributions to the study of democracy were numerous and lasting. His 1959 article, “Some Social Requisites of Democracy” (the seventh most-cited article in the century-long history of the American Political Science Review), was one of the most influential statements of modernization theory. It remains to this day a major source and inspiration for the voluminous and still growing literature on the social conditions of a democratic political order.

In that article, and in books such as **Political Man** and **The First New Nation** written shortly thereafter, one finds some of the earliest, clearest, and most compelling presentations of what have proven to be remarkably enduring propositions about the conditions of democracy. The chances for sustaining democracy are strongly related to a country's level of economic development. This is because development generates a more democratic political culture, lower inequality, a larger middle class, a less domineering state, and a more vigorous and pluralistic civil society. Poor countries can become viable democracies only to the extent that they develop these characteristics commonly associated with national wealth. The stability—we would now say, “consolidation”—of democracy rests on a deep and widespread belief in its legitimacy, or what Lipset often called its “moral title to rule.”

The legitimacy of democracy and democratic norms can also be heavily shaped by the nature of founding leadership, which is why Lipset returned repeatedly to the example of the charismatic but constitutionally restrained leadership of George Washington in the United States. Many of his ideas borrowed heavily from previous theorists—Aristotle, Tocqueville, Weber, Michels, Duverger—but he developed and extended them with compelling lucidity, and he redefined the study of democracy.

Topic 189 Criticism on Lipset

The relationship between economic growth and democracy is perhaps the most studied topic of comparative politics. Since Lipset (1959), a number of political scientists have engaged themselves in evaluating the impact of economic development on democracy-oriented political transitions as well as on the endurance of existing democracies. Lipset insists that economic development, among other things, is one of the social requisites of democracy. Przeworski and Limongi (1997) argue that

economic development influences democratic survival more than it influences transitions from dictatorship to democracy.

- While Boix and Stokes (2003) challenge their theory and reexamine the role of economic development in achieving and sustaining democracy based on a larger dataset with a more sophisticated statistical assessment.
- Specifically, Lipset's study (1959) makes the classic statement on the relationship between modernization and democracy.
- He first establishes the link between per capita income and democracy based on cross-national and cross-sectional data.

The rise in per capita GDP, Lipset argues, generates a transition to democracy. "If a country develops over a longer period under dictatorship," the cumulated modernizing consequences "will embrace democracy" (see Przeworski and Limongi, 1997, p. 160).

In other words, the fact that rich democracies tend not to collapse explains why there is a positive relationship between economic development and democracy. Meanwhile, economic development improves the chance for the sustenance of democracy far more than it improves the odds for a transition to democracy. Do the poor care less about democracy? Do richer individuals have greater concern for democracy? In Lipset's notion, when a society is more developed, people tend to care more about democracy and support it more. The measurement of democracy. Lipset defines democracy as "a political system which supplies regular constitutional opportunities for changing the governing officials" (p. 71). He does not give his operational definition explicitly.

Lesson 43RALF DAHRENDORF AND POLITICAL SOCIOLOGYTOPICS 190-196Topic 190 Ralf Dahrendorf**Towards a Theory of Social Conflict**

From Marx and Comte to Simmel and Sorel, social conflict, was one of the central themes in social research. The same is true of many early Anglo-Saxon, for example, the Webs in England, Sumner in the United States. Ralph Dahrendorf arguably ranks amongst the most influential social theorists of the former century. A class conflict theorist, Dahrendorf was a leading expert on explaining and analyzing class divisions and social conflict in society. He attempts to synthesize the Marxian concepts of class, class interests, and class conflict on the one hand and the methodology and the concepts of the modern theory of action, on the other, in his analysis of social conflict and change.

Defining Social Conflict Theory

In general, conflict theorist Ralf Dahrendorf seeks to scientifically explain the general contours of conflict in society: how conflict starts and varies, and the effects it brings. The central concerns of conflict theory are the unequal distribution of scarce resources and power. He views society as an arena of inequality that generates conflict and social change. Dahrendorf usually work with Weber's three systems of stratification: class, status, and power but see power or authority as the primary factor of conflict among classes, where power is located and who uses it (and who doesn't) are thus fundamental to conflict theory.

