Unit 10
Power: Functional Perspective

Contents

Learning Objectives

After reading this unit lesson you should be able to

- Grasp the meaning of power

- Understand the praxis of power

10.1 Introduction

We begin by grasping the meaning of 'power' in day to day use and dictionaries.

- Then we turn to the way three political philosophers of 17th and 18th centuries reflected upon its need for society, and the nature of power acceptable to people.

- A political scientist and another turned as a sociologist gave their views on limits of power and sovereignty, thereby introducing the significance of other associations and groups in society. Their orientations are presented briefly.

- Two major sociologists – Max Weber and Talcott Parsons contributed to the discussion on the nature of power and its legitimacy. Their scope for power holders as discussed by the former; and the capacity of the social system to realise common goals and increase its capacity as brought out by Talcott Parsons are explained.

- In understanding the unit, the student will find it useful to refer to units on function and others on power.

- To make the concepts and situations clearer an effort has been made to illustrate a few points from the Indian setting and such material is not based on examples drawn from the classical authors.

The word 'Power' has its roots is Latin 'potis' 'posse' or 'pot-ere' which signify 'to be also'. The word has been used in several senses in daily life like 'horse power' that measures energy, 'power-loom' as distinct from the hand-loom, conveying the idea of mechanical energy. In mathematics when we write x^3, that means x is multiplied by itself three times. If the value of x is 2 than 2^3 is 2 raised to the power 3, that is 2 x 2 x 2 = 8. Here 'power' is used for making a small number larger. These examples give a general idea that power implies a capacity to increase energy and to enable a person or

a thing to enlarge its scope. It is a good idea to learn how we come to such an understanding. We recommend the use of a standard dictionary to get first acquaintance with a word we want to learn about. In this paragraph, two sources have been used : (i) The Concise Oxford Dictionary and (ii) Chamber's twentieth Century Dictionary. The larger volume of Oxford English Dictionary also mentions how a word was used first and by whom. The curious students may develop this as a habit for learning various meanings and usages of a word consulting any standard dictionary. That is the beginning. Dictionary of sociology and international encyclopedia are further advancements.

When a word is used many times, the dictionary also notes some words that convey a similar sense. The Oxford Concise Dictionary for example uses words like ability to do or act, influence authority under one's control. This question has been answered in another lesson unit. Now we reach the second stage.

10.2 Early Writers: Hobbes, Locke, Rousseau

Discussion of a few key words are found in general literature in the writings of early scholars who expressed their view even before sociology was born. In their writings we try to locate the meaning and significance of these words. Here the word 'power' and its possible links with function are seen through the contribution of three writers : Hobbes, Locke and Rousseau.

By definition power relations relate to unequal positions and the inter relations among persons placed therein. Here a serious question is raised 'why should' inequality to tolerated or accepted even at the philosophical level? We have the other idea 'Man was born free, every where he is in chains. This idea was most vigorously talked about in France when it was socially preparing for the French Revolution of 1789. The king claimed 'divine right' so the struggle had to be targeted on both the king and the priest who justified that right, there was a struggle for human secular forces to became stronger. 'Man is the measure of all things' become the new dictum. Secular knowledge was compiled in Encyclopedias.

Among political philosophers, **Hobbes** (1588-1679) had raised the question about the nature of man. It appears that he talked about the primitive persons who were equal to one another.

The difference between man and man is not so considerable, as that one man can claim himself any benefit to which another man may not pretend, as well as he if any two men desire the same thing, which they cannot both enjoy, they become enemies, endeavour to destroy, or subdue one another. In the nature of man, we find three causes of quarrel : Competition, Diffidence, and Glory. The first one leads men to use violence, to make themselves. Mosters of other men's persons wives, children and cattle', second to defend them; the third for trifles as a word a smile or by reflection in their kindred friends nations or profession. (Ref. In Parsons *et al.,* 1960).

'Everyman is enemy to every man. No account of time, no arts, no letters, no society….... and the life of man solitary, poor, nasty, brutish, and short'. Hence, the need for the laws of nature and a common power to keep them in awe and answer the need for maintaining order. His solution lay in agreed reasoning and the institution of a ruler (king) for the purpose. Hobbes has been considered a brilliant thinker for raising the problem of order in society,

though other thinkers disagree with the depiction of human nature and the solution. However, for our present purposes, it may be clarified that power is seen to fulfill the function of maintaining order.

