

Unit-II

Modern Political Concepts

1. Political Socialization

After World War II, many new concepts developed in the comparative politics for the study of newly independent Asian, African and Latin American states. The behavioral revolution gave more emphasis on the inter-disciplinary approach and various new and innovative concepts were also included in the study of Political Science. As a result of the increasing involvement of Sociology in political science, many sociological concepts were also incorporated in Political Science. Political culture, political participation, political development and political socialization were major concepts which became part of the study of Political Science. In this way Political Socialization is basically inspired by the Sociological concept of Socialization. Socialization is a continuous process in society, through which a person adopts the customs, traditions, values and beliefs of that society. He becomes an active member of the culture of that particular society. Every society teaches child ways and mannerism to speak, to greet, to eat, to dress and to worship according to its own peculiar culture. The process by following which a child becomes a member of that particular society is socialization. Similarly, for the political life also, there is a process of learning and teaching, through which a person develops his political understanding, his attitude towards a political life and also the political system. The process by which one acquires knowledge of politics is called political socialization. In other words, political socialization

can be said to be a means of transferring political culture from one generation to the next generation. In fact, it has an important role in the smooth operation of the political system. There are certain ideals in every political system, like India's ideals are democratic system and independent society; hence political socialization in India will be an attempt to make citizens loyal to democracy and also to independent society. Unlike India, communist China's ideals are communist system and closed society and hence its citizens have to undergo through a peculiar process of political socialization to become part of that system. People are inducted into the political culture of their nation through the political socialization process. Political learning is a broad concept that encompasses both the active and passive and the formal and informal ways in which people mature politically. Individuals develop a political self, a sense of personal identification with the political world. Developing a political self begins when children start to feel that they are part of a political community. They acquire the knowledge, beliefs, and values that help them comprehend government and politics. The sense of being an Indian includes, feeling that one belongs to a unique nation; in which people share a belief in democratic ideals, is conveyed through the political learning process. Among the first political scientists to explain political socialization was Herbert H. Hyman, in his book-Political Socialization: A Study in the Psychology of Political Behaviour, explained

various aspects of political socialization. According to Almond and Powell "Political socialization is the process by which political cultures are maintained and changed". In the words of Kavanagh, "Political socialization is the word that describes the process through which a person receives his knowledge related to politics". Essence of above definitions is that political socialization aims to politically educate and orient people towards their political system to enable them to meaningfully contribute for its effective functioning. It is process by which one acquires political orientation and pattern of behaviour.

1.1 Tools of Political Socialization-

The agents of political socialization are the institutions, organizations and individuals which assist in process of political socialization. People develop their political values, beliefs, and orientations through interactions with agents of socialization. Agents include parents, teachers, friends, co-workers, military colleagues, religious associates, club members, sports-team competitors, and media. There are many institutions in the society that develop a political understanding of a person. Family, educational, political and social institutions, government processes, and means of mass communication etc. come in this category. Some of these institutions help in informal socialization whereas there are many others which carry out the process of socialization in a formal way. Informal processes often play an important role in political socialization in open and democratic societies such as India and the USA, whereas in the radical states such as China and Pakistan, forcible siphoning of political culture is carried out through deliberate governmental mechanisms in a formal manner. It will be useful to look at how the above mentioned institutions or agents actually work. The political socialization process in India is mostly haphazard, informal, and random. There is no standard set of practices for parents or teachers to follow when passing on the rites of politics to future generations. Moreover, caste factor play a significant role in political conditioning and also in process of

socialization.

1.2 Family

Family is considered as first school, through which the child learns customs and traditions; he accepts the command of his parents, thereby establishing an understanding of power. Apart from this, by working together with everyone, in the family, and also through exerting pressure for fulfilling his demands, he develops the ability of political action. Generally, electoral experience shows that if the leader of the family is a supporter of a particular political party or the leader, other family members also follow him. Thus, the initial understanding towards politics is developed through the family.

1.3 Educational Institutions

Educational institutions also have important role in political socialization. Initially, he accepts the political beliefs in the family but they become more determined in educational institutions. Some scholars consider the educational institutions, rather than the family, to be the most influential agent of political socialization. Educational institutions can stimulate political learning through formal classroom instruction via civics and history classes, the enactment of ceremonies and rituals such as the flag salute, and extracurricular activities such as student government. Respect for authorities is emphasized, as teachers have the ability to reward and punish students through grades. With the need to adapt to participants of different background, the child learns to adjust with the variations and contradictions of political systems.

1.4 Political Parties

Political parties do important functions of socialization through their policies, ideology and programs. Political parties have different roles in different countries. In radical states such as communist party ruled China, the state has a strict control over the means of socialization. Whereas, in the democratic states, numerous political parties are free to socialize according to their own ideas. People develop attitudes toward the political system

through the socialization process. Political parties disseminate political knowledge and values, mobilize political action and train political leaders.

1.5 National Symbols

National Flag, National Anthem, National Day Festival, Parade of Army etc., politically sensitize the people towards political arrangements, political ideals and political system. A feeling of nationalism is generated and national values are imbibed in the youth of a country and this helps in making them good citizens who are faithful towards political ideals of their nation. In a way, all these jointly help in political conditioning and educating of the people.