Topic 191 Types and Varieties of Social conflict

The problem of conflict is no less complex than that of integration of societies. We now know that the attempt to reduce all occurring conflicts among social groups to a common principle, say that of classes, is sterile. It leads either to **empty generalizations** such as "Every society experience social conflicts" or to **empirically unjustifiable oversimplifications** such as "The history of all societies so far has been a history of class struggles".

Basically here are **two types of conflict**, exogenous and endogenous. With regard to a given society, A, one could say there are **exogenous conflicts** brought into A from the outside, and there are **endogenous conflicts** generated within A. Of these two categories, which, at least analytically, can be relatively precisely distinguished. Then there are further subdivisions which are directly perceived: slaves versus freemen in Rome, Negroes versus whites in the US, Protestants versus Catholics in the Netherlands. All these opposing groups does not fall into a separate category of social conflict; but certainly they cannot all be subsumed under a single type of social conflict. Whatever criteria we choose for classification-for example, the objects of contention, the structural origin of the conflicting groups, the forms of conflict-several distinct types result.

Topic 192 The Limits and goals of theory of Social Conflict

Objectives

The basic intent of social conflict theory is to make contribution to understand social process. Moreover for comprehensive sociological analysis categories and types of conflict are required and cannot be excluded from analysis. The purpose of a sociological theory of conflict is to overcome the predominately arbitrary nature of unexplained historical events by deriving these events from social structural elements, in other words to explain certain processes by prognostic connections.

Certainly it is important to describe the conflict between workers and employers but most important is to produce a proof that such a conflict is based on certain social structural arrangements. Thus it is the task of sociology to derive conflicts from specific social structures and not to relegate these conflicts to psychological variables (aggressiveness) or to descriptive-historical ones (the influx of Negroes into the United States) or to chance.

Limitations

The conflict theory is limited to certain environments. Incorporating the conflict theory into environments such as the home has its own set of challenges. While the conflict theory certainly would relate to social class relationships, it is much more difficult to bring that concept into family dynamics as the link between the two is extremely limited. It is suggested via the conflict theory that the division between social classes is ultimately a power struggle, a competitive force in which one group seeks domination and control over the weaker group.

The ironic component of this thought process is that even within the weaker group, there may still exist a power struggle. Also, if conflict is a natural segment of humanity, then topics on conflict resolution or peace integration are obsolete. With that consideration, conflict theory is only applicable in situations of war, famine and political strife. Not in situations of peace and social equality. The conflict theory challenges the status quo and firmly believes that the elite class is responsible for enforcing social order on those who are destitute. Furthermore, it discounts all acts of kindness as having an ulterior motive or personal agenda.

Humanitarian efforts, acts of altruism, democracy and the civil rights movement, according to the conflict theory, were designed to control the masses rather than to promote peace and social order. The approaches toward a theory of conflict also relate themselves to conflicts based on structure. Some theorist's views that there are other important types of social conflict which need to be considered. However important as problems of social conflict St. Bartholomew's Night, Crystal Night, and Little Rock may be, the French Revolution and the British General Strike of 1926 and June 17, 1953, seem to more germane for structural analysis. To put it less dramatically, the sociological theory should explain the frictions between the rulers and the ruled in given social structural organizations.

Topic 193 Toward a Critique of Structural-Functional theory

This critique has been led in recent times repeatedly, by D. Lockwood. It is based on a relatively simple argument. As long as we orient our analysis toward the question as to how the elements of a society are combined into a coordinated functioning whole, then the representation of society as a social system is the last point of reference. We are therefore faced with the task of determining certain associations, institutions, or processes within this balanced whole, for the functioning and the preservation of the system. In this way, we come to contentions such as "the educational system functions as a mechanism of assigning social positions," or "religion functions as an agent of integrating dominant values.

