CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

RELATION BETWEEN POLITICS AND SOCIAL CHANGE.

A THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

Society and human beings are the two interrelated elements. These two cannot be separated from each other. About 2,300 years ago, the Greek Philosopher Aristotle stated that 'man is a social animal'. As a matter of fact, before Aristotle from the pre-historic period, human beings are living together as a social being. Men cannot live alone in isolation; he has many needs. And in association with other men, he seeks to satisfy his needs. Membership of society means two things i.e. to fulfill human needs, and to control human action.¹ Men and women organised together into a society and agreed to follow certain norms of conduct and obey a recognised authority at a certain stage of human civilization. Men need mutual help and sympathy from each other. Therefore they live as members of a common society.

The society is the whole network of many kinds of relationships e.g. family, caste, school, sports club, trade

union, chamber of commerce, fine arts circle, other groups and associations etc. It is much more than a mere group of individuals.

The individual being is seen as grouping in the world for meaning often estranged from the 'authentic' self, and trying to regain some sense of selfhood in an atomistic world of fellow beings. When the social nature of existence, as a whole, is considered, it is generally regarded as the sum total of individual actions as the residual of being human. Human nature develops in men only when he lives in society, i.e. when he shares common life with his fellow beings. The accounts of the noble savage free from all social restraints living in woods and appeasing his appetite with the fruits are idyllic tales devoid of all historical value. This means that society is something which fulfils a vital need in man's constitution, it is not something accidentally added to or superimposed on human nature. As a matter of fact man is social by nature.

Maclver and Charles Page stated that society is a system

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of usages and procedures, of authority and mutual aid, and
of many groupings and divisions, of controls of human behaviour
and of liberties. This ever changing complex system is called
society. It is the web of social relationships. And it is
always changing. From the beginning of one's life, it is
brought up under the care and protection of his parents and
learns the lessons of citizenship in their company. He is
totally dependent for his survival upon the existence of
some sort of society. There is no authenticated instance
of a human infant who has survived on his own or has been
brought up by wolves, apes, or any other lower animals. Man
lives in society not only due to his nature but also due to
his necessities.

Every society or group has a system. Without such a
system no unit or no part of the society can function properly.
A social system is an orderly and systematic arrangement of
social interaction. It is network of interactive relationships,
it may be defined as a plurality of individuals interacting
with each other according to shared cultural norms and
meanings. Individuals are the constituent parts of social
system. They have a role to play and participates in interactive
relationship. The behaviour of individuals and groups in

4 Ibid.
society is controlled by social institutions and they do not act in an independent and isolated manner. Within the social system there are various sub-systems like political system, religious system, educational system, economic system etc. In these systems each of the interacting individuals has a function to perform.

A social system is in one aspect a network of sub-collectivities, connected by interstitial patterns and mechanisms. At the same time a society, and many though not all types of partial social system, is itself, a collectivity of a higher order of organisation.  

The social system cover each and everything which are available in that society. When the social system fails, it affects the working of other sub-systems like political, social, cultural, economic systems. A social system which leads to drastic disruption of its culture, for example through blocking the processes of its acquisition, would be exposed to social as well as cultural disintegration.

Society and Politics:

Social relations among the people are the threads of


6 Ibid.
life and the social institutions, formed the loom on which the threads are woven into a cloth or garment. The people who live together in a certain area or jurisdiction think alike, associate with one another, and make common efforts for a common purpose or plan. It may be a club, a debating society, a religious, economic or political association. All combined together make the social structure and aim to serve the various purposes for which the society came into existence.