1.6 Means of Communication

In modern times, the instruments of mass communication such as Newspapers, TV, Radio, and more recently the Face Book and Whatsapp have become very powerful medium for giving direction to person's political thoughts and enhancing his knowledge. Multi -Media are rich sources of information about government, politics, and current affairs. People learn about politics through news presented on television, in newspapers and magazines, on radio programs, on Internet websites, and through social media. The press provides insights into the workings of government by showcasing political leaders in action. In India, it is believed that elections are contested in the media offices nowadays, because they try to influence public opinion through various programs aired on television. People can witness politicians in action, including on the campaign trail, through videos posted on YouTube and on online news sites. The capacity of mass media to socialize people to politics has grown massively as the number of media outlets has increased and as new technologies allow for more interactive media experiences.

In fact, the political socialization is one of the important factors which influence the political system of a country the most. Political socialization has great role to play in determining and shaping the

political culture of a country. It is likely that in a certain country there may be lack of active interaction between the citizens and the government and citizens may have no role to play in the functioning and the policy making of the government. On the contrary, there may be others where citizens actively participate in the functioning and the policy making process. Apparently, the difference in the level of role of citizens is actually the difference of level of political socialization.

Important Points

- The aim of political socialization is to educate the people in a political system and also helps in the smooth operation of the political system.
- The Agents or tools of political socialization are-Family, Educational Institutions, Political Parties, National Symbols, Peer Groups and the Media or the Means of Mass Communication.
- The broader the education of the students in the educational institutions, more strong their political socialization will be.

Exercise

Multiple Choice Questions-

1. Which of these thinkers have interpreted political socialization?
(A) Herbert Hyman
(B) Kavanagh
(C) Almond and Powell
(D) All of the above ()
2. Which agency is not helpful in political socialization?
(A) Family
(B) Education Institute
(C) Political party
(D) Uncontrolled mob ()
3. The author of the book "Political Socialization" is-
(A) David Easton
(B) Amartya Sen

(C) Herbert Hyman

(D) Leacock ()

Very Short Answer Type Questions

1. Write two tools of political socialization.
2. Describe the three modes of mass communication.
3. In which institution does the political socialization of a student take place?

Short Answer Type Questions

1. How do families complete the process of political socialization?
2. Describe the role of communication media in political socialization.

Essay Type Questions

1. Write an essay on the process of political socialization.

Answers to Multiple Choice Questions

1.D 2.D 3.C

2. Political Culture

Political culture is a sociological concept. The political culture of any political system is created by the members. It refers to their historically-based, widely-shared beliefs, expectations, feelings, values and overall behaviour towards the political systems, which can serve as a link between citizens and government. Different countries have different political cultures, which can help us understand how and why their governments are organized in a certain way, why democracies succeed or fail, or why some countries still have monarchies. In fact, political culture is part of that broad general culture. At its core, political culture—the shared values and beliefs of a group or society regarding political relationships and public policy—answers the question of how human beings are going to live together. That is, political culture answers the question of who gets to do what with and to whom under what circumstances. Political culture also answers the question of who decides, who has authority, and who has power in a group, organization, institution, or other social unit in society. It is related to the political governance of a particular political system. If politics is the “art of the possible,” then political culture helps define the limits of that art, for culture defines what is generally

permissible in a given society. The political culture is the result of human behaviour and is therefore, not stable. It keeps on changing and is dynamic in nature.

2.1 Meaning and Definitions of Political Culture

The term political culture is referred by Almond as a pattern of orientations to political action, by David Easton as an environment and by Spiro as a political style. The term political culture was brought into political science to promote the American political system. The concept was used by Gabriel Almond in the late 50s, and outlined in *The Civic Culture* (1963, Almond & Verba). Almond and Powell, who first described the concept of political culture as a concept in terms of development countries, presented a broad definition of it. Almond's initial formulation defined political culture as the "particular pattern of orientations to political action. "Later he revised this conceptualization to the "distribution of patterns of orientation"—a more individual-level conceptualization. According to him, political culture is a style of political perception of individual beliefs and orientation of members towards a political system. Allen Ball writes in his book-

Modern Politics and Government that, “a political culture is composed of the attitudes, beliefs, emotions and values of society that relate to the political system and to political issues.”

Lucian Pye writes that “political culture is the set of attitudes, beliefs and sentiments of that give orders and meaning to a political process and that provide the underlying assumptions and rules that govern behavior in the political system. It encompasses both the political ideals and the operating norms of a polity. Political culture is thus the manifestation in aggregate form of the psychological and subjective dimensions of politics.” In other words, in any political system there exists (for the individuals) guidelines for effective political behaviour and (for the collectivity) a 'systematic structure of values and rational considerations which ensure coherence in performance of institutions and organisations.'

According to Sidney Verba “Political culture is the subjective orientation to politics or the system of empirical beliefs expressive symbols, and values which define the situation in which political action takes place.”

Sydney Verba further writes that “the notion of political culture assumes that the attitudes, sentiments, and cognition that inform and govern political behaviour in any society are not just random categories but represent coherent patterns which fit together and are mutually reinforcing. In spite of the great potentialities for diversity in political orientations, in any particular

community there is limited and distinct political culture which gives meaning, predictability, and form to the political process”. A more simple definition is: "Attitudes, values, beliefs, and orientations that individuals in a society hold regarding their political system."