John Locke (1632-1704) agrees on the equality of man and confers a right on him to punish the wrong doer such liberty could be misused; if the victim is to be the judge also. Hence there need for the state that with common consent will perform this role, and the advocacy of the civil government.

Rousseau (1712-1778) is the most famous of the three writers and had tremendous influence on the ideas leading to the French Revolutions (1789). He is associated with the remark 'Man was born free, but everywhere he is in chains from the state of nature, human beings moved to develop a general will which could provide the rationale for exercise of power and even kings and tyrants could not ignore the power of the general will, hence the rationale for abolition of kingdoms and bringing in Republics. View of Hobbes, Locke and Roussean were examined in critical details by political philosophers, but the main reasons for referring to the three written are the following:

1) The need for having central authority to maintain order was emphasised; and in this sense state was associated with a function.

2) Unequal distribution of power needs an explanation and a justification. Here two aspects become important: who gets power over whom? What is its legitimacy?

There two questions will be dealt with in relation to the individuals and the state itself.

10.3 Nineteenth Century

The nineteenth century discussions on society were dominated by the ideas and progress (August Comte). Herbert Spencer joined together ideas of society as an organism with evolution, the former giving the state a prime position in the functioning of the society. The near musical chair race was the main feature of the French society, where the monarchy and the republic continued to replace one another. Ultimately the Third Republic got stabilized in 1871. The intelligentsia had a stake in its success. An army that was as efficient as an emperor's was created. Special institutions for training the civil service, technicians and leaders came into being. The church still controlled education. The education minister restricted opening of new school, state sponsored schools were started. Yet, their efficiency had to be maintained (In India, we are familiar with the difference in mission schools and state run schools). The Minister consulted Durkheim, whose professional advice was that the teachers had to be trained first for the new tasks. The politician offered this task to Durkheim, and asked him to undertake the responsibility. Durkheim;s first appointment was Professor of Education in provincial town Bordeaux. Education was seen as a socializing force for a secular society. The role of the Church in education and the state was reduced; and educations was seen in a functional manner strengthening the Republic. Education through the Church was functional for the monarchy, after the revolution new education became functional for the Republic, and dysfunctional for the Church and the monarchy in France.

10.4 Twentieth Century Writers

Among sociologists of the twentieth century, the name of **Robert M. MacIver**

in the USA is the most significant. He began as a professor of Political Science and wrote the book 'State'. This was a departure from those who considered that sovereignty of the state was absolute and indivisible (Austin). In his famous statement **MacIver** said "The state is not coeval and co-extensive with society." He re-examined the relations among different organs of society and examined three possibilities:

1) Activities that the state alone could do

2) Activities that the state could perform better than other associations, and

3) Activities that other organisations could perform better than the state.

In his view the state was one of the great associations in society. These views were elaborated in a classical text book he wrote in collaboration with **Charles H.** page under the title *Society* which has been read carefully in India for nearly half a century by students of sociology.

Reflection and Action 10.1

Are state and society the same? Examine all sides of this question.

In the U.K. **Harold Laski** had a great influence on political movements and in his work *Grammar of Politics*, he propounded the view that there were plural centres of power in society, and the state was one of them. For students who read Laski as well as MacIver, the plural sources of power become important in discussing the nature of inter actions of the state and other associations group in society. The overall effect is that the state and polity began to be treated as dependent variables.

10.5 Max Weber and Talcott Parsons

Of the two questions mentioned earlier those regarding the nature of power and its legitimacy, were centrally considered by the German classical sociologist Max Webler and commented upon among others by Talcott Parsons who advanced the view that the state represented the agency for realising the collective goals of a social system. It is to these writers that we now turn our attention.

