

# POWER, HEGEMONY,

Ph : 011-35521496  
09899156495

# LEGITIMACY AND IDEOLOGY

- **(1) FACES OF POWER**
- **Harold Lasswell** wrote **politics—who gets what when and how (1936)**, define politics as struggle for getting the resources in society.
- **Adrian Leftwich** wrote **what is politics? the activity and its study** said that politics is the heart of all collective social activity.
- **Parsons** says that **power is central to politics like money is central to economics**.
- There are following faces of power:-
- **(a) Power as a decision making:- Robert Dahl** wrote **who governs democracy and power in American city**.
- **(b) Power as agenda sitting**
- **(c) Power as thought control:- Lukes** describes power as an **ideological control**.

- **(2) ORIGIN OF POWER**

- Original beginning of politics is considered as a **moral activity** present in **Greek thought**.
- Politics as a power is originated from thought of **Kautilya** and **Machiavelli**. Who said that preserving and maintaining power is the most important feature of politics. However, power lies in **one person** and king or **monarch** was a centre of power.

- **(3) INSTITUTIONALISATION OF POWER**

- **Thomas Hobbes** institutionalise the power with the help of **social contract**. King become the centre of power who depends upon **consent of the people**. Hobbes believes in **absolute power** which is considered **sovereignty** in legal terms.

- **(4) LIMITING THE POWER AND POWER OF PEOPLE**

- **Locke** is a liberal thinker who was against the **absolute power** of the king. Unlimited power of a king is harmful for **individual liberty**. Locke believes in **constitutionalism** for limiting the power of state.
- **Rousseau** believes in **people's sovereignty**. It is an example of **direct democracy** with increasing popularity of the democracy. Power lies in the hand of the people.

- **(5) POWER AS EXPLOITATION**

- **Marxists** said that power lies in **means of production** and the class which controls means of production they appropriate **surplus value**. Power maintain the class division of society and **political power depends upon the economic power**.
- **Radical feminists** also believe that **patriarchy** as a symbol of power which becomes a tool for exploitation in hand of male.
- **Kate Millet** wrote **Sexual Politics** and said that sex relations between male and female is infact power relation.

- **(6) HEGEMONY (IDEOLOGICAL POWER)**

- Marx said that ideology is **false consciousness (German ideology)**. Since Marx believes in the **materialistic economic** factor shapes and determine ideas and consciousness.
- Although **Lenin** said that ideology is not wrong but problems lies in **Bourgeoisie ideology**.
- **Gramsci** is the first Marxist thinker who recognized the **ideological apparatus** of state is crucial for maintaining capitalism.
- Intellectuals provide **ideological control** through **education, media and church**. Therefore, capitalist established **hegemony** in **social, political and ideological** sphere too.

- Hegemony is based on **consent** and it is an **ideological structure** therefore, merely control over economic factors is not sufficient for establishment of capitalism.
- State is not merely a **coercive agency** but it utilize political, cultural and **ideological tool** to maintain the power of capitalism.
- Gramsci said that Lenin believes in **domination** which is **coercion** and repression but hegemony is cultural therefore **police** and **army** cannot sustain hegemony.
- Police and army apply coercion. However, **education, media parliament** and **judiciary** sustain hegemony.
- **Louis Althusser** also recognized the importance of **cultural domination of capitalism** same view is subscribed by **Nicos Poulantaz**.

- **(7) SECTIONAL CONCEPT OF POWER (ZERO-SUM)**
- **Elitist** thinkers rejected the **class politics** of Marxism. Marxist believes in **ruling class** and want to destroy ruling class for obtaining and **egalitarian communist society**.
- Elitist like **Pareto Mosca** and **Michels** said that society is hierarchal and power lies in few people. Therefore, it is **sectional** concept of power or **zero-sum** concept of power.
- Elitist says that power is not located in masses. They propounded the concept of **ruling elite**. **Pareto** says that **history is the graveyard of elites**.
- **Psychological quality** of human being is important to become powerful rather than means of production. Therefore, the rejected the Marxist notion of ruling class.

- Michels propounded the **iron law of oligarchy**. He conducted study on **German Socialist Democratic Party** and said that only few gets power and it is **as solid as iron**. Infact organisation makes a rule for oligarchy which means **rule of a few elite**.
- **James Burnham** in **managerial revolution** (1941) also supported the rule of **professional managers** rather than the **rule of working class**.
- **C. Wright Mills** in **Power Elite** (1956) has also supported the rule of elite and the former US President **Eisenhower** propounded the idea of **military industrial complex**.

- **(8) PLURALIST CONCEPT OF POWER (NON-SECTIONAL)**
- They believe that power is **non-hierarchical**, competitively arranged and it is an **endless process of bargaining** and depends upon **non-zero sum** or **non-sectional** concept of power.
- **Robert Dahl** conducted an empirical study in 'new Heaven City' and he said that various groups exist in society like **students, trade unions, business associations and peasants**. It means **multiple minorities** exist in society.
- It is **Pluralist Concept of Power**, where various groups compete with each other in order to get more and more power.
- Robert Dahl also refuted the **class-based** concept of power, which was propounded by Marx.
- Robert Dahl also said that **rule of majority** is not found in society, instead it exists in the form of **multiple minorities**.
- But later **Robert Dahl** and **Charles Lindblom** modified the Polyarchy and they admitted that **Business associations** are more powerful in comparison to other groups in society. This is also known as **new-corporatism**.