Components of Political Culture :

There are two components of political culture, namely orientation and political objects -

(1) Orientation- The literal meaning of orientation is aptitude or inclination. Almond and Powell describe the three components or organs of orientation, which are as follows-

a. Cognitive orientation, which is knowledge about the political objects and awareness about their existence.

b. Affective orientation, which is sensitivity towards these political objects developed in the minds of the people.

c. Evaluative orientation, which is to evaluative the good- evil or just-unjust about these political objects.

(2) Political Objects- There are four objects of orientation-

a. Political system

b. Political structures

c. Problems and policies

d. Individual as a political actor

2.2 Determinants of Political Culture- History -

History plays an important role in the making and evolution of political culture.

Historical events always influence the shaping of political culture in a big way. The political culture of any system is created and developed by the historical traditions of that country and the prevailing value system. Indian political culture bears the influence of events of the freedom struggle and the contact with western civilisation and culture. As such the political culture of each society is greatly influenced by the historical events. Political culture of India is constitutional, pacifist and democratic, while the political culture of under developed countries such as Pakistan, Iraq or Libya can be termed as violent or undemocratic. Similarly, political culture in England is the result of political continuity, while the political culture of France is the result of the revolution.

Religious beliefs - Religion not only plays a key role in the formation of a political culture, but sometimes it also determines what kind of political system and institutions of the society will be. The influence of religious belief on the political culture of the Islamic nations is clearly visible.

Geographical Conditions- The geographical location of the country, the available resources, the nature of the population, also plays an important role in the creation of the political culture of that country. Political culture of a huge country like India will certainly be different from small European or African countries.

Socio-economic conditions- The social, religious caste diversity of the country, industrialization, conservatism, etc. also determines the nature of political culture. Political culture in the economically

vulnerable or developing countries cannot be similar to one found in developed the countries, because levels of expectations and lifestyle vary.

Ideologies - The effect of ideologies is crucial in the formation of political culture. Ideologies like liberalism, Marxism, capitalism, play an active role in the development of political culture only on the basis of its global perspective.

Other Elements - In addition to the above elements, scientific and technical progress, the level of education and literacy, language, rituals media and press and social media such as Face book and WhatsApp also play significant role in the formation of political culture.

2.3 Characteristics of Political Culture

Political culture can be understood in terms of the traditions of a society, the spirit of its public institutions and the aspirations of its citizens, its collective discipline, the methods of its leaders, and the rules of being active.

Its characteristics are as follows -

1. It is of coordinative nature - Many innovative values come in political culture. There is a continual struggle between the new and old values of a political system. The importance of political culture lies in the fact that it co-ordinates between the new and the old values.

2. It is dedicated to moral values - It is necessary for the political culture to promote ethical values in citizens and the political system. Sometimes the religious nature of the society contributes to the establishment

of ethical values. The political system may also contribute towards formation of moral values.

3. It is of abstract nature- As a result of any law or action of the state if the people rebel or express their resentment towards the state, the mood of the people cannot be gauged; because the thoughts in the public's mindset are abstract. Such abstract sentiments continue to affect the political culture.

4. It is of dynamic nature - The political culture is the result of human behaviour and is therefore, not stable. The values of the people and society change with the changes in the circumstances and social needs. Political culture changes over time in response to dramatic events, such as war, economic collapse, or radical technological developments which makes it dynamic rather than static.

2.4 Political Culture and Democracy

Political culture emphasizes that the values, faith and capabilities of the people have a significant impact on the democratic institutions. Political Culture is regarded as a complex phenomenon which includes knowledge, art, belief, morals, law, custom and other capabilities acquired by man as a member of society. The people of a society share a common human nature like emotional drives, intellectual capacities and moral perspectives. The common human nature expresses itself in the form of certain values, belief and emotional attitudes which are transmitted from one generation to another, though with greater or lesser

modifications, and they constitute the general culture of that society. Social relationships are subject to an endless process of transformation, of growth and decay of fusion and separation. Since they are all expressions of human nature, the social relationships of the present are found in germ at least in the past and those of the past survive, if only as relics in the present. Like many other approaches, this approach also emerged in the 1950-60 period and is ideologically leaned towards the then prevalent systems of Europe and the USA. The thinkers began to consider the political arrangements of their countries to be the best and sought to find causes to sustain and maintain their stability and permanence through political culture. Accordingly, relations between the democratically arranged systems and their pre requisites analytically studied. It was also necessary to consider these relations, because liberal democracies or institutions in the United Kingdom and the United States were safe even after both world wars. While the constitutional framework of Germany, Spain, Italy, was completely destroyed. The perception that constitutional structure will be helpful gradually in establishing liberal democratic values proved to be futile in cases of Italy and Germany. The demolition of the constitutional structures of the Third World in the 1950s and 60s also an indicator that democratic system can only flourish within proper, appropriate social conditions and such conducive social environment can be created by political culture. Thus, the institutional and socio-economic elements

that were considered adequate for the sustainability of democracy proved to be incomplete and wrong. Therefore, the aim of political culture is to focus on cultural aspects more than other aspects. The most important empirical research ever undertaken on the relations between political culture and democracy was outlined in -The Civic Culture-“Political Attitudes & Democracy in Five Nations” (1963, Almond & Verba). They analyzed the effects of political culture on the stability or instability of democracies of Britain, Germany, Italy, USA and Mexico. They highlighted and exposed the differences in their comparative study of political cultures of United Kingdom and America with the political cultures of Germany and Italy. According to Almond and Verba, "Political culture refers to the paradigm of the orientations of the members of the society towards political parties, the courts, the constitution and the history of the state or to general their political environment. Political culture refers to what people believe and feel about government, and how they think people should act towards it. To understand the relationship of a government to its people, and how those people are going to act toward that government and others, it is necessary to study what those people believe about themselves and government. In essence, what is the inclination of the person towards political action, and how it is affected by the political culture are the nucleus of this study. However, the interface of political culture and democratic governance has not yet been thoroughly explored. . The current trend has

tended to focus more on elections and electoral systems and, by default, leaving out culture in the discourse.