Box 10.1: Max Weber: An Introduction

Max Weber, an eminent German sociologist was born on 29th April, 1864 and lived and worked upto 1920. We invite your attention to the reference to his works as given in the units for the Bachelor's degree and other units for Master's programme of the IGNOU. It may be recalled that the period was marked by economic growth and political consolidation of Germany as a great power, with intense international competition and the first world war (1914-1918), and Weber's expert opinion was available at the time of signing of the peace treaty at Versailles in France and later for drafting a constitution for the Weimar, Republic. His family background of active politicians university professors and religious schools had given him ample first hand experience of the political processes capitalistic and bureaucratic working. As an eminent thinker, he conceptualised and analysed these experiences and at the world level of discussions tried to find why in Western Europe and Western Europe alone, a series of events happened in the ninetieth century to make it a globally significant entity. He had compared systems of different religions to

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find out the way ideas had a major influence on economic growth. This little reminder reintroduced Max Weber to us; the German pronunciation of Max is like Maax. The European scholars continue to refer to his works is original in German. In India, we rely on the English translations which at times disturb the European scholars. Among sociologists in India, Irawati Karve, Ramkrishna Mukherjee, Chadrasekharaya and Surendra Munshi had acquired competence in German and tried to help us imbibe the flavour of that language in the study of the German sociologists i.e. sociologists choosing to write their major works in German (Max Weber, Marx Simmel, Tonnies and later Dahrendorf).

For Max Weber the organisation of social life on the basis of relational calculations and rationality as a system of thought was the most distinguishing feature of nineteenth century Europe. He viewed different aspects of life like economy, polity and even music according to the way they expressed rationality. Thus, he distinguished profit based on plunder and illegal practices from rational capitalism. Likewise the performance of music in orchestra with a number of instruments tuning together drew his attention. His discussion on power is related to the use of legitimate power or authority. He mentions three types of power based on three types of rationality or rules :

a) Tradition

When power is acquired and passed on to the next person in traditional societies from a king to the eldest son; it becomes a case of legitimation of power through tradition. In a matrilineal society, it is the sister's son who becomes a king (Malayalam region). In the north-eastern part of India, the youngest daughter's husband, known as nokrom becomes the effective manager. The king's brother succeeded the king in other territories. These differences are examples of tradition in their own societies. In an American tribe power belonged to a person who destroyed or burnt the valued things — in that case called potlatch one who burned the largest number of blankets became the chief and retained his position until some one else broke the record. The world over, in tribal setting or in chiefdoms, rules of acquiring power were based on traditions of the region concerned. These examples have been added by us, not by Max Weber, to illustrate the central idea. He used the examples of feudal lords and their relations to a king to analyse tradition as a source of legitimation of power.

b) Bureaucracy

The word bureau literally refers to a large table with a number of drawers. Different papers dealing with a common subject can be placed in one drawer. A number of drawers help in the classification of papers. Collectively, the Bureau becomes an organisation dealing with classified information e.g. we refer to the Press Bureau that provides official information to the public. In the government a number of offices are so organised. They have rules for recruitment, training, promotion and termination of services. The person is separated from office and his powers are defined, as also those of the seniors and subordinates. There is the hierarchy of office and rules govern them, in their bases, they pass on papers or act or refuse to act. Merton has noted that the bureaucrat is a link between decision makers on the one hand and persons below the bureaucrat, and he acquires power because he can decide which papers may be forwarded or held back. But from Weber's

point of view bureaucracy is a rational legal system and works that way. Bureaucracy is rationalised legal system and derives its legitimacy from it.

c) Charisma

The Persian (and Urdu) word *Karishma* is the root word that traveled to European languages almost is the same sense. *Karishma* or charisma indicates extra ordinary abilities of a person, and is used to describe the powers of a saint as well; something like a divine element, that sustains itself performing miracles. Its continuation depends upon its capacity to deliver goods. If a person's qualities do not remain effective, may be through age or infirmity, he/she loses the charisma. The legitimacy of charisma does not flow from tradition or rational bureaucracy. In fact the charismatic figure overrules both and introduces personal extra-ordinary performance as its own justification. Quite a few revolutionary personalities exercise such a power in the secular setting as well. Here Weber adds that a charismatic leader may come to power through extraordinary methods, but his continuation in power needs legitimacy either through a recourse to tradition or relational bureaucracy. That is how we find quite a few revolutionaries becoming conservatives an assuming power. After taking the three ways of legitimations of power together, we may point out that the modern democracies specialize in constitutional ways of acquiring or getting replaced in power position, mainly through the ballot, not the bullet. In fact the test of democracy is the smoothness of transfer of power through elections and the continuation of the political system. On this score the placement of countries on the human development index is counted and at least here India gets more favourable points than many of the Asian ad African countries, and a few Latin American countries as well.