Society is the product of man's instinctive desire for association which finds expression in the aggregation of people having common interests and united together by what may be called "consciousness of the kind". Society stands for the whole scheme of life and it is interwoven by different associations which serve different purposes to complete the whole purpose of life. Political purpose is one of those purposes and is performed by the state. The political purpose of life in a society is organised in a special way to secure certain results. The state is a society politically organised. Society and politics - these two elements are interconnected to each other. Society without politics will be just like an animal world. With a good progress and

development of the political conditions the society can exist and it can be compared with other societies. Therefore, political development is the essential need for the social development. In a like manner, political development also depend upon the social conditions, political development and political changes takes place within the society itself and not outside the society. According to Lucian Pye, the development of national state is the first step in political development. Political development may be found on three levels - in the whole population, on the government level and in the organisation of political system. Political development includes various aspects of economic, social and political life of the nation. The term "Political development" is used to refer to cluster of changes including: (1) the development of differentiated, functionally specific political structures; (2) changes in values and attitudes from the sacred, ascriptive and particularistic towards the scientific, egalitarian and universalistic; (3) the penetration of society by governmental agencies and activities; (4) a broadening of participation in politics. Political development

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has often been viewed in terms of the capacity of the political system to define and implement collective goals, resolves the issues successfully or respond and adopt to a series of challenges involved in the emergence of a modern polity. It has also been thought of as the growth of political institutions characterised by adaptability, complexity, autonomy and organisational coherence. Therefore, the institutionalisation of political organization will have to be achieved so that the political system may withstand the stresses and strains of the mounting political participation. Political development necessitates social and economic development too.

Traditional society is relatively static. This is not to say that it does not change at all. That type of society is usually agrarian society impoverished by the contemporary standards of material wellbeing and employing traditional techniques of cultivation. The wisdom of the traditional society was inferred from science and rationality. In other words scientific outlook is considered to be the prerequisite of modernity.

Individual in Society:

The behaviour of each individual in a society is

10 Ibid.
affected by the behaviour of others. This interaction of the behaviour of individuals is the essence of social life. This interaction results to the entire range of social relationship, wherein there is reciprocal stimulation and response between individuals. An aggregate of individuals become a society not because each individual possesses "its content" which actuated him, but due to the reciprocal influence direct or indirect, social contact may be of negative as well as positive. It is positive when they lead to benevolence, cooperation, mutual understanding and assimilation, and negative when they create hatred, jealousy and conflict. Social interaction usually takes place in the form of cooperation, competition, conflict, accommodation and assimilation.

Society and Political Development:

A society develops into a Nation States and Nation Building through political development. It involves the establishment of a particular set of public institutions that constitute the necessary infrastructure of a nation-state. They include the controlled expression in political life of the phenomenon of nationalism. Political development is a process of nation building. It entails the translation of diffused and unorganised sentiment of nationalism into a
spirit of citizenship. Political Development involves new standards of loyalties and the involvement of the citizens. It inducts new elements of population into the political process and it diffuses decision making and participation. However, mass participation in decision making is never fully realised, nor is desired since it causes emotional influence. Political development is a process that ensures stable and orderly change. Political stability is based on a capacity for purposeful and orderly changed. Any form of economic and social advance generally depends upon reduced uncertainty and the possibility of planning.

The social system is a system of interdependent action processes. A process is a way or mode in which a given state of a system or of a part of a system changes into another state. If its study is an object of science any process is assumed to be subject to laws, which will be stated in terms of determinate interrelations of interdependence between the values of the relevant variables. Frequently, however, the laws governing a process are incompletely known, or not known at all. Then it may still be possible to describe the process in terms of the initial and the final states and possibly intermediate stages on go a step further to state emperical generalisations about it. A scientist studying the interdependences of variables generally isolates
the particular process or class of them in which he is interested and treats it as a system. For some purposes, however, it is necessary to treat the process in question as part of a larger system. When this is done in such a way that interest is focussed on the significance of alternative outcomes of the process for the system of other parts of it, the process will be called a mechanism. The mechanism of personality as a system are not the same as the mechanism of the social system. However, personalities and social systems constitute two different classes of system, and the motivational processes which are involved in these mechanisms also operate in social systems. We are profoundly concerned with these processes. An established social system is a process of complementary interaction of two or more individual actors in which each conforms with the expectation of the others in such a way that alters reactions to a government's actions are positive sanctions which serve to reinforce his given need dispositions and thus to fulfill his given expectations. This established or equilibrated interaction process is the fundamental point of reference for all dynamic motivational analysis of social process.