2.5 Kinds of Political Culture-

On an empirical basis various political scientists have presented their own interpretations about the names and different types of political cultures prevailing in the world. All of these help us to understand different dimensions of political culture.

Political culture can be broadly categorized in two kinds: -

- i. The culture of elite
- ii. The culture of common people

Almond has mentioned four types of political cultures on the basis of political arrangements -

1. Anglo-American Political System-

In this category democratic and harmonious political culture with moderate values as prevailing in nations like Britain, America is highlighted.

2. Continental European Political System- In spite of liberal democratic arrangement in France, Germany, etc., there is tendency of sub-cultures there. Consequently, political cultures arising out of violent conflicts are also visible in these nations.

3. Non-Western or pre-industrial political system - Many newly independent, underdeveloped countries of Asia and Africa which were under the spell of colonial rule are still economically and politically far backward. Mature democratic political culture is yet to reach there.

4. Totalitarian political systems- In some countries of Asia, Africa and the Middle East there exists totalitarian or authoritarian regimes. These countries are still under the authoritarian rule of military dictatorships or forced monarchies. Communist regimes of China and North Korea also come under this category which prohibit opposition parties, restricts individual opposition to the state and its claims, and exercises an extremely high degree of control over public and private life. It is regarded as the most extreme and complete form of authoritarianism. Political power in totalitarian states has often involved rule by one leader and an all-encompassing propaganda campaign, which is disseminated through the state-controlled mass media and are often marked by political repression, personality cultism, control over the economy and restriction of speech, mass surveillance and widespread use of state terrorism. The political arrangement of these places can be differentiated in the nature of political culture. Apart from this, Finer has discussed mature, developed, low and non-political political cultures on the basis of military role in power. The role of military power in maturity will be judged and the progress will be gradual in the rest.

Wiseman has classified three narrow political cultures, narrow progressive, participant and three mixed political cultures compact, progressive, progressive participants and narrow participant political culture.

The above classification indicates the

situation in the political system in the eyes of the masses. Similarly, on the basis of quantitative and power, the mass culture and the elitist culture is distinguished. Generally, the expectations of public culture differ from traditionalist culture. The creation and development of political culture is a continuous process. Political culture is not stable because social connotation and political system itself is not stable. From the political culture, the stability of the political arrangements and accordingly according to the political arrangements in the systems is fixed. In India, there was radical change in the political culture of East and East in the 1990s.

2.6 Political Culture and Political Socialization

According to Almond and Powell, “Political socialization is the process by which political culture is established and is also brought to change according to the necessity.” It is through political socialization that a society transmits its political standards, beliefs and values from one generation to another. In this process, many agents such as family, friends, educational institutions, religious institutions, folk community, interest group and political parties play important role. It is not necessary that all the people will get involved in the structures so created, but this will help in keeping their continuous interest in the political life. At the same time, the political system develops the patience to withstand new pressures and tensions. Generally speaking, political socialization promotes political stability, but if the

political culture of any particular state is divided into many subcultures, it would be detrimental to national interests. It is therefore, inevitable to mould the process of political socialization in accordance with the requirements of nation building.

2.7 Importance of Political Culture

Since its beginning by Almond and Verba political culture seeks to study and analyze the stability and instability of a political system. For political culture, the society has become the focal point of the study rather than the formal institutions. This concept forced the political activists to include political and cultural elements in the study of political science to bring discretion in the study. Political culture has attempted to analyze as to why various different political societies take different directions. The development of the concept of political culture is an attempt to bridge the gap between micro and macro sociological analysis. The political culture provides guidelines for political behavior, and for the society as a whole it constitutes a structure of values and norms which helps ensure coherence in the operation of institutions and organizations. The stability of a political system is underlined by the relative success or failure of the assimilation of new attitudes into the existing value structure and for this there is the need to examine the means of effective transmission of the political culture from generation to generation. The political culture is the product of the history of both the political system and the individual members of the system, and thus is rooted in public events and private experience. In this

sense.

Conclusion

Regardless of appropriate review, political culture is a very important concept for the study of comparative political institutions. Ever since Almond and Sidney Verba outlined the concept of political culture, the comparative study of politics of a country cannot be meaningfully carried out without understanding the political culture, behavior of its citizens and its political environment. Political culture involves fundamentally popular values and beliefs over political objects in a given community. Political scientists have more or less agreed on what political culture constitutes or entails. They also agree that political culture does shape the political behavior of citizens and national political development. However, it is still controversial among political scientists on how political culture can and should be studied.

Important Points

- Political culture is a concept which is related to perceptions and beliefs of people about politics.
- Leading thinkers of political culture are Sidney Verba, Almond and Powell, Alan Ball, Heinz Eulau and Lucian Pye.
- Almond has mentioned four types of political cultures the Anglo-American political system, the Continental European System, the, Pre-industrial System and the Totalitarian system.