However, these approach leads to difficulties, if we put a question of a different sort. What was the function of the English trade unions in the General Strike of 1926? What was the function of the construction worker in Stalin Allee on June 17, 1953? Without doubt, it can be argued in many cases that militant trade unions or opposition political groups and parties also contribute to the functioning of the existing system. It is clear that the intentional, as well as the unintentional, effects of such oppositional groups are in the contribution toward an abolition or destruction of the existing system.

The structural-functional position has a comfortable label for such cases: they are "dysfunctional" organizations, institutions, or processes. But this designation is not sufficient as it not only fails to explain the place of these things in the process but actually hinders such explanation by a terminology which seems to be congruent with the system but with closer examination, reveals itself as a residual category. Whatever does not fit is conjured out of the world by word magic. In every science, residual categories are a fruitful point of departure for new developments. It seems that a careful analysis of problems which the term "dysfunction" hides in the structural-functional theory automatically puts us on the trace of a meaningful sociological theory of conflict. At the same time, it offers a remarkable vantage point associated with an attempt of a scientific analysis of society.

Topic 194 Two Models of Society

A model of society which lies at the base of the structural-functional theory and determines its perspectives. The essential elements of this societal model are these:

1. Every society is a relatively persisting configuration of elements.
2. Every society is a well-integrated configuration of elements.
3. Every element in a society contributes to its functioning.
4. Every society rests on the consensus of its members.

The other model takes the diametrically opposite position on all the four points above:

- 1) Every society is subjected at every moment to change: social change is ubiquitous.
- 2) Every society experiences at every moment social conflict: social conflict is ubiquitous.

- 3) Every element in a society contributes to its change.
- 4) Every society rests on constraint of some of its members by others.

It is impossible to decide by an empirical investigation which of the two models is more nearly correct; the postulates are not hypotheses. Moreover, it seems meaningful to say that both models are in a certain sense valid and analytically fruitful. Stability and change, integration and conflict, function and "dysfunction, "consensus and constraint are, it would seem, two equally valid aspects of every imaginable society. They are dialectically separated and are exhaustive only in combination as a description of the social problems.

A more general theory of society may be more relevant of both models, the coexistence of the un-combinable, onto a higher level of generality. As long as we do not have such a theory, we must content ourselves with the finding that society presents a double aspect to the sociological understanding, each no better, no more valid, than the other. It follows that the criticism of the inapplicability of the structural-functional theory for the analysis of conflict is directed only against a claim of generality of this theory but leaves untouched its competence with respect to the problem of integration. It follows, on the other hand, also that the theory of conflict and change is not a general theory.

Topic 195 The Task of theory of Social Conflict

It is an approach based on postulating ubiquitous social change and social conflict, the "dysfunctionality" of all the elements of social structure, and the constraining character of social unity. Requirements for the theory building:

- It should be a scientific theory (as is the theory of social integration), that is, It should be formulated with reference to a plausible and demonstrable explanation of empirical phenomena.
- The elements of the theory should not contradict the conflict model of society.

The categories employed should, whenever possible, agree with those of the integration theory or at least correspond to them. A conflict theory should enable us to derive social conflicts from structural arrangements and thus show these conflicts systematically generated. It should account both for the multiplicity of forms of conflict and for their degrees of intensity. To find the locus of the forces which drive the process and social change is the task of a theory of conflict. It must develop a model which makes understandable the structural origin of social conflict. This seems possible only if we understand conflicts as struggles among social groups, that is, if we make our task precise to the extent that it reduces

Conflict theory supposed to answer these questions:

1. How do conflicting groups arise from the structure of society?
2. What forms can the struggles among such groups assume?
3. How does the conflict among such groups effect a change in the social structures?

The distinction between "up" and "down"-or, as the English say, "Them" and "Us"-is one of the fundamental experiences of most men in society, moreover, it appears that this distinction is intimately connected with unequal distribution of power. To seek the structural origin of social conflict in the dominance relations among various units of social organization Max Weber's concept of "imperatively coordinated group" will be useful.