Social Change in India

India is also a part of the world, it has a systemic pattern of society. The Indian people consists of numerous
old and new classes. Social groups belonging to various societies, past and present constituted the Indian society. The survival of the remnants of old classes, even though existing in modified form alongside the new classes made the Indian society a complicated organism with extremely variegated and antagonistic social forces struggling for their respective interests within it.

During the early period, Hindu empires were loose ones. Their downfall and break up simply restored local autonomy. The Moghul period was characterised by a centralised system of administration, thereby affecting the local autonomy and disregard of local interests. The Indian society was in a very unstable stage on the eve of its downfall. By this time, the Mahrattas (Marathas) were in a great hurry to break up the empire quickly regardless of the overall consequences. Their policy of revenue - collecting raids without imposing law and order, intensified the anarchical situation. Such a combination of two anarchogenic factors not only made British conquest of India easy but also gave them an inflated impression of their own achievement of administrative and political unity. The administrative and political unification of India was at its height during the British period.
The policies of the British were probably governed by the experiences in Europe where linguistic and religious diversities led to the rise of several sovereign states.

The British administrative structure changed the attitude and activities of the villagers towards governmental authorities. Their attitudes and activities assume a new importance. As a result, the relations between traditional society, government and religion were closely intertwined. The introduction of secular government after independence puzzled the traditionary villagers to a great extent. Traditional society and government represented sacred values and was expected to be dignified, pious, ceremonial and above all very firm in its maintenance of accepted custom. The style of social change and intercourse is not always suitable for the give and take of political discussion when points may have to be made firmly and argued at length. Modern political discussion requires rigorous argument, compromise, the ability not to take offence, and the disposition to compromise. These are the negation of the norms of traditional society.

In the present day society the government has to intervene, influence and control the forces of economic and social development. Moreover, the advance of modern science and technology made the task of control easier. The railway and the telegraph were great aids to governmental effectiveness. Specialisation within areas of government developed to match the increasing specialisation in society.

On the other hand industrialisation give rise to self conscious groups, able to perceive their needs and their power. This make participation a factor in autocratic and even totalitarian states, where such groups have either to be cajoled, indoctrinated terrorised in acquiescence to the political authority. In the nineteenth century, apart from this self-generating participation in industrialised societies, it has also been the case in Europe that some members of the middle and upper classes have played a role in leading the unequal to greater equality. They have done this either out of conviction arising from religious, human or other beliefs, or they have seen the opportunities for power to be derived from leading the mobilisation of the more lawful into political life.

By various means larger number of people have been led

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12 Ibid.
into greater political awareness and have had more opportunity to participate. Yet there are those who maintain that this increased participation is more apparent than real. Even the Marxian view that political power lies in the hands of those who control the means of production is not as easily achieved as some imagine. It has been urged that organisations like political parties and trade unions tend to be dominated by the few, that the national scale of politics makes each individual's contribution as to be trivial, that the big bureaucracy essential for large scale government, which permeates so much of modern life imposes a barrier between the individual and his government. 13

Political parties are promising institutions in developing third world countries because they offer a means of mobilising new groups into politics, a machinery not at the disposal of single leader. The political parties have proved their worth in the experience of both the liberal democratic like India and the communist world like former Soviet Union. They have institutionalized participation through the extension of the franchise and the competition among political parties for votes. In the latter the single communist party has been used to organise the popular behind the ideals of the communist

13 Ibid.
elite. In the liberal democracies, more than in communist states they have also fed demands into the political system.