Exercise

Multiple Choice Questions-

1. The main cause of the difference between the political arrangements of India and Pakistan is?
(A) Geographical Situation
(B) Political Culture
(C) Political Development
(D) Political Modernization ()
2. The name of the book written by Alan Ball on political culture is -
(A) Modern Politics and Government
(B) Indian Politics and Government
(C) A Glimpse of World politics
(D) Hind Swaraj ()
3. Which of these is not the determinant of political culture?
(A) History
(B) Social and Economic Traditions
(C) Geographical Conditions
(D) People's Dress ()

Very Short Answer Type of Questions-

1. What are two kinds of the political culture?
2. Who are the main thinkers of the political culture?
3. Write the definition of political culture by Almond and Powell.

Short Answer Type of Questions-

1. What is political culture?
2. Describe the determinantsof the political culture.
3. Explain the Elite culture.

Essay Type of Questions-

1. Define the political culture and discuss the cultures prevalent in modern times.

Answers to Multiple Choice Questions

1. B 2. A 3. D

3. Political Participation

Political participation has special importance in modern political concepts. The term 'political participation' has a very wide meaning. It means - direct or indirect involvement of the public in the political processes. When the members of the political system participate in political processes at different levels for the smooth operation of the system or when people's participation is ensured, then this trend is called public participation or political participation. Political participation is a basic concept in political science and scholars have defined this concept in different ways. It may be defined as the actions of private citizens seeking to influence or support Government and politics. It is not only related to 'Right to Vote', but simultaneously relates to participation in: decision making process, political activism, political consciousness, etc. Women in India participate in voting, run for public offices and political parties at lower levels more than men. For political participation and direct democracy Switzerland is one of the leading democracies of the world. There the public has the right to "call back" to their elected representatives. Even the laws of the country can also be changed by the people by holding referendum. When such rights are with the public, the elected representatives in the political process cannot ignore their constituents. They always remain liable to the public. Political participation is considered to be the life element of the democratic system. Every democratic society is truly a "participatory society"

However, in reality political power is always centered in some people. It is quite difficult to find a

democracy which ensures full participation of its people in the political system. In the political society in which people vested with political power constantly persuade common people to participate in the political process and consider such a partnership positive, such polity is called participatory democracy. Healthy democratic traditions are developed in such society which continues to grow further. A system can be strengthened only when there is a large number of people's participation in it. In a political system in which the public remains indifferent to the political processes or the ruling class obstructs its way to play active role, it is very likely that such systems will disintegrate or collapse.

3.1 Meaning of Political Participation

The '*political participation*' as a concept of political science was initiated by the thinkers of Behaviouralism. Although the earliest references to this concept are found in the articles of Rousseau and the Republicans Political participation refers to the total participation of citizens on different levels of the political system. Political participation accelerates political development in a system. It plays an important role in making the system modern and liberal. Political participation simply means that a person is participating in the political process by making his or her opinions and beliefs known. In the social sciences, the term 'political participation' is often used to describe an action taken by a citizen to influence the outcome of a political issue. The Liberalists support only such participation of the individuals which is helpful in maintaining the system.

Hence, this term has been defined as "those voluntary activities by which members of the society share in the selection of ruler and, directly or indirectly, in the formation of public policy." (McCloskey, 1968:253) McCloskey believes that political participation is not only a tendency of democratic systems, but it remains in all modes in a modest quantity. He also believes that it is not necessary to find more of its quantity in the modern strong democratic system. Political participation can also be found in developing and other systems. It can also be qualitative in place of quantitative.

3.2 Kinds of Political Participation

In principle, two forms of political participation are found- (1) Developmental (2) Democratic. In the last 60-65 years, rapid expansion of the study of 'political participation' reflects the importance of active participation of citizens in democratic policy formulation. It initially focused on electoral participation in the 1940s and 1950s; now this participation seems to affect every process of the political system. Casting vote, giving donations, petitioning, influencing the ruling class, taking out a rally, protesting against a specific issue and protesting against the people's representatives all are tools of political participation. On one hand the government's activities and responsibilities have increased and on the other there is also unexpected increase in political participation. Social media has articulated political participation very sharply. There has been a deep engagement of political involvement with every social aspect of a developed society. Generally speaking, there are three different types of political participation. The first is conventional participation, which includes traditional or expected political participation, such as voting. In fact, the beginning of the study of 'political participation' lies in the fact that both democracy and political participation are inseparable. As the name suggests, political participation simply means that a person is participating in the political process by making his or her opinions and beliefs known.

Parry writes that- "Any book about political

participation is also a book about democracy."

Kaase and Marsh say that - "... the notion of political participation is at the center of the concept of the democratic state."

"... all voluntary activities by individual citizens intended to influence either directly or indirectly political choices at various levels of the political system". (Kaase and Marsh)

The involvement of citizens in the democratic decision-making is an indispensable condition of democracy; its idea was initiated by the Pericles (431-430 BC) in his funeral speech. According to him, "the unique characteristic of democracy lies in role of its citizens."

