(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.

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(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.

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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.

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• 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-hierarchal, 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 exist 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.

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• 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-I** 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.

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**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**.

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**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

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Orthodox Marxist rejected legitimisation as a bourgeois myth. Neo-marxist acknowledged the importance of legitimisation.

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 Legitimisation 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**.

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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.

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He gave an example of penoptican (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.