In the process of change, minority groups have been told by the majority society that for either racial, cultural on language reasons they are different and therefore inferior. As a result, minority group members begin life with a lack of confidence in their basic human abilities. For many of them, particularly boys, this is further complicated by the absence of a strong male adult after whom to model themselves.\textsuperscript{14}

Social change may be defined as the process in which is discernible significant alteration in the structure and functioning of particular social system.\textsuperscript{15} The term 'change' itself is wholly neutral. Really it means that there is some difference through time in the object which is under study. When we speak of social change we simply assert that there is some change in facial behaviour, social structures and social and cultural values. Unlike a novelist, however, the sociologist is primarily interested in a theoretical explanation of human social behaviour, and in generalisations

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rather than the development of concrete particularisation.  

The changes in any society might seriously threaten his own social position and sense of security, and the difficulty of retaining a measure of detachment under these circumstances can be imagined. Political stabilisation and dominance at the regional and state levels yields economic and other rewards to the dominant caste, along with this there has been a steady decline in the power and influence wielded by the urban middle class. The third world developing countries are today areas for conflict between the old and the new. The old order is no longer able to meet the new forces, nor the new wants and aspirations of the people, but neither is it moribund in fact, it is still very much alive. The conflict produces much unseemly argument, discords, confusion, and an occasion, even bloodshed. There is a great need to distinguish between forms of conflict that can be resolved by existing institutional mechanisms, and more fundamental conflicts that threaten the entire social order. Social change may occur gradually over a period of time, or suddenly and with violence. The sudden change may,

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16 Srinivas M.N., Social Change in Modern India, Orient Longman, 1972, p.156.

17 Ibid.
however, be more apparent than real, the dynamic forces having
gone unrecognised for some time of their significance having
been misunderstood.

Politics and Social Change:

The developing countries are characterised by the
existence of leaders who are determined to bring about radical
changes in traditional life and culture, and these leaders
both reject and guide the aspirations, hopes and ideals of
their followers. In the recent decades, the interest of
the social scientist has been more in the study of concrete
situations of social change rather than in indulging in
speculation regarding the stages in the evolution of society,
as the nineteenth century thinkers were wont to do so. While socialisation is mainly a product of experiences within
the formative years, these studies show that the individual
is not then fixed in his politics for life. He may show
further changes with cumulative experience in the large
society or in a particular segment of that society. And as he
ages his general viewpoint may change with consequences for

18 Ibid.
19 Kupuswani B., op. cit.
his politics.\textsuperscript{20} We can say that in the traditional Indian village, with its joint families living in caste groups in different parts of the village, there is a certain social solidarity though there may be all kinds of factions and quarrels within the village between castes and within the caste between families. The village people feel a sense of solidarity because they have intimate social relations with each other.\textsuperscript{21} In the opinion of M.N. Srinivas; 'if we are analysing social change in India it would be necessary to study the nature of the relation between such processes as Sanskritization, Westernisation and Secularisation'.

Sanskritization is the process by which a low Hindu caste or tribal or other group, changes its customs, ritual, ideology and way of life in the direction of a high and frequently 'twice-born' caste. By means of these changes in customs and ritual the 'low' caste people claims a 'higher' position in the caste heirarchy. A low caste was able in a generation or two, to rise to a higher position in the heirarchy by adopting vegetarianism and tutotalism, and by Sanskritising its ritual and pantheon. There may be disagree-ment among the people of the area between claimed and conceded


\textsuperscript{21} Nupuswami, \textit{op.cit.}, p.
status. It is noted, however, the mobility associated with Sanskritisation results only in positional changes in the system and does not lead to any structural change.

Caste is undoubtedly an all India phenomenon in the sense that there are everywhere hereditary, endogamous groups which form a hierarchy, that each of these groups has a traditional association with one or two occupations. Everywhere there are Brahmins, untouchables, and peasant, artisan, trading and service castes. Relations between castes are invariably expressed in terms of pollution and purity. Certain Hindu theological ideas such as Samsara, Karma, and Dharma are known into the caste system, but it is not known whether awareness of these concepts is universal or confined only to certain sections of the hierarchy. This depends on the degree to which an area is Sanskritised.22

The Yuga theory of the ancient Indians treats human history as a succession of ages from the golden age to the iron age and the cycle repeats ceaselessly as the seasons repeats themselves ceaselessly. The determinant of the age is the behaviour of the king, as the political rule becomes slack and whimsical there is a gradual deterioration in the

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condition of the society. It is also linked up with the varna
doctrine.