Topic 196 Authority and authority Structures

For the purpose of analysis and identification, Weber's determination of authority is sufficient: "The likelihood that a command of a certain content will be obeyed by given persons".

This determination contains the following elements:

- Authority denotes a relation of supra and subordination.
- The supra-ordinated side prescribes to the subordinated one certain behavior in the form of a command or a prohibition.

The **supra-ordinated** side has the right to make such prescriptions; authority is a legitimate relation of supra- and subordination; authority is not based on personal or situational chance effects but rather on an expectation associated with social position.

The **right of authority** is limited to certain contents and to specific persons. Failure to obey the prescriptions is sanctioned; a legal system (or a system of quasi-legal customs) guards the effectiveness of authority. The very first step of the model leads deep into these problems: in each imperatively coordinated group, two aggregates can be distinguished: those which have only general ("civil") basic rights and those which have authority rights over the former.

Lesson 44**POLITICAL PARTIES****TOPICS 197-203****Topic 197 The Extent and Variety of Citizen Participation in Politics**

Since ancient Greek philosophers, the participation of masses in decision making and political activities in a society or state has been the core of their philosophies and theories. Such participation has had many different methods since long like parliaments, elections etc. but the role played by political parties is matchless. Such increase in extent of political participation of masses in politics has been increasing since eighteenth century both in shape of increasing the number of members of a single party and also the number of parties.

Even in earlier years of American Revolution and state establishment, such factional division was tried to be avoided under federalist papers But later on major two political parties arose which even proved themselves worth supportive for expressing true aspiration of masses. The political party became a unique organization, a virtual machine in some places that met certain vital needs of societies with a flair and efficiency lacking in other organizations. However, like all machines, the political party has begun to show signs of rust and wear. There are various methods of participation ,like voting, protest and membership

Topic 198 The Nature of modern Political parties

Modern political parties have started emerging mainly in 19th century especially during presidential election in US in 1800 but got full mature structures in 1820s-1830s. In Great Britain, the earlier Clubs Cliques were eventually turned into proper parties in 1832 and 1867 reform. In Europe the modern political parties did not emerge until twentieth century. William Nisbet Chambers has differentiated between modern political parties and old clubs in followings ways (Orum.M.A, 1978).

- **First**, in Modern Political Parties, the leaders are committed for advancing the broader aims of their parties unlike those of temporary clubs and cliques whose major aims and objectives are mostly personal.
- **Second**, the Modern Political Parties have owned tactics to expand their own control and also to work with governments but the clubs and cliques do not focus on any such techniques as they do not aim at holding in political office.
- **Third**, Modern Political Parties have an expanded list of subject matters and concerns which are very limited in case of clubs and cliques.
- **Fourth**, the modern Political Parties have their own ideologies which they convey through their various structures but clubs don't have any such broader ideologies.
- **Lastly**, Modern Political Parties rely heavily on the support of masses for remaining in their offices but the traditional clubs and cliques used to be very self-centered and self-constrained. These are considered as some of ideal

characteristics of modern political parties but they may vary in their application in various parts of world depending on their political systems and cultures.

Topic 199 The Birth of modern Political parties

The birth of modern political parties is an important topic to be searched and understood as it is completely related to the society we live in. There are different works about the birth of political parties who focused either on the Historical Tracking or on the Comparative stances. But the best considered study is that of Joseph La Palombara and Myron Weiner who have provided a broad set of preconditions for the birth of modern political parties (Orum.M.A, 1978).

They have considered several social and economic conditions necessary for the **birth of political parties** but the following three are considered as most crucial ones;

- Secularization of Society
- Voluntary Associations in Society
- Expanded Communication and Transportation

Along with these basic pre-requisites which has contributed to the birth of Modern Political Parties, Joseph La Palombara and Myron Weiner have also highlighted **basic three kinds of historical crises** in societies as contributing factors. They are as following:

- Crises of Legitimacy in New Social Order.
- Crises of Integration in New Social Order.
- Crises of Participation in New Social Order.