Benjamin Barber (1984 to 1995) strongly advocated a strong "participatory democracy" as an alternative for liberal 'thin democracy' or 'politics as zoo keeping' more recently. He defends the idea of a 'strong democracy', which "requires unmediated self- government by an engaged citizenry" (Barber 1984: 261). Stressing the need for a strong democracy, Benjamin said that it is essential for competing citizen groups to participate directly in such a democracy without any intermediary. In which each person has direct contact with another person and there is no need for any arbitrator or a qualified intermediary. Participatory democratic theorists such as Barber have long claimed that political participation improves citizens and helps to integrate them into the political community. In recent years political participation has been advocated as a way of reducing alienation, particularly among the young. The change of democracy from the monarchy can be the result of the continuous growing aspirations and expectations of the citizens. When democracy progressed from the theoretical process and took the form of representative democracy then political participation also surfaced.

3.3 Civic Awareness and Political Participation-

Citizens' consciousness, their educational level, ideological affiliations are those elements

which ensure their political involvement. This is the reason that the level of political participation of the citizens of the countries is broad where the literacy percentage is higher. Lower rates of education literacy in Asian-African countries can be said to be sufficient enough to show the political apathy of the citizens. At the same time, the population density and extended dispersion are also the reasons why citizens cannot discuss and discuss widely with their representatives. It has been observed that large countries can communicate directly to their representatives in a minority. In such a situation, the democratic and political participation of the citizens can only be active in small amounts. Naturally, it cannot be considered suitable for the political health of a country.

3.4 Elitist Theory of Political Participation-

Effective and active participation of citizens is the first and compulsory condition in the democratic process. But this condition does not apply in practice on the practical ground. The central proposition of elitism is that all societies are divided into two classes the few who govern and the many that are governed. A basic assumption of elite theory is that "the masses" lack political competence. Perhaps the most influential precursor of the theory of "democratic elitism" is the famous political thinker Joseph Schumpeter, whose book "Capitalism, Socialism and Democracy" is taken as seminal by contemporary liberal theorists. Joseph Schumpeter says that it is business of politicians to make governance and public policies; the role of ordinary citizens is limited to electing their representatives through political parties of their choice. As Schumpeter somewhat baldly puts the point: "The electoral mass is incapable of action other than a stampede." Schumpeter's one-sentence summary of his concept of democracy is: "Democracy means only that the people have the opportunity of accepting or refusing the men who are to rule them." Clearly, this process pushes the citizens into the back stage and the only elected politicians in power or opposition rules the roost. Robert Dahl, sharply

criticizing this eloquence of democracy notes that- "The key political, economic and social decisions" of Western liberal societies are made by "tiny minorities." The elite theorists attribute this phenomenon, in large part, to the nature of contemporary mass democracy, in which the great majority of people are politically unorganized, fragmented, and passive. The reality of our system is elite rule, and, according to Dahl, "It is difficult -nay, impossible -to see how it could be otherwise in large political systems." Not only this, even the active and frontline politicians or the professional politicians who represent the public also work superficially in the formulation of policy due to economic, scientific and technical complications. Actual activism and participation in power is done by the bureaucrats and the technocrats. Thus in the present time, the actual participation remains with the minority or the elite class. An organized minority, obeying a single impulse, is irresistible against an unorganized majority in which each individual stands alone before the totality of the organized minority. A hundred men acting uniformly in concert, with a common understanding, will triumph over a thousand men who are not in accord and can be dealt with one by one. It is clear that democracies in the modern democratic system are basically the rule of politicians, in which the role of ordinary citizens is limited, short-lived and imaginative. Robert Dahl said that a system that follows the principles of market automatically becomes part of the elitist process to set the conflicting interests of various interest groups in balance. In this process, the entire society gets divided into two or more groups and follows regime of the self-appointed elite groups. Thus, the level of participation of citizens in such a democratic system is very low and which is not a good trend for any democratic system.

3.5 Nature of Political Participation-

Political participation is an activity under which a person actively participates in the process of making, determining and implementing public policies and decisions. It encompasses the many activities used by citizens to influence the selection

of political leaders or the policies they pursue. In broader terms, it may be an activity of any politician, government official or ordinary citizen in a democratic political system. Participative democracy basically emphasizes the participation of ordinary citizens in the democratic process. Political participation derives from the freedom to speak out, assemble and associate; the ability to take part in the conduct of public affairs; and the opportunity to register as a candidate, to campaign, to be elected and to hold office at all levels of government. Many standards of political participation are adopted in the democracy. The amount and what ways that society participates in politics whether it be by voting in elections, joining pressure groups or boycotting certain things. Under the majority of studies, the percentage of citizens participating in the voting is considered to be an indicator of political participation. Political participation extends beyond parties, however. Individuals can also become involved in certain aspects of the electoral process through independent action, particularly at the local level and by joining civil society organizations. Professional networks, trade unions, non-governmental organizations, the media and social media can all provide avenues for political participation. Sometimes percentage of the citizens participating in the propaganda campaign of

political parties is treated as political participation. There are also other methods of political participation which can be included in this process.

(1) Community Activity

Under this, members of the community work closely with each other to meet any collective purpose (cleanliness drive, security etc.). Apart from this, when a citizen approaches his political representative to resolve any personal or public matter, or participates in the procession, protests, strike, detention or boycott, then these actions will also be treated as ways of political participation. To what extent a citizen can influence public policy and decision making is the main criterion of political participation.

(2) Active interaction between government and citizens

This is a two-way activity. When one side acts, the other party responds. In other words citizens can also take initiatives to stir political participation. The state or the government can also take initiative to ensure political participation.