In the varna model, there is no doubt whatever as to the
place occupied by each caste category. Certainty of
position in the ranked order of caste is not, however, a
characteristic of caste at the existential level. Actually,
even the two ends of the caste system are not as firm as
they are made out to be. Some Brahmin groups are regarded
as so low that even Harijans will not accept cooked food
from them. 23

The social system includes many other systems like the
family systems, the class and caste system, the religious
system and the educational system. Such type of non-political
social system can comprise the various types of powers of the
political systems and influence "the working of the political
system in numerous ways. The whole society or nation can be
said to consist of so many groups, classes or associations
of people. Every one of the group or classes or associations
has some power or authority over its members. A caste panchayat
may excommunicate some of its members for a period of time
for an objectionable act. Similarly a religious head of a

23 Ibid.
certain community may not agree to solemnise the marriage to
certain pair for certain acts of the pair against the
community or both.

There are numerous instances where caste has been
alternatively praised and condemned for its good or bad
influence in Indian politics, nobody has yet seriously
contented that caste has not played any role in Indian
politics. Caste has been playing an increasingly powerful
role in Indian politics. The role or influence of the
various castes or sub-caste becomes clear or evident of
the time of election and at the time of distribution of
portfolios of ministries. Numerous studies have been made
of the elections at the municipal taluka, district, state
and national tends.

In a modern democratic system of government, the
people belonging to different caste got the opportunity to
look upon themselves as masters or owners of the various
gains or benefits. This situation came to the various
castes with the coming of Indian independence. All the
peoples become the masters of their country, the politics,
government, administration, and generally all the gains or
benefits that could be obtained or produced in the country.
Caste have become less and less social, religious or cultural
groups and more and more political groups, working as a political group, they have figured importantly in the various political parties or pressure groups in the union and state governments and their politics and administration. Over the years, the various castes have shown more and more desire for political participation, election-contesting, ministry making, and seeking various political, administrative and other vital positions. In order to attain these objectives, the castes have become increasingly mobilised, well educated, well organised and competitive in the business of politics and bargaining.

In India, politics and government are something that cannot be explained away because the politics of this country is almost handled by the governmental authorities. The Indian political system was a loose accommodation between a remarkably stable social order and a transient and unstable political order. The active functioning of the federal structure, the local elite groups, and the party system produced new kinds of leaders at the top, leaders who were both more vote-conscious and more sensitive to the primary needs of the people, and who therefore wanted rethinking on the country's development strategy. 24 Changes in culture, social structure

and public functions of caste are some of the necessary but not sufficient conditions for democratic incarnation. A profound change in human sensibility is urgently needed. The universalisation of power coupled with the universalisation of fellow-feeling will usher in a real transformation of human sensibility which will prepare the ground for political development. These imposition of the tools of development from above will not yield good result. Political development is one of the most complex phenomenon which comes a wide range of area from political modernisation to economic development, from administration to economic development, from administrative and legal development to the building of democracy, thus, producing a widespread change in social economic and political fields.

The problem of political development and social change in the underdeveloped countries has been increasingly politicized. The non-political aspects or sectors such as economics industry, education, religion, culture, literature heavily depend on politics or are closely influenced by it. And in as much as this happens, the role of parties, as instrument of social change takes on a crucial significance. Political parties become important device for operating the mechanism of the state, creation or evolution of offices,
key appointments in politics and government, policies and laws regarding industrialisation, the problems of bringing about large scale change in the agricultural or industrial fields, questions of population control, family planning, spread of education, bringing religion in line with the state policies and so on. The parties can be very effective not only in domestic matters but also in foreign relations, in determining on changing relations with important nations outside.  