Topic 200 Current patterns

The current patterns of Political Parties analyzed by Maurice Duverger in his work known as “Political Parties: Their Organization and Activity in the Modern State” where he provides an exhaustive taxonomy of party structures on following two criteria (Orum.M.A, 1978)

- Constituent Units of Parties
- Form of Membership of Parties

Duverger has given **three principal forms of Constituent Units** given as;

1. **Caucus** which operates only in limited and on intermittent basis, becoming active only in elections time e.g. US Political Parties.
2. **Branches** are other types of constituent units in current patterns of political parties. Branches are more centralized which keeps on expanding its basis of memberships and are more democratic in their nature than Caucus (Duverger) e.g. Socialist Parties.

3. **Cells** are the third major constituent units in current patterns of political parties which are primarily organized as a means of overthrowing the established governmental order. It also tries to expand its membership e.g. Communist Parties.

Duverger has described basic **Two types of Forms of Participation** in Current Patterns of Political Parties given as following (Orum.M.A, 1978).

1. **Cadre Parties** which are limited enterprises restricting their memberships for closed and loyal devotees.
2. **Mass Parties** are modern trends established due to their patterns of increased and open membership aimed at addressing large and more diverse units of masses. Despite the elaborative and more knowledgeable views of Duverger about the current trends in political parties, Still this scheme is highly criticized for being biased towards the importance of political parties only And neglecting other social and economic platforms having key role in creating maximum participation.

Topic 201 Former patterns

The political life of large American cities was dominated by the Machines of parties for a longer time due to larger number of immigrants who came to America during 1840s and 1850s. These powers of Machines were mainly occupied by various ethnic groups depending on the regions and districts. But this control or authority was not static or sole property of that ethnic groups, it changed and transferred to other ethnic groups also. These Machines were highly effective in reaching the lower level of masses in districts and were hence highly effective in gaining more electoral support during elections.

“Machines have also enjoyed a tight control over municipalities for larger span of time because of their ability of providing the needy immigrants with their material incumbents not available anywhere else” (Orum.M.A, 1978). Such other welfare works earned these Machines much favor by the masses evident in electoral inducement and voter compliance.

Topic 202 Power and politics within Modern Political Parties

Modern Political parties have distinctive innovative features like vast networks of communication and other organizational hierarchies. Studies of Ostrogorski have been of major importance in analyzing the powers of political parties. He focused on the organizational strength of political parties through which leaders try to manipulate the electorates. Another seminal analysis of organizational features and internal process of modern parties is also given by Robert Michel's. Michel's maintains that the “principle of organization is an absolutely essential condition for the political struggle of the masses” (Orum.M.A, 1978).

Michel's aver that once the representatives of the membership of the organization have been elected, they achieve a level of expertise and a degree of control over the means of communication that individual members of the rank and file could not even hope to attain. Moreover certain central oligarchies tend to emerge with time being in political party's organizations and then the leaders of the party assume those

oligarchies as indispensable to the life of the party. And ultimately those leaders become so enamored of the power and privileges of their positions that they seek to retain the position indefinitely creating new positions in the leadership ranks to multiplying the benefits that can be obtained from holding the office.

Topic 203 Political Partisanship

Partisanship remains a powerful influence on political behavior within developed and developing democracies (Brader & Tucker, 2009). In empirical American political science, party identification is one of the most important variables, explaining vote choice, political engagement, partisan reasoning, and the influence of partisan elites (Bartels, 2002; Campbell et al., 1960). No other single variable comes close to accounting as well or as consistently for American political behavior. While levels of partisanship have declined in a number of other developed democracies (Dalton & Wattenberg, 2002)

Partisanship remains a potent political force nonetheless (Bartle & Bellucci, 2009; Holmberg, 2007).