3.6 Types of Political Participation-

There are two types of political participations (i) Conventional and (ii) Non-Conventional which is illustrated in following manner:

(A) Conventional Political Participation		(B) Non-Conventional Political Participation	
Citizen participation	State participation	Citizen participation	State participation
Contacting with government or public representatives	Conducting elections	Protests, processions, slogans, posters, street plays, strikes, Dharnas, hunger strikes, rejection or rejection of the government award etc.	Organizing national festivals, republic day parade
Letter, telephone, interview, editor's letter, signature campaign etc.	Public Hearings	Civil Disobedience	Cleanliness, Pulse Polio, Literacy, Vaccination, Planting,
Activities of pressure groups	Formation of Advisory Councils	Political Violence	Organizing Public Races or Making human chains Series

Political campaign	Political dissemination campaign (voting for decision on a question)		Competitions - Quiz, essay, debate, painting, exhibition etc.
Contesting for public office			
Undertaking an initiative (starting a proposal)			
Recall(recalling the elected representative)			

3.7 Main Agencies of Political Participation -

Pressure Groups- In liberal democracies, groups of people organize themselves for the purpose of accomplishing any of their common interests. They keep their viewpoint before the people and try to mobilize their support to reach out to the government to create policies that suit their interests. Elections take place once in five year, but the pressure groups engage the government in an ongoing dialogue with the people. This process is very effective in Western countries. However, in the developing countries, sometimes the pressure groups also resort to illegal and unconstitutional methods which not only disturb public life but also cause heavy damages to public property. They promote and campaign for narrow self-interests which are harmful and undermine the parliamentary democracy by bypassing the representative processes.

Initiative- The system or practice in the Representative Democracy in which the voters themselves can prepare a draft of any law or constitution-amendment and send it to the Legislature for consideration and voting. Instruments that permit people to vote directly on policy and to initiate legislation can ensure that the citizen's voice is heard. The signature of the fixed number of voters is necessary on this proposal. This system is especially popular in Switzerland. In India which is also a representative democracy, people select their representatives once in five years to make laws and policies on their behalf. Limiting the

participation of the people merely to voting once in five years has significantly reduced the responsiveness of the representatives to the people. However in India, citizens have the right to present a Private bill in the Parliament through their elected representatives. Simultaneously, the citizen can also present new proposals to the government by getting public support through Signature campaigns.

Recall- Under the direct democracy, the system or practice that voters can force their chosen representative to withdraw from office before the expiry of his term. Recall procedures allow the electorate to vote in whether to end the term of office if an elected representative or official if enough signatures in support of a recall vote are collected. Although the process of recall is often similar to that of citizens' initiatives, recall deals only with the question of the removal of a person from public office and the outcome is therefore always binding. This system is especially popular in Switzerland. In India several civil society organizations have been demanding to improve the election process for last many years. Their demands also include the demand that if the elected representatives do not meet the expectations of the voters, they must be called back by voters by initiating and passing a proposal of Recall procedure and forwarding it to competent level for final disposal.

Public Hearing - Process under which public representatives and public officials try to know the problems of the public on various issues. These ideas can be presented in an oral or written form before the officer concerned. In some countries, a

public hearing is a special type of public meeting for the purpose of the governing body accepting public comment and testimony on local legislation. In our country, this system has become almost institutionalized, and termed as 'Administration at the door of villages/cities.' The Public hearing (*JanSunwai*) could also be described a public meeting lasting from half a day to three days, organized around an issue related to a public policy, and which consequently involves state authorities.

Advisory Councils- Nowadays, the government creates Citizen advisory boards which consist of a representative group of stakeholders from a particular community to provide comments and advice on the specific aspects of the actions a project or issue related to their departments. The UK's Central Housing Advisory Committee and the Central Health Service Council are the appropriate examples of advisory councils. Similar advisory committees and councils are formed in many departments in India.

Referendum(voting for decision on any question)- This form of political participation is a process in which all the members of an electorate exercise their direct vote on an important public question such as a change in the constitution, for a new law or constitutional amendment. Just recently, in the UK it was decided by public vote that Britain to quit the membership of the European. It is popularly known as the ***Brexit referendum***.

Civil Disobedience - Civil disobedience is the active, professed refusal of a citizen to obey certain laws, demands, orders or commands of a government or occupying international power. The proceeding in which an unjust law is deliberately and openly disobeyed, voluntarily arrests are given or a prohibited place is entered to draw attention of the people and the government towards a particular issue. These activities are actively carried out by citizens in order to register public protests in our country.

Political Revenge- Political Revenge is one of the most violent forms of protest in which the protestors indulges in acts such as arson, bombing,

murders, nuisances, make people hostage and damaging public property. Such actions are a clear violation of democracy. But it has also been observed that governments are often either silent or bow down in such circumstances.