- **(9) POWER AS A CONSENT**
- Liberals define power as a process of **endless conflict**. Marxist define power in form of exploitation. **Hannah Arendt** disagrees with the **liberal** and **Marxist** concept of power and she said that **power belong to people** and based on the **consent of the people**.
- Power of state does not depends upon **fear** or **coercion** but it is derived from the power of people.
- **Totalitarian state** based on **strength and violence** which is not power. State cannot dictate the people instead the state should act according to **instruction of the people**.
- **Political parties** and **bureaucracy** is not centre of the power but people are source of power therefore, **active participation** of the people is necessary.

# LEGITIMACY

Ph : 011-35521496  
09899156495

- Power based on **consent** is known as **legitimacy** and various means are applied for getting the consent.
- In earlier ages **Divine Theory of State** is propounded for legitimizing the power of a king. **James-1** and **Robert Filmer** legitimize divine power of a king.
- Modern age is known as age of **reason** and **science** therefore, **mechanism of consent** also changed. **Hobbes, Locke** and **Rousseau** propounded the concept of **social contract** for sustaining the legitimacy.
- Legitimacy is a tool by which power can be accumulated for a long time and **liberals** prefer **democracy, constitutionalism** in order to get legitimacy.

- **Marxist** want to destroy state therefore legitimacy is **not a core idea** for Marxist. Although **Gramsci** first time recognize the importance of legitimacy through **ideological apparatus** by the **capitalism**.
- **Max Weber** a renounced German Sociologist, propounded the **strong basis** of legitimacy. He said that legitimacy is a kind of **moral obligation** why people should obey the order of state.
- Max Weber pointed out that state is an institution which **monopolise** over the use of **violence** in a particular territory.
- For Max Weber power is defined in terms of authority. Therefore, **legitimise power** change in the concept of **authority**.

## ● **TYPES OF AUTHORITY**

- He wrote a famous book, namely “**Protestant ethic and Spirit of Capitalism**”.
- Max Weber was sociologist, therefore, he preferred the term **authority** over power.
- He analyzed three ideal types of authority:-
- (1)**Traditional** (History, Tradition and Custom).
- (2)**Charismatic** (Individual’s personality).
- (3)**Legal Rational Authority** (Bureaucracy).
- **Bureaucracy** is most **modern** and **rational** form of organisation.
- Bureaucratic organisation is **hierarchal** it is **not democratic**. Weber’s bureaucracy is **rule based** organisation which neutral and promotes the **power of a few**.

## WEBER'S BUREAUCRACY

- It is rational.
- Bureaucracy is hierarchal which allow the power in hand of efficient.
- Bureaucracy is permanent and essential for managing the complex society.
- Bureaucracy is a form of organisation and it is not an ideological institution.

## MARXIST POWER

- Institution of exploitation.
- Marxist want to establish rule of working class and believe in power of masses.
- Since state exploit the masses therefore bureaucracy is a new instrument in hand of capitalist to protect the interest of capitalist.
- It is against the interest of working class. Neo-marxist Ralph Miliband describe the autocratic nature of bureaucracy

# LEGITIMISATION CRISIS

Ph : 011-35521496  
09899156495

- Orthodox Marxist rejected legitimisation as a **bourgeoisie myth**. Neo-marxist acknowledged the importance of **legitimation**.
- **Jurgen Habermas** and **Claus Offe** said that capitalist adopted the **new method of legitimisation** through democratic process, party competition, welfare state and social reform.
- Habermas wrote **Legitimation Crisis** (1973). He said that capitalist economy always prone to crisis tendencies because:-
  - (1) **Capitalist** always want to maximize **profit**.
  - (2) **Democratic process** and social economic rights demand more and more **public spending** and **welfare funding** for social security.

- (3) **rise of taxation** is inevitable for managing the expenditure for **social security** and **welfare rights** which is opposed by the capitalist.
- (4) **popular pressure** demands more and more welfare facilities and **capitalist** want to **accumulate** more and more profit that results into the contradiction and crisis.
- **Anthony King** and **Richard Rose** also identified the problem of **governmental overload**. **Political masters** always promise to deliver better welfare facilities in order to win the election. It creates **overload** on the **entire economic system**.

# POST-MODERNIST CONCEPT OF POWER (MICHEL FOUCAULT)

- Liberals believe that power lies in **political/governmental organisations**.
- Marxist describes that power is rooted in the **economic factors**.
- However, Michel Foucault very famously said that **power is spread everywhere in the society** in his book **Discipline and Punish (1975)** he said that there is power in **school, Hospital and in Prison** etc.
- Michel Foucault said that power is present in our society like presence of **capillaries** in our bodies.
- He said that the modern institutions like the schools, hospitals etc. maintains discipline in the society.

- He gave an example of **panopticon** (a tower in jail), that how the behaviour of prisons is regulated and therefore, he said that power doesn't mean an exercise of force or coercion, but it is **productive** in nature.
- Michel Foucault very uniquely defined that **knowledge is power** and **knowledge is function of social relations** which is determined by power.
- In his book **The History of Sexuality** (1976) he said that the knowledge about sexuality is promoted by the society and the truth is **not objective** but the meaning of truth change according to changing the social conditions or cultural context.
- He said that power doesn't lie in the government but it is located in the **governmentality**.
- Governmentality manifests the different organs and agencies of the government by which government **identify** the people or government **organise** the people.

- By providing **voting card, passport** or by recognising male and female which again shows that knowledge is product of power. A doctor knows about the different organs of body, which is known as **Biopower**.
- Power grows from **bottom to top** for example we can realise the power of police through **constable**, rather than by **DIG**.