- If the influence of partisanship on political behavior is not in dispute, there remains a lively debate on its nature, origins and measurement
- Four aspects of partisanship are better understood through the lens of social identity theory:
- The measurement of partisanship, its social nature, its origins in convergent identities and its ability to generate strong emotion and drive political engagement.
- The application of social identity theory in each of these areas has advanced the study of partisanship.

Lesson 45IMPORTANCE OF POPULATION IN POLITICAL SOCIOLOGYTOPICS 204-210Topic 204 Population and development

Throughout old human history, the world's population had grown slowly. By the beginning of the 20th century was only 1.6 billion people. Today, after only 110 years, the world's population has surpassed 7.1 billion people. During this time, the world has witnessed tremendous development—including innovations in health care, education, infrastructure, and technology—but more than 2 billion people still live in poverty and remain left out of this progress. The great challenge, leaders of the world face today is to reduce poverty and inequity, and improve people's lives without compromising the environment and the well-being of future generations.

At the same time, world population continues to increase by more than 80 million people a year, with most of the growth occurring in the world's least developed countries. By 2050, according to the United Nation's medium projection, the world's population will increase to 9.6 billion people and will continue to grow through 2100.1 This continued growth has strong implications for health, well-being, and economic development. Leaders of nations everywhere must ask themselves:

- How does population growth affect national development and what must be done to manage the challenges of population growth?
- Through better understanding of the population development connections as well as the right investments, nations can ensure a better life for people today and future generations

Topic 205 Studying Population

The study of population and its impacts on development has remained a vital study matter in various developmental studies. This impacts remains both positive and negative. **Demography** can be defined as the study of human populations including their composition, distributions, densities, growth and other characteristics as well as the causes and consequences of changes in these factors. **Demography focuses its attention on three readily available human phenomena,**

1. changes in population size (growth or decline),
2. the composition of the population and
3. the distribution of population in space (Demena. M, 2005).

“Traditional population research seeks to understand the macro- and micro-level connections between demographic trends, poverty, and economic growth. However, precise links between population and poverty remain unclear: economic growth alone does not pull individuals out of poverty and reduced fertility rates do not necessarily yield higher economic growth” (Center for Global Development).

According to studies conducted inside specific countries, population growth of more than 2% per year stymies efforts to increase income in poor countries with high birth rates and a young age structure. In turn, financial uncertainty drives people to have large families.

Poverty and a lack of economic possibilities encourage people to exploit marginal resources like overgrazed land and overharvested forests, contributing to additional environmental degradation. Although not a direct cause, rapid population increase appears to exacerbate all of these tendencies, making solutions more difficult to execute (Demena. M, 2005).

Topic 206 Birth and Fertility Rates

Fertility is the reproductive performance of an individual, a couple, a group or a population. It is meant the actual bearing of children. Some demographers prefer to use Natality in place of fertility (Demena. M, 2005). Fertility leads to increase of population. It differs from fecundity – which refers to the physiological capability of a woman to reproduce. A woman's reproductive period is roughly 15 – 49 years of age. Fertility rates can be measured through many tools like.

Crude Birth Rate (CBR): The crude birth rate indicates the number of live births (children born alive) per 1000 mid – year population in a given year. In the world CBR varies widely from population to population. **General Fertility Rate (GFR):** The General Fertility Rate is the number of live births per 1000 females aged 15-49 years (fertile age group) in a given year. The GFR is a more sensitive measure of fertility than the CBR, since it refers to the age and sex group capable of giving birth (females 15-49 years of age). It eliminates distortions that might arise due to different age and sex distributions among the total population. The major limitation of GFR is that not all women in the denominator are exposed to the risk of child birth. Other tools are Age specific fertility rates (ASFR), Total Fertility Rate (TFR), Gross Reproduction Rate (GRR), Child – Woman Ratio (CWR) and Measures of Mortality (Death) etc.

The **importance** of studying birth rates and fertility rates in developmental aspect of population is important and unavoidable because fertility rates can be tracked to help with more effective and beneficial planning and resource allocation within a region. If a country's fertility rates remain particularly high for an extended period of time, it may be necessary to construct extra schools or improve access to inexpensive child care.