3.8 The Viability and Importance of Political Participation-

Regardless of the people-oriented democracy, it is true that today's representative democracies give their citizens very slight opportunities of meaningful participation in decision-making. As a result, the electorate has little knowledge and little understanding about political problems. Voters are often indifferent to voting. Formal political participation is largely restricted to regime-affiliated party activity, co-opted civil society participation, or voting in non-transparent and often fraudulent elections. Political representatives often appear to be confused and disenchanted about their public liabilities and responsibilities. Informal political participation, through social networks, underground political movements, and social movements, was often the only way for citizens to challenge in some of the less democratic regimes. Since the misuse of power and corruption in the administration is so rampant that it has become all the necessary for the citizens to get more opportunities for political participation have more say in public issues and to closely monitoring the activities of the politicians. This helps in preventing misuse of power and corruption. Therefore, political participation is not only a necessary condition of good society, but it is also an essential part of a good life. Political participation and democratic transition are tightly linked. Not only is viable transition dependent on viable political participation, the way forward for political participation is also dependent to a great extent on the trajectory that democratic transition takes. Citizens make the future of the country and ensuring their maximum expansion of political participation in public decision making in a democratic set up has an essential necessity in today's era. Citizen's participation has always vital impact on the

development of the country as economically as socially. Following two steps are considered necessary by some of major states for the accomplishing this objective.

- (A) Government and administration should be decentralized by transferring and entrusting decision making powers to the local communities. The extension of Panchayati Raj in India is an example of this effort.
- (B) The process of introducing a subject or proposal to public enquiry and investigation for determining public policies should be enhanced.

3.9 Views in Favor of Political Participation -

- (1) Political participation protects and promotes the interests of the participant himself. Before the people participate in political activity they must calculate and bear it in their mind that how hard they will have to work, what benefits will there be and how capable they will be to fulfill their purpose.
- (2) The process of participation increases the general ethical, social and political awareness of the citizens.
- (3) Political enhances the unity of citizens for common purposes and interests.

The advocates of political participation based democracy only emphasize on the increase in the participation of citizens under the current democratic system and do not suggest any alternate arrangements for it. In the past decade, the idea of increasing citizen involvement in political decision making has found favor not only with environmental activists, but also with various consumer groups, students, and politicians of persuasions. This recent upsurge in demand for more participation raises a central question for political philosophy. Despite the fact that "participation" has become a popular rallying cry of citizens' groups, the theories of democracy which dominate the attention of most Western political theorists assign to it an absolutely minimal role.

Apparently, the necessary instruments for participatory democracy are already in the process and system of the liberal democracy and no separate theory but only concrete action is needed to promote the participation. The supporters of the political participation appear to be more optimistic than necessary. Increasing the participation of the public in a decision making in a democracy would be appropriate only to a limited extent. Recent writers on democratic theory, especially in America, dismiss the ideal of significant public participation in decision-making as unattainable. More than this, they tend also to view it as undesirable or even dangerous. Over enthusiasm towards political participation may sometimes be counterproductive and can prove to be harmful. It takes time to get good results from public decisions, policies and programs. However, for the purpose of public welfare there may be a need to orient certain lazy and lousy elements of the administration to make them more responsive. Generally, the common people do not have so much of patience and yearning to understand the intricacies and complexities of the things to accurately assess all the situations. If they are encouraged so much to engage in political involvement, they may bring complaints and disputes to the streets and disrupt normal life. When ordinary citizens acquire the form of a crowd they become unruly and it becomes difficult to keep them in discipline or control. Once people capriciously come out for protests, it is difficult to make understand and stop. The result is - Thousands of rallies, sloganeering, demonstrations, strikes, threats and encirclements, threats of shutting down of electricity and stopping buses and trains, way-stop and jail-thrill movements, beatings and stone pelting. The incidents put the lives of common men in jeopardy and cause great damage to the public property. In these situations, anyone who can mobilize crowds or take the crowd in whatever direction they want will be able to get his inappropriate demands accepted by pressure. Unfortunately in India the people who put forth their genuine demands in a peaceful manner, their grievances are not resolved. Thus, only the

meaningful political participation can yield positive results.

Important Points

- Political participation means the participation of citizens on different levels of the political system.
- Two forms of political participation are (1) Developmental and (2) Democratic.
- Two ways of political participation are (1) Community (2) Active interaction between government and citizens.
- Agencies of Political Participation are - Pressure Groups, Initiative, Public Hearing, Advisory Councils, Referendum, Civil Disobedience and Political Revolt

Exercise

Multiple Choice Questions

1. Which of the following thinkers have propounded the Political Participation?
(A) Behaviorists (B) Liberals
(C) Socialists (D) Absolutists ()
2. Which of the following is not a tool for political participation?
(A) Voting
(B) To present the election petition
(C) Funding the political party
(D) Attempting to cross the boundary of the country ()
3. Program on the villages / cities is part of which type of agencies of political participation?
(A) Initiative (B) Recall
(C) Public hearing (D) Referendum ()
4. What is the meaning of 'Recall'?
(A) Preparing legal proposals
(B) Recalling the elected representative

(C) Voting on a proposal

(D) Running Exclusive Campaign ()

5. Which of the following does not match with measures of non-traditional political participation?
(A) Civil Disobedience
(B) Government Award Returning
(C) Street Plays (D) Suicide ()

Very Short Answer Type Questions

1. Where did the first direct democracy begin?
2. What is the present form of democracy in vogue?
3. What is the main cause of political apathy or neutrality?
4. Write down the names of two agencies of political participation.

Short Answer Type Questions

1. What is the significance of excessive political participation of the elite class?
2. What is the meaning of the Community Activity?

Essay Type Questions

1. Write an essay on traditional and non-traditional forms of political participation.
2. Critically examine various aspects of Political Participation.
3. Write a detailed note on the major agencies of political participation and their contribution to this process.

Answers to Multiple Choice Questions -

1. A 2. D 3. C 4. B 5. D