Max Weber's formulation on power leads one to ask who has power on whom? If A commands B even against his will, A has power over B. In this as, A has positive power and B has negative power. Let us now think again — if A can exercise 4 commands over B, we may as well say A has + 4 units of power and B have -4. The sum total of power with A and B is + 4 — 4 = 0. This concept is called zero sum of power.

10.6 Talcott Parsons

Talcott Parsons translated a few works of Max Weber from German into English and made important contribution to the study of power and its functions for society. Here power is see as a necessary condition of maintaining a society, enabling it to realize a few collective goals of a society. In a modern society, functions are differentiated, and interrelated. The characteristics of a system are reproduced in subsystem. Polity is one of the subsystems. How it is organized and works is stated briefly. Functional approach does not mean absence of conflicts it in fact depicts the capacity of the system to deal with problems and solve them written its resources, you will thus get an idea of how in a modern society of differentiated institutions, each institution fulfills the needs of the society, each gets related to the others, and derives strength from others. This is the essence of functional approach. Power is seen through this perspective mainly through the manner in which famous sociologist Talcott Parsons clarifies issues keeping American Democracy on the center of attention. Some examples will be given from India to make a few points clearer.

Reflection and Action 10.2

Is conflict functional? Explain your position and discuss with friends.

Parsons has reexamined this position on two counts. Firstly, zero sum can happen as a special case. Generally, however, we come across cases where the gains and losses do not cancel out. A may issue 4 commands over B. B follows them, then on the future occasion it may happen that B gets his will carried out by A. In our daily life we come across such situation, when a son's will has to be carried out by the father or an officer has to agree with a subordinate clerk's opinion. In village life relation among the patron and client also follow such a course. In a Rajasthan village a drummer beats the drum to mark the close of a wedding ceremony. He stands firm and does not beat the drum. This is a tactic to make the patron pay the dues respectably. When the drummer is satisfied with proper payment, he sounds 'the last post'. A carpenter by tradition supplies a wooden board to decorate a welcome design. He keeps the entire proceedings halted until his rightful claim is accepted. Here, the public performance, or delay in performance, adds to the power of the otherwise lowly placed artisan. Examples can be multiplied to cover many rituals in pilgrim centres and other secular situations. One of the reasons for continuation of the jajmani relations has among others, been the capacity of the artisan or the serving group to exercise his 'vcto' as it were, on such chosen occasion, where the roles of domination are reversed. We are using these examples from our society to clarify that distribution of power that appears to have one direction from the high to the low can have the reverse flow as well. In such cases power equation could be +4 units for the patron and —4 with the serving group, yet on 2 other occasions the latter may wield the upper hand. Then the sum total of A's power could be +4 in favour and —2 in other cases; may be a zero sum case +4-4 and —2+2 = 0, yet if we add both that would be +4 for A and +2 for B. This is described as Non-zero sum power. Parsons asserts that non-zero sum is a normal feature, and if it happens that the becomes zero, that is a special case covered under the more general non-zero sum case.

The second aspect of power is that it be discussed not for individual cases, but for the total social systems, its needs and part played by different agencies in that regard. It will be helpful here to recall the functional requisites of a system and use the paradigm thus:

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A ┌─────────┐ G
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L └─────────┘ I
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A stands for adaptation of the system to nature and   the environment. For the society as a whole this function is performed by Economy.

G stands for goal attainment, this means that the collective of the society are realized. The agency charged with this function is the Polity. Here the Polity acts on behalf of the society to realise the goals common to all.

I stands fort integration, society has different units with their own interests. At times may be in conflict with each other. There is a conflict theory which suggests that conflict is also a normal phenomenon in society. The functional point of view does not deny this proposition but it asserts that the social

system, if it exists, has to have a mechanism or capacity to resolve these conflicts. The term 'conflicts resolution' precisely states that process. In a modern society, the legal system tries to perform this role. The contesting parties put forward their claims and counter claims, and the judiciary settles the case. So long as this mode works, we say 'integration' is maintained in the system. In the field of games and sports, there is intense competition, we have laws of the game, and a referee or an umpire to give decisions that have to be accepted by both the parties. There may be a few disappointments, yet so long as the decision makers role is duly accepted, we say that the system works or exists.