Topic 207 The Census

Census is defined as an enumeration or complete population count at a point in time within a specified geographical area. A census provides more reliable and accurate data if properly enumerated. It is one of many sources for collecting demographic data. The conducting of censuses has a long history, but modern censuses were first held in the 17th century. Some countries including Ethiopia have only recently held their first censuses (Demena. M, 2005).

Techniques of Conducting Census

There are two techniques of conducting census, de jure and de facto.

1. **Dejure**, is the technique of counting of people according to the permanent place of location or residence.

Advantages are

It gives permanent picture of a community.

It provides more realistic and useful statistics.

Disadvantages are

Some persons may be omitted from the count. A household member who is temporarily away from home may be missed from being counted unless. The enumerator makes sure that nobody is missing. Some may be counted twice. Information collected regarding persons away from Home is often incomplete or incorrect.

2. **Defacto**, is technique of conducting census refers to counting persons where they are present at the time of the census period.

Advantages are

There is less chance for the omission of persons from the count.

Disadvantages are

Difficult to obtain information regarding persons in transit.

These are persons who are, for example travelling and have left their area of permanent residence but haven't reached the area of destination during the census day. It provides incorrect picture of the population in a community. Vital statistics are usually distorted (in areas with high migration).

Topic 208 Too many people?

The term overpopulation refers to a situation in which the Earth's resources cannot be replenished each year to meet the demands of the world's population. According to experts, this has been the case every year since 1970, with each year getting increasingly destructive. We need to understand what's causing overpopulation and over consumption, as well as how these trends are affecting everything from climate change to sociopolitical turmoil. It is the rate at which a population is increasing (or decreasing) in a given year due to natural increase and net migration expressed as a percentage of the base population. Thomas Malthus, (1766-1834), English clergyman and economist in his "essay, "The Principles of Population", hypothesized that there is relationship between economic development and population growth. He claimed that population was increasing faster than food production, and he feared eventual global starvation.

Three major factors or variables determine the population of a defined area and its growth over time. There are:

- Births (Fertility)

- Deaths (Mortality)

Migration both immigration (in migration) and emigration (out migration) The balance among these three factors determines whether a population increases, remains stationary, or decreases in number. The relation between births and deaths is referred to as Natural Population Increase (Natural Population Growth). When the net effect of migration is added to natural increase, this is referred to as Total Increase (Total Growth).

Topic 209 Migration

Migration is the movement of individuals or groups from one place to another which involves permanent or semi-permanent change of usual residence. Migration is the most volatile of the basic demographic variables- quickly reflecting changing social, economic and political circumstances; Both at the national and international level. Internal and international migration are essentially geared by the same forces and the majority of migrants in the world to- day.

International Migration is a migration characterized by flows from the poorer, less developed countries to the richer more developed countries, but these flows have changed with the fluctuating economic and social circumstance of particular sending or receiving countries.

Internal Migration is the means by which the majority of people maximize opportunities, whether economic, social or environmental. Most movement is from areas of decline to areas of growth.

Topic 210 World Poverty and Development

Development deals with the alleviation (or the eradication) of poverty. Poverty is inter-related to other problems of underdevelopment. In rural and urban communities, poverty can be very different. In urban areas people often have access to health and education but many of the problems caused by poverty are made worse by things like overcrowding, unhygienic conditions, pollution, unsafe houses etc.

One of the most common ways of measuring poverty is to set a monthly average on which a family can survive - this is called the poverty line. If a family has an average income below this amount, the household and its members are said to be living in poverty. The poverty line is an amount that changes according to the size of the household, its age and composition. Another way of measuring poverty is by measuring the poverty gap.

The **poverty gap** shows how far a household falls below the poverty line, so in other words it shows the depth of, or degree of poverty. In some provinces many people may be below the poverty line but they may be just a little bit below it. In other provinces fewer people could be below the poverty line but they could be far below it. These two types of poverty distribution in your population obviously need a different response.