Political development is highly relevant in a transitional society which stands at the midpoint between tradition and modernity so far as developmental process is concerned. Traditional societies may contain traditional elements and modern potentialities. Therefore, with the complicated process of interaction between tradition and modernity the red-product, i.e. political development comes out. But the interaction does not occur in dichotomous way, on the contrary, it happens in dialectical way. In a transitional society a new awareness of the 'self' is dawned upon the individual. The emergence of individuality is the starting point of a transitional society. But unfortunately, the

transitional mind is highly fluid and can be easily moulded by the modernising elite and therefore they can be easily deeped by the political leaders who are supposed to show the way in which political development should take place.

In India, in practice, the British rule gave a direct consequence of the establishment of a new social economy and political administration, a new type of state system, a new type of social system and a stable administrative machinery along with the spread of new education. Massive social transformation took place in the country that had its inevitable effect on the place of political modernisation.26

In the former era, the social classes lacked common economic ties or the bonds of national interest, they did indicate the symptoms of their national character in the latter phase. A new class emerged with the transformation in the social behaviour of the old surviving classes, however, added to the confusion and it became almost an impossible job to have a clearcut social stratification. In India, social groups belonging to various societies, past and present, constituted in the social and political set up. Corresponding to this, old outlook, which were the world conceptions of past

epochs, interpreted modern outlooks which sprang from the basic modern social soil. This was one of the reasons which explained the slow growth of national consciousness and national unity among the Indian people. In the traditional Hindu society caste bonds began to loosen themselves so far as the choice of career was concerned. Many people of the non-trading castes entered the field of commerce and thereby became the pioneers of the new bourgeois class.

The various organisations of the Indian businessmen received some recognition from the British government and, occasionally, did affect government policy and yet remained dissatisfied and for this purpose, those businessmen increasingly turned their attention toward the nationalist movement in the hope that an independent India would adopt policies more sympathetic to the growth of Indian economy in general and Indian business in particular.

As an inevitable consequence of the colonial exploitation, the Indian proletariat emerged. The emergence and role of the middle classes had its own part in swelling the ranks of the Indian proletariat whether in the rural or in the urban areas. Their activities in promoting religious and social reforms, education, politics, art and literature multiplied, while the masses "remained neglected, submerged
in ignorance, enfeebled by disease and oppressed by want. Moreover, owing to the destruction of indigenous industry, pressure of land increased to the extent that three-fifth of the population was crowded in one-fifth of the area. A force of the working class in Indian society merged. The efforts of leaders like Lala Lajpat Rai, N.M. Joshi and Joseph Batista succeeded in founding the first labour organisation called the All India Trade Union Congress in 1920. The community of Indian peasants showed a remarkable growth of political consciousness in 1920-21 when it rendered its co-operation to the non-co-operation movement of Gandhi, it was on account of the fact that the peasants interpreted the political struggle for Swaraj in terms of a struggle against the heavy land tax and sections of them sympathized with, supported and participated in the movement.  

Now a new class of the intermediaries came into being that consisted of a number of groups, performing various functions in connection with the commerce and administration of the European Companies of which the East India Company had become most important. This new culture had its impact on certain major areas of the country like Calcutta, Bombay and Madras. The new social class of India had its conspicuous

27 Ibid., p.199.
appearance there. The role of the Indian Middle Class in the nationalist movement of India imitated the ways of the West, combined wealth with education, appreciated the values of the English political culture and treated British rule as a divine dispensation and yet criticised it for its various acts of commission and omission. The ideology of the middle class shifted from time to time as a result of which the character of the Indian National Congress also changed so much so that, in the eyes of the British rulers, a body of same and constructive nationalist was converted into that of a nursery of sedition and revolt.

In a real sense, the movement of the upper middle class yielded place to that of the lower one and the path chosen by the leaders of the lower middle class had its confluence with the line adopted by Gandhi that ultimately triumphed in the liquidation of the colonial rule.

The British colonialism signifies a common political consciousness or patriotism which the people of a dependent country share among themselves for the purpose of winning self-rule and represented the consciousness of a society at an advanced stage of material development; it also implies an integrated political system on the country-wide basis.