L refers to latency or pattern maintenance. They define the basis for making laws in terms of or in consonance with the values of the society. There have been societies where birth or order of birth qualified a person to become the prince or the chief. Such societies were based on the principal of **ascription**. Modern democratic societies insist on **achievements** as the basis for gaining status. In the past religion provided the justification for status allocation. In the new situation secular values of achievement are considered valuable. In case of modern democracies e.g. the preamble to the constitution of India specifies such values which are common knowledge — yes, you guess correctly: these are liberty, equality, fraternity etc. you can fill in the rest.

The four aspects of a system are arranged in a specific order. Adaptation is related to boundary maintenance of the system, helps define the place of the system with regard to other systems and determine where it stands. Society has to define its relation with external environment, nature and its resources. Economy acts as an organized efforts to make use of those resources and energies. In this sense economy is treated as a sub-system. Analysis of economy as a subsystem was undertaken by Neil J. Smelser in collaboration with Parsons. Smelser had studied economics in the U.K. and when he joined Parsons at Harvard in the U.S.A., economy began to be linked to social systems. The two great authors thus produced the major work *Economy and Society* (1956).

Box 10.2: Parsons and Mills

A few years later Parsons wrote another work under the title *structure and process in modern societies* (1960). Parsons by that time had had begun to write in a simpler language to a writer had been hired for him to put his ideas in simpler form, Parsons gave a lecture based on that book at the University of Berkeley where smelser had started teaching. I was present at that time, After the lecture students talked among themselves Look, I could understand what Parsons said'!; the other said' but what was new in it!'

I had read comments on that book given by the authors of *Power Elite*' C. Wright Mills, and brought the same to his notice. Parsons vigorously maintained his position, and pointed out that defects indicated by the critics of American democracy were unfounded. The American judiciary (system) was strong, and could take care of cases of violation of the democratic procedure. This anecdote serves one more purpose : it emphasises how Parsons considered the system as a going comcern - that is a system that was active and vigorous; secondly that it had the capacity to take care of mistakes, and finally that the people had faith in the judiciary. These views clarify how a system exists against those of critics who say that the system does not exist, hence any approach for studying it was itself mistakes.

We may now summarize the points that make functional analysis possible:

- A social system exists and is capable of handling conflicts within it.

- A social system consists of parts.

- The parts are active and through their activity contribute to the maintenance and continuation of the system.

- The system has a tenure and working longer than the life of the incumbents to positions and the life span of a generation.

- The method of studying parts of a system, their interrelations and contribution for the maintenance of the system is characterised as functional approach.

- The basis for functional analysis was laid by spencer. Durkheim, Malinowski and Radcliffe-Brown. For more details, see earlier units in analysing modern societies through this approach we recall the names of Parsons and Merton who are referred to by some analysis as neo-functionalists. Malinowski and Raddiffe-Brawn had basically studied the primitive societies. Durkheim had used this approach along with two others—the evolutionary and explanatory in terms of comparative approach. Merton had extended the ideas to modern societies and coined phrases like function and dysfunction, manifest and latent functions and related these to the study of anomie in which he discussed the inter relations of goals and means. Parsons was associated with the study of social system. His main points have been briefly pointed in this unit in the AGIL paradigm and functional requisites of the system. This approach has been further extended to each part like economy, polity and religion by various writers.

- Power as a concept belongs to the area of polity. The functional analysis of power treats it at two levels;

i)   Who has power over whom? The sum is zero. This is a traditional answer. In the other hand the functional approach to power treats it as a non-zero sum, which as a special case may also be a zero-sum, that is the zero-sum is included in the more comprehensive case of non-zero sum.

ii)   Power is the generalised capacity of a system to realise its collective goals. This approach goes beyond the competitive aspect of power over some one else. Functional approach treats power of the system, not merely struggle for power within a system. The power of the system can grow and enable the system both to continue and strengthen itself. In this sense again the power of the system is not a zero-sum concept, but one that keeps on adding to its capacity to face collective challenges.

10.7 Polity as a Subsystem

Now, we shall turn to the analysis of polity as a sub system of society. Such academic exercises have their parallel in India. When, we study caste in India, we also refer to sub-castes and are reminded of G.S. Ghurye's famous statement 'sub-caste is the real caste' Later Indian and American sociologists began using the indigenous term jati to refer to sub-castes. Our main concern here is how a system and a sub-system are analyzed at a general level. Does the sub-system behave like a system? Parsons and Smalser agree, say: yes, thus economy is a sub-system; polity is a sub-system they act that way, what does this mean? We shall see next.

Higher Level and Generality

Diagram : Political complex

A	Means : Regulation	Goal specification : Authority	**G**
L	Values : organisational effectiveness	Primary Norms : Leadership	**I**

Each of the four reveal internal characters of a sub-system — for example Authority in second cell (g):

Lower Level and Generality (Authority)

Allocation of budgetary resources	Allocation of organisational responsibilities
Valuations of control of membership contributions	General powers of making bonding decision

The other 3- regulations, leadership and valuation are similarly grouped in other diagram by Parsons. Ref.: (Parsons 1960: 167-168.)

A sub system reproduces the characteristics of a system and acquires its properties. We have referred to the case of a caste, likewise in a family cycle, a joint family gets the shape of several nuclear families on the death of a father as his two or four sons set up their own units. Later they beget sons, who get married and the household again becomes joint the addition of children confirms if further. The sons of one generation become parents in the next and grand parents for the third generation. Such tendencies are seen in plenty in rural areas. In the process of growth of an economy, a company or a bank may set up a branch office, which soon acquires the status of a full unit. In the educational sphere in Punjab and neighbouring states, we a university opening a new campus, which for all purposes becomes an autonomous unit. In the sphere of polity, we see a federal (central) government, many state governments, and a few union territories. All of them are cases of representative government with some differences in power distribution. Next steps through decentralization carry forward this pattern to district, panchayat samitis and village panchayat. At all these levels in varying degrees, exercise of power has to be functional for the units concerned and if the system has to continue, the four requisites have to be attended to recall the four as AGIL.

1) Each political unit has to define its boundaries and get adapted to external situations. It has its natural and other resources to be used for the common good.

2) The common goals are attended to through the polity. Thus there are rules of governance that spell out who gets what and how if there is a dispute or a conflict.

Problems like anomie, bureaucracy, relative deprivation have been examined in the context of accepted values and alternate means for satisfying them by Merton (1968).

The agency for resolving the conflict is activated. Finally, agencies act is accordance with the value patterns of the system — for example education, health for all, as reflection of the rights of all citizens. These functions have to be performed by every sub system of the polity — in the Indian case by the central (federal) government, the states, Zila Parishads and Municipal governments, the Panchayat Samiti and the Gram Panchayat. Details will be different, the scope too varied, yet the functional requirements will have to be attended to. This example clarifies how a sub-system reproduces the characteristics of a system and at each level our understanding of the way these requirements are met proceeds along functional analysis of the system (sub system).

Parsons had analysed political process involved in the American democracy. It needs be emphasized that the functional approach takes note of conflicts in power; is fact as Coser pointed out there is a function of social conflict. What does this mean? It suggests that when a conflict occurs say between two political parties that are in power in different states or the party at the state level is different from the one at the centre, such a difference promotes a competition among the parties to do better than other. Secondly, the conflict leads to assertion of one's rights against the other, and shows how both the opposing parties are actively involved in maintaining the system from which each derives its legitimacy. The goals are enshrined in the Constitution, powers too defined and in its exercise the little vigilance on the part of each promotes the total solidarity. The generality and its strength grows through this conflict, or competition.

In the context of the two contending parties or two combinations of parties, the situation of a conflict leads to internal solidarity of the otherwise disparate sub-groups, thereby creating a functional unity among them to fight for a common cause. The definition of a common adversary leads to a process of integration within a society or groups so obliged.

10.8 Conclusion

Normally, functional approach is considered also be most suitable for the undertaking the study of simpler society. Merton brought forth a fresh paradigm of functional studies to cover problems of industrial societies at the middle level. At the macro level the most generalized in scope as a 'grand theory' Parsons extends the approach to the study of modern societies marked by increasing differentiation among institutions. Polity, like economy is seen fulfilling the needs of society. Polity represents collective organisation of society for attaining common goals and the product is power. It is a non zero-sum concept. It is exercised through authorisation by a legitimated leadership and is used to minimize dissent, exercise control and realise common goals. In a modern society like the USA, power in combination with a strong legal system and economy derives strength from the value system of success through competition i.e. achievement not by ascription, birth or tradition (leadership and authority basically reflect bureaucratic legal processes combined with bits of charlsmatic effect, though the office is separated from the individual who holds it). In turn these aspects strengthen one another and the social system persists. Problems arise but are seen in the total systems perspective.

10.9 Further